The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pañini

Volume V

English Translation of Adhyāya Six with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples, and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma
This volume of the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini contains English translation of adhyāya six. It includes Sanskrit text of individual sūtras with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each sūtra is also furnished with anuvṛtti, vṛtti, examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples cited by the Kāśikāvṛtti.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual sūtras, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains major derivations, in addition to nearly five hundred derivations discussed in the text under individual sūtras.

This volume is the fifth of a planned six-volume study. The sixth, and the last volume, of this series will cover the sūtras of adhyāyas seven and eight.
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THE AŚṬĀDHHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOL. V

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ADHYĀYA SIX WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, ANUVṛTTI, VṛTTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

RAMA NATH SHARMA
University of Hawaii

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त्रिपाठिवर्षाय मुदान्विताय
रामप्रसादाय सुखजनाय।
समर्प्य ग्रन्थं गुरुवेजहिताय
मोर्दं समप्रोति ममाद्व चेत:॥
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Preface

This present is the fifth of a planned six-volume study on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the fourth of the five translated volumes of the śūtrapātha of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, anuvṛtti, vṛtti, English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of adhyāya six of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The sixth and final volume of this series will soon be published with the English translation of adhyāyas seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues related to rule-formation, interpretation, application and order. Three prakriyā texts, the Rūpāvatāraḥ of Dharmakirti, the Prakriyākaumudi of Rāmacandra and the Siddhāntakaumudi of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, the Vyākaraṇa-candraśādya of Charudeva Shastri, the Kāśikāvṛtti, with the commentaries Nyāsa of Jīnendrabuddhi and Padamaṇjarī of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya of Pṛajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the Laghukāumudi of Varadāraja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the Siddhānta-
kaumudi of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita with the Tatvabodhini of Jñānendrā Sarasvatī and the Bālamanorāma of Vāsudeva Dikṣita. I have mostly followed the Kāśikāvṛtti with the Nyāsa and Padamaṇjarī for explanatory notes. Nyāsa, Padamaṇjarī and Siddhāntakaumudi have proved extremely valuable in clarifying issues relative to rule interaction and conflict resolution. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accomodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, mostly in the text but also in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful. I have, at places, found accentual rule-interaction somewhat puzzling. My reader must remain on guard in deciding issues pertaining to accentuation.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which I may have made many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get closer to the completion of my last volume I feel much confident in presenting the complexity of issues based on explanatory details of commentaries. It also reinforces my belief that Kāśikā, with the Nyāsa and Padamaṇjarī, is the best source for fully understanding intricacies of the
Aṣṭādhyāyī. I have already started preparing a more detailed version of volume one and do intend to edit volumes two and three. I shall greatly appreciate my reader’s comments in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been generous to me in giving of their time. I dedicate this volume in memory of Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi who recently passed away. I had the honor of studying the entire Kāśikāvṛtti with its commentaries Nyāsa and Padamañjarī with him. I have, as usual, greatly benefited from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Research Council and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programming skills I could never find my way out of the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. These volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support. Finally, I must thank Mr. Devendra Jain, Director of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, my publishers, in dealing with this often not-so-very organized Pandit.

RAMA NATH SHARMA

Honolulu, Hawaii (USA)
16 March 2001
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>abl</td>
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<td>acc</td>
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<td>SP</td>
<td>Sūtrapāṭha</td>
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Abbreviations

sg  singular
Śs  Śivasūtra
Śat Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
saṣ śaṣṭhi
Tai Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa
tat tatpuruṣa
tr/trt tṛīyā
VP Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the commentary Ambākartri of Pandita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt vārttika
Vāj Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
voc vocative
Adhyāya Six

Pāda One

6.1.1 एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य

ekaḥ dvē prathamasya
\\
/ekācaḥ 6/1 = ekah ac yasya (bv.), tasya;
dvē 1/2 prathamasya 6/1/
ekācaḥ prathamasya iti dvē vaktavyah

That which is formed with the first vowel of an item is iterated to become two.

Examples:

jajāgāra ‘... remained awake’
papāca ‘... cooked’
iyāya ‘... returned’
āra ‘... departed’

1. This is an adhikāra. Consequently, one must read it in all subsequent rules prior to 6.1.13 syān samprasāraṇam ... The true status of this rule must be determined since it also orders an operation (vidhi). Is this an adhikāra, merely to be carried to, and intended for, other rules (parārtha)? Is this an operational rule, especially since it specifies both an operand (kāryn; prathamasya ekācaḥ) as well as an operation (kārya; dvē)? For, in this sense, it can be treated as intended for itself (svārtha). Since this rule must be carried to facilitate iteration in subsequent rules, it can also be accepted as intended for other rules (parārtha). An exclusive svārtha ‘intended for itself’ interpretation will create problems. For, in that case, this rule alone will be control iteration of all formal units. This, in turn, will make rules such as 6.1.8 liḍi dhātor... vacant (vyarthā). A restrictive (niyama) interpretation of 6.1.8, i.e., liḍi dhātor eva... ‘iteration of a dhātu only when LIṬ follows’, can save it from being vacuous. But a restrictive interpretation cannot be favored over a non-restrictive operational interpretation because of the paribhāṣā (84): vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jjāyān ‘operational interpretation alone is to be preferred where restrictive and operational interpretations both become possible’. For reasons of connection with subsequent rules (uttarottara-sambandha), this rule is to be accepted as an adhikāra, different in nature from general operational rules.

2. Note that ekācaḥ of this rule, when read with 6.1.8 liḍi dhātor... , is interpreted as a qualifier to dhātoḥ. A question is raised whether ekācaḥ should be treated as a coreferential (samānādhikaraṇa), or else as a non-coreferential
(vyadhikarana), qualifier to dhato. If it is accepted as a coreferential qualifier, iteration will then be permitted only in connection with monosyllabic roots such as path and pac, etc. For, dhato, when qualified with ekaca, will yield the interpretation: ‘of a root which consists of a single vowel’. Iteration, with this interpretation, will be blocked in connection with jagr ‘to wake up’ and dariдра ‘to be poor’, etc., which consist of more than a single vowel. It is to remove such difficulties that the genitive in dhato is interpreted as denoting the part (avayava) of a whole (avayavin). That is, ekaca will be interpreted as a unit constituted by a single vowel which, in turn, forms part of a root. Of course, ekaca will be further modified by prathamasya. This will yield the interpretation as follows: ‘a unit constituted by the first vowel which is also a part of the root’. This will clear the way for iteration in jagr, etc. To conclude, genitive of dhato is interpreted as denoting a part-whole relationship (avayavavayavabha). Additionally, ekaca is not accepted as a coreferential qualifier.

The compound in ekaca cannot be interpreted as a karmadharya-tatpurusa with the analyzed form: ekas cason ac ca ‘that (a root) which is also constituted by a single vowel’. For, it will then allow iteration only in the context of roots such as iK ‘to remember’ and iN ‘to study’, etc. Iteration in contexts where the root is not constituted by anything but a single vowel will be blocked. That is, pac, etc., cannot avail iteration to yield papa, etc. It is to remove this difficulty that ekac is interpreted as a bahuvrihi compound with the analyzed form: eka ac yasmin ‘that in which there is only one vowel’. Application of rules such as 7.4.70 haladi sesah and 7.4.61 sarparvo khayah also attest to this. For, retention of a unit constituted by the first vowel, and deletion of the others, is possible only when a bahuvrihi interpretation is accepted. A tatpurusa interpretation will block application of 7..4.70 haladi sesah.

The bahuvrihi of ekac is further interpreted as a tadguna-samvijyana. Consider the following sentences:

(i) citravasasam anaya
   ‘bring one who wears colorful clothes’

(ii) citragum anaya
   ‘bring one who owns brindled cows’

The first is a type of tadguna-samvijyana-bahuvrihi where its constituent citra of citravasas is paraphrased with the verb. That is, when the person is brought, colorful (clothes) are also brought. The second sentence is a type of atadguna-samvijyana-bahuvrihi where citra of citra(gu) is not construed with the verb. That is, when the person is brought the cows are not brought along. The word ekac, when interpreted as an atadguna-samvijyana-bahuvrihi, will not permit ac to be paraphrased with the verb. It will then refer to something not qualified with a single vowel. This interpretation, however, is not desired. A tadguna-samvijyana interpretation is favored because it will
permit \( aC \) of \( ekāC \) to be paraphrased with the verb. \( Kāśīkā \), therefore, states that \( sāckasyaiva dvirvacanam bhavati \) ‘iteration applies only to that which consists of an \( aC \)’. The part-whole relationship of the genitive in \( dhātuh \) further strengthens this interpretation (\( Kāś. : abhyantaraś ca samudāye’ vayavo bhavatiśi sāckasyaiva dvirvacanam bhavati)\).

3. A question is raised as to why the focus of iteration with the qualification of \( ekāc \), for example in \( pac \), cannot be accepted as \( pa \), or \( ac \), as opposed to \( pac \). If there were more vowels then, in view of the qualification of \( prathamasya \), determining a formal unit constituted by the first among vowels will be a lot easier. A root such as \( pac \) for reasons of containing a single vowel, poses a problem in determining the object of iteration. In the absence of any clear solution the entire unit \( pac \) undergoes iteration. Iteration of \( pa \), \( a \), or \( ac \), will yield undesired results. Besides, \( pa \), \( a \), or \( ac \), as separate units constituted by a single vowel will not produce the cognition of the whole, i.e., verbal root \( pac \). For, cognition will take place one at a time. That is, \( pac \) will be cognized as \( ekāc \) on one occasion, and \( a \), and \( pa \), on the other. Even if cognition is accomplished simultaneously (\( yugapaśī \)), it will not be possible to accomplish iteration simultaneously. It is in view of this that \( Kāśīkā \) states: \( sakṛc chāstraśa-pravṛtyā sāvavyavah samudāyo’ nugṛhyate ‘a whole with its parts alone is (to be) accepted (as focus of iteration) since the rule which allows iteration applies only once’.

A question is raised as to why iteration of more than one unit constituted by the single vowel of a larger whole cannot be accomplished in turn (\( paryāya \)). That is, why can \( pac \), \( pa \), \( ac \) and \( a \) cannot go through iteration in turn, as may be desired in view of the usage. This application of iteration in turn is not free of trouble. Consider the derivation of \( nenekti \), \( neniktaḥ \) and \( nenijati \), the third singular, dual and plural present indicative active forms of \( niḥ ‘to nourish’ \), derived from: \( niḥ + Šap + ti \), \( niḥ + Šap + tas \) and \( niḥ + Šap + jhi \), respectively: The focus of iteration in case of \( niḥ \) should be correctly accepted as \( niḥ \). If \( (n→n) \)i, as against \( niḥ \), is accepted as focus of iteration, deriving the first two forms will not pose any problem. We will thus get: \( (n→n)ij + (LAT→tiP) = niḥ + Šap + ti(P→phi) = niḥ + (Šap→ŚLU) + ti→(ni + niḥ) + φ + ti = ninijiti→n(i→e) n(i→e) jti→nene(j→k) ti = nenekti. \) Similar rules can be applied in deriving \( neniktaḥ \). But the derivation of \( nenijati \) will run into problems, especially in view of the assignment of the term \( abhyasta \) (6.5.1 \( ubhe abhyastam \)). Given \( ninij + jhi \), rule 6.1.5 \( ubhe abhyastam \) will assign the term \( abhyasta \) to \( ninij \). But this term is desired to be assigned to \( ninij \). For, 7.1.4 \( ad abhyastāt \) will be blocked from introducing \( at \) as a replacement for \( jh \) which, in turn, occurs after \( nini \), an \( abhyasta \). Everything will be in order if \( ninij \) is termed \( abhyasta \). Thus, \( (n→n)ij + (LAT→jhi)→niḥ + jhi→niḥ + (Šap) + jhi→niḥ + (Šap→ŚLU) + jhi→niḥ + niḥ + jhi→niḥ(j→φ) + niḥ + jhi = ninij + (jhi→at) i = ninij + at + i = n(i→e) niḥ + at + i = nenijati. \) Note that, in addition to deletion of \( Šap \) by \( ŚLU \) (2.4.75 jhūtyādibhyah śluḥ), and iteration (6.1.10 šla; 6.1.1
ekāco due prathamasya) with assignment of the terms abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaśā) and abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam), we also apply 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣah and 7.4.75 nījām trayānām gunaślau. Thus, nīj + nīj → nīj(j=∅) + nīj = nīnij and nīnij → n (i→e) nīj = nēnij.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.2 अजादेढ्ठित्वयस्य

ajāder dvitiyasya
/ ajādeh 6/1 = aj ādir yasya (bv.), tasya;
dvitiyasya 6/1/
(ekācah due #1)
ac ādir yasya dhātoḥ tadavayavasya dvitiyasyaikāco due bhavataḥ

That which is constituted by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel is iterated to become two.

EXAMPIES:

aṭiṭiṣati ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’
asīṣiṣati ‘... wishes to eat’
ariṣiṣati ‘wishes to go’

1. This rule offers iteration of a formal unit which may be constituted by the second vowel (dvitiyasya) of a verbal root beginning with a vowel (ajādeh). Our preceding rule offers iteration of a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of a verbal root. This rule is thus treated as an exception to the first, and hence, blocks its application. A question is raised against such blocking. That is, the question of blocking arises only when there is a possibility (sambhava) of application of both the rules (ubhayaprasānga). But how is it possible for these two rules to apply at the same time. These rules offer different objects of application. An argument in favor of application in turn (paryāya) cannot be made since anabhyaśasya of 6.1.8 līti dhātor anabhyaśasya will negate it.

2. Consider aṭiṭiṣati ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’, where verbal root aṭiṭiṣa derives from at + saN, via augment iT, replacement of s of saN with ś (satva; 8.3.59 ādeśa pratyayayoh) and iteration of tiṣ of at + i(T) + (s→ś) a(N)) = aṭiṣa, to produce aṭiṭiṣa subsequent to the application 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣah. This same is also true of aṣiṣiṣati ‘... wishes to eat’, where iteration of 6.1.9 sanyāhoh is similarly regulated by provisions of this rule.

Note that deriving aririṣati still may pose some problem. For example, ariṣa of verbal root aririṣa, yet another derivate of saN, derives from r + saN, where r is replaced with its guna counterpart a followed immediately with r (ratara; 1.1.70 taparas tatkalasya). We then derive ar + iT + sa = ariṣa, where rule 7.2.74 smipūniṇirnājasām sani orders augment iT to yield ariṣa. Rule 1.1.59 dvirvacane’ci will create a problem in connection with focus of iteration. That
is, it will not allow \( r \) to be replaced with its guna counterpart \( ar \), and hence, \( r \) alone will be included as part of the focus of iteration.

It is argued that rule 1.1.59 dvirvacane’ci applies only when a vowel (aC) is to serve as a condition (nimitta) for iteration (dvitva). What forms the condition of iteration here is saN, and not the \( r \), or its replacement in \( ar \). Rule 6.1.9 sanyanoḥ orders this iteration with reference to a unit ending in saN. One may also argue here in favor of treating augment \( iT \) as part of condition of iteration. But this cannot be done because saN, and not the augment, is the condition for iteration. To this one can argue that, since \( iT \) is an augment (āgama), and hence, it is part of saN, \( iT \) can also be treated as a condition for iteration. For, What forms as part of saN can also be accepted as saN. But \( i \) will also be a part of \( Ḗs \), the operand (kāryin). A kāryin, while going through the application of a rule (kārya), cannot be treated as a condition for an operation ordered by that rule (Kāś.: na ca kāryi nimittatvenāśriyate; also see paribhāṣā (11): kāryam anubhavan hi kāryi na nimittatvenāśriyate). This is why the negation of guna or vrddhi, as per 1.1.5 kniti ca, does not apply on sayitā. For, sīN cannot be treated as nimitta for its own guna.

It is explained that a nimitta must follow, and as such, it should serve as a condition for an operation to take place on what precedes. Close to this context of iteration (dvirvacana), its nimitta must constitute a right condition (PM: yatra parato dvirvacanam ucyate tad eva tasya nimittam iti bhāvah). Augment \( iT \) here does not follow. It is included within the operand (kāryi), instead.

3. Note that Kāśikā accepts ajādeḥ as a bahuvrāhi compound ending in ṣaṣṭhi ‘genitive’. It thus serves as a qualifier to dhātoḥ and yields the interpretation: ajāder dhātor avayavasya dvitiyasyaikācā dve bhavataḥ ‘iteration in place of a unit formed by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel’. Kāśikā mentions that some also interpret ajādeḥ as a karmadhāraya compound (ac cāsau ādiś ca) used here with the pañcamī ‘ablative’. This, as has also been discussed by the Mahābhadṛṣya, yields the interpretation: ajāder uttarasya ekācā dve bhavataḥ ‘two in place of a unit constituted by a vowel occurring after an initial vowel’. The pañcamī of ajādeḥ, when interpreted in view of 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya, will automatically make the second vocalic unit as focus of iteration. This will then render dvitiyasya useless. Or else, dvitiyasya can then be accepted as used for clarity (Kāś.: teṣām ‘dvitiyasya’ iti vispaśīrtham draṣṭvāryam).

6.1.3 न न्या: संयोगदयः:

na nṛdh samyogādayah
/naṅ nṛdh 1/3 = naś ca daś ca raś ca (itar. dv.); samyogādayah 1/3 =
samyogasya ādayah (ṣaṣ. tat.)/
(ekācaḥ dve #1 dvitiyasya #2)
nākāra-dakāra-rephā dvitiyaikāco' vayavabhūtāh samyogādayo na dvi ucyante
The initial n, d and r of a consonant cluster which occurs as part of a syllable formed with the second vowel of a vowel-initial root is not iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

undīsīati ‘... wishes to make (it) wet’
adādīsīati ‘... wishes to press charges’
arciśāti ‘... wishes to worship’

1. This rule does not permit iteration of a unit which is formed with the second vowel of a root, and also contains a conjunct beginning with n, d, or r. Thus, undīsīati ‘... wishes to make (it) wet’ is derived from (undi + sa) + Ṭ, where n occurs as part of the conjunct nd, occurring as initial of ndi, a unit formed with the second vowel i of verbal root undi. This rule, for purposes of iteration, will not permit n as part of a unit constituted by i of undi. Consequently, we will get: undi + di + sa, where di alone is accepted as constituting the focus of iteration. Note that d cannot be excluded from becoming a part of the unit which forms the focus of iteration. For, d does not occur after an aC and is also not the initial of a conjunct. Note also that this rule is not formulated for blocking iteration. It only blocks, for purposes of iteration, the initial n, d, or r, of a conjunct from becoming part of a unit constituted by the second vowel. The twin conditions of samyogādi ‘initial of a conjunct’ and ajādi ‘that which begins with a vowel’ are both important. Consequently, this negation will not be applicable in deriving prānīsīati, where n of pra + an + iṬ + saN → prānīsa does not occur at the beginning of a conjunct. Though it does occur after a vowel. What goes through iteration is ṉis, a form constituted by the second vowel i, where n is also replaced with n (nātva). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Some also bring ajādeh from the previous rule and interpret it as a karmadhāraya (ac cāsau ādiś ca) compound ending in paṅcamī `ablative’. This blocks the n of indri from being included within the unit dri, formed by the second vowel i. For, in view of a paṅcamī interpretation, n will be occurring immediately after i, here characterized as ajādi. The iteration of d which occurs after n cannot be blocked since it does not occur immediately after i. Incidentally, indidrīyisati ‘... wishes to wish for Indra’ derives from indidrīyisa + Ṭ. Verbal root indidrīyisa itself derives from indrīya + saN, where indrīya is paraphrased as indram icchati, parallel to (indra + am) + KyaC. Deriving indidrīyisa, from indrīya + saN, involves introducing augment iṬ, deleting a of indrīya (6.4.48 ato lopah) and iteration of dri of indrīyisa. The n of the root cannot be accepted as part of ndrī, a unit formed by i, the second vowel of indrīyisa. For, n happens to occur immediately after i, a unit beginning with a vowel. Since d of dri is intervened by n, dri is treated as a unit fit for iteration. See the appendix for additional derivational details.
Note that a karmadhāraya interpretation of ajādeh is favored over a bahuvrihi so that a desired form such as indidṛiṣṭiṇi can be derived. The Mahābhāṣya discusses these interpretations both. Kāśikā seems to be favoring the bahuvrihi interpretation. Bhāṭṭoji Dikṣita (SK: ādibhūtād acaḥ pārasya dve na sthaḥ) prefers the karmadhāraya interpretation.

3. A series of vārttikas offer additional negations (pratīṣedha) relative to iteration:

(i) Iteration of a b occurring at the beginning of a conjunct must also be negated (bakārasyāpy ayam pratīṣedho vaktavyah). Thus, we get ubjijisati. This negation applies only when the root is specified as ubj, with b in its upadhā. It does not apply when the root is specified as uid, with d in its upadhā. But then its d must be replaced with b to derive forms such as ubjitā and ubjitum (cf.: bakārasya pratīṣedho vaktavyah. yadā bakāropadha ubjir upadīṣyate tadāyam pratīṣedah. dakāropadhopadeśe tu na vaktavyah. batvan tu tadā dakārasya vidhātavyam).

(ii) Iteration of a r which is followed by γ should not be stated (yakārasya rephasya pratīṣedho na bhavaṭiṇī vaktavyam). Thus, we get arāryate where iteration finds its scope in ary, derived from r+ yaN (cf. atyartīśūrnośīm upasamkhyānam) through guṇa (7.4.30 yaṇī ca). Note that r occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (rγ) which, in turn, occurs after a (ajādi). A negation of iteration which obtains here is blocked at the strength of this vārttika. Incidentally, the source of this vārttika is doubtful.

(iii) Iteration of the third of īrṣya should also be stated (īrṣyates trīṣyasya dve bhavata iti vaktavyam). But a question remains: iteration of the third of what? Some say of the third consonant (uvaṇjanasya). This would then yield an example such as: īrṣyijisati. But others state that iteration affects a unit formed with the third vowel (trīṣyasayikācaḥ). This would then yield īrṣyijisati, etc.

(iv) A vārttika recommends iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel when verbal roots listed in the kaṇvādi group are involved (kaṇvādinām trīṣyasayikācā dve bhavata iti vaktavyam). This will give us kaṇḍāyijisati and asūyijisati.

(v) Yet another vārttika allows iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel of a denominative, only optionally (vā nāmaḥtātunām trīṣyasayikācā dve bhavata iti vaktavyam). This will offer us: asūyijisati and asūṣyijisati.

(vi) Yet others claim that iteration applies as desired in connection with denominatives (yathēṣṭam nāmadhātusv iti vaktavyam). Thus observe: pūputrīṣyijisati, pūtiritṛiṣyijisati, pūtrīṣyijisati, pūputritṛiṣyijisati (*doubtful) and putrīṣyijisati.
6.1.4 पूर्वोःव्यासः:

\[\text{pūrva’ bhyāsaḥ} \]
\[/pūrvah 1/1 abhyāsaḥ 1/1/\]
\[\text{(dvē #1)}\]
\[\text{asmin prakarāṇe ye dvē vihitē tayor yah pūrvo’ vayavah so’ bhyāsasamjñō bhavati}\]

The first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed abhyāsa.

Examples:

\[\text{paśca ‘he cooked’}\]
\[\text{pūpaśati ‘. . . wishes to cook’?}\]
\[\text{pāpacayate ‘. . . cooks over and over again’?}\]
\[\text{juhoti ‘. . . offers ritual sacrifice’}\]
\[\text{apiṣacat ‘. . . had something cooked’}\]

1. The word abhyāsa is commonly used in the sense of āvṛtti ‘repetition’. As such, the first of the two units in iteration cannot be assigned the term abhyāsa. For, in this section of iteration, the term abhyāsa can apply only to the subsequent second (parasya). It is to make this term also applicable to the first of the two units in iteration that the word pūrva is specified (Nyāsa: abhyāsasābdo yam āvṛttivacano loke prasiddha eva. sa cāvṛtthī prathamaśya nāsīty abhyāsapradesṣu parasyagrahaṇe prāpte pūrvasya grahaṇam yathā syād ity evam artham tasyābhhyāsasamjñā vidhiyate’). This word is here used in the sense of avayava ‘part of a whole’ as we find in expressions such as pūrvam kāyasya paśoh ‘the front part of the body of an animal’. But we always refer to parts with reference to a whole which contains them. Since no specification of this whole is made in this rule we must carry the anuvṛtti of dvē. But a whole with reference to which pūrva can specify a part must be given in the genitive (ṣaṣṭhī) with the denotatum of avayavin ‘whole’. That is, as a ṣaṣṭhī marking the relationship understood by the genitive in vrksasya, as in vrksasya sākhā ‘branch of a tree’. The nominative of dvē cannot mark such a relationship.

Commentators state that the nominative of dvē will be transformed into genitive for availing this desired meaning (Nyāsa: arthād vibhaktiviparināma bhavati). That is, the genitive of dvayoh will enable us to interpret the rule as: dvayoh yah pūrvas tasyābhhyāsasamjñā vidhiyate ‘the term abhyāsa is applied to that which is first of the two’. If this is how we apply the term abhyāsa to the first of the two then this term can also apply in the domain of 8.1.1 sarvasya dvē. Commentators state that this can be blocked in view of close contextual proximity (pratyāsattī). That is, this term will be applicable only to that first which forms part of the two units brought about by applying an operational rule from this section dealing with iteration (Kāś.: tatra pratyāsatter asmin-prakarāṇe ye dvē vihitē tayor yah pūrvo’ vayavah so’ bhyāsasamjñō bhavati). Inci-
dentally, the maxim (nyāya) of vyāpti 'pervasion' will focus on instances of iteration. The maxim of pratyāsattv will limit the scope of operation on hand.

Is it necessary to state that pūrva denotes avayava here? Yes, because pūrva can also denote vyavasthā 'definite arrangement or position (east)'.

2. The scope and function of assigning the term abhyāsa can best be illustrated by provisions of rules such as 7.4.60 halādi śeṣah, 7.4.62 kukoś cuh, 7.4.83 dirgho kitah, 7.4.93 sanvallaghuni . . . , 7.4.94 dirgho laghoḥ, 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca, etc. Thus, 7.4.60 halādi śeṣah allows an abhyāsa to retain only that unit which is formed with its initial consonant. Consequently, in pac of pac + pac, where the first pac is termed an abhyāsa, only pa is retained. Rule 7.4.62 kukoś cuh orders that a velar stop and its corresponding nasal, as well as the h of an abhyāsa, be replaced with its palatal counterpart. Rule 7.4.83 dirgho kitah orders a long vowel as a replacement for the short of an abhyāsa, other than one marked with K as an it. Rule 7.4.93 sanvallaghuni . . . , under special circumstances, extends operations similar to a saN affix to the abhyāsa of an item termed anāg (1.4.13 yasmāt pratyayavīdhiḥ . . . ; 6.4.1 anāgasya). Our next rule orders a long vowel replacement for the laghu 'light' vowel of an abhyāsa in situations similar to that of the preceding rule. A replacement denoted by the abbreviatory term caR, and jaŚ as well, is ordered by 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca for sounds denoted by jhal, and contained within an abhyāsa.

6.1.5 उभे अभ्यस्तम्

ubhe abhyastam
/ubhe 1/2 abhyastam 1/1/
(dve #1)
ye dve vihite te ubhe api samudite abhyastasamjñe bhavataḥ
The two thus obtained via iteration are together termed abhyasta.

EXAMPLES:

dadati 'third plural active LAT of dā (to give)'
dadat 'nominative singular of dā ending in ŚatR'
dadhatu 'third plural active LOT of dhā (to place, hold)'

1. Jīnendrabuddhi states that ubhe is specified so that the nominatum (samjñim) of the term abhyasta could be clearly specified (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: iha ubhegraṇaṇam samjñinirdeśārthaṁ kriyate). Haradatta strongly objects to this interpretation. He states that bringing dve, via anuvṛtti, itself specifies the nominatum (PM: . . . na tu samjñānirdeśārham. dve ity asyānuvṛtyaiva samjñi
nirdeśasya siddhatvād ity arthāḥ). But a question still remains. Why make a specification by ubhe when its purpose can be served by carrying the anuvṛtti of dve? A specification by ubhe becomes necessary since, in its absence, the term abhyasta will be assigned to the two constituents of iteration individually. Although a term applying to the two constituents singly, may still be
treated as applying to them also as a group, such a practice is not desired. That is, this term assignment can not be likened to a situation where the action of bringing two people individually in response to dvāv āniyetām 'let the two be brought’ may also be interpreted as bringing them both at once. The word ubhe is used in this rule so that abhyasta could not be assigned to constituents of iteration individually. This term is assigned, instead, to the two constituents both at once. This is what a specification by ubhe accomplishes (Nyāsa: yad ubhegrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta tadā pratyekam abhyastasamjñā pravartate. pratyekam api hi tayoḥ pravartamānāsau pravṛttaiṇa bhavati tathā hi dvāv āniyetām ity ukte pratyekam api anayanena tāv āṇitaubh bhavataḥ. tasmat samudāye samjñāyāḥ pravṛttir yathā syād ekaikasya mā bhūd ity evam artham ubhe grahaṇam).

6.1.6 जङ्क्षित्वाद्यः षट्ट

jakṣa ityādayah ṣaṭ

/jakṣa (1/1 deleted) ityādayah = ity ādhī yeṣām (bu.); ṣaṭ 1/1/ (abhyastam #5)

jakṣa ity ayam dhātur ity ādayaś ca ṣaṭ dhātavo' bhyastasamjñā bhavanti. seyam saptānāṃ dhātūnām abhyastasamjñā vidhiyate

Verbal root jakṣA ‘to eat, laugh’, and an additional six roots enumerated thereafter, are also termed abhyasta.

Examples:

jakṣati ‘they eat’
jaṅgrati ‘they are awake’
daridrati ‘they are poor’
cakāsati ‘they glow’
sāsati ‘they instruct’
(These examples are all third personal plural derivates of present indicative active)

1. The expression jakṣityādayah ‘jakṣA and roots enumerated thereafter’ refers to seven verbs, namely jakṣA ‘to eat, laugh’, jaṅgr ‘loss of sleep, to remain awake’, daridrā ‘state of things going bad, be poor,’ cakāsaR ‘to glow’, sāsR ‘to instruct’, dūhilN ‘to glow’ and veviN ‘to move’. Assigning the term abhyasta serves diverse purposes. For example, an item termed abhyasta is marked udāta at the beginning (6.1.189 abhyastānāṃ ādih). It also ends up losing its ā when followed by a sārvadhātuka affix marked with K and N (6.4.112 śnābhystaṭor ātaḥ). It can also prove instrumental in blocking augment nUM (7.1.78 nābhystāc chatuḥ). More directly, it is to enable the assignment of the term abhyasta that these roots are explicitly cited. This rule thus facilitates the application of rule 7.1.4 ad abhyastāt. Refer to derivational details under examples of relevant rules.
Our preceding rule assigns the term *abhaya* to both elements of an iterated string. This rule assigns the term to specific roots which have not gone through iteration. Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

6.1.7 तुजादिनां दीर्घोभ्यास्य
tujādīnāṃ dīṛgho' bhyaśasya
/tujādīnāṃ 6/3 = tuja ādir yesāṃ (bv);
dīṛghaḥ 1/1 abhyaśasya 6/1/
tujādīnāṃ abhyaśasya dīṛghaḥ sādhur bhavati
A long (dīṛgha) comes in place of the abhyaśa of tuja and other roots of its kind.

Examples:

tūtūjāname 'quick, eager'
'nominative singular of tuj + (LIṬ→KānaC) = tūtūjana'
māmahāna
'nominative singular of maha + (LIṬ→KānaC) = māmahāna'
gṇādvān dādhārā
dādhārā 'third singular of dhr + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL)'
sugādhām māmāya
'third singular of mi + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL) = māmāya'
. . . tutojā 'third singular of tu + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL)'
tutojā . . . 'a form of classical usage'

1. The word ādi is here used in the sense of prakāra 'kind'. That is, a vyavastha 'fixed' meaning of ādi will refer to roots which are found in sūtras and in different groups of verbal listings. It is, therefore, desired that ādi be interpreted as meaning prakāra 'kind, like'. Consequently, tujādi will here refer to roots of the kind of tuj where its abhyaśa is not subjected to lengthening (dīṛgha) by any specific rule application (na vihitāḥ) but is seen in usage (drṣyate). Such seen-in-usage lengthening is accepted as correct (sādhuh). Thus, consider tūtūjānānaḥ which derives from tuj + LIṬ→ (tutuj + (LIṬ→KānaC)) = tutuj + āna where no rule replaces the u of the first tu with its long counterpart. Our present rule considers this replacement valid based upon usage. It does not order the replacement. Incidentally, one must also infer LIṬ from the abhyaśa specification of this rule. For, that is where iteration and assignment of the term abhyaśa is possible. Incidentally, a long vowel in the Vedic forms of these roots in seen only when some particular affix follows (Kāś.: dīṛghaḥ caisāṃ chandasi pratyayaviśe eva drṣyate, tato'nyatra na bhavati). Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

Nyāsa indicates that this rule is unnecessary. That is, all examples are Vedic and hence, 3.1.85 vyatyayo bahulam can account for its provision. A
vyatayya, other than that of a sUP, can thus be accepted as an expatiation (prapañca) of 3.1.85 vyatayyo bahulam.

6.1.8 लिटि धातोर्नभासयस्य

\textit{liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya}
\textit{/liṭi 7/1 dhāṭoh 6/1 anabhyāsasya (naṅ tat.) 6/1/}
\textit{(ekāco due prathamasya #1 ajāder dvitiyasya #2)}
\textit{liṭi parato anabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco}
\textit{dvitiyasya vā yathāyogam due bhavataḥ}

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided affix \textit{LIṬ} follows.

Examples:

\textit{papāca} 'third singular active LIṬ of \textit{paĉ}'
\textit{papātha} 'third singular active LIṬ of \textit{paṭh}'
\textit{prornunāva} 'third singular active LIṬ of \textit{pra-ūrnu} (to cover)''

1. This rule offers iteration of a unit of root constituted by its first vowel, or its second if the root begins with a vowel and, of course, when affix \textit{LIṬ} follows. This iteration is allowed only when the unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a root has not gone through iteration previously. Consider \textit{papāca} which derives from \textit{pac} + (\textit{LIṬ→tiP}) = \textit{pac} + (\textit{tiP→NaL}) = \textit{pac} + a→\textit{pac} + \textit{pac} + a→\textit{pa(c→p)} + \textit{pac} + a→\textit{pa} + p(a→ā) e + a = papāca, where \textit{LIṬ} is replaced with \textit{NaL}, via \textit{tiP}, and iteration with the assignment of the term \textit{abhyās}a to first \textit{pac} yields \textit{papac}, through \textit{halādiṣeṣa} 'retention of a unit of \textit{abhyās}a constituted by its initial consonant'. A replacement in \textit{vrddhi} for the penultimate vowel of \textit{papac} + a finally yields \textit{papāca}. This same also is followed in deriving \textit{papātha}. Deriving \textit{prornunāva} from \textit{pra} + \textit{ūrnu} + (\textit{LIṬ→tiP}) = \textit{pra} + \textit{ūrnu} + (\textit{tiP→NaL}) = \textit{pra} + \textit{ūrnu} + \textit{nu} + a involves iteration of the second syllable of the root, i.e., \textit{nu} (6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasa). The \textit{nu} of \textit{ūrnu} is here treated as \textit{nu} (cf. \textit{vaṣya ūrṇor nuvadbhāvaḥ}). This \textit{nuvadhāva} blocks introduction of affix \textit{ām} (3.1.36 \textit{ijādēs ca . . .}). Note that iteration cannot apply to \textit{u} since the root begins with a vowel. It cannot apply to \textit{r} since 6.1.3 \textit{nṛdrāh samyogādayah} will block it. The \textit{u} + \textit{a} sequence of \textit{pra} + \textit{ūrnu} is replaced with a single \textit{guṇa} vowel \textit{o} (6.1.87 \textit{ād guṇah}), yielding \textit{pror} + \textit{nu} + a. We will arrive at the string \textit{pror} + \textit{nu} + \textit{nu} + a after iteration, where the \textit{u} of the second \textit{nu} will be replaced with \textit{āu} (6.1.78 \textit{eco yavāyāvaḥ}) via its \textit{vrddhi} counterpart \textit{au} (7.2.115 \textit{aco' ṇniti}). Incidentally, a form such as *\textit{prornuvāncaṅkāra} cannot be derived here because affix \textit{ām} (3.1.37 \textit{ijādēs ca gurumato' nṛcchāḥ}) is negated in this context of \textit{ūrnu} (cf. \textit{vṛt. ārnotēs ca pratiṣedho vaktavayah}).

Why can we not apply 7.2.115 \textit{aco' ṇniti} to replace the \textit{u} of \textit{nu} of \textit{pror} + \textit{nu} before \textit{NaL}? Rule 1.1.59 \textit{dvirvacane'ci} will block this vocalic replacement.
Thus, a replacement in \( \text{vṛddhi} \) will apply to the \( u \) of the second \( nu \) of \( \text{pror} + nu + nu \). Now the question. How could this \( \text{vṛddhi} \) apply on the second \( nu \) when it is not an \( \text{aṅga} \) ending in a vowel? This \( nu \) comes from iteration and hence is not the \( nu \) after which \( \text{NaL} \) was introduced (1.4.13 \( \text{yasmāt pra-} \) 
\( \text{tyayavidhis} \ldots \)). Commentators accept \( \text{dvirucana} \) as \( \text{dviprayoga} \) 'repetition'. It is not accepted as \( \text{sthāne dvirucana} \) 'two utterances in place of one'. That is, the same \( nu \) after which \( \text{NaL} \) was introduced is repeated.

Yet another question. Why \( \text{vṛddhi} \)? Why not \( \text{guna} \) of 7.3.84 \( \text{sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh} \)? An application of \( \text{vṛddhi} \) will be favored since \( \text{NaL} \) is marked with \( \text{N} \) as an \( \text{it} \). This will block \( \text{guna} \) on the basis of \( \text{ṣighropasthitikāntaraṅgatva} \) 'immediately available internal conditioning' and \( \text{alpāpekṣatva} \) 'minimum dependency'. This same conflict will appear in \( \text{papāca} \) and \( \text{papātha} \) where \( \text{vṛddhi} \) will obtain from 7.2.116 \( \text{ata upadhāyāh} \). Rule 1.1.59 \( \text{dvirucane} \) 'ci will again block \( \text{ajādea} \) 'vocalic replacement', i.e., \( \text{vṛddhi} \). This kind of interaction between 7.2.115 \( \text{aco} \) \( \text{ñni} \) \( \text{ti} \) and 7.3.84 \( \text{sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh} \) will appear everywhere in connection with derivates of \( \text{LIT} \).

2. Why do we have to state 'when \( \text{LIT} \) follows'? So that given \( kṛ + \text{LUT} \) and \( hṛ + \text{LUT} \), from which one derives \( \text{kartā} \) and \( \text{hartā} \), we do not end up applying iteration. Why is iteration restricted to apply only to a root (\( \text{dhātu} \))? Consider \( \text{sonam īndrāya sunvire} \) where \( \text{sunvire} \) is a derivate of verbal root \( \text{ṣuN} \) 'to press out juice' used with \( \text{LIT} \). The final form of \( \text{sunvire} \) is derived with augment \( \text{Śnu} \). Iteration is blocked here since a root such as \( \text{ṣu} \), when used with \( \text{Śnu} \), is not accepted as a root (\( \text{dhātu} \)). Iteration will here be blocked because of interruption (\( \text{vyavadhāna} \)) caused by the augment (\( \text{vikaraṇa} \)). One may also invoke \( \text{chandasi bahulam} \) 'variously in the Vedic' (see \( \text{Nyāsa} \)) to block this iteration. The restriction that only a root not gone through iteration should go through iteration before \( \text{LIT} \) is also important. For, \( \text{nonū + LIT} \) where \( \text{nonū} \) derives from \( n(u→ο) + n(n→u) + (yāN→LUK) \) with affixal denotatum of repeated action (\( \text{paunahpunya} \)), will not qualify. Incidentally, \( yāN \) is deleted by 2.4.74 \( \text{guna yān luki} \). Our final derivate \( \text{nonāva} \) also entails \( tIp→NaL \) where, given \( \text{nonū + a} \), \( u \) is replaced with \( āu \) via its \( \text{vṛddhi} \) counterpart \( au \). Recall that iteration has already been accomplished in deriving \( \text{nonū} \). Since the root has already gone through assignment of the term \( \text{abhyāsa} \), iteration again cannot be allowed in \( \text{nonū + LIT} \).

3. The following \( \text{kārikā} \) verse has consequences for derivate of this rule:

\[ \text{nākurājāv anusvārakaṇcamau jhali dhātusu/} \]
\[ \text{sakurājai sahāraś ca rasāt taśvarah tavergajah//} \]
‘anusvāra and nasals which occur in a root before a sound denoted by \( jhal \) are understood as having their origin in \( n \).

A palatal \( ĕ \) before \( c \) is to be understood as having its origin in a dental \( s \). A retroflex stop of the \( t \)series which occurs after \( r \) and \( ĕ \) should be accepted as having its origin in the stop of the dental \( t \)series.’
Note that the iteration of \textit{nu} of \textit{urnu}, especially after its impaired association with \textit{r} results in \textit{n} replaced with \textit{n}, can be accomplished with the help of this \textit{kārikā}. One thus does not have to resort to a statement such as \textit{vāca yuṇor nuvadhāvah}.

4. A \textit{vārttika} proposal under this rule makes iteration optional in case of the Vedic usage (\textit{dvirvacanaparakarane chandasi veta vaktavyam}). Thus, we get examples such as \textit{jāgāra/jajāgāra; dāti/dadāti; dātu/dadātu, etc.}

6.1.9 सन्यानोऽ\

\begin{verbatim}
/ sanyanoḥ
(ekāco dvē prathamasya #1 ajāder dvitiyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8)
sanantasya yaṁantasya cānaabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya
prathamasyaikāco dvitiyasya va yathāyogam dvē bhavataḥ
\end{verbatim}

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided the root ends in affixes \textit{saN} and \textit{yaN}.

\textbf{Examples:}

- \textit{tipakaśati} ‘third singular active present of \textit{pac + saN = tipakaśa}’
- \textit{tipatasi} ‘third singular active present of \textit{pat + saN}’
- \textit{aririṣati} ‘third singular active present of \textit{r + saN = aririṣa}’
- \textit{undidiṣati} ‘third singular active present of \textit{undi + saN = undidiṣa}’
- \textit{pāpacayate} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{pac + yaN = pāpacaya}’
- \textit{aṭāṭyaṭe} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{aṭ + yaN = aṭāṭya}’
- \textit{yāyajyate} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{yaj + yaN = yāyajya}’
- \textit{arāryate} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{r + yaN = arārya}’
- \textit{prononustryate} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{prononuyya}’
- \textit{lōlūysiṣate} ‘third singular present middle of \textit{lūN + yaN = lōlūya}’

1. This rule orders iteration again of a non-\textit{abhyāsa} unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a verbal root, provided the same ends in affixes \textit{saN} and \textit{yaN}. Our earlier rules orders iteration for a root which occurs before \textit{LIṬ} and has not gone through iteration. The word \textit{sanyanoḥ} is genitive (\textit{saṣṭhi}) dual (\textit{dvivacana}). The \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{dhātor anabhyāsasya} is still valid. Consequently, the non-\textit{abhyāsa} unit which is here required to go through iteration must be part (\textit{aveyava}) of a root which has not gone through iteration. Additionally, the root must also end in affixes \textit{saN} and \textit{yaN}. Needless to say that units formed by the first or second vowel of a root will form the focus of iteration.

2. Note that \textit{sanyanoḥ} is interpreted as ending in genitive (\textit{saṣṭhi}), and not in the locative (\textit{saptami}). This, in consonance with \textit{pratyayagrahane}
6.1.9  

Adhyāya Six: Pāda One

tadantagrahaṇaṃ (Paribh. 24) yields the interpretation ‘... the root which ends in affixes saN and yaN’. A locative interpretation will yield the following meaning: ‘... the root when affixes saN and yaN follow’. Clearly then the locative interpretation will permit iteration, for example, in at + sa(N→ϕ) = at + sa. The result will be a wrong string: *at + at + sa. Our correct string should be ati + at + sa which results from iteration of a unit formed with the second vowel of the root. For, verbal root at begins with a vowel. This second vowel of the root is gotten from introduction of augment iT (iḍāgama). We thus get at + saN→at + i + sa→ati + ti + sa. If one accepts the locative interpretation then the base, i.e., at, will form the focus of iteration under the condition of following suffixes, i.e., saN and yaN. Consequently, augment iT, because it will then be intervened by affix saN, cannot be part of iteration (PM ad Kāś: saṁtāmikṣe tu sanyāṇoḥ parataḥ pūrvasya dhātora dvirvacanam bhavaty ity ayaṁ arthaḥ syāt, tataḥ ca sanbhaktasyeṣo dvirvacanam na syāt ...). Iteration will be blocked here since augment iT, the second vowel before saN, will no longer be available. The i of iT will become a part of saN, the affix which follows. Besides, a locative interpretation will create problems in cases where affixal deletion, for example deletion of yaN, has taken effect. Iteration in such instances will then apply to an aṅga before the affix which has gone through deletion. One cannot here invoke pratyayalakṣaṇa ‘characteristic affixal operations take place even when the affix is deleted (1.1.62 pratyayalopa pratyayalakṣaṇam)’ since 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya will block it. Invoking pratyayalakṣaṇa in case of a genitive interpretation to introduce iT to a base which has lost its yaN does not create any problem. For, that base, through pratyayalakṣaṇa, will still have yaN as its final part. Refer to the Tattvabodhini ad SK for further details.

3. Note that iteration involves two formal possibilities as foci: (a) a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base, or (b) a formal unit constituted by the second vowel of the base. This context of iteration also involves two affixes saN and yaN. Shall we then establish some kind of yathāṣaṁkhya ‘assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration of equal number of elements in two sets (1.3.10 yathāṣaṁkhya anudeaḥ samānām)?’. Should we say that a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base is iterated when affix saNis involved; and a formal unit constituted by the second vowel is iterated when affix yaN is involved? Since such an interpretation will yield many wrong derivations, especially in examples where affix yaN is involved, the idea of yathāṣaṁkhya must be abandoned. For, accepting yathāṣaṁkhya will block introduction of augment niK to vaṅcU, etc. (7.4.84 nīgaṇcūram śudhvamsūḥṣubhrāmsu ... ) when a deleted yaN follows (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: yadi hy atra yatthāṣaṁkhya abhipretaḥ syāt tadā ‘nīgaṇcū’ ityādānā ‘vaṅcūprabhrīnāṁ abhyāsasya yāṅkuko nīgaṇcamāvīdhānam nopapadyate).

Refer to the appendix for derivalional details of examples.
6.1.10 रूपी

\[\text{ sla }\] 
/\text{ sla } 7/1/ 
(ek\=aco dove prathamasya \#1 aj\=ader dvitiyasya \#2 dh\=ator anabhy\=asasya \#8) 
\text{ sla paratayo' nabhy\=asasya dh\=ator avayavasya prathamasyaik\=aco dvitiyasya } 
v\=a yath\=ayoga\=m dove bhavatah 

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed 
with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become 
two if not already iterated, provided \(\text{SLU}\) follows the root.

**Examples:**

\text{juhoti} ‘third singular active present of \text{hu} (to call)’
\text{bibheti} ‘third singular active present of \text{\=NIt\=hi} (to fear)’
\text{jihreti} ‘third singular active present of \text{\=hri\=N} (to be shy)’

1. This rule allows iteration of a unit formed with the first or second 
vowel of a root when \(\text{SLU}\) follows. Recall that roots such as \text{hu} ‘to call’, \text{\=NIt\=hi} ‘to fear’ and \text{\=hri\=N} ‘to blush’ are classed in the \text{juhoty\=adi} group. As such, \(\text{SLU}\) 
comes in place of \(\text{SaP}\) which follows these roots (2.4.75 \text{juhoty\=adihyah} \text{\=sluh}). 
But how can \(\text{SLU}\) form a right condition for iteration when it has gone 
through non-appearance (\text{adar\=sana}). How could \(\text{SaP}\) which has gone through 
non-appearance (\text{adar\=sana}) be still made to reappear and follow? It is possible 
via \text{upac\=ara} ‘assumed application’ which will enable a replacement (\text{\=ade\=sa}), 
in our present context \(\text{SLU}\), to be acceptable as the item it replaced (\text{sth\=anin}), 
i.e., \(\text{SaP}, \text{SLU}\) can thus form the right condition of iteration by way of \(\text{SaP}\) it 
replaced (Ny\=asa ad K\=\=asa: \text{sth\=anin\=a} \text{parav\=at\=i tasy\=api taddv\=are\=na pauru\=\=paryam} 
aupac\=ar\=ikan g\=\=hit\=vaiva yuk\=tam ukt\=am ity ado\=sa\=hi). Refer to the appendix for 
derivational details of examples.

6.1.11 चक्रि

\[\text{ c\=ani }\] 
/\text{ c\=ani } 7/1/ 
(ek\=aco dove prathamasya \#1 aj\=ader dvitiyasya \#2 dh\=ator anabhy\=asasya \#8) 
\text{ c\=ani paratayo' nabhy\=asasya dh\=ator avayavasya prathamasyaik\=aco dvitiyasya } 
v\=a yath\=ayoga\=m dove bhavatah 

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed 
with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become 
two if not already iterated, provided \(\text{CaN}\) follows the root.

**Examples:**

\text{ap\=ipacat} ‘third singular active \(\text{LU\=N}\) of \text{\=p\=a\=ca}’
\text{ap\=ipat\=hat} ‘third singular active \(\text{LU\=N}\) of \text{\=p\=a\=th\=i}’
\text{\=a\=\=t\=i\=t\=at} ‘third singular active \(\text{LU\=N}\) of \text{\=\=a\=mi}’
āśisat... of āśī
āṛdidat... of ārdī

1. This rule orders iteration when CaN follows. Consider the derivation of \textit{aśipacat}, a derivate of \textit{LUH} introduced after verbal root \textit{pac} used with \textit{NiC}. Thus we get: \textit{pac} + \textit{NiC} = \textit{pāc} + i = \textit{pāci} where affix \textit{NiC} is introduced after verbal root \textit{pac} by 3.1.26 \textit{hetumati ca}. The long replacement (\textit{dirgha}) for the short \textit{a} of \textit{pac} is accomplished by 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhāyāḥ}. Affix \textit{LUH} can now be introduced after a newly derived verbal root \textit{pāci} (3.1.23 \textit{sanādyantā dhātavaḥ}). A subsequent introduction of augment \textit{aT} will yield \textit{aT} + \textit{pāc} + i + \textit{LUH} → \textit{a} + \textit{pāc} + i + \textit{LUH} → \textit{a} + \textit{pāc} + i + \textit{CLI} + \textit{LUH} → \textit{a} + \textit{pāc} + i + \textit{CLI} → \textit{CaN} + \textit{LUH} = \textit{a} + \textit{pāc} + i + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}, where \textit{CLI} is introduced after \textit{pāci} (3.1.43 \textit{cli luṇī}) when \textit{LUH} follows. This \textit{CLI} is then replaced with \textit{CaN} (3.1.48 \textit{nīśridrmbyah kartari ca}) under the right condition of \textit{LUH} with the denotatum of \textit{kartṛ ‘agent’}. Iteration now becomes applicable under the provision of this rule. However, deletion of the causal affix \textit{i} (\textit{NiC}; \textit{nilopa}) is also available under the provision of rule 6.4.51 \textit{ner anitī}. Both these operations are obligatory (\textit{nītya}). The deletion of \textit{NiC} will apply even when iteration does not apply. Iteration itself will apply even when deletion of \textit{NiC} does not apply. We find a conflict of equal strength between these two operations, especially since their obligatory nature is established based upon \textit{kṛtā-kṛtaprasānga}, a context where two operations come into conflict such that performing or not performing one against the other does not alter their obligatory status.

Deletion of \textit{NiC}, since it is to be accomplished by a rule subsequent in order (\textit{para}), will take precedence. Thus we get: \textit{a} + \textit{pāc} + (i→\phi) + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}. What follows now is shortening of the penultimate vowel (\textit{upadhāhrasva}; 7.4.1 \textit{nau cañi upadhāyāḥ hrasvoḥ} ā in \textit{pāc}, yielding \textit{a} + \textit{p}(\textit{ā}→\textit{a}) + \textit{φ} + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}. An application of our present rule for iteration and a subsequent application of 7.4.60 \textit{halādi śesāḥ} will produce: \textit{a} + \textit{pac} + \textit{pac} + \textit{φ} + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}→ \textit{a} + \textit{pa}(\textit{c}→\textit{φ}) + \textit{pac} + \textit{φ} + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}. Nyāsa ad Kāśī reminds that \textit{upadhāhrasva} and \textit{dvīrvacana} are both obligatorily available again, based upon the same notion of \textit{kṛtā-kṛtaprasānga}. Here again the decision is made on the basis of \textit{paratva ‘subsequent order of a rule in conflict’}. Rule 7.4.79 \textit{sany atāḥ} will replace the \textit{a} of \textit{pa} with \textit{i} (\textit{sitva}). The short \textit{i} will then be replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.94 \textit{dirgho laghoḥ}. We thus get: \textit{a} + \textit{p}(\textit{a}→\textit{i}) + \textit{pac} + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}→ \textit{a} + \textit{p}(\textit{i}→\textit{i}) + \textit{pac} + \textit{a} + \textit{LUH}.

2. Kāśīkā recommends that operations on \textit{pac}, etc., when ending in \textit{NiC}, and subsequent to when \textit{CLI} is replaced with \textit{CaN}, should be performed in the order of (i) \textit{nilopa ‘deletion of NiC}, (ii) \textit{upadhāhrasva ‘shortening of the penultimate vowel’} and (iii) \textit{dvīrvacana ‘iteration’} (‘pacādinām nyantānām caṇikṛte nilopa upadhāhrasvatvaṃ dvīrvacanam’ ity esām kāryāṇām pravṛtti-kramaḥ). Such a recommendation is made in view of the application of rule 7.4.93 \textit{sanvallaghuni caṇpāre} ‘naglope, whereby \textit{sanvaddhāva ‘operation simi-
lar to when saN follows’ applies. This extensional application will be available to an abhyāsa, in our present case pa of a + pa + pac + φ + a + LUH, provided NiC, followed by CaN, follows, and deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aK has not occurred in the anga. The abhyāsa unit is also constrained by this extensional operation. That is, it should be followed by a light (laghu) vowel. The a of pa in a + pa + pac + a + LUH is the required light vowel which follows pa. Rule 7.4.79 sany ataḥ thus orders a replaced with i which, in turn, is replaced with ī by 7.4.94 dīrgho lagho. Now the question? A treatment as if saN followed (sanvadbhāva) allows operations such as itva and dīrgha (a→i→ī). The itva is made with the understanding that a of pa is laghu ‘light’. But why, through sthānivadbhāva (1.1.56 sthānivad ādeso’ natvidhau), this a cannot be treated as the long ā which it replaced. It has been established under the provisions of rule. 1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidihaU that such a sthānivadbhāva is permitted only relative to an operand which occurs before a non-replacement (anādiśta) vowel (Kāś.: yo hy anādiśtaU acaḥ pūrvas tasya vidhiṃ prati sthānivadbhāvo bhavati). If a of pa is considered as if it was ā which it replaced then sanvadbhāva will be blocked. That is, the pa of a + pa + pac + a + LUH cannot yield ī through itva and dīrgha. A dvirvacana ‘iteration’ performed before upadhaḥrasva will allow sthānivadbhāva and will thus block sanvadbhāva which facilitates operations such as itva and dīrgha. One must follow this order of application to facilitate sanvadbhāva. That is, iteration follows penultimate shortening (upadhaḥhrasva). Similar problems will be encountered in deriving ātitat if this particular operational order is not followed. Refer to the appendix for derivative details of examples.

6.1.12 दास्वानसहवान्धीवाणः

dāsvān sāhvān miḍhvāṁś ca
/dāsvān 1/1/ sāhvān 1/1/ miḍhvān 1/1 ca φ/
dāsvān, sāhvān, miḍhvān ity ete śabdāś chandasi bhāṣāyāṁ cāviśeṣeṇa nipātyante

Forms such as dāsvān, sāhvān and miḍhvān are derived via nipātana.

EXAMPLES:

dāsvān ‘generous’
sāhvān balaḥakah ‘victorious cloud’
miḍhvās tokāya ‘generous for offsprings’

1. Forms such as dāsvān, sāhvān and miḍhvān are all derived in the Vedic, as well as in the Classical usage, via nipātana. Our first example dāsvān is derived by introducing affix LIṬ after verbal root dāśR ‘to give’. Affix LIṬ is here replaced with KvasU (3.2.107 kvasuś ca) Rule 6.1.8 liṭi dhātor... is blocked from accomplishing iteration by nipātana. This same nipātana is
also responsible for blocking introduction of augment \( iT \) (7.2.67 \textit{vasve-kājād} . . .). Additional operations follow the pattern of \textit{citarvān}. Deriving \textit{sāhvān} also involves \textit{KvasU}, followed by lack of iteration and \( iT \), again via \textit{nīpātana}. In addition, \textit{parasmaipada}, as against the required \textit{ātmanepada} after \textit{śah} ‘to endure, be angry’ and lengthening of the penultimate \textit{a} of the root, are both accomplished via \textit{nīpātana}. Deriving \textit{mīdhvān} from \textit{mih} + \textit{KvasU} involves similar lack of operations via \textit{nīpātana}. The lengthening of the short \( i \) of the root, and the \( dh \)-replacement for \( h \) is also accomplished via \textit{nīpātana}.

2. Following \textit{vārtti}ka proposals have also been made under this rule:

(i) Verbal roots \( krN \), etc., go through iteration when affix \( Ka \) follows. We thus get \textit{cakram} and \textit{ciklidam} where affix \( Ka \) is introduced with the significations of \textit{ghaṇ} (cf. (ut.): \textit{ghaṇarthe kavidhānam}). A sequence \( kr + a \) yields \textit{kar} + \( kr + a \), through iteration and the application of 7.4.66 \textit{ur at}. An application of 7.4.60 \textit{halādi ṣeṣah} will then produced \textit{ka} + \( kr + a \). The \( k \) of \textit{ka} is replaced with \( c \) by 7.4.62 \textit{kuhoś cuh}. An application of \textit{yaN} on \( \gamma \) will produce \textit{cak}(\( \gamma \rightarrow \gamma \)) + \( a = cakra \).

Note that a replacement in \( yaN \) cannot be accomplished before iteration. For, 1.1.59 \textit{dvirvacanē ci} will block it. A derivate of \textit{klid}, i.e., \textit{cikliō}, is similarly derived;

(ii) Verbal roots \textit{carl}, \textit{call}, \textit{patl} and \textit{vadl} go through iteration before affix \( aC \). The \textit{abhyāsa} of these verbal roots also gets augment \( āK \). The application of 7.4.60 \textit{halādi ṣeṣah} is then blocked since introducing augment \( āK \) and applying 7.4.60 \textit{halādi ṣeṣah} removes the difference between the replacement and augment. Affix \( aC \) is introduced with the denotatum of \textit{kartr} of 3.1.134 \textit{nandigrahipacādy} . . . A string such as \textit{car} + \( a \) will yield \textit{car} + \( ā + car + a = carācara \), through iteration and introduction of augment \( ā \) to the \textit{abhyāsa}. Note that specifying the augment with long \( ā \) blocks shortening and 7.4.60 \textit{halādi ṣeṣah}. This same applies to other examples such as \textit{calcālaḥ}, \textit{patāpataḥ} and \textit{vadāvadaḥ};

(iii) These preceding derivatives are also made optional through yet another \textit{vārtti}ka proposal. That is, an absence of iteration, etc., will produce \textit{caraḥ} ‘goer’, \textit{calah}, \textit{patah} and \textit{vadah} (\textit{veti vaktavyam});

(iv) A \textit{vārtti}ka proposal is also made to derive \textit{ghanāghanah} with the introduction of affix \( aC \) after verbal root \textit{han} ‘to kill’. This \textit{vārtti}ka especially provides for a \( gh \)-replacement for \( h \) of the \textit{abhyāsa}. The following \( h \) is replaced with \( gh \) by 7.3.55 \textit{abhyāsāc ca}. Thus, \textit{han} + \( han + a \rightarrow han + ā(K) + han + a \rightarrow (h\rightarrow gh) an + ā + han + a \rightarrow ghan + ā + (h\rightarrow gh) an + a = ghanāghanah}, through iteration and introduction of augment \( āK \);

(v) A derivate of causal verbal root \textit{pāt} is derived as \textit{pātūpatah} by introducing affix \( aC \). Deletion of \( Ni \) and iteration, followed by augment \( āK \) introduced to the \textit{abhyāsa} and a subsequent lengthening, will
produce the desired derivate. Thus, \( \text{paṭ} + \text{ū} + \text{paṭ} + \text{a} \rightarrow \text{pāṭ} + \text{ū} + \text{paṭ} + \text{a} \) = \( \text{pāṭuṭa} \) (vt. paṭer niluk cok ca dîrghaś cābhyāsasya).

6.1.13 यष्ठः: सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्वुष्टे

\( \text{sjāṇah samprasarānam putrapatiyōs tatpuruse} \)

\( \text{/sjāṇah 6/1 samprasarānam 1/1 putrapatiyōḥ = putraś ca patiś ca = putrapati (itar. dv.), tayoḥ, tatpuruse 7/1/} \)

‘putra, pati’ity etayor uttarapadyos tatpuruse samāse sjāṇah samprasarānam bhavati

\( \text{ŚyāN} \) goes through samprasarāna when putra and pati follow in a tatpuruṣa compound.

**Examples:**

\( \text{kāriṣagandhiputraḥ} \)

‘son of Kāriṣagandhyā, a woman who smells like dried cowdung’

\( \text{kāriṣagandhipatiḥ} \) ‘husband of Kāriṣagandhyā . . .’

\( \text{kaumudagandhiputraḥ} \)

‘son of a woman who smells like water-lily’

\( \text{kaumudagandhipatiḥ} \) ‘husband of a woman . . .’

1. Note that the **anuvṛtti** of samprasarāna carries over through 6.1.44 vibhāṣa pareh.

2. This rule orders samprasarāna (1.1.45 ig yāṇah samprasarānam ‘a sound denoted by iK comes in place of a corresponding sound denoted by yaN’) for ŚyāN in a tatpuruṣa compound formed with putra and pati as following (final) constituents. Let us consider kāriṣagandhiputraḥ which is a genitive tatpuruṣa compound paraphrased as: kāriṣagandhyāḥ putraḥ. The first constituent of this compound, i.e., kāriṣagandhyāḥ, is a derivative of the feminine affix CāP (4.1.74 yāṇaś cāp) introduced after kāriṣagandhyāḥ, ending in ŚyāN, itself a replacement for the aN introduced after kāriṣagandhi + ūnas. The word kāriṣagandhi derives from kariṣa + sūṇ gandha + sūṇ, parallel to kariṣasya iva gandhaḥ asya, a bahuvrīhi where rule 5.4.137 upamānāḥ ca, read with 5.4.135 gandhasyed . . ., orders i to replace the final a of kariṣagandha. Affix aN is then introduced after kariṣagandhi + ūnas to be further replaced with ŚyāN. The i of kariṣagandhi is deleted (6.4.148 āṣyeṭi ca; 1.4.18 yaśi bham) before the a of aN. It is kāriṣagandhyāḥ which then receives affix CāP (4.1.74 yāṇaś cāP). The a of ya is deleted (6.4.148 āṣyeṭi ca; 1.4.18 yaśi bham) before the feminine affix CāP. The son of this kāriṣagandhyāḥ will then be characterized with the genitive tatpuruṣa compound kāriṣagandhiputraḥ where, given the compound kāriṣagandhyāḥ putra, samprasarāna applies. The result obtained through this process then goes through a replacement in i (6.1.107 samprasarānac ca) of i + ā of kariṣagandhi(y → i)ā) . . . . An application of 6.3.139 samprasarāṇasya will then replace the short i of kariṣagandhiputra with a long
i to yield: kārisagandhiputra. Similar rules apply in deriving kārisagandhipatiḥ 'husband of a woman who smells like dried cowdung', kaumudagandhiputraḥ 'son of a woman who smells like a lily' and kaumudagandhipatiḥ 'husband of a woman who smells like a lily'.

3. Note that the word samprasāraṇa can refer to sounds (vārṇa) denoted by the abbreviatory term iK which, in turn, occur as substitutes for sounds of a parallel set denoted by yaN. The word samprasāraṇa can also refer to this very process (vidhi) of replacing a sound denoted by yaN with a sound denoted by iK. This rule uses the word samprasāraṇa in the sense of vidhi. By the way, samprasāraṇa is an anvarthasamjñā 'a term interpreted in its etymological sense'.

4. The word ŚyaN is here interpreted as an affix via sthānivadbhāva 'substituted treated as the item it replaced' introduced under the denotatum condition of 4.1.3 striyām 'when feminine is to be denoted'. This delimitation of scope is also responsible for blocking tadādiniyama 'a constraint pertaining to that which begins with that' in a feminine derive other than one termed an upasarjana 'secondary'. Thus, kārisagandhi is a non-secondary (anupasarjana) constituent of the compound after which ŚyaN is introduced. The application of samprasāraṇa thus cannot be blocked. It can also not be blocked in examples such as paramakārisagandhiputraḥ and paramakārisagandhipatiḥ where kārisagandhyā does not occur at the beginning. That is, the samprasāraṇa cannot be blocked based upon the tadādiniyama of the paribhāṣā (27) na stripratyaye cānutpasarjane (yasmāt sa vihitas tadādeḥ) 'not also when a non-secondary affix with its scope as feminine (beginning with that after which the affix is introduced)'. That is, this samprasāraṇa cannot be limited to only those instances where a non-secondary constituent such as kārisagandhi after which affix ŚyaN is introduced occurs as the initial constituent of the compound. It is the non-applicability of tadādiniyama that samprasāraṇa is permitted in examples such as paramakārisagandhiputraḥ and paramakārisagandhipatiḥ which obviously do not begin with kārisagandhi. Incidentally, a constituent ending in ŚyaN here does not become secondary in meaning after forming a compound with parama.

Now consider an example such as atikārisagandhyaputraḥ 'the son of one who has excelled Kārisagandhyā' where a constituent ending in ŚyaN is secondary (upasarjana). The samprasāraṇa must be blocked here. An additional example parallel to the preceding will be atikārisagandhyapatiḥ.

5. The condition of syaNah is imposed so that samprasāraṇa applies only to the y of ŚyaN. Thus, it will not apply to the y of ibhāputraḥ 'son of a woman who deserves an elephant' and ksatriyāputraḥ 'son of a ksatriya woman' where it is introduced by rules 5.1.66 daṇḍādibhyo yat and 4.1.138 ksatrād ghaḥ, respectively. Recall that a replacement is only introduced in place of that for which it is specified (paribhāṣā (13): nirādiṣyamānasayaḍeśā bhavanti).

A similar condition of putrapatyoḥ is imposed so that this samprasāraṇa is
also blocked in examples such as kāriṣagandhyākulam ‘the clan of a woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and kaumudagandhyākulam ‘the clan of a woman who smells like a lily’. Note that putra and pati must occur as following constituents combined after the constituent ending in Syañ, and not when they combine as initial, or final, constituent of the compound. Thus, the samprasaṇa will again be blocked in examples such as kāriṣagandhyāputrakulam ‘the family of the son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and kāriṣagandhyāputraparamah ‘the excellent son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’.

Finally, this samprasaṇa is constrained also with the condition of tatpuruse. For, a bahuvrihi such as kāriṣagandhyāpatīḥ, parallel to kāriṣagandhyāpatīr asya grāmasya ‘the village of which Kāriṣagandhyā is the leader’ will not come under the scope of this rule.

6.1.14 बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहोः

bandhuni bahuvrihau
/bandhuni 7/1 bahuvrihau 7/1/
(syañah samprasaṇam #13)
bandhushadba uttarapade bahuvrihau samāse syañah samprasaṇam bhavati Syañ, in a compound termed bahuvrihi, goes through samprasaṇa when bandhu combines to follow.

Examples:

kāriṣagandhibandhuh ‘friend of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’
kaumudagandhibandhuh ‘friend of the woman who smells like a lily’

1. This rule allows samprasaṇa also when bandhu, preceded by the constituent ending in Syañ, is combined as a final constituent in a bahuvrihi compound. Thus, we get examples such as kāriṣagandhibandhuh. The compound must be a bahuvrihi so that a genitive tatpurūṣa compound such as kāriṣagandhyābandhuh ‘a friend of she who smells like dried cowdung’ can be excluded from the scope of this rule. Our constituent kāriṣagandhyā is here an upasāraṇa ‘secondary’. Recall that samprasaṇa is applicable to non-secondary (anupasāraṇa) constituents. Examples such as paramakāriṣagandhyābandhhdhanah and kāriṣagandhyāparamabandhuh will also be blocked from availing sampNASARAṇa for reason that, in the first example, bandhu alone is not used as final. Instead, we have bandhhdhanah. The second example has bandhu occurring after kāriṣagandhyā intervend by parama.

2. Note that bandhu is a masculine here specified as neuter. Such a specification is made in view of form (śabdasvarūpa), as against meaning (artha). Commentators state that a neuter specification is intended so that bandhu could denote its form only. A specification in view of meaning, with bandhu
used as masculine, would have allowed *samprasāraṇa* also to apply when a synonym of *bandhu* followed.

3. A *vārttiκa* proposal favors an optional *samprasāraṇa* also when *mātaC, mātrka* and *mātṛ* occur in a *bahuṛhi* compound following a constituent ending in *ṢyaN*. Consider *kāriṣagandhyāmātāḥ* and *kāriṣagandhimātāḥ* as optional examples parallel to *kāriṣagandhyā mātā asya* ‘he whose mother is one who smells as dried cowdung’. A similar set of two optional forms each for *mātaC* and *mātrka* are: *kāriṣagandhyāmātāḥ/kāriṣagandhimātāḥ; kāriṣagandhyā- mārkāḥ/kāriṣagandhimārkāh*. Remember that *mātṛ* and *mātrka* are specified here as separate options. Consequently, affix *KaP* of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaḥ ca* is also made optional. An optional *mātaC* also mandates final *udātta* accent of 6.1.163 *cītəḥ*, as against the retention of original accent of initial constituent in a *bahuṛhi* compound (6.2.1 *bahuṛhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

6.1.15 वचिस्तिप्यजातीदिनां किति

\[ vaci-svaπiya-jādīnām kiti / vaci-svapī-ya-jādīnām 6/3 = yaja ṣārṇ te = yajādayāh (bv.); vaciś ca svapī ca yajādayās ca (itar. dv.), teṣām, kiti 7/1 / (samprasāraṇam #13) \]

Verbal roots *vaci* ‘to speak’, *Nīsvaπ* ‘to sleep’, and also roots headed by *yaj* go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows.

**Examples:**

*uktah* ‘spoken, said’
*uktavan* ‘said’
*suptah* ‘fallen asleep’
*suptavan* ‘slept’
*iṣṭah* ‘performed sacrifice’
*iṣṭavan* ‘ibidem’
*uṭah* ‘sown’
*uṭavān* ‘ibidem’
*ūdhaḥ* ‘carried, brought’
*ūdjavān* ‘ibidem’
*uṣitaḥ* ‘dwelt’
*uṣitavān* ‘ibidem’
*uṭah* ‘woven’
*utavān* ‘ibidem’
*samvūtah* ‘properly covered’
*samvūtavān* ‘ibidem’
*āhūtah* ‘called’
*āhūtavān* ‘ibidem’
*uḍitaḥ* ‘uttered’
uditavān ‘ibidem’
śūnāh ‘enlarged, grown’
śūnavān ‘ibidem’

*Examples are all derivatives of Kta and KtavatU.

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of Śyaṇah is dropped. The word samprasāraṇam still carries over.

2. The specification made by ādi is here associated only with yaj, and not also individually with vacīl and svapī. How do we know this? From the order of enumeration of roots in the gana in general, and the enumeration of svapī after vacl, in particular. There was no need for specifying svapī after vacl if a reference was intended to be made to svapī as one of the roots included in the set headed by vacl. For svapī is listed in the adādi group after vacl, intervened by four roots. A reference with ādi associated with vacl could thus have also accounted for svapī. The ādi associated with yaj includes references to the last nine roots of the bhvādigaṇa ‘listings enumerated beginning with bhū’.

Verbal root vac here refers to both (i) the adādi root vac ‘to speak’ and (ii) the replacement in vac of brūN (2.4.53 bruvo vaciḥ). A specification relative to an affixal provision made with reference to specific form of a verbal root (dhātu) conditions operations relative only to that particular affix (Kāś.: dhātoḥ svarūpagrahane tatpratyahe kārayam vijñāyate). The existence of this paribhāṣā is inferred from the derivation of bhraunahatayam where the n of verbal root han is to be replaced with t. But since such a replacement is allowed han when an affix with S and N as an it follows (7.3.32 hanas . . .), this tadddhiya derivate cannot avail this provision. It must then receive this t-replacement via nipātana (6.4.174 dānḍināyanahāstānāyana . . .). This nipātana then indicates that an operation specified with a particular form of a verbal root obtains only when a specified affix follows. Thus, we do not find samprasāraṇa applicable to derivatives such as vācyatī ‘wishes to speak’ and vācikāḥ ‘relating to speech’ where the first is a derivate of KyaC and the second of thaK introduced after vāc, a derivate of KölP. The first will be treated as a root by 3.1.23 sanādyanta dhātavah. The vāc of the second example may also be treated as a root at the strength of Patañjali’s desideratum that items ending in a KölP do not abandon their status as a root. The first is denied samprasāraṇa because KyaCis introduced after an item ending in a sUP (3.1.8 supa ātmanāḥ kyac). The second is denied samprasāraṇa expressly by an Unādi affix (II.57). Besides, thaK is introduced in the domain of 4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.16 प्रहिस्यायविवधिविद्धौविचित्रितवृचितपुस्तिपरिन्तज्ञातान्नितिः

grahijyāvayivyadhivaśṭivicativrścatiprechatibhrjatināṁ nīti ca
/grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-viścāti-prucchati-bhrījaṁ (itar. dv.)
6/3 nīti 7/1 ca φ/
(samprasāraṇam #13 kiti #15)
‘graha upādaṇe, jyā vayohāna, veṇo vayih, vyadhā tādana, vaṣa kāntau,
vyaça vyājkarane, ovrācū chedane, praccha jñīpsāyām, bhraṣja pāke'ity eteṣām
dhātūnāṃ niti ānudeya pāratāḥ cakārāt kiti ca samprasāraṇaṁ bhavati
Verbal roots graha ‘to grab, seize’, jyā ‘to decay, grow old’, vay (a replacement of veṇ to weave); 2.4.41 veṇo vayih), vyadhā 'to pierce, hurt', vaṣa ‘to shine’, vyacau ‘to deceive’, Ovrācū ‘to cut’, praccha ‘to ask, enquire’ and bhraṣja ‘to cook’ also go through samprasāraṇa when an
affix marked with K and N follows.

Examples:

grhitaḥ 'seized'
grhitavān ‘he seized’
grhṇāti ‘he seizes . . .’
jārīgrhyate ‘. . . is seized again and again’
fimah ‘decayed, grown old’
jīnavān ‘he grew old’
jināti ‘he grows old’
jetiyate ‘grows older’
ūyatuḥ ‘they (two) wove . . .’
ūyuḥ ‘they (all) wove’
viddhah ‘. . . pierced’
viddhavān ‘he pierced’
vidhyati ‘he pierces’
vevīdhyate ‘pierces again and again’
uṣītaḥ ‘. . . desired; dazzled’
uṣītavān ‘he desired; glowed’
uṣṭah ‘desired’
usānti ‘they desire’
vicitah ‘. . . deceived’
viciṭavān ‘he deceived’
vicati ‘. . . creates an illusion’
vevīcyate ‘. . . deceives again and again’
udvicitā ‘he who will deceive’
udvicitum ‘for deceiving’
udvicitavyam ‘to be deceived’
vṛknaḥ ‘cut’
vṛkanavān ‘he cut’
vrścāti ‘he cuts’
varvīrycate ‘he cuts over and over again’
pṛṣṭaḥ ‘asked’
prṣṭavān ‘he asked (a question)’
prcc̥hāti ‘he inquires’
praprabhyate ‘he asks over and over again’
bhrṣṭah ‘cooked’
bhrṣṭavān ‘he cooked . . .’
bhrjjiati ‘he cooks’
bhṛbhṛjjyate ‘he cooks over and over again’

1. The ca at the end of this rule is used to attract kitī from the preceding rule.

2. What is vayI? It is interpreted as a replacement of veN gotten from rule 2.4.41 veño vayiḥ. It cannot be interpreted as vay ‘to go’ since that is an active (parasmaipada) verb. The vay of this rule is interpreted as the middle (aitmanēpadā), i.e., veN. Of course, via its replacement (ādeśadvārena) due basically to its association (sāhacaryā) here with graha.

Why do we not have any examples of vay occurring before an affix marked with N? Because rule 1.2.5 asamyogāl liṭ kit extends Kit ‘as if marked with K’ status to a replacement of Līṭ.

3. Questions have also been raised against listing vayI in this rule. It is argued that vayI, since it is already covered by the yajādi ‘yaj, etc.’ group of the preceding rule, can easily avail samprasārana. Offering samprasārana again through this listing does not make any sense. The fact that this rule lists vayI as a replacement and our earlier rule includes the root itself in the yajādi group should not create any problem. For, a replacement (ādeśa) will, through the process of sthānivaddhāva, be treated as the item (sthānī) it replaced. That is, vayI of this rule can be treated as veN of the yajādi listing. This way one does not need to provide samprasārana which is already available.

Commentators state that this separate listing is made so that samprasārana in vayI is not blocked by 6.1.40 veṇah. It is argued that sthānivaddhāva will operate in connection with a negative provision (niśedha) in a manner similar to one made in connection with a positive (PM ad Kāś.: yathā sthānivaddhāvād vidhiḥ prāpyate tathā pratisedho’pi prāpnoti). Thus, rules 6.1.15 vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kitī and 6.1.16 grahīyāvayī . . . will both invoke sthānivaddhāva in connection with the samprasārana of vayI. That is, if sthānivaddhāva is offered as the basis for rejecting inclusion of vayI in rule 6.1.16 grahīyāvayī . . . A separate listing of vayI is made here so that it can be saved from the negation of 6.1.40 veṇah. The process of sthānivaddhāva is thus not accepted. Besides, Pāṇini’s listing of vayI, as against veN particularly in this rule in contradistinction with the negation of 6.1.40 veṇah, must serve some special purpose. That purpose must be accepted as blocking of negation via cancellation of sthānivaddhāva. It is further stated that situations of conflict between vidhi and pratisedha favor vidhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: vidhipratisedhayor virodhād ekatra vidhir eva bhavisyayta na pratisedha iti). Consequently, we get two sets of third personal singular/dual/plural forms in perfect (Līṭ) of vayI: uvāya/uvātuh/
úyuh; and vavau/vavatuḥ/vavuh.

Now consider rule 6.1.38 ̣iṭi vavo yah whereby a negative provision of samprasāraṇa is made for vayI. Note that a negative provision does not make any sense unless a positive provision already exists. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (jñāpaka) for the positive provision of samprasāraṇa of vayI. It should also be noted that the negative provision of samprasāraṇa 6.1.38, made with the specification of vayI, does not include any reference to veN. A separate negation is provided by 6.1.40 veṇah. Kāśikā thus rightly remarks: ‘liṭi vavo yah’ iti yakārasya samprasāraṇapratisedhād vayer vidhau grahanam pratisedhe cāgrahanam anumāsyahe ‘it is assumed on the basis of the negative provision of samprasāraṇa of y in 6.1.38 liṭi vavo yah that vayI is included in vidhi and excluded from pratisedha’.

4. Note that: derivatives of vyaC, for example udvicitā/udvicitum/udvicitavyam, all involve samprasāraṇa when an affix other than one marked with ə and N follows. This operational provision is facilitated by a vārttika proposal (under 1.2.1 gāṅkutādibhyo...) whereby vyaC is treated similar to the kutādi group of roots before an affix other than one marked with ə and N.

5. Let us briefly consider the derivation of vṛknaḥ and vṛknavān from vṛasaC + (K→ϕ) ṛa and vṛasaC + (K→ϕ) tava(ṭ→ϕ), respectively. These strings will both go through samprasāraṇa (v(r→ṛ) əsc...), pūrvarūpa (v(r+a→ṛ) ṣc...) and kutva (vṛṣ(ṣ→k)....) Why is cof vṛasaC replaced with k against the provision of ə made by rule 8.2.36 vṛasabhrasjasja...? Commentators argue that a replacement in ə is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhAL (Śs. 8-14; jḥ, bh, gh, dh, etc.). The niṣṭhā affixes Kta and KtavAt, in vṛknaḥ and vṛknavān, can no longer be accepted as beginning with a jhAL since the same gets replaced with n of 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ niṣṭhātō... Consequently, e of vṛasaC cannot be replaced with ə. Rule 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ... cannot be treated as asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of the application of 8.2.36 vṛasabhrasja... because of a vārttika proposal (vt.: niṣṭhādēśāh satvasvarapratyayavidhīvidhiṣu siddho vaktavyah ‘a replacement of niṣṭhā should be declared effective (siddha) in operations relative to: ə replacement (satuva), accent (svara), affix (pratayavidhi) and augment ṻT (iḍvidhi)’. Since this vārttika proposal renders n-replacement (natva) of a niṣṭhā affix as siddha in view of a ə-replacement (satva), the ə of vṛasaC cannot be replaced with ə. A replacement in k for cof vṛasaC cannot be blocked since n-replacement (natva) of 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ... cannot be accepted as siddha in view of the same.

6. Why would r of praśna not go through samprasāraṇa? Because Pāṇini himself uses praśna as the correct form (cf. 3.2.117 praśne cāsannakāle). Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.
(samprasaṇaṁ #13)
ubhayēṣāṁ vacayaṁ āṇāṁ āṇāṁ ca liṁ parato bhyaśasya samprasaṇaṁ bhavati
The abhyāsa of verbal roots enumerated beginning with both vacī ‘to speak’ (6.1.15) and grahi ‘to hold, seize’ (6.1.16) goes through samprasaṇa when affix LIT follows.

Examples:

uvāca ‘third person singular active LIT of vacī’
uvacī ‘second person singular . . .’
susuvāpa ‘third person singular LIT of svapā ‘to sleep’
susuvapīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
iyāja ‘third singular active LIT of yajī’
iyajīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
ūvāpa ‘third person singular active LIT of vāp ‘to sow’
ūvāpīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
jagṛāga ‘third person singular active LIT of grahi ‘to hold, seize’
jagrahiṭhā ‘second person singular . . .’
jjīju ‘third person singular active LIT of jyā ‘to grow old’
jjījīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
uvōyu ‘third person singular active LIT of veN to weave’
uvōyīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
vivyāda ‘third person singular active LIT of vyadhī ‘to pierce’ used with the preverb vi’
vivyādhiṭhā ‘second person singular . . .’
uvāśā ‘third person singular active LIT of vaśī ‘to desire’
uvasīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
vivyāca ‘third person singular active LIT of vyacī ‘to deceive’
vivyacīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
vavraśca ‘third person singular active LIT of vraśe ‘to cut’
vavrasīcīthā ‘second person singular . . .’
ūcata ‘third person dual active LIT of vacī ‘to speak’
ūcubh ‘third person plural active . . .’
vivyādha

1. Note that 6.1.15 vacisvapīviṣṭānāṁ . . . allows samprasaṇa within the right context of an affix marked with K and N as an it. The Kit-status to a replacement of LIT is extended by 1.2.5 asamyogāl liṭ kit. Given this, why state our present rule when the samprasaṇa required by it can be accomplished by 6.1.15 vacisvapī. . . . It is argued that rule 1.2.5 asamyogāl liṭ kit extends Kit-status to only those replacements of LIT which are not marked with P (apīt; 1.2.4 sārvadhūṭukam apīt). This rule is then needed to allow samprasaṇa in contexts where a replacement of LIT may be marked with P.
Consider, for example, affixes \textit{NaL} and \textit{thgL} which replace \textit{tIP} and \textit{sIP}, the third and second person singular replacements of \textit{LIT}. Affixes \textit{NaL} and \textit{thgL} are extended \textit{pit}-status via \textit{sthânivadbhāva} ‘treatment of a replacement (ādeśa) as if it was the item (sthānini) it replaced’. Our present rule facilitates \textit{samprasāraṇa} even when a non-\textit{Kit}, in the present context a \textit{pit}, follows. Thus we get \textit{uvica} and \textit{uvaciθa} from \textit{vac} + (\textit{LIT}→\textit{tIP}→\textit{NaL}) = \textit{vac} + \textit{a} and \textit{vac} + (\textit{LIT}→\textit{sIP}→\textit{thgL}) = \textit{vac} + \textit{tha}, respectively, through \textit{dvirvacana} ‘iteration’ and \textit{samprasāraṇa}.

2. It is argued that forms of \textit{grah}, \textit{pracch} and \textit{bhrasj} can be derived even without this rule. That is, we can get \textit{grah} + (N) a(L) = \textit{grah} + \textit{a}→\textit{grah} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}→\textit{gra} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}→\textit{ga} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}, through iteration and operations specific to 7.4.60 \textit{halādi śeṣah}. Our string \textit{ga} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a} will eventually produce \textit{jāgṛāhā} through the \textit{j} replacement of \textit{g} and \textit{vrddhi} of \textit{a} in \textit{grah}. This same form can also be derived through iteration (\textit{grah} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}); \textit{samprasāraṇa} and \textit{pūrvarūpa} (g(r→r) ah + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}→g(r + \textit{a}→r) h + \textit{grah} + \textit{a}; uradatva (7.4.66 ur at #1.1.51 ur an raptar) g(r→ar) h + \textit{a} + \textit{grah} + \textit{a} and \textit{halādiśeṣah} (ga(\textit{rh}→\textit{f})) + \textit{grah} + \textit{a} = \textit{gagraha}. Similar derivational cases can be made for derivates for \textit{pracch} and \textit{bhrasj}, with or without the application of \textit{samprasāraṇa} of this rule. One avails \textit{samprasāraṇa} without iteration (\textit{dvirvacana}) with regard to an affix not marked with \textit{K} as an \textit{it} (Kāś.: akidartham ced anabhyāsasya \textit{samprasāraṇam vidhiyate}). In case of an affix marked with \textit{K}, \textit{samprasāraṇa} will be availed prior to iteration on account of being subsequent (\textit{paratvāt}). Iteration can then follow in view of \textit{paribhāṣā} (PŚ: 40): \textit{punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham} ‘a previously set aside rule applies when its operational context reappears’. Incidentally, the \textit{Tattvabodhini} reminds that rules apply like clouds which rain indiscriminately (\textit{tarjanyavāl laṅkānām pravartate}). That is, our present rule still applies in the context of cited verbs even if one can do without.

3. The case of \textit{vraśc} is special. If one believes that this rule is not needed for \textit{vraśc} then \textit{vavraśca} can be derived through iteration and \textit{halādiśeṣa}. That is, \textit{vraśc} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→\textit{vra} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→\textit{va} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a} = \textit{vavraśca}. This is basically the view of the Kāśikā. Patañjali feels that this rule is still needed for \textit{vavraśca}. If one accepts this then \textit{samprasāraṇa} must precede iteration. We will thus get \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→\textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→\textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}. If iteration precedes \textit{samprasāraṇa} then, given \textit{va} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}, our present rule will demand the \textit{samprasāraṇa} of initial \textit{v}, thereby producing an undesired form (\textit{v}→\textit{u}) \textit{a} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→(\textit{u} + \textit{a}→\textit{u}) + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}→*uvraśca. If \textit{samprasāraṇa} precedes iteration then we get \textit{uvr} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a}. The \textit{r} will then be replaced with \textit{ar} and the \textit{r} will be dropped under the provisions of 7.4.60 \textit{halādi śeṣah}. Thus, \textit{uv(\textit{r}→\textit{ar}→\textit{v}(\textit{r}→\textit{f}))} + \textit{vraśc} + \textit{a} = \textit{vavraśca}. The initial \textit{v} of \textit{vavraśca} can then be saved from going through \textit{samprasāraṇa} under the protection of \textit{sthānivadbhāva}. That is, the \textit{a} after \textit{v} of \textit{va} will then be treated as if it was \textit{r}. Rule 6.1.37 \textit{na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇa} will block this \textit{samprasāraṇa}, especially when another \textit{samprasāraṇa} followed.
4. Since Pāṇini uses ubhayēsām explicitly even when reference to the two groups of vacyādi and grahyādi roots can be easily made by the context, this explicit mention of ubhayēsām must serve some special purpose. It is to make clear that samprasāraṇa and operations relative to it must take precedence over, for example operations relative to 7.4.60 halādiśeṣa, that Pāṇini explicitly uses ubhayēsām. Consider the derivation of viivyādha from vyadh + vyadh + (N) a(L) = v(y→i)a dh + vyadh + a→vidh + vyadh + a→vi(dh→ϕ) + vyadh + a→vi + v(y(a→ā)a) dh + a = viivyādha. If, at the stage of vyadh + vyadh + a, we apply 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ as against samprasāraṇa, the result will be va + vyadh + a. A samprasāraṇa followed by penultimate vṛddhi will then yield a wrong form (vi→u) + v(y(a→ā)a) dh + a = *uvyādha. That is why samprasāraṇa applies on vyadh + vyadh + a to yield vi + vyadh + a on which 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ applies. An explicit mention of ubhayēsām warns that a conflict in the application of samprasāraṇa and halādiśeṣa should not be decided on the basis of paratva. This may also be the reason why the tradition also recognizes samprasāraṇaṁ tadāśrayam ca kāryam balavat 'samprasāraṇa and operations related to that are treated as stronger'.

Incidentally, a reference to two groups of roots without any explicit mention of ubhayēsām is not facilitated by the governing contexts (adhikāra) mediated by anuvṛti 'recurrence'. Instead, it is facilitated by the governing context mediated by apekṣā 'expectancy'.

6.1.18 स्वपेश्चन्द्र

svāpeś caṇi
/svāpeh 6/1 caṇi 7/1/
(samprasāraṇam #13)
svāper iti svaper nyantasya grahaṇam, tasya caṇi parataḥ
samprasāraṇam bhavati
Verbal root svāpi goes through samprasāraṇa when caṇi follows.

Examples:

asūṣupat 'third person singular active LUN-derivate of svap ‘to sleep’ used with causal NIC’
asūṣupan ‘third person plural active . . .’

1. This rule specifies verbal root svap in its causal form (nijanta). We know it from caṇi, a right context which is not possible to obtain without the root ending in Nic (Nyāsa: na hy anyantāc caṇi sambhavati). Note also that one cannot here interpret svāpi as specifying non-causal verbal root āpLR ‘to pervade’ used with su. For, caṇi again will be impossible to justify. Kāśikā states that svāpi, in deriving asūṣupat, goes through samprasāraṇa prior to iteration (dvirvacana), possibly based upon paratva and surely on the basis of samprasāraṇaṁ tadāśrayam ca balavat (PS. 129). A guna-replacement of the
short penultimate vowel (laghūpadhaguna; 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca) and shortening (hrasva) of its result (7.4.1 nāu caṇī upadhāyā hrasvāḥ) follow. Iteration (avirvacana) then applies followed by a long replacement for the light vowel (7.4.94 dīrgho laghoḥ). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Why was it necessary to state caṇī? So that samprasāraṇa can be blocked in examples such as svāpyate and svāpitah where both are derivates of NiC. The first is a third person singular present passive and the second a derivate of Kīa. Needless to say, these examples cannot involve CaN. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the sūtras as svāpeś ca with nīti carried via anuvṛtti? Such a formulation would confuse about whether the anuvṛtti of nīti was still valid? Answering it in the affirmative will raise the question whether the anuvṛtti of kīti was dropped. Besides, nīti would have offered a much wider right context. It is for clarity then that Pāṇini used caṇī.

Consider the derivation of asūṣupat ‘third singular active causal past imperfect of svāpa’. Thus, svāpa + NiC (3.1.27 hetumati ca) = sv(a→a)p + i + LUṈ (7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ; 3.1.23 sanādyaṇa...; 3.2.110 luṇ) = svāp + i + CLI + LUṈ (3.1.43 cli luṇi) = svāp + i + (CLI→CaN) + LUṈ (3.1.48 niśridusrubhyah kartari caṇī) = svāp + i + (C)a(N) + LUṈ = svāp + i + a + LUṈ→a(T) + svāp + i + a + LUṈ (6.4.71 luṇalaniṃsव ad udāttāḥ)→a + svāp + i + a + LUṈ→a + svāp + (i→ϕ) + a + LUṈ (6.4.51 ṇer anīti) = a + svāp + a + LUṈ→a + sv(a→a)p + a + LUṈ (7.4.1 caṇī upadhāyā hrasvaḥ) = a + svāp + a + LUṈ→a + s(v→u)a)p + a + LUṈ (6.1.18 svāpeś caṇī) = a + svāp + a + LUṈ→a + s(u+a→u)p + a + LUṈ (6.1.108 samprasāraṇāc ca)→a + sup + a + LUṈ→a + sup + a + LUṈ (6.1.1 ekāco due prathamasya) = a + su + sup + a + LUṈ (7.4.60 halādi śesah) = a + su + sup + a + LUṈ→a + s(u→u) + sup + a + LUṈ (7.4.94 dīrgho laghoḥ) = a + su + sup + a + LUṈ.

A replacement of LUṈ with tiP yields a + su + sup + a + t. Rule 7.2.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca applies to yield a + su + s(u→o)p + a + t. Rule 7.4.1 nāu caṇī upadhāyā hrasvaḥ would then apply to yield a + su + s(o→u)p + a + t. An application of satva (8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh) will now yield: a + su + (s→s)up + a + t = asūṣupat.

6.1.19 swapāsyamīvyeṇāṃ yaṇi

svapāsyamīvyeṇāṃ yaṇi
/svapāsyamīvyeṇām (itar. dv.) 6/3 yaṇi 7/1/
(samprasāraṇam #13)

‘nīṣvap śaye, suam svana dhvana śabde, veṇa saṃvarane’ ity eteśāṃ dhātunāṃ yaṇi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati

Verbal roots Nīṣvap ‘to sleep’, syamU ‘to shout’ and vyeN ‘to cover’ go through samprasāraṇa when affix yaN follows.
Examples:

soṣuṇyate 'third person singular middle present derivate of svap 'to sleep' ending in yaN'
sesimyate 'third person singular . . . of syam 'to cry' ending in yaN'
veviyate 'third person singular . . . of vyeN 'to wrap' ending in yaN'

1. Note that a right context of yanī is imposed so that samprasārana could be blocked from applying elsewhere. Consider, for example svapnaṇa, a derivate of affix najIṆ introduced after verbal root svap (3.2.172 svapitṛṣor najiṇ).

2. Note that v and y of verbal root vyeN can both form the focus of samprasārana. But since Pāṇini blocks samprasārana when samprasārana forms the right condition (6.1.37 na samprasāraṇe samprasāranaṃ), we learn that a samprasārana which is subsequent should be accomplished first. The first samprasārana then gets automatically blocked. The samprasārana of y, thus accomplished in veyN, blocks the samprasārana of v. Besides, the samprasārana of y should also precede because of pratyāsatti 'proximity' with the condition (nimitta), i.e., yaN. The e of the root is replaced with ā (6.1.45 ādeca upadesē'śītī). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.1.20 न वशः:

 na vaśah
/na ṣ vaśah 6/1/
(samprasāraṇam #13 yanī #19)
vaṣer dhātor yanī paratah samprasāraṇam na bhavati
Verbal root vaṣA 'to desire' does not go through samprasāraṇa when yaN follows.

Examples:

vāvaśyate 'third person singular middle present of vaṣ 'to desire' ending in yaN'
vāvaśyete 'third person dual . . .'
vāvaśyante 'third person plural . . .'

1. Our present rule negates the samprasārana of verbal root vaṣA when yaN followed. Recall that vaṣ can avail samprasārana of 6.1.6 grahiyā-vayi . . . Derivates of this root will thus go through iteration. Thus, vaṣ + ya(Ṇ) → vaṣ + vaṣ + ya → va + vaṣ + ya → v(a → ā) + vaṣ + ya. The long vowel replacement for the short of va is accomplished after iteration and halādiśeṣa (7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ) by 7.4.83 dīrgho' kitah. Deriving the present active third personal singular dual and plural forms of verbal root vaṣ used with affix yaN, i.e., vāvaśyate, vāvaśyete and vāvaśyante, from vāvaśya + LAT with subse-
quent replacements for \textit{LAT} and relevant operations, should pose no problem.

2. That this negation of \textit{samprasāraṇa} is available only when \textit{yaN} follows is important. For, the \textit{samprasāraṇa} offered by 6.1.16 \textit{grahijāvai} ... applies elsewhere. Consider \textit{uṣṭah} and \textit{uṣanti} which derive from \textit{vaś} + \textit{Kta} and \textit{vaś} + (\textit{LAT}→\textit{jhi}). Verbal root \textit{vaś} goes through \textit{samprasāraṇa} and \textit{pūrvarūpa} (6.1.108 \textit{samprasāraṇa} [\textit{ca}] here because affix \textit{yaN} does not follow. Note that \textit{uṣṭah} is derived similar to \textit{prṣṭah} from ((\textit{uś} + \textit{ta}) + \textit{sU})) where \textit{uś} is gotten through \textit{samprasāraṇa} and \textit{pūrvarūpa}. Our third plural present indicative active from \textit{uṣanti} also involves \textit{samprasāraṇa} and \textit{pūrvarūpa}. Additionally, it involves deletion of \textit{ŚaP} (2.4.72 \textit{adiprabhṛtibhyah} ...) and replacement of \textit{jhi} by \textit{ant} (7.1.3 \textit{jho'ntah}). Thus, \textit{vaś} + \textit{LAT}→\textit{vaś} + (\textit{LAT}→\textit{jhi})→\textit{vaś} + \textit{ŚaP} + \textit{jhi}→\textit{vaś} + (\textit{ŚaP}→\textit{ṛ}) + \textit{jhi}→(\textit{v}→\textit{u})\textit{aś} + \textit{jhi}→(\textit{va}→\textit{u})\textit{aś} + \textit{jhi}→\textit{uś} + (\textit{jhi}→\textit{ant})\textit{i} = \textit{uś} + \textit{anti}→\textit{uṣanti}.

\section*{6.1.21 चायः की}

\textit{cāyah} \textit{kī}
\textit{cāyah} 6/1 \textit{kī} (1/1 deleted)
\textit{yaṇī} #19

\textit{cāyr} pūjāniśāmanayoh\textit{ity etasya dhātor yanī paratah} \textit{kī} ity ayam ādēso bhavati

Verbal root \textit{cāyR} ‘to honor’ is replaced with \textit{kī} when affix \textit{yaN} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{cekiyate} ‘third person singular present middle of \textit{cāyR}’
\textit{to honor} ending in \textit{yaN}’
\textit{cekiyete} ‘third person dual . . .’
\textit{cekiyante} ‘third person plural . . .’
\textit{cekitāḥ} ‘third person dual active of \textit{cāyR} with deletion of \textit{yaN}’

1. Deriving \textit{cekiyate/cekiyete/cekiyante} from (\textit{cāyR}→\textit{kī} + \textit{ya}(\textit{N})) + (\textit{LAT}), through iteration (\textit{kī} + \textit{kī} + \textit{ya}), \textit{guṇa} of the \textit{abhyāsa} (\textit{k(i→e)}) + \textit{ki} + \textit{ya} and \textit{cutva} (\textit{k→c})\textit{e} + \textit{kī} + \textit{ya} should not pose any difficulty. Affix \textit{LAT} is as usual replaced with third personal \textit{ātmanepada} suffixes. Look for additional details in the appendix.

2. Why specify \textit{kī} with the long \textit{i} when a short \textit{i} could easily be replaced with its long counterpart via application of 7.4.25 \textit{akṛtasārvadhātukayor dīrghah}. A specification with long \textit{i} is made because \textit{LUK} deletion of \textit{yaN} would make this long replacement impossible. Consider \textit{ceki} + \textit{tas}→\textit{cekitāḥ}.

\section*{6.1.22 स्फायः: स्फी निष्ठायाम्}

\textit{sphāyah sphī niṣṭhāyām}
\textit{/sphāyah} 6/1 \textit{sphi} (deleted 1/1) \textit{niṣṭhāyām} 7/1/
\textit{(samprasāraṇa} #13)
'sphāyī ṣṛyāyī vrddhau ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ paratah 'sphī ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Verbal root sphāyī 'to swell' is replaced with sphī when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

sphitah 'swollen (Kla)'
sphitavān 'ibidem (KtavatU)'

1. The condition of niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktavatū niṣṭhā) is required so that a string such as sphāy + KtiN (3.3.94 striyām ktin) could be blocked from availing this replacement. That is, sphī comes as a replacement only when the context is that of niṣṭhā. A derivate of sphāy + KtiN will thus be sphātī as in sphātī bhavati 'that which swelled which previously it was not'. Note that 6.1.66 lopo vyor valī will delete y of sphāy + ti. The long replacement for the short final i of sphāti is gotten under the right context of ĉol (7.4.26 ovau ca). This ĉol is, of course, introduced by 5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve . . . , in coordination with bhū thereby yielding sphāti bhavati. The affixal v is deleted by 6.1.67 ver aprktasya.

2. The anuvṛtti of niṣṭhā is valid prior to 6.1.29 līṇyaṇoś ca. Commentators warn that sphī is not marked with svarita. Consequently, the anuvṛtti of sphī is suspended.

6.1.23 स्त्य: प्रपूर्वस्य

styah prapūrvasya
/styah 6/1 prapūrvasya 6/1 = pra pūrvo yasya (bv.), tasya/
(samprasāraṇam #13 niṣṭhāyāṃ #22)
'styā ity etasya prapūrvasya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ paratah samprasāraṇam bhavati

The styā of verbal root styai 'to sound, crowd', used with the preverb pra, goes through samprasāraṇa when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

prastātah 'assembled, gathered (Kla)'
prastātavān 'ibidem (KtavatU)'
prastimah 'ibidem (Kla)'
prastimavān 'ibidem (KtavatU)'
prasamsātāth 'ibidem (pra-sam-styai + Kla)'
prasamsātavān 'ibidem (pra-sam-styai + KtavatU)

1. Kāśikā states that styah includes references to verbal roots styai and styai both. For, they both yield the form styā. They both have their ai replaced with ā of 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe aśiti. The s of styai is replaced with s of 6.1.64 dhātuādeḥ saḥ. The t which will then follow s have to be replaced with a corresponding dental t. This is how one gets the form styā. A form such as
prasīta is derived from pra + sty(ai→ā) + (K) ta→pra + st(y→i) ā + ta = prast(i +a→i) + ta = prast(i→i) + ta. A long replacement for the short i is gotten from the application of 6.4.2 halah. Similar steps have to be followed for deriving prastītāvān, nominative singular of prastītavat. The t of these niṣṭhā suffixes is optionally replaced with m when occurring after styai used with the preverb pra (8.2.55 prastya’ nyatarasāyām).

2. Why do we have to used prapūrvasya when a formulation such as prastyaḥ could account for what it does. The expression prapūrvasya is used so that samprasāraṇa and t→m-replacement can also be availed in examples such as prasamsītāḥ and prasamsītāvān. The word prapūrvasya will then have to be interpreted as genitive signifying avayava ‘part of a whole’. The compound prapūrvaḥ itself will be interpreted as a nyadhikarana-bahuvrihi paraphrased as pra pūrvo yasya ‘that (a root or preverb + root) whose initial is pra’. Given prasamsītāḥ, etc., prapūrvasya will refer to samstyaśi used with pra as its initial.

6.1.24 Dravamūrttisparśayoh śyāh:

dravamūrttisparśayoh śyāh
/drava-mūrtti-sparśayoh 7/2 = dravasya mūrttiḥ kāthīnyam = dravamūrttiḥ
(saś. tat.), dravamūrttiḥ ca sparṣaḥ ca (itar. dv. with int. bv.), tayoh; śyāh
6/1/
(samprasāraṇam #13 niṣṭhāyām #22)
‘dravakāṭhīnye sparṣe vartamānasya ‘śyaiṁ gatau’ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām
parataḥ samprāśaṅgām bhavati
Verbal root Śyaiṁ, when used in the sense of dravamūrtti ‘solidification of liquid’ and sparṣa ‘touch’, goes through samprasāraṇa when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

śinam ghṛtam ‘solidified clear butter’
śīnā vasā ‘solidified animal fat’
śīnam medah ‘solidified fat’
śītam varṣate ‘it (the touch) is cold’
śīto vāyuḥ ‘wind with a touch of cold’
śītam udakam ‘water with a touch of cold’

1. Note that dravamūrtti is glossed by Kāśikā as dravakāṭhīnyā ‘solidification of liquid’. The same is further explained by Nyāsa as dravāvaśṭhāyā uttarō
vasthāvīśesaḥ kāthīnākhyāḥ ‘a subsequent state of liquid characterized as solidified’.

The word sparṣa ‘touch, contact’ has been glossed as a quality accompanied with form, etc. (ṛūpādisahacarito gunah). A question is now raised concerning coreferentiality between a modifier (guna) such as vāyu characterised as sparṣa and the modified such as vāyu ‘wind’, a dravavya ‘thing’. It is ex-
plained that certain modifiers, for example śukla ‘white’ of pātaśya śuklah ‘whiteness of the cloth’, based upon their inseparable relationship with corresponding modifieds, for example śuklah of śuklah pāṭah ‘the white cloth’, at times can be accepted as co-referential. A modifier such as śita can thus be construed in both the senses of guṇa ‘quality’ and guṇin ‘locus of quality’.

2. Note that derivates of niśṭhā with no signification of sparsa ‘touch’ will have their t replaced with n (8.2.47 śyo sparsa). We will thus get śinaṃ ghṛtam, etc. This also explains why the t of śito vāyuḥ cannot be replaced with n. The ai of śyai goes through a-replacement (ātva), samprasadāna, pūrvarūpa and i-replacement similar to styai of the preceding rule.

3. What is the consequence of not meeting the twin conditions of dravamūrtti and sparsa? Lack of samprasāraṇa, and n-replacement of t of the suffix termed niśṭhā (niśṭhānatva). Consider, for example, samśyāno vrścikaḥ ‘a rolled up scorpion’.

6.1.25 प्रतेश्च

prateś ca
/prateḥ 6/1 ca φ/
(samprasāraṇam #13 niśṭhāyām #22 śyaḥ #24)
prater uttarasya śyāyater niśṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati
Verbal root ŚyaiN, when used after the preverb prati, also goes through samprasāraṇa when a suffix termed niśṭhā follows.

EXAMPLES:

pratiśīnaḥ ‘that which has melted; liquid’
pratiśīnauṃ ‘that which has a tendency to melt’

1. This rule is formulated to also allow samprasāraṇa outside the meaning conditions of dravamūrtti and sparsa. Verbal root ŚyaiN is to be used here with the preverb prati. Derivational steps are followed similar to examples of the preceding rule. The n-replacement of t is accomplished by 8.2.43 samyogāder āto dhātor...

6.1.26 विभाषाभ्यवपूर्वेऽस्य

vibhāsā bhavyapūrvasya
/vibhāṣā 1/1 abhyava-pūrvasya 6/1 = abhiś ca avaś ca abhyavau
(dv); abhyavau pūrvau yasya (bv. with internal dv)/
(samprasāraṇam #13 niśṭhāyām #22 śyaḥ 24)
‘abhi, ava’ ity evam pūrvasya śyāyater niśṭhāyāṃ vibhāsā samprasāraṇam bhavati
Verbal root ŚyaiN, when used after the preverbs abhi and ava, goes through samprasāraṇa only optionally.
EXAMPLES:

\[\text{abhiśīnām ġṛtam } \text{‘melted clarified butter’}\]
\[\text{abhiśyānām } \text{‘ibidem’}\]
\[\text{avaśīnām medāḥ } \text{‘melted animal fat’}\]
\[\text{avaśyānām ġṛtam } \text{‘ibidem’}\]
\[\text{abhiśśito vāyuḥ } \text{‘cold wind’}\]
\[\text{abhiśyānāḥ vāyuḥ } \text{‘ibidem’}\]
\[\text{avaśūtam udakam } \text{‘cold water’}\]
\[\text{avaśyānām udakam } \text{‘ibidem’}\]

1. Note that this option of vibhāsā is ubhayatra. That is, it is now available (apraśta) to the context of abhi and ava which it previously was not (apraśta). The samprasāraṇa in the context of dravamūrtti and psarśa, which was not made available (apraśta) by rule 6.1.24 dravamūrttisparśayoh... to the context of abhi and ava, is now made optionally available. Consequently, we get two sets of forms: one with samprasāraṇa and the other without. A set with application of samprasāraṇa lacks n-replacement for the t of niṣṭhā. For, the derivate does not retain any sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN (cf. 8.2.43 samyogāder...). A set of derivates with no application of samprasāraṇa will remain yanvān ‘possessing a sound denoted by yaN’. Consequently, n-replacement for t of niṣṭhā will apply. Derivates of ŚyaiN will also have their t replaced with n when derivates denote non-touch (asparśa).

6.1.27 शृंट पाके

śṛtam pāke

/śṛtam 1/1 pāke 7/1/
(niṣṭhāyām #22 vibhāsā #26)
śṛā pākeśty etasya dhātoryantarNyantasyānyantasya ca pāke bhidheyē
tkapratyayē parataḥ śṛbhāvo nipātyate

Verbal root śṛā is optionally replaced with śr, via nipātana, when it is used with the signification of pāka ‘cooking’, and affix Kta follows.

EXAMPLES:

śṛtam kṣīram ‘cooked milk’
śṛtam haviḥ ‘cooked ritual oblation of food’

1. Commentators explain that śṛtam here refers to verbal root śṛā, when used with or without the causal suffix NiC. This option is explained as nyavasthitā-vibhāsā ‘a fixed option made available in special contexts’. That is, a replacement in śṛ is obligatory (nitya) in the context of deriving śṛtam, only when pāka ‘softening’ is denoted. Elsewhere, it is not available. The word pāka is here used to clearly specify the context of this nipātana, i.e., kṣīra ‘oblation of rice-pudding’ and havi ‘oblation’. A replacement of śṛā
with śṛ, for example, in śṛañā yavāgūḥ ‘barley gruel is cooked’ and śrapitā yavāgūḥ ‘barley gruel was caused to be cooked’, cannot be permitted. Incidentally, śṛañā is a derivate of Kta where t is replaced with n via n (8.2.43 samyogāder āto . . .). Feminine affix ṮāP is then introduced to śṛañā to derive śṛañā. Our next example śrapitā is also a derivate of Kta ending in ṮāP, though śṛā is here used with NiC. Augment pUK (7.3.36 artāhrīvū . . .) with a subsequent application of hrasvā ‘shortening’ produces: śṛā + p(UK) + (N) i(C) + (K) ta→śṛ(a→a) + p + (N) i(C) + (K) ta. Note that a sūtra of the dhātupātha, i.e., ghaṭādayo mitah, recognizes śṛā as marked with M as an it. This, in turn, enables application of shortening (6.4.92 mitām hrasvah). Affix NiC is deleted by 6.4.52 nīsthāyām seti after augment iT is introduced. Thus, śra + p + (N) i(C→ϕ)) + i(T) + (K) ta→śra + p + i + ta = śrapitā. Affix ṬāP can now be introduced to derive śrapitā.

2. It is stated that the śṛ-replacement is also not allowed when a bāhya ‘indirect’ prayojaka ‘instigator’ is involved. Thus, consider śrapitam kṣiram devadattena yajñadattena ‘Devadatta had Yajñadatta cook the oblation of rice-pudding’ where yajñadatta is the indirect instigator. Verbal root śra is explained as intransitive (akarmaka), used here in the sense of pac with its object having agent as its locus (karmakartrvisayaka). Thus, consider śṛtam kṣiram svayam eva ‘the oblation cooked by itself’ and śṛtam kṣiram devadattena ‘Devadatta had the oblation cooked’. The word pāka is used in this sūtra so that nipātana could be restricted to the context of ‘oblation’.

6.1.28 व्याख्या: गी

प्रयायः पि

प/प्रयायः 1/1 पि (1/1 deleted) /

(नीस्थायाम #22 vibhāsa #26)

‘प्रयायः विद्धाहु/ित्य अस्य दाहोर निस्थायाम vibhāsa ‘पित्य आयम अदेसो bhavati

Verbal root Opyāyā ‘to swell’ is optionally replaced with pī when a suffix termed nīsthā follows.

Examples:

पिनाम मुक्तम ‘a swollen face; a wide face’

पिनाह बाहु ‘strong arms’

पिनाम उराह ‘strong chest’

1. This provision of replacement can also be labeled as vyavasthita-vibhāśā. That is, it is obligatorily available when verbal root Opyāyā is not used with a preverb. It is, of course, blocked when the root is used with a preverb. Thus, no replacement is available in ṛpyānas candramāh ‘a full moon’ where ṛyā is used with the preverb ā. Incidentally, n-replacement for the t of nīsthā is accomplished by 8.2.45 oditai ca.
2. Commentators add, however, that \( \text{pyā} \) is replaced with \( \text{pī} \) when it is used with the preverb \( \text{āN} \), and when derivates denote \( \text{andhu} \) 'water-well' and \( \text{ūdhas} \) 'udder'. Yet another instance of \( \text{vyavasthita-vibhāṣā} \). Thus, \( \text{āpīnā} \) \( \text{ndhu} \) 'a water-well full to the brim' and \( \text{āpīnām} \) \( \text{ūdha} \) 'an udder full of milk'.

6.1.29 लिद्यानोसः

\[ \text{lidyaṅos ca} \]
\[ /\text{lid-yaṅoḥ} 7/2 \text{ (itar. dv.) ca} \phi/ \]
\[ \text{(pyāyah pī} \#28) \]
\[ \text{li ti yāni ca paraṁ `pyāyah pī} \text{`ity ayam ṣādeśo bhavati} \]

Verbal root \( \text{Opyāyī} \) is replaced with \( \text{pī} \) when affixes \( \text{LIT} \) and \( \text{yaN} \) follow.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{āpīpye `third singular middle perfect (LIT) of Opyāyī (to fill)} \]
\[ \text{āpīpyre `third plural . . .`} \]
\[ \text{āpēpiyate `third singular middle present of āpēpiya`} \]
\[ \text{āpēpiyete `second dual present of . . .`} \]
\[ \text{āpēpiyante `third plural present . . .`} \]

1. Note that \( \text{vibhāṣa} \) is not carried over, especially since \( \text{vibhāṣa} \) is explicitly stated in the following rule. Particle \( \text{ca} \) is used for bringing \( \text{pyāyah pī} \) to facilitate the replacement in \( \text{pī} \). Thus, this rule allows a replacement in \( \text{pī} \) when affixes \( \text{LIT} \) and \( \text{yaN} \) follow. Consider \( \text{āpīpye} \) and \( \text{āpīpyire} \), the third singular and plural middle forms of \( \text{LIT} \) which derive from \( \text{ā(N) +} (\text{pyā→pī}) + (\text{LIT→ta→eS}) \) and \( \text{ā(N) +} \text{pyā +} (\text{LIT→jha→ireC}) \), respectively. A replacement in \( \text{eS} \) and \( \text{ireC} \) for third person middle singular and plural affixes \( \text{ta} \) and \( \text{jha} \) is gotten from 4.4.81 \( \text{liṣṭas tajhayor} . . . \). A replacement in \( \text{pī} \) is accomplished prior to iteration since the rule which allows this replacement happens to be subsequent (\( \text{para} \)) in order. Iteration then applies because its applicational context presents itself again (\( \text{PS: 40} \) \( \text{punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham} \). We thus get \( \text{ā +} (\text{pyā→pī}) + (\text{LIT→ta→eS}) \)).

Note that a conflict of application between \( \text{pī} \)-replacement and iteration is not of the type one finds between a general (\( \text{sāmānya} \)) rule and its related exception (\( \text{apavāda} \)). Actually, the \( \text{pī} \)-replacement, if not applied prior to iteration, will render this rule without any scope of application (\( \text{niravakāśa} \)). To put iteration temporarily on hold is the best (\( \text{uktṛṣta} \)) way of saving this rule from becoming vacuous.

An application of iteration produces \( \text{ā + pī + pī + e} \). The long \( \text{i} \) of the \( \text{abhyāsa} \) is replaced with its short counterpart to produce: \( \text{āp(i→i) + pī + e} \). The following long \( \text{i} \) is replaced with \( \text{ya} \) (\( \text{yaN} \)) to yield \( \text{āpīpye} \). This \( \text{yaN} \)-replacement is accomplished by 6.4.82 \( \text{er anekāco samyogapūrvasya} \). The plural \( \text{āpīpyire} \) follows similar pattern. The third personal singular, dual and plural present indicative middle (\( \text{LIT} \)) derivates with \( \text{yaN} \) also involve \( \text{pī} \)-replace-
ment and iteration. A guna of their abhyasa is accomplished by 7.4.82 guno yañlukoh. Follow derivational patterns of many yañ-derivates already explained.

6.1.30 विभाषा रूपे:

vibhāsa śveḥ
/vibhāsa 1/1 śveḥ 7/1/
(samprasāraṇam #13 lidyaṅk #29)
līti yañī ca śvayāter dhātor vibhāsa samprasāraṇam bhavati

Verbal root TŪOSvā 'to swell' optionally goes through samprasāraṇa when affixes LIT and yañ follow.

EXAMPLES:

śusāva 'third person singular active LIT-derivate of śvī 'to swell’’
śīsvōya 'ibidem'
śusāvatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
śīsvīyatuḥ 'ibidem'
śosūyate 'third person singular middle derivate of LAT of śvī ending in yañ'
śesūyate 'ibidem'

1. This rule carries the anuvṛtti of samprasāraṇa, LIT and yañ. Of course, the application of samprasāraṇa is optional. The option (vibhāsa) itself is interpreted as ubhayatra-vibhāsa. Verbal root śvī has samprasāraṇa available (prāpta) to it obligatorily (nityā) before a LIT affix marked with K (kit; 6.1.15 vacisvāpiyajādīnām . . .). That is, the samprasāraṇa is not available (aprāpta) to it before an affix not marked with K (akīt). The samprasāraṇa before yañ has not yet been made available. Our present rule makes it optionally available.

The word vibhāsa has been defined by 1.1.44 na veti vibhāsa as denoting the sense of na vā 'or not'. This na vā is construed with a rule of ubhayatra-vibhāsa in part. Thus, na 'not' first negates the option which may be made available (prāpta) elsewhere (anyatra). The vā then makes that negative provision optional. The na, in the context of our present rule, will first negate provisions made by 6.1.15 vacisvāpiyajādīnām . . . The vā will then make it available optionally in case of verbal root śvī. In case of the option of samprasāraṇa, which is not made available (aprāpta) elsewhere, na of na vā cannot be construed with the rule. For, negation can apply only when a positive provision is already made. Consequently, vā alone will provide for optional samprasāraṇa.

Refer to the appendix of 1.1.44 na veti vibhāsa (II:379-82) for derivational details.
6.1.31 नौ च संरचनाओऽ:

नौ ca samścañoh
/नौ 7/1 ca १ samścañoh 7/2 = samि ca caन ca, tayoh (itar. dv.)/
(samprasāraṇaṃ #13 vibhāṣa śveḥ #30)
sanपare caṇpare ca नौ parataḥ śvayatे dhātore vibhāṣa samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati

Verbal root TūOśvi ‘to swell’ goes through samprasāraṇa provided when NiC, followed by affixes saN and CaN, follows.

Examples:

śuśāvayisati ‘third person singular causal saN derivate in LAT of śvī’
śiśvāyaiśati ‘ibidem’
asuśāvat ‘third person singular causal derivate of śvī in LUΝ’
āśiśvayat ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the parasaptamī ‘locative of right context’ in nau and samścañoh denote different loci (bhinnādhiḥkaraṇa). It is used in nau with reference to śvī. It is used in samścañoh with reference to nau. Consequently, this rule must be interpreted with two-step qualifiers to TūOśvi as follows:

(i) samścañoh parato yo'niḥ ‘the NiC which occurs when saN and CaN follow’;
(ii) tasmin nau parato yah śvayatiḥ ‘the śvī which occurs when NiC, particularly of the kind of (i) follows’.

Thus, the interpretation: sanпare caṇpare ca नौ parataḥ ‘when NiC, followed by saN and CaN, follows’.

2. Commentators remind here again that samprasāraṇa, or an operation related to samprasāraṇa, is treated as comparatively more powerful (balavattara; samprasāraṇaṃ samprasāraṇāśrayaṃ ca baliyo bhavati). Consequently, samprasāraṇa is able to block vṛddhi, etc., which happens to be internally conditioned (antarāṅga). Of course, vṛddhi and replacement in āv, as in śuśāvayisati, apply subsequent to samprasāraṇa.

Rule 7.4.80 oh puyanḍya apare provides that ‘an i comes in place of the final sound of an abhyāsa when affix saN follows, provided the abhyāsa ends in u and occurs before a labial (pU), a semivowel (yaN) or j, followed by a’. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that a substitution caused by NiC, for purposes of iteration (dvirvacana), is treated as what it replaced, irrespective of whether or not it conditions iteration. Let us consider a somewhat controlled derivation of śiśvāyaisati where verbal root śu is used with the causal NiC before affix saN. A vṛddhi of i followed by its replacement by ōy will yield: śv(i→ai→ōy) + i + i (T→१) + sa = śvāyī + i (s→s) a = śvāyī + i + sa. An iteration on śvāyī where śvī is not treated as a root via sthānivadbhāva will produce wrong results: *śā + śvāyī + i + sa. But bringing śvī via sthānivadbhāva for
purposes of iteration will offer the correct form \( s(v \rightarrow \phi) i + sv\acute{y}i + i + sa \rightarrow s\acute{i}sv\acute{y} (i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + i + sa = s\acute{i}sv\acute{y}ay\acute{y}i\acute{sa}. \) Given \( svi + i + sa, \) an application of sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} will similarly produce \( s(v \rightarrow u) i + sa \rightarrow s (u \rightarrow i \rightarrow u) + i + sa \rightarrow s(u \rightarrow au \rightarrow \acute{a}v) + i + sa = \acute{a}sv + i + i + sa, \) where iteration, if applies with reference to \( \acute{a}sv + i \) will produce wrong results: \( *s\acute{a} + \acute{a}sv + i + i + sa. \) The correct form should be \( su + \acute{a}sv + i + sa \) which will finally, through \( su \) retrieved via sth\acute{a}nivadbh\acute{a}va, augment iT, and \( i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay \) replacements of NiC, will produce \( \acute{s}u\acute{a}v\acute{y}i\acute{sa} \) of \( \acute{s}u\acute{a}v\acute{y}i\acute{sa}. \)

Let us return to our reference to rule 7.4.80 oh puyan\acute{y} apare which becomes an indicator for applying iteration via sth\acute{a}nivadbh\acute{a}va when NiC follows. It also means that sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} blocks iteration initially. For, in its absence, the question of \( svi \) forming the focus of iteration via sth\acute{a}nivadbh\acute{a}va does not arise. It also makes known that internally conditioned \( \acute{v}r\acute{d}dhi, \) etc., are also blocked by sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}. Consequently, \( \acute{v}r\acute{d}dhi \) and replacement in \( \acute{a}v (\acute{a}v-\acute{a}de\acute{s}a) \) also apply subsequent to the application of sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} (K\acute{a}ś.: 

\[ \ldots \text{krte tu sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} vr\acute{d}dhir \acute{a}v\acute{a}de\acute{s}a ca. tatah 'oh puyan\acute{y} apare (7.4.80) ' ity etad vacanaṁ j\acute{a}pāpakaṁ-nau kṛtasth\acute{a}nivadbh\acute{a}vasya itis sth\acute{a}nivadbh\acute{a}vāt \acute{s}u\acute{a}dbdo dvirucyate. \]

Derivatives of CaN have to be handled accordingly. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.1.32 ह: समप्रसारणम्

\[ \text{huah sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}m} \]
\[ / \text{huah 1/1 sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}m 1/1/} \]
\[ (\text{nau ca sam\acute{s}ca\acute{n}oh #31}) \]
\[ \text{sanpare ca\acute{n}pare ca nau parato huah sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}m bhavati} \]

Verbal root \( huah \) goes through sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} when affix NiC, followed by affix saN or CaN, follows.

**Examples:**

- juh\acute{a}v\acute{y}i\acute{sa}ti 'he wishes to challenge'
- juh\acute{a}v\acute{y}i\acute{sa}tah 'those two wish to . . . '
- juh\acute{a}v\acute{y}i\acute{sa}nti 'those all wish to . . . '
- ajuh\acute{a}vat 'he challenged'
- ajuh\acute{a}vat\acute{a}m 'they two challenged . . . '
- ajuh\acute{a}van 'they all challenged'

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}m when we already have the same available through anuv\acute{r}tti. P\acute{a}nini uses sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} so that he can drop the anuv\acute{r}tti of vibh\acute{a}śā which happens to be associated with the earlier sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na}. This sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} is used to drop the anuv\acute{r}tti of vibh\acute{a}śā and hence is not optional. Look for derivational details in the appendix.

2. Once again, since sampras\acute{a}ra\acute{na} and operations related to it enjoy greater strength, \( \acute{v}r\acute{d}dhi, \) etc., are again initially put on hold in favor of
samprasaśāna. This is also the reason why augment yUK (7.3.37 śacchāsāh-
vārayaśpām yuk) is also blocked in favor of samprasaśāna.

3. Why can we not have a single formulation of this rule as hvaḥ sampra-
sāraṇaṁ abhyastosya. This way we do not need a separate 6.1.33 abhyastosya ca. A split formulation is made to indicate that samprasaśāna is accomplished only when an affix conditioning abhyāsa intervenes. One can not accomplish samprasaśāna when an affix which did not condition abhyāsa intervenes (Kāś.: ‘hvaḥ samprasaśāraṇam abhyastasya’ity ekayogeyayogakaranan
anabhastanihitaprayatryena vyavadhāne samprasaśāraṇābhāvajñāpanārtham). It is for this reason that samprasaśāna is not accomplished in examples such as hvāyakīyatī parallel to hvāyakam icchati ‘...wishes for...’. This same is also true of a corresponding derivate of saN, i.e., jihvāyakiyiṣāti.

6.1.33 अभ्यास्त्य च

abhyastosya ca
/abhyastosya 6/1/ ca φ/
(hvaḥ samprasaśāraṇaṁ #32)
abhyastosya kāraṇasya hvayaṭhe prāg eva dvirvacanāt samprasaśāraṇaṁ bhavati
The hve[N which constitutes the source of an abhyasta also goes through
samprasaśāna.

Examples:

juhāva 'he called out'
juhūyate 'he makes repeated challenges'
juhūṣati 'wishes to challenge?'

1. The ca of this rule is used to attract hvaḥ from the preceding rule. If hvaḥ is not attracted by ca then samprasaśāna will apply to what is termed an
abhyasta. That means it will apply to both the abhyāsa (6.1.4 prathamḥ bhyāsah) and
abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam).

Note that abhyastosya and hvaḥ both end in the genitive. But this dual
genitive cannot establish a coreferential relationship (sāmānādhikaranyā)
between abhyastosya and hvaḥ. That is, we cannot interpret the strings
abhyastosya hvaḥ as 'the hva which is (also) termed abhyasta'. For, this will
then require iteration whereby the term abhyasta can be assigned. But
samprasaśāna cannot be applied now since 6.1.37 na samprasāraṇaṃ sampra-
sāraṇaṃ will not permit it. It is in view of this difficulty that the relationship
between abhyastosya and hvaḥ is accepted as vyadhikaranā, i.e., that which
involves different loci. The phrase is then interpreted as: abhyastosya tu hveN
'the hve[N of abhyasta'. Kāśikā interprets it as that hve[N which is the kāraṇa
'basis, source' for the assignment of the term abhyasta. The Mahābhāṣya simply
calls it the base (prakṛti; abhyastosya prakṛter iti) which forms as the source for
assignment of the term abhyasta. This makes it possible for samprasaśāna to
take place prior to dvitva. Thus, in contexts where assignment of the term abhyasta is possible after iteration, samprasāraṇa is accomplished prior to iteration. Consider juhāva, juhūyate and juhūṣati, derivatives of LIṬ, yaN and saN, respectively, for illustration. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.34 बहुल छन्दसि

bāhulam chandasi
/bāhulaṃ 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(hvaḥ samprasāraṇam #32)
chandasi viṣaye hvasatār dhātor bāhulaṃ samprasāraṇam bhavati
Verbal root hveN goes through samprasāraṇa in the Vedic, variously.

EXAMPLES:

indrāgni hve 'I invoke the presence of Indra and Agni'
devīm sarasaṃtām hve 'I invoke the presence of Sarasvati, the divine'
hvaṃśi marutaḥ śivān 'I invoke the presence of benevolent winds'

1. It is because of this provision of bāhulaka ‘variously’ that we get samprasāraṇa and uvAN in an example such as hve ‘first person singular present indicative middle’ of hu ‘to call’. But one can also find an example such as hvaṃśi, the first person singular present indicative active of hu, where samprasāraṇa is not accomplished. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

6.1.35 चायः कि

cāyāḥ ki
/cāyāḥ 6/1 ki (deleted 1/1)/
(bāhulaṃ chandasi #33)
cāyate dhātāḥ chandasi viṣaye bāhulaṃ ‘kiḥ ayaṃ ādeso bhavati
Verbal root cāyR ‘to honor’ is variously replaced with ki in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

viyanta nyanyāṃ cikyur na nicikyur anyam
‘they did not worship any other’
agnir jyotir nicāyam

1. Here again a replacement in ki, or its absence, is accounted for by nipātana. Thus, ni-ciki + (LIṬ → jhi→us) = nicikyus, but ni-cāy + (Ktvā→Lyā) = nicāya.

6.1.36 अपस्प्रवेधामानुपत्तांन्तरिच्चायेतिविज्ञानांतरं।श्रीमाने!राजाराजेवाः:

apaspradhātam-āntar-ānruś-cicyuṣ-teyāja-srātāḥ śritam-āśrāśiruṣāḥ
/apaspradhēthām (a form in tiN); ānṛcuḥ (a form in tiN); ānṛhuh (a form in tiN); ciṣye (a form in tiN); tityāja (a form in tiN); śrātāḥ 1/3 śritam 1/1 āśīḥ 1/1 āśṛttāḥ 1/1/
(samprasāraṇam #32 chandasi #34)
'apaspradhēthām'īty ete śabdāḥ chandasi viśaye nipātyante
The following are derived, via nipātana, in the Vedic:
apaspradhēthām, ānṛcuḥ, ānṛhuh, ciṣye, tityāja, śrātāḥ, śritam, āśīḥ, and āśṛttāḥ.

Examples:
apaspradhēthām 'second person dual middle LAñ-derivate of apa-spardh 'to compete'
ānṛcuḥ 'this person plural active LIṣ of ān-arc 'to worship, respect'
ānṛhuh 'third person . . . of ān-arh 'to respect'
ciṣye
tityāja 'third person singular active LIṣ of tyaj 'abandon'
śrātāḥ 'Kta-derivate of śrīN 'to cook'
śritam 'ibidem'
āśīḥ '('āN-śrī + Kta + KviP) + Kta'
āśṛttāḥ '('āN-(śrā→śrī) + Kta'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details, especially as they relate to nipātana.

6.1.37 न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम्

na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam
/nāṭ samprasāraṇe 7/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1/
samprasāraṇe parataḥ pūrvasya yaṇah samprasāraṇam na bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN is not replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term iK when samprasāraṇa follows yaN.

Examples:
viddhāḥ 'pierced'
vicitāḥ 'deceived'
samvītāḥ 'properly covered; (sam-tyeN) + Kta)') + sU'

1. This rule negates samprasāraṇa when samprasāraṇa follows. Why do we need such a rule? So that samprasāraṇa can be blocked from applying to instances of sounds denoted by yaN. Consider the derivation of viddhāḥ from vyadhi + (K) ta. Should one apply samprasāraṇa to v and y both? Our present rule makes it clear that samprasāraṇa should apply only to y. How do we know that samprasāraṇa cannot apply to v? We know it from this negative provision of samprasāraṇa conditioned by the right context of samprasāraṇa.
Obviously, a right context of negation of samprāsāraṇa cannot be gotten if samprāsāraṇa did not apply to a yaN that occurred subsequent to another yaN.

One cannot invoke the alo’ nt;à-paribhāṣā (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) to restrict application of samprāsāraṇa to the final yaN of a given form. For, that will render the samprāsāraṇa provision of 6.1.15 vacisvaṭi . . . vacuous. One can also not invoke the paribhāṣā (PŚ. 104): anantyavikārā ntyasadēśasya, thereby restricting the application of samprāsāraṇa to a yaN which is next to the final sound segment of a given form.

The formation of rule 6.1.28 pyāyah pi also indicates that not every yaN should be replaced with samprāsāraṇa. For, if all occurrences of sounds denoted by yaN could be replaced with samprāsāraṇa in a form then specification of pi as a replacement for pyāy was unnecessary. For, pīna of pīnám mukham could have then been derived without pi as a replacement. Thus, given pyāy + (K)ta, samprāsāraṇa, if applied to both y-elements, could yield: p(y→i) a(y→i) → p(iā→i) + i + ta through pūrvarūpa. An application of 6.1.108 samprāsāraṇāc ca, followed by that of 6.4.2 halaka, could produce: p(i + i→i) + ta → p(i→i) + ta = pīta. The t could be then replaced with n (8.2.45 oditaś ca) to yield pī + (t→n) a = pīna. Why can samprāsāraṇa, in this derivation of pīna, not apply only to the final y of pyāy? This, of course, will be in consonance with 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya. This application of samprāsāraṇa on the final y is possible if the genitive, in pyāyah of pyāyah pi, is interpreted as denoting ‘in place of’ (sthāna-śaṣṭhi; 1.1.49 śaṣṭhi sthāneyogā). But this genitive when interpreted as denoting ‘part of a whole’ (avayava-śaṣṭhi) cannot block samprāsāraṇa from applying to both y-elements of pyāyah. For purposes of samprāsāraṇa, it will yield the interpretation: ‘the y forming a part of pyāy’. This again indicates that samprāsāraṇa does not apply to all sounds denoted by yaN. It applies only to a subsequent yaN and not to any preceding. This application of samprāsāraṇa only applicable to a subsequent yaN is not possible to be known from vidhyaty adhanuṣa, etc. For, vidhyati can be derived also by applying samprāsāraṇa in turn (paryāya). This rule is then needed (PM ad Kāś.: ... na sarvaya yanaḥ samprāsāraṇam bhavati; tatra kuta etat-parasyaivau bhavati na pūrvasyet; na ca vidhyatyād nirdeśāt parasyaiveti śakyam avagantum. paryāyena pravṛttāv api tadutpattēḥ. tasmād ārabhyam evaitah).

Some still argue that there is nothing in the specification of of samprāsāraṇa which can stop it from applying indiscriminately to both the preceding and following elements of yaN. It will then become very difficult to comprehend this negation. How could you stop someone from eating when he is already eating (yo hi bhuktavantam brūyād mā bhūṅkthā iti kim tena kṛtam syāt). It is to remove this difficulty that the locative in samprāsāraṇa is interpreted as denoting nimitta ‘cause’. Note, however, that samprāsāraṇa itself is not accepted as the nimitta. Instead, it is the iK which is to be brought about (tadbhāvī), via samprāsāraṇa, that becomes the nimitta for this negation.
2. Why is *samprasadāna* used here explicitly when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that, in the absence of explicitly using *samprasadānam*, *paribhāṣā* (PŚ. 62): *ananantaraya vidhir bhavati pratiṣeṣho vā ‘an operation, or its negation, applies only to the most proximate’ will apply. Consider the derivation of *yūnāḥ*, from *yuvaN + (Ś) as = yuvaN + as*, where 6.1.133 *svayyuvamaghonām ataddhītā requires samprasadāna to yield yu(*v → u*) an + as = yu(*ua → u*) an + as = yuvaN + as → y(*u + u → ū*) na + as = yūna + as through samprasadāna, *pūrvarūpā and dirgha* (6.4.2 halah). The argument that y of yūna must also go through samprasadāna because it is most proximate to v, via sthāṇivadbhāva (1.1.56 sthāṇivad . . .), is not acceptable. The long ū cannot be accepted as the two vowels it replaced, especially since an operation is to be performed on what precedes (*pūrvaividhau kartavye, 1.1.58 na padānta- dvirvacana . . .). The notion of proximity via sthāṇivadbhāva is thus not valid. To still insist that examples such as *yūnah* can be derived via *nipātana* and hence, samprasadāna in this rule should not be used, is also not acceptable. For, *nipātana* cannot be manipulated to block a general provision.

An explicit mention of samprasadāna, as against its acceptance via *anuvṛtti*, makes it understood that samprasadāna on a preceding *yaN* sound is negated even when the following *yaN* sound does not occur contiguously after it.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two vārttiκa-proposals under this rule:

(i) An application of samprasadāna, in addition to deletion of the initial sound of what follows, is recommended for *tri* when followed by *ṛc*. Thus *t(r → r) i + rŚ = t(rī → r) + rŚ = tr + (r → ṛ) c = trc*. A derivate such as *ṛcya* of *ṛcaṃ sūktam* is derived by introducing the *samāśānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 ṛkṣpūrabdhhūpāḥ ānākṣaḥ). This proposal of samprasadāna and *lopa* is made only for the Vedic. The classical language will still have *tr(i → y) + rŚa = tryṛca*, derived via *yaN* with no samprasadāna and *lopa*, parallel to *tisrah reah yasmin ‘that in which there are three hymns’.

(ii) A samprasadāna on *rayi* before *matUP* applies variously in the Vedic. Thus, *ra(y → i) i + mat → ra(i + i = i) + mat = ra + i + mat = ra + (i → e) + mat → r(a + e → e) + (m → v) at = re + vat*. But we also get *rayimān* which does not involve samprasadāna.

6.1.38 लिटि वयो च:

*liṭi vayo yah*

/ līṭi 7/1 vayah 1/1/ yah 1/1/

(na samprasadānam #37)

*liṭi parato vayo yakārasya samprasadāraṇaṃ na bhavati*

The y of vay is not replaced with *samprasadāna* when *liṭ* follows.
EXAMPLES:

uvāya ‘third person singular active $LIT$-derivate of veN ‘to weave’

uyatuh ‘third person dual . . . ’

ūyuh ‘third person plural . . . ’

1. Note that uvāya derives from (veN→vay) + $LIT$ = (vay + vay) + $LIT$ = va(y→ṣ) + vay + $LIT$→(v→u)a + vay + $LIT$→(u+a→u) + vay + $LIT$→u + v(a→ā)y + $LIT$→uvāy + (LIT→tiP→a) = uvāya. There are two rules which offer samprasāraṇa relative to veN→vay: 6.1.16 grahijāvayi . . . and 6.1.17 āty abhyāsasyobhayēśām. The first offers samprasāraṇa to the root while the second offers it optionally to the abhyāsa. The samprasāraṇa of $v$ can be blocked in favor of the samprasāraṇa of $y$ by the preceding rule. Our present rule will block the samprasāraṇa of $y$. This, however, does not mean that samprasāraṇa will not apply. Once $y$ is blocked from going through samprasāraṇa, $v$ will become available to it. That is, vay contains two elements denoted by yaN. Rule 6.1.37 na samprasāraṇa . . . negates the samprasāraṇa of $v$. Our present rule negates the samprasāraṇa of $y$. Given this, the samprasāraṇa of a verbal root is accomplished by rule 6.1.16 grahijāvayi . . . The samprasāraṇa of the abhyāsa is accomplished by 6.1.17 āty abhyāsasyobhayēśām.

2. Why state $LIT$ when a replacement of veN, in vay, is possible only in $LIT$? The anuvṛtti of $LIT$ from 6.1.17 āty abhyāsasyobhayēśām can accomplish its function. Commentators claim that $LIT$ is used for subsequent rules (uttarārtham). Thus, līti, when read with veNah of 6.1.40 veNah, will optionally block the samprasāraṇa of verbal root veN when $LIT$ follows. The negation of veNah coulds still apply when $LIT$ follows. This, in turn, seems to be the purpose of using līti in this rule explicitly.

6.1.39 बहचस्यायनेतयस्य किति

vaś cāsyāyatarasyām kiti
/vah 1/1 ca φ asya 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 kiti 7/1/
(līti vayo yah #38)

asya vayo yakārasya kiti līti parato vakārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The $y$ of vay is optionally replaced with $v$ when a $LIT$ affix marked with $K$ follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvatuh ‘third person dual active $LIT$-derivate’

ūruh ‘third person plural . . . ’

ūyatuh ‘third person dual . . . ’

ūyuḥ ‘third person plural . . . ’

1. This optional replacement is applicable only before a $LIT$ affix marked with $K$. It can, thus, not be availed by uvāya and uvayitha which are derivatives of tiP and siP. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.
2. The word asya refers to the y (of vay) whose samprâśrâna is negated. This interpretation also facilitates blocking of samprâśrâna of a v. Patañjali thinks that the sûtra should have been simply formulated as anyatarasyāṁ kiti venaḥ. That is, without vaścāśya. For, the intended derivate can all be accounted for without using vaścāśya. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.40 वेन: 
veṇah
/veṇah 6/1/
(na samprâśrânam #37 liṭī #38)
'veṇ tantusantâne'ity asya dhâtor liṭī parataḥ samprâśrânam na bhavati
Verbal root veṇ ʻto weaveʻ does not go through samprâśrâna when affix LIT follows.

Examples:

vaṇau ʻthird person singular active LITʻderivate of veṇ (to weave)ʻ
vaṇauḥ ʻthird person dual . . .ʻ
vaṇuh ʻthird person plural . . .ʻ

1. This rule negates the samprâśrâna made available by 6.1.15 vacisvapiyaj . . . before an affix marked with K. It also negates the samprâśrâna made available by 6.1.17 lity abhyāśasyobhayeśāṁ in connection with NaL and thai, replacements of tiP and siP, marked with P, respectively.

6.1.41 ल्यापि च
lyāpi ca
/lyāpi 7/1 ca ϕ/
(na samprâśrânam #36 veṇah #40)
lyāpi ca parato vyeṇah samprâśrânam na bhavati
Verbal root veṇ does not go through samprâśrâna also when affix LyāP follows.

Examples:

prauāya
upauāya

1. This rule negates the provision of samprâśrâna available to veṇ from 6.1.15 vacisvapījādīnām . . . A separate formulation of this rule is made so that lyāpi alone could be carried over subsequently. A joint formulation with the preceding rule would have also required the anuvṛtti of veṇ in the succeeding rule.
6.1.42 ज्याच

**jyaś ca**

/\jyaḥ 6/1 ca 1/1/  
(na samprasāraṇam #37 byāpi #41)

'jyā vayohānau' ity asya dhātor byāpi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati  
Verbal root jyā 'to grow old' also does not go through samprasāraṇa  
when affix LayP follows.

**Examples:**

prajyāya
upajyāya

1. This negation of samprasāraṇa is made against the positive provision of  
6.1.16 grahiyāva yi. . . Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as: byāpi vyo  
jyaś ca. This way he did not have to formulate three rules with additional use  
of two ca. First of all, byāpi cannot be brought here because it separately  
negates the samprasāraṇa of veNi. Bringing byāpi here would also necessitate  
bringing veNi which is not desired. Secondly, an optional samprasāraṇa  
allowed for vyeNi is not allowed for jyā. Thus, all these separate formulations  
are intended for subsequent rules.

6.1.43 व्यास

**vyaś ca**

/\vyaḥ 6/1 ca ꞌ%/  
(na samprasāraṇam #37 byāpi #41)

'vyeNi saṁva rane ity etasya dhātor byāpi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati  
Verbal root vyeNi 'to cover' also does not go through samprasāraṇa when  
affix LayP follows.

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended for blocking the anuvṛtti  
of jyaḥ in subsequent rules.

pravyāya
upavyāya

6.1.44 विभाषा परे:

**vibhāṣā pareḥ**

/\vibhāṣā 1/1 pareh 5/1/  
(na samprasāraṇam #37 byāpi #41 vyaḥ #43)

parer uttaraṣya 'vyeNi ity etasya dhātor byāpi parato vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam  
na bhavati  
Verbal root vyeNi used with the preverb pari does not go through  
samprasāraṇa, optionally, when affix LayP follows.
EX frozen:

pariviṣṭa yuṣam 'having wrapped around'
pariviṣṭa 'ibidem'

1. Given pari + vṛye + (Ktvā→LyāP) = pari + vṛ(e→ā; ātva; 6.1.45 ād eca upadesā .) + ya = pari + v(y→i) ā + ya = pari + v(i + ā→i); pūrvarūpa) = pari + v(i→i) (dirgha; 6.4.2 halaḥ), we get pariviṣṭa. We will get pariviṣṭa when the option of applying samprasārana is not accepted. Note also that when the option of samprasārana is availed, tUK of 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk becomes applicable after pūrvarūpa. But this tUK is blocked in favor of application of 6.4.2 halaḥ since it is subsequent in order (para; 1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam).

6.1.45 आदेश उपदेशोऽर्थात

ād eca upadesā šiti
/at 1/1 ecaḥ 6/1 upadesā 7/1 ašiti 7/1 = sa cāsau it ca = ši (karmadhāraya);
na ši = aši, tasmin (nañ tat. with int. karm.)/
(dhātoḥ #8)
ejanto yo dhātur upadesā tasyākārādeśo bhavati šiti tu prataye na bhavati
A verbal root which, in upadesā, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term eC, is replaced with ā, but not when an affix marked with S as an it follows.

EX frozen:

glātā 'trC-derivate of glai 'to be weary''
glātum 'tumUN-derivate . . .'
glātavayam 'tavya-derivate . . .'
niśātā 'trC-derivate of ni-śo 'to cut''
niśātum 'tumUN-derivate . . .'
niśātavayam 'tavyaT-derivate . . .'

1. Note that dhātoḥ must be brought close to the context of this rule as a predicate (vidheya). If dhātoḥ is not brought via anunṛtti, then, in the absence of a predicate, tadantavidhi interpretation of eC, as a substituendum for ā, will not be possible to comprehend. We will then interpret the rule as: 'ā comes in place of an eC in upadesā'. Of course, with dhātoḥ in place via maṇḍūkaphuti 'frog's leap' from 6.1.8 liṇḍ dhātor . . ., we get the interpretation: 'ā comes as a substitute in place of an eC-final root in upadesā'. Rule 1.1.51 alo' nyayasā will then order ā as a replacement in place of eC.

2. Why is this substitution applicable to eC only? So that it does not apply in deriving kartā and harṭā where the roots end in r. A condition of upadesa is imposed so that cetā and stotā, where e and o are replacements of the original i and u, could be kept out of the scope of this rule.
What is the purpose of aṣīti 'when an affix not marked with Ś follows'? So that ā can be blocked, for example in glai + ŠaP + (LĀT→tiP) and mlai + ŠaP + (LĀT→tiP), where ŠaP follows. Recall that glāyati and mlāyati derive by replacing ai with āy.

3. It is stated that this replacement is not allowed when an affix not marked with Ś as an it follows (aṣīti). How does this replacement apply in jagle and mamle. The word ̵sit of aṣīti is not interpreted as a bahuvrīhi, paraphrased as śkāra id yasya 'that whose it is a Ś'. It is interpreted as a karmadhāraya paraphrased as: śa eva it '(when) Ś itself is an it'. A tatpurusa interpretation will make this specification refer to the sound Ś (varṇa-grahāṇa). Once varṇagrahāṇa is accepted, aṣīti will negate an operation with reference to Ś as an it at the beginning of affixal right context (parībhāṣā (PŚ 34): yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahane). Thus, the negation of aṣīti applies only when the affix begins with Ś as an it (tadāditva; śidādau pratyaye pratiśedhah). Deriving jagle and mamle from glai + LĪT and mlai + LĪT where LĪT is replaced with ēŚ, via the ātmanepada affix ta, now becomes easier. For, the negation of aṣīti cannot apply since ēŚ, does not begin with Ś. A bahuvrīhi interpretation cannot block this negation from applying since ēŚ will still be marked with Ś as an it.

4. What is the nature of negation (pratiśedha) in aṣīti? Is it paryudāsa or prasajya? A paryudāsa interpretation will yield the interpretation of tadbhinnataisadṛśa 'that which is not that but is similar to that'. That is, sīṭaḥ anyaḥ = aṣīti; tasmin aṣīti 'that which is other than (but similar to) one marked with Ś as an it; when that follows'. This paryudāsā interpretation will then be limited only to contexts where an affix followed. It will be difficult to derive suglaḥ and sumnāḥ without the ā-replacement of ai of these roots since there will be no Ka affix to follow. For, affix Ka (3.1.136 ātas copasarga) cannot be introduced where the roots ended in ā. We will be caught in a situation where one will be dependent upon the other (itaśeṣtārāśraya). A prasajya interpretation will negate ̵sit only. The ā-replacement will take place even without the introduction of Ka (Kāś.: aṣītiḥ prasajyapratīśedho 'yam tenaitad ātvam anaimittikam prāg eva pratyayatpatter bhavaśiti). This is how suglānah and sumlānah with yuC (3.3.128 āto yuc) can also be derived.

To sum up, aṣīti will be interpreted as itsamjñākasaśkāraḍau pratyaye na bhavaṇi 'does not apply when an affix with Š as an it at its beginning follows'. Recall that this interpretation will also take recourse to varṇagrahāṇa and tadāditva as explained earlier.

4. The anuvṛtti of āt is valid up to 6.1.57 nityaṁ smayateḥ.

6.1.46 न व्यो लिति

na vyo liṭi
/ na ṣ vyaḥ 6/1 liṭi 7/1/
(ađeca upadeśe #45)
‘vyēn’ity etasya dhātor liṭi parata ākārūdeśo na bhavati
Verbal root veN does not go through a replacement in ā when affix LIT follows.

Examples:

samvivīya ‘having securely covered’
samvivīyayitha ‘you have wrapped it well’

1. Note that rule 6.1.17 lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām orders the samprasāraṇa replacement for y of the abhyāsa (6.1.14 pūrvo bhyaśāh). That is, we get sām + vye + vye + NaL→sam + v(y→i)e + vye + a→sam + v(i + e→i) + vye + a after samprasāraṇa (6.1.17 lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām) and pūrvarūpa (6.1.108 samprasāraṇāc ca). The e of vye is replaced with ai, its vṛddhi counterpart (7.2.115 aco’ ānītī), under the condition of NaL. This ai is then replaced with āy before a. The dual and plural forms corresponding to samvivīyaṇa will be samvivīyatuh and samvivīyuh, derivatives of atus and us, respectively. These both will go through reiteration of the form resulting after samprasāraṇa. A replacement in yaN will be subsequently required by 7.4.82 er anekācaḥ. Augment iT in samvivīyayitha is introduced by 7.2.66 iḍ atty-ätti-vyayatīnām.

2. Can na be construed with liṭi to give the meaning of aliṭi ‘when something other than a LIT follows’. No, because this will be against desired derivational goals. Besides, such a negation can apply only to a restrictive (nitiyama) provision such as: liṭi vyāḥ ‘ā comes as a replacement only when LIT follows’.

3. Kāśikā, for reasons that this rule does not offer anything new to dual and plural forms, offers only singular as examples. That is, given ve + atus→ ve + ve + atus, there would not be any difference in form whether iteration applies with or without ātua. This no difference in form will result because both the dhātu as well as the abhyāsa will go through iteration.

Why not apply samprasāraṇa before dvitva? This still would not make any difference in forms, especially under the condition of kiti. Of course, we will get a difference in form with NaL. Kāśikā does not offer additional examples because there will not be any difference of forms in the context of ajādi ‘vowel-initial’ affixes atus, us, etc.

6.1.47 स्कृतिस्प्रकृत्वद्विधिः

sphuratisphulatyor ghāṇi
/sphurati-sphulatyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); ghāṇi 7/1/
(ađečah #45)

‘sphur-sphul calane’ ity etayor dhātuor ecaḥ sthāne ghāṇi parata ākārūdeśo bhavati
The eC of verbal roots sphur ‘to throb’ and sphul ‘ibidem’ is replaced with ā when affix GHaN follows.
Examples:

*bispṭāraḥ ‘GHaṆ-derivate of vi-sphur ‘to tremble’*
*bispṭālaḥ ‘. . . of sphul ‘to throb’*
*bispṭāraḥ ‘ibidem’
*bispṭālaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* do not have any *eC* in *upadeśa*. The word *upadeśa* is thus not carried here. Elsewhere in subsequent rules, *upadeśa* will be carried if cited roots qualify for the condition of *eC*. Commentators state that ā, since there is no *eC* in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the o (an *eC*) of these roots which, in turn, is gotten after application of *guna* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). An optional s (*satva*) results from the application of 8.3.76 *sphuratipshulatyor* . . . Incidentally, the examples are all derivate of GHaṆ introduced by 3.3.121 *halaś ca* with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’, *karaṇa* ‘instrument’ or *adhikaṇaṇa* ‘locus’.

6.1.48 क्रीडःजीनाः णौ

krīṇāṁ nau
/krīṇāṁ 6/3 = krī ca in ca jiś ca = krīṇayāḥ (itar. dv.), teśām; nau 7/1/
(ādecaḥ #45)
‘dukrīṇ dravyaviniyave, ‘in adhyayane’, ’ji jaye ity eteśām dhātūnām ecah
sthāne nau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
An ā comes as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots krī ‘to barter’,
iN ‘to study’ and ji ‘to win’ when affix *NiC* follows.

Examples:

krāpayati ‘. . . has someone barter something’
adhyāpayati ‘. . .teaches; . . .has someone study’
jāpayati ‘. . . has someone win’

1. This rule offers ā as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots DUKrīṇ ‘to buy, barter’, iN ‘to study’ and ji ‘to win’ provided when *NiC* follows. This rule begins replacements with no condition of *upadeśa* (PM: *anupadesārtha ārambhah*). Note that forms such as krāpayati, adhyāpayati and jāpayati can be derived from verbal roots krap ‘to find fault, move’, jāp ‘to speak out’ and āpl. ‘to pervade’. This rule uses three specific verbal roots to exclude other roots and corresponding forms, in addition to excluding the non-*NiC* forms of the three cited roots. Why can we not interpret DUKrīṇ and iN as krīṇ ‘to do’ and iN ‘to go’? To interpret DUKrīṇ as krīṇ is not possible because of the requirement of *eC*. Kāśikā reads ecah sthāne in the *vyrtti*. Verbal root iN can also be ruled out since, verbal root ji, a root ending in a short vowel, is used in association (sāhacarya). An iN with a short i is to be preferred. Why can we not interpret iN as iN with a long vowel on the basis of its associated use
with ṚUKṛiṆ, also ending in a long vowel. An iṽ with short ī can be acceptable on the basis of vipratisēdha? Besides, it is listed in the same group (ekaganiya). Or else, interpretation of the learned remains our only recourse (vyākhyaṇam eva śaram). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.49 सिद्धंतेरपरालीकिकेन

sidhyate apāralaukikae
/sidhyateh 6/1 apāralaukikae (naś. tatp.) 7/1/
(ađecah #45 nau #48)
śidhu hiṃsāsamṛādhyoh’ ity asya dhātor apāralaukikae rthe
vartamānasayaicah sthāne nau parata ākārādeso bhavati
An ā comes in place of the eC of verbal root ŚidU when it is used in the sense of something apāralaukika ‘not pertaining to an accomplishment relative to the world beyond’, and affix NiC follows.

Examples:

annam sādhayati ‘he has the food cooked’
grāmaṃ sādhayati ‘he has village built’

1. The condition of apāralaukike is imposed to that śidhU of examples such as tapas tāpasam sēdhayati ‘penance has the ascetic become established' does not come under the scope of this rule. Verbal root śidhU is used here in the sense of ‘accomplishing some special knowledge (jñānaviśesa)’. The tapas ‘penance’ is serving as the instigator for the ascetic. Incidentally, the paraloka of apāralaukike generally means ‘another birth' (janmāntara), although it could also mean heaven and hell (svarga; naraka).

How come ātva is not negated in this example: annam sādhayati brāhmaṇeṇbhya dāṣyāmi ‘he cooks food (thinking) that he will give it to the brāhmaṇas'. Why ‘giving to the brāhmaṇas' which, in turn, would result in some pāralaukika gain, could not block ātva. Commentators explain that sidh is here used in the sense of nispati ‘bringing about the cooking’ where anna is its prayojana ‘purpose, cause’. A gift of anna to the brāhmaṇas certainly entails benefits in the world beyond. However, the condition of apāralaukikatva must be relatable directly to the action. Since ‘cooking’ here cannot accomplish anything pāralaukika, ātva cannot be blocked.

2. Note that sidhyateh has śidhU referenced with ŚyaN. This has been done in view of blocking any reference to sidh ‘to move' of the bhvādi.

6.1.50 मीनातिमीनोतिमीद्वां त्यपि च

mināṭiminotidinām lyāpi ca
/mināṭi-minoti-dinām (itar. dv.) 6/3; lyāpi 7/1 ca ḫ/
(ađecah upadeśe #45)
The final sound segment of mī ‘to injure’, miN ‘to scatter’ and dīN ‘to decay, perish’ is replaced with ā when LyaP and eC find their scope.

**Examples:**

*The examples are all derivates of trC/tumUN/tavyaT/LyaP

friamātā
friamātum
friamātavyam
friamāya

nimātā
nimātum
nimātavyam
nimāya

upadātā
upadātum
upadātavyam
upadāya

1. Note that the root-final i is replaced with ā right at the outset provided affix LyaP, or a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term eC, finds its scope subsequently in the derivation. Thus, these roots do not receive affixes marked by their terminal i. Instead, they receive affixes marked by ātva since ātva is applied to them in upadeśa (Kāś: upadeśa evātvāvīdhānād ivarnāntalakṣaṇāḥ pratyayo na bhavati, ākārāntalakṣaṇāḥ ca bhavati). Thus, upadāyāḥ ‘giving away’ and udapānam ‘drinking of water’ have their āi replaced with dā in upadeśa. Consequently, these derivates involve affixes GHaN (3.3.18 bhāve; upa + dā + GHaN) and yuC (3.3.128 āto yuc; upa + dā + yuC). That is, the roots are not allowed affixes aC (3.3.56 er ac) and KHaL (3.3.126 iṣaddhūṣuṣu . . .).

The ā, in upadeśa, comes as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 alo’ntyasya). This āT-replacement is also accomplished in anticipation of a subsequent eC, for example one which will appear through guna before affixes trC and tumUN. These affixes can thus be viewed as having the scope of eC. Recall that eC will not find its scope in the context of affixes marked with K and N as an it. For, replacement in vrddhi and guna will be negated.

6.1.51 विभाषा लीलेते:

vibhāṣā liyateḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 liyateḥ 6/1/
(ādeca upadeśe #45 lyapi #50)
The final sound segment of verbal root $\mathfrak{li}$ 'to embrace, stick' is optionally replaced with $\mathfrak{a}$ in $\text{upadeśa}$ when $\text{LyaP}$ is to follow or $\epsilon C$ finds its scope.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item vilātā
  \item vilātum
  \item vilāya
  \item vilātavyam
  \item viletā
  \item viletum
  \item viletavyam
  \item vilīya
\end{itemize}

*Derivates of $\mathfrak{li}$ with $\text{trC/ tumUN/ tavyaT/ LyaP}$

1. A reference here with $\mathfrak{li}$ is made to both the $\text{divādi}$ and $\text{kryādi}$ verbal roots $\mathfrak{li}N$ and $\mathfrak{li}$, respectively. The word $\epsilon C$ and $\text{ādeca upadeśe}$ are also understood here. The $\text{ātva}$ will here again take place before $\text{LyaP}$, or in anticipation of an $\epsilon C$. That is, $\mathfrak{li}$ will yield the form $\epsilon l$ through $\text{guna}$. This $\epsilon$ will be replaced with $\mathfrak{a}$ in anticipation. Refer to the appendix for further details.

2. A $\text{vārttika}$ proposal negates $\text{ātva}$ of verbal roots $\mathfrak{mi}$, $\mathfrak{mi}$ and $\mathfrak{li}$ before affixes $K\text{HaiL}$ (3.3.126 $\text{iṣaddhuḥsuṣu}$ . . . ) and $aC3.3.56$ (er ac; 3.1.134 $\text{nandigrāhi}-\text{paccādy}$ . . . ). Thus we will get $\text{iṣatpramayaḥ}$, $\text{iṣannimayaḥ}$ and $\text{iṣadvilayaḥ}$, etc. Note that negation of $\text{ātva}$ amounts to $\text{guna}$ in $\epsilon$ and its subsequent replacement with $\text{ay}$.

3. Note that the option (vibhāṣā) is here interpreted as $\text{vyavasthitva-vibhāṣā}$. It is thus to be understood as involving specific situations. Verbal root $\mathfrak{li}$, when used with $\text{NiC}$, goes through $\text{ātva}$ obligatorily, provided the significance is $\text{pralambhana}$ 'deceiving' and $\text{śālīnīkaraṇa}$ 'showing respect'. That is, $\text{ātva}$ applies obligatorily only when $\text{pralambhana}$ and $\text{śālīnīkaraṇa}$ are denoted. Elsewhere, it just does not apply. This is what the fixed option ($\text{vyavasthitva-vibhāṣā}$) means. Incidentally, the negation of $\text{ātva}$ in connection with $\mathfrak{li}$ can be gotten via $\text{vyavasthitva-vibhāṣā}$. The $\text{vārttika}$ proposal should then be understood in connection with other verbs.

6.1.52 खिदेशचन्द्रसिः

$k\text{hides} \text{chandasi}$

/khideḥ 6/1  \text{chandasi} 7/1/

($\text{ādecaḥ} \#45 \text{vibhāṣā} \#51$)

'khid dainye ity asya dhātor ecaḥ sthāne \text{chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati
An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of verbal root khid ‘to be
glum’ when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

cittam cikhada ‘made sad’
cittam cikheda ‘ibidem’

1. In the classical language we find: cittam khedayati. The e resulting from
guna of i (7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca) is replaced with ā in deriving
cikhāda.

It is argued that this śūtra should not be formulated. For, cikhāda and
cikheda can be derived from khād ‘to eat’ and khid ‘to be sad’. Denotational
differences in roots should create no difficulty since roots denote various
meanings (anekārthā) anyway. Nyāsa observes that if khād and khid were to
be synonymous, it will be impossible to formulate this rule.

6.1.53 अपगुरो नामुलि

apaguro namuli
/apagurah 6/1 namuli 7/1/
(ādecāh #45 vibhāṣā #51)
‘gurī udyamanē ity asya dhātor apapūrvasya namuli parata ecah sthāne vibhāṣā
ākāra ādeo bhavati

An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of gurī ‘to strive, exert’
used with the preverb āpa, when affix NamUL follows.

EXAMPLES:

apagāramapagāram ‘brandishing their swords they fight’
apagāramapagaram ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional ātva when NamUL follows verbal root gurī
used with the preverb āpa. We will get āpa + gurī + (N→ϕ) am (UL→ϕ) = āpa
+ gurī + am→āpa + g(u→o)r + am→āpa + g(o→ā)r + am = apagāram through
guna and ātva. This same can be doubled up to produce apagāramapagāram
with the signification of ābhikṣnya ‘repetition, over and over again’ (3.4.22
ābhikṣnye namuk, also vt.: ābhikṣnye deva bhavatāḥ (ad 8.1.12 prakāre gunavacanasya).
A non-application of ātva will produce apagaramapagaram, through
guna and repeat occurrence of the derivate in ābhikṣnya. Yet another set of
NamUL derivates can be gotten without ābhikṣnya by introducing the affix by
3.4.53 dvitiyāyām ca. We can thus get apagāram and apagaram as in asyapagāram
yudhyante ‘they are fighting with raised swords’ and asyapagaram yudhyante.
These derivates require NamUL to be introduced after verbal root gur, used
with the preverb āpa, under the cooccurrence condition of a pada ending in
dvitiyā (accusative).
6.1.54 चिःर्कुरोणि

cisphuror nau
\( /cιsphuroh\ 6/2 = cιs ca sphur ca (itar. dv.); nau 7/1/\)
(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51)
‘cιn, sphur’ity etayor dhātvor nau parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati
An ā optionally comes in place of the eC of verbal roots āN ‘to heap’
and sphur ‘to quiver, throb’ when affix NīC follows.

Examples:

cāpayati ‘he has someone heap something’
cāyayati ‘ibidem’
sphārayati ‘makes someone quiver’
sphorayati ‘ibidem’

1. Note that these roots could not be covered under the provision of rule
6.1.48 kṛiṇijñāṁ nau, because that provision is obligatory. Of course, this
ātva is optional.

2. An option of ātva will produce cāpayati where augment pUK will be
introduced by 7.3.36 arthihīvāri. . . Thus, āi + NīC→c(i→ai)→cai + pUK +
i→c(ai→a) + p + i, where 7.2.115 aco’ ānīti replaces the i of āi with its
vrddhi counterpart. An introduction of LAT→tiP and ŚaP, with guna of the i of cāpi
subsequently replaced with ay will produce cāpayati. Note that pUK will be
introduced prior to ātva on the basis of being subsequent, as well as intern-
ally conditioned (parativādantaraṅgatavāc ca).

A non-option of ātva will produce c(i→ai→āy) + i + ŚaP + (LAT→tiP)→
cayayati, with no pUK and ātva. Why can we not replace the i of āi with guna
(7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdhāddhātukayoh), as against vrddhi. The application of
vrddhi will be treated as ‘internally conditioned (antarāṅga), based upon
pūrvopasthitā ‘prior placement’, of āi + NīC. One can similarly derive sphārayati,
with ātva, and sphorayati with a guna replacement for the short penultime
vowel denoted by iK (laghūpadha-guna; 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca).

6.1.55 प्रजने वीयतेः

prajane vīyateh
\( /prajane 7/1 vīyateh 6/1/\)
(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #44 nau #54)
‘vi gatiprajanakāntyasananakādanesu’ ity asya dhātoḥ prajane vartamānasva
nau parato vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati
An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of verbal root vi ‘to
conceive, be pregnant’ when affix NīC follows.

Examples:

purovātā gāh pravāpayati ‘easterly winds have cow’s become pregnant’
purovātā gāh pravāhayati ‘ibidem’
1. Note that vi, an adādi root, is used with meanings such as 'to go', 'to conceive', 'to eat' and 'to desire'. The provisions of this rule are limited to vi when meaning 'to conceive'. Here again ātva is followed by augment pUK. A non-option of ātva will require vṛddhi as explained earlier in connection with cāyayati. Thus, we get pravāpayati and pravāyayati. The word prajana is explained as janmana upakramo garbhagrahaṇam 'onset of the process of bringing someone into existence; conceiving'.

6.1.56 बिपेतेहेतुधे तु भये

bimbeter hetubhaye

/bibheṭeh 6/1 hetubhaye 7/1 = hetor bhayam = hetubhayam (paṅc. tat.),
tasmin/
(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51 nau 54)
hetubhayasya vartamāṇasya ‘ṇībhī bhaye’ ity asya dhātor nau parato nityam
ākārādeśa bhavati

An ā optionally comes in place of the eC of verbal root Ñibhī ‘to be afraid’, when action denoted by the root has hetu as source of fear, and when NiC follows.

EXAMPLES:

mundo bhāpayate ‘he, the one with shaven head, causes fear’
mundo bhīṣayate ‘ibidem’

1. The word hetu is here used in the sense of prayojaka ‘instigator’ of the svaṭantrakartr ‘independent agent’ (1.4.56 tatprayojaḥ hetuḥ ca). The word hetubhayasya is thus used to specify that an ātva is accomplished when the source of fear (bhaya-hetu) is hetu, i.e., the instigator of the independent agent, itself. That is, the boy of our example, i.e., svaṭantra-kartr ‘independent agent’, must have mondo ‘the man with shaven head’, i.e., hetu ‘instigator’, as source of fear (bhaya). This optional ātva is not allowed elsewhere. Here again ātva will involve pUK. Thus, we get bhāpayate and bhīṣayate with ātmanepada ‘middle’ (1.3.68 bhīṣmyor hetubhayasya). Verbal root bhi receives augment sUK (7.3.40 bhiyo hetubhayasya sük). This augment is not available with the option of ātva since 7.3.40 bhiyo hetubhayasya sük specifies the root as bhī. That is, one can get sUK only when ē is heard in bhi.

Why bhayahetuh? Observe, kuṇcikayā enaṁ bhāyayati devadattah ‘Devadatta frightens him with the broom’. The source of fear here is the broom, a karana ‘instrument’. That is, it is not Devadatta.

6.1.57 नित्यम् स्मयते:

nityam smayateḥ

/nityam 1/1 smayateḥ 6/1/
(ādecaḥ #45 hetubhaye #56)
‘smiṁ īsadd hasanes ity asya dhātor hetubhayē’ rthe nāu parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati

An ā comes obligatorily in place of eC of verbal root smiṁ ‘to smile’, when action denoted by the root entails hetu as source of fear, and when affix NiC follows.

Examples:

muṇḍo vismāpayate ‘he whose head is shaven makes (him) frightened’
jaṭīlo vismāpayate ‘he whose hair is matted makes (him) frightened’

1. Here again we find the same meaning of hetu. The word nityam cancels the anuvṛtti of vibhāsā. That is, ātva is now obligatory. Verbal root Śmiṁ is used in the sense of īsaddhasana ‘smile’. The association of smi with bhi enables us to also infer hetusmaye ‘when source of fear is a smiling instigator of an independent agent’ as a condition, parallel to hetubhayē.

Deriving vismāpayate with ātva, pUK and ātmanepada offers nothing new.

6.1.58 सृजितशोजित्यल्पिनिति

sṛjīdrśor jhaly am akīti
/sṛj-dṛṣōḥ 6/2 (itr. dv.); jhaly 7/1 am 1/1 akīti 7/1 (naṁ. tat.)/
‘sṛja visarge’, ‘dṛṣIr prekṣane ity etayor dhātvor jhaladāv akīti pratyaye parato’ am āgamo bhavati

Augment aM is introduced to verbal roots sṛj ‘to release, project’ and dṛṣIR ‘to look’ when an affix which begins with a jhal. (Śs 7–14), but is not marked with K as an it, follows.

Examples:

sraṣṭā ‘trC-derivative of srajj
sraṣṭum ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’
sraṣṭavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’
draṣṭā ‘trC-derivative of dṛṣIR
draṣṭum ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’
draṣṭavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’
asrākṣit ‘third singular active LUN-derivate of sṛj
adrākṣit ‘third singular . . . of dṛṣIR

1. Augment aM is here introduced as an exception to the guṇa substitute of 7.3.86 pugantalahūpadhasya ca. This specific provision (viśeṣa) blocks the general provision (sāmānyavidhāna) of guṇa in a manner similar to the specific provision (viśeṣavidhāna) of takra ‘buttermilk’ to Kauṇḍinya, a particular brāhmaṇa, blocking the general provision of yogurt (dadhi) given to all brāhmaṇas (dadhi brāhmaṇeḥbhyo diyatām takram kauṇḍinyāyā).

2. Kāśikā states that vrddhi, in aorist examples such as asrākṣit and adrākṣit, is accomplished by rule 7.2.1 sici vrddhiḥ parasmaipadesu after augment aM is
introduced. That is, it is blocked initially (pūrvaṁ tu bādhyate). This blocking is similar to the blocking of laghu padhagūna by aM. Note, however, that once aM is introduced, the condition for applying laghu padhagūna is removed (nimittasya vihatatvāt). Consequently, laghu padhagūna is blocked forever. This, however, does not happen in case of vṛddhi. It applies after aM is introduced since condition for its application still remains (punah prasaṅgavijñānāt). It is also stated that aM blocks vṛddhi because of its obligatory (nitya) nature. Additional derivational details can be found in the appendix.

6.1.59 अनुदात्तस्य चर्चा

anudāttasya ca rdupadhasyānyatārasyām
/anudāttasya 6/1 ca ṝ rdupadhasya 6/1 = ṭhāra upadhā yasya sa (bv.),
tasmin; anyatārasyām 7/1/
(upadeśe #45 jhāly am akīti #58)
upadeśe anudāttasya dhātor rāhropadhasyasyā jhalādāv akīti pratyaya parato
nyatārasyām am āgamo bhavati

Augment aM is optionally introduced to a verbal root which, in upadeśa, is anudātta, and which also contains ṭT in its upadhā, provided an suffix beginning with jhL, but not marked with K as an it, follows.

Examples:

trapā ‘third person singular LUT-derivate of trp with no aM and no iT’
tarpā ‘… with iT and aM’
drapā ‘… with aM but no iT’
darpā ‘… third person singular active LUT-derivate of drp with no aM and no iT’
darpā ‘… with aM and iT’
darpā ‘… with aM but no iT’

1. Note that verbal roots trp ‘to be satisfied, pleased’ and drp ‘to glow, kindle, release’ are both marked with anudātta and also have r in their upadhā ‘penultimate position’. Recall that aM is more like an exception to laghu padhagūna ‘a short penultimate replacement in guṇa’. But since this rule makes aM optional, roots covered by this rule will go through laghu padhagūna if the option of aM is not availed. Verbal roots trp and drp will also receive augment iT optionally (7.2.45 raddhādibhyāṣ ca). Thus, we will get trapā and drapā (with aM, but no guṇa and no iT); tarpā and darpā (with guṇa); tarpā and darpā (with guṇa and iT).

2. A condition of anudāttasya is necessary so that a root such as bṛhU ‘to strive, raise’, because of its udātta in upadeśa, can be kept out of the scope of this rule. That is why 7.2.44 svaratisitī . . . applies on the basis of U as an it (udiṭ). Note that there are only eight roots (dah-dih-duh-nah-nih-nuh-lih-vah) which end in h and are marked with anudātta. Verbal root bṛh is not one of
them. Consequently, it receives augment \(i\) optionally (7.2.44 svaratisūti . . .).

6.1.60 सीर्षस्तःचण्डसी

\(\text{śirṣaṁś chandasi}\)

\(/\text{śirṣan} 1/1 \text{chandasi} 7/1/

'śirṣan' iti śābdantarāṁ śīrṣaśabdena samānārtham chandasi viṣaye nipātyate

The word śirṣan 'head' is derived in the Vedic via nipātana.

Examples:

\(\text{śīrṣāḥ hi tatra somaṁ kṛītaṁ haranti} '\text{they carry the soma bought there on their head}'\)

1. Note that śirṣan is derived separately, via nipātana. It is not a replacement of sīras, via nipātana. For, sīras is also used in the Vedic. Our examples śirṣāḥ and śīrṣayaḥ are instrumental and genitive forms, respectively. The \(a\) of śirṣan gets deleted by 6.4.134 allopo' naḥ.

6.1.61 ये च तद्हिते

\(\text{ye ca taddhite}\)

\(/\text{ye} 1/3 \text{ca} \phi \text{taddhite} 7/1/\)

(śirṣan #60)

\(\text{yakārdau taddhite parataḥ 'śirḥ' śabdasya 'śirṣan' ādeśo bhavati}\)

The word śirṣan comes in place of sīras when a taddhita affix beginning with \(y\) follows.

Examples:

\(\text{śīrṣanyāḥ 'principal'}\)

1. Note that this rule accepts śirṣan as a replacement for sīras. Rule 4.3.55 sārīrāuyavāc ca introduces affix yaT within the general provision of 4.3.53 tatra bhavah, parallel to śiras bhavaḥ 'principal; . . . born, or found, on head'.

A vārttika recommends śirṣan as an optional replacement in the context of keśa 'hair' (ut: vā keśēṣu). Thus we get: śīrṣanyāḥ keśāḥ and śīrasyāḥ keśāḥ 'hair on head'.

6.1.62 अचि सीर्ष:

\(\text{acī śīrṣaḥ}\)

\(/\text{acī} 7/1 \text{śīrṣāḥ} 1/1/\)

(śīrṣan #6 taddhite #61)

\(\text{ajāđau taddhite śīrṣaḥ śīrṣaśabda ādeśo bhavati}\)

The word śīrṣa comes in place of sīras when a taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.
Examples:

sthaulaśīrṣam ‘pertaining to one whose head is big’
haṭīśīrṣyā ‘a female descendant of Hastiśīrṣa’

1. Deriving haṭīśīrṣi ‘male descendant of Hastiśīrṣa’ from haṭīśīrṣa + ṇas + iṅ (4.1.96 bāhvādibhyās ca) does not offer any difficulty. A replacement in śīrṣa followed by initial vṛddhi, assignment of the term bha (1.4.18 yaci bham; 6.4.129 bhasya) and deletion of a will yield haṭī(sīrṣa→śīrṣa) + ṇas + iṅ→ haṭīśīrṣa + i→h(a→a) stiśīrṣa + i→haṭīśīrṣ(a→a) + i = haṭīśīrṣi. Our next derivate sthaulaśīrṣa is similarly derived from sthūlaśīrṣ + ṇas + aṅ, where aṅ is introduced under the meaning condition of 4.3.120 tasyedam = sthūlaśīrṣaḥ idam = sthaulaśīrṣam ‘this belongs to one who has a big head’.

Deriving haṭīśīrṣyā to denote a female descendant of haṭīśīrṣ would require Ṣyaṅ to replace iṅ (4.1.78 anīnor anāṛṣayoh). But we run into problem here. Our replacement śīrṣa may be accepted as śīrṣa, the form it replaced, through sthānivadbhāva. This may occasion an application of 6.1.61 ye ca taddhīte, whereby śīrṣan may come as a replacement for śīrṣa. The condition of a following taddhita affix beginning with y can be met by way of sthānivadbhāva. Of course, with the understanding that Śyaṅ is a replacement for the taddhita affix iṅ. This will produce a wrong derivate haṭī(sīrṣa →śīrṣan) + (§)ya(ṅ) = haṭīśīrṣan + ya + (C) ā(P) = haṭīśīrṣan + ya + ā = haṭīśīrṣan + y(a→a) + ā = haṭīśīrṣa(n→n) + y + ā = *haṭīśīrṣanyā. Incidentally, ṢāṅP will be introduced by 4.1.74 yaṅāi cāp. How could one block this undesired result. One ought to make some special effort. The Mahābhāṣya suggests that Śyaṅ should not be accepted as a replacement (ādeśa) of iṅ. It should instead be accepted as a taddhita affix (pratyaya) introduced after the base ending in iṅ (inanta). One can then delete the i of iṅ by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. Accepting the affixal status (pratyayapakṣa) of Śyaṅ, as against one of replacement (ādeśapakṣa), blocks undesired results. This is, that deletion (lopa) will be treated as i, via sthānivadbhāva, when one has to perform an operation on what precedes (pūrvavibhāgah kartavye; 1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavibhāhou). Thus, śīrṣan cannot replace śīrṣa because the condition of an immediately following taddhita affix beginning with y cannot be met. The i of iṅ, brought via sthānivadbhāva, will intervene (Kā: . . . . kartavyo’tra yatnah. anīnantāḥ va parah pratayayāḥ syanāśrayitavyaḥ, tatra yasyetilopasya sthānivadbhāvād vyavadhānam).

2. A question is also raised in connection with the derivation of sthulaśīrṣam. Why do we have to accept śīrṣa as a replacement when śīrṣan of the preceding rule could already account for the derivate. A replacement ending in a, as against an, is desired since the derivate will be ending in a. A replacement ending in an (śīrṣan) will cause the derivate to end in an. For, an must then be retained under the dictates of rule 6.4.168 ye cābhāva-karmanōh.
6.1.63 Adhyāya Six: Pāda One

6.1.63 पदनोपालनिः सत्त्वयुज्यत्वाद्र कण्ठकु दनात्मकष्टक्रियाः

padānāmāśhrīnāśanyosanyakañchakkanuddannāsaṁ chasprabhṛtisu
/pad-dan-nas-mās-hṛt-nīś-asan-yūsan-doṣan-yakhan-udan-āsan (each with deleted 1/1) śasprabhṛtisu 7/3 = śas prabhṛtīḥ yeśām te (bv.), teṣu/
(chandasi #60)
‘pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūsa, doṣa, yakṛt, sakṛt, udak, āsana’ ity eteṣāṁ śabdānāṁ sthāne śasprabhṛtīpratyayeṣu parataḥ ‘pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūsan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, āsan-ity ete ādesā yathāśaṁkhyāṁ bhavanti

Forms such as pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūsan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, and āsan come as replacements, in the Vedic, for pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūsa, doṣa, yakṛt, sakṛt, udakā, and āsana, respectively, when affixes Śas, and the like, follow.

Examples:

nipadaś cature jahi
padā varitaya goduham
yā dato dhāvāte tasyai sūgadvan
sūkrastra-vākhananāsā
māsi tvā pasyāmi caicasā
hṛdā pūtam manāsā jātavedo
amāvāṣyāyāṁ niśi yajeta
āśikto’ snā’ varohati
yā pātrāṇi yūṣna āsecānāṇī
yatte doṣno daurbhāgyam
yakno’ vadyati
śakno’ vadyati
udno duvavasyā no dehi
āsane kim labhe madhūni

1. Some here carry the anuvṛtti of chandasi. Others do not wish to qualify these replacements. Consequently, these become valid for both the Vedic as well as classical (bhāsa) usages. Yet others carry the anuvṛtti of anyatarasyāṁ from 6.1.59 and consider these replacements optional. After all, we do get pad, etc., in classical usages:

vyāyāmaksunnaṁ jārasaṁ padbhām udvartitasya ca
vyādhayo nopasarpanti vaṁteyam ivoragāḥ
‘he who has become strong-limbed with exercise, and also one who receives foot-massage, diseases do not approach him as snakes do not approach Garuḍa.’

2. This rule offers thirteen replacements for an equal number of corre-
sponding substituenda when a nominal ending enumerated beginning after śas, and the like (śaspabhṛṣṭu), follow. That is, a replacement enumerated here will not apply in examples such as pādau te pratiṇādyau ‘... your feet are to be massaged one by the other’ and nāsike te kṛṣe ‘your nostrils are smaller’. An interpretation of prabhṛṣṭi, of śaspabhṛṣṭu, as prakāra ‘kind’ allows such replacements to also occur before other affixes. Thus, we get dosa replaced with diśan before au, as in kakuddoṣanī yācate mahādevah and saladoṣanī yācate mahādevah. Some say that kakud dosanī and salā contain forms where dosa is replaced with dosan before au. The au, after the replacement, is replaced with Śī (7.1.19 napūṃsaśāc ca). Others say no. These contain dosanī, a form ending in NiP (4.1.5 ṛnneḥhyo Ṉip).

Kāśikā accepts āsan as the replacement for āsana. Bhāṭṭoji accepts āṣya as the correct substituendum and declares Kāśikā’s reading as carelessness (prāmāḍika; SK228: paddanomās ... (6.1.63): yat tu āsanaśabdasya āśannādesa iti kāśikāyāṃ uktam tat prāmāḍikam). The ‘Tattvabodhini glosses āṣya as mukha ‘mouth’.

3. The following vārttika proposals must also be noted in connection with these replacements:

(i) māms, prtāṇā and sānu should also be replaced with māṃs, prta and snu (cf. māṃsapṛtanāśānānām ...). We thus get māṃspacanyāḥ, prtstā and adhisānuṣu for māṃsapacanyāḥ, prtāṇāśu and adhisānuṣu, respectively.

(ii) nas should replace nāsikā, when occurring followed by yaT (5.1.6 śarirāvayavād yat), tasIL (5.4.45 apādāne cāhiyaruḥok) and kṣudrā, to account for nasyam, nastaḥ and nāhkoṣudrā, respectively.

(iii) A replacement in nas is not allowed when nāsikā occurs before yaT used with the signification of varṇa ‘sound’ and nagara ‘city’. Thus, nāsikyō varṇaḥ ‘a nasal sound’ and nāsikyāṃ nagaram ‘a city named Nāsikya’.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.64 धातुवैधे: च: स:

dhātvādēḥ saḥ saḥ
/dhātvādēḥ 6/1 = dhātor ādiḥ = dhātvādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasya; saḥ 6/1 saḥ 1/1/
(upadeśe #45)
dhātor ādeḥ sakārasya sthāne sakārādeso bhavati
The initial ṣ of a verbal root in upadeśa is replaced with s.

Examples:

sahate ‘third singular present indicative middle of saḥ ‘to endure’
siṇcatai ‘third singular present indicative active of sīc ‘to water’
1. A rule to replace root-initial ś with s will no longer be needed if such roots were listed with initial s to start with. But not formulating this rule would create problems elsewhere. Consider rule 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh which, additionally to requiring an affixal replacement, also requires a root-initial s to be replaced with ś, provided this s happened to be a replacement of ś in upadeśa. Rule 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh must specify exactly what root-initial s should be replaced with ś. That is, if rule 6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ is not formulated to do so with brevity (lāghava). For, to specify such roots in the context of rule 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh will certainly be prolix (gaurava). A specification such as the following must be read with the provision of 8.3.59:

A root-initial s when it occurs before a vowel (aC), or a dental sound, is replaced with ś, provided this s was an original ś in upadeśa, of course, occurring before an aC or a dental sound.

Verbal roots smiN ‘to smile’, svadI ‘to perspire’, svadI ‘to taste, relish’, swañjI ‘to embrace’ and svapI ‘to recline, sleep’, where there is no following aC or dental sound, are also viewed as covered by the s-replacement of the original ś, and further replacement with ś. This ś → s → ś-replacement, however, should not be allowed in connection with roots such as srpl ‘to crawl’, sryI ‘to create’, strN ‘to cover’, styai ‘to gather in a heap’, sek ‘to move’ and sr ‘to go’ which are followed by an aC, or a dental sound.

Obviously, formulating 6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ is more economical than adding a lengthy specification to rule 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh with regard to what s of a root can be replaced with ś.

2. The condition that ś must occur initially as part of a root is needed so that nominals such as śoḍāśa, saḍika and saṇḍa could be blocked from availing the replacement in ś. Roots which may have medial ś can similarly be blocked from receiving this replacement because of the requirement of initial ś. Thus, karsati, kṛṣati cannot avail it.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to disallow ś → s-replacement in contexts where a denominate in general, or verbal roots śṭhiyU and svuṣka in particular, are involved. We can get two forms of śṭhiyU, i.e., teśṭhiṣyate and teṣṭhiṣyate, derived via doubling. The s of a root with th (śṭhiyU) is replaced with ś. The s of a root with th (śṭhiyU) will cause retroflexion (ṣṭutva). For denominative exceptions, consider śoḍiṣyate and saṇḍiṣyate.

6.1.65 नो नः:

no nāḥ
/ nāḥ 6/1 nāḥ 1/1/
( upadeśe #45 dhātvādeh #64)
dhātort āder ṇakārasya ṇakāra ādeo bhavati
The initial n of a verbal root in upadeśa is replaced with n.
EXAMPLES:

\[
\begin{align*}
nayati & \text{‘third person singular present indicative active of } nī \text{ ‘to lead’} \\
namati & \text{‘third singular present indicative active of } nam \text{ ‘to bow down, bend’}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Note that provisions of this rule are very similar to those offered by the preceding rule. Roots covered by this rule are marked with \( N \) in upadeśa for reasons similar to those marked with \( Ši \) in upadeśa. The condition of dhātvādeḥ is still valid so that a root such as an could be kept outside the scope of this rule. Here again the denominatives are treated as exceptions. Rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse \( \pi \_ \_ \) , though with some qualifications, allows \( n \rightarrow n \)-replacement for roots covered by this rule. This citation of roots with \( n \) in upadeśa applies to all roots beginning with \( n \), except for nṛtī ‘to dance’, nandī ‘to be joyous, prosperous’, nardī ‘to sound’, nakkā ‘to destruct’, nāṭī ‘to drip, ooze’ and nāthṛ/nādṛ ‘to beg, bless, prosper’.

6.1.66 lopo vyār vali

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lopo vyār vali} \\
/\text{lopar}\ 1/1\ \text{vyār}\ 6/2\ \text{valih}\ 1/1/ \\
dhātor\ adhātōś\ ca\ vakāra-yakārayor\ vali\ āparato\ lopo\ bhavati
\end{align*}
\]

A \( y \) and \( v \) is replaced with \( LOPA \) when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \( vaL \) (Śi. 5–14) follows.

EXAMPLES:

\[
\begin{align*}
diūivān & \text{‘form of } div + LiT \rightarrow KvasU; \ ‘he has sported’} \\
diūivāmsau & \text{‘they (two) have sported’} \\
diūivāmsah & \text{‘they (all) have sported’} \\
uṭam & \text{‘Kta-derivative of } ūyī \text{ ‘to weave’} \\
knūtam & \text{‘Kta-derivative of } knūyī \text{ ‘to be wet, noisy’} \\
gaudherah & \text{‘lizard’} \\
paceran & \text{‘third person plural benedictive } LiN\text{-derivative of } pac \text{ ‘to cook’} \\
yajeran & \text{‘..of } yaj \text{ ‘to perform sacrifice’} \\
jirādānuḥ & \text{‘jīv + radānuK; he who lives’} \\
āśremānam & \text{‘derivative of } manIN; \ he who moves; that which becomes dry’
\end{align*}
\]

1. Note that the deletion provision of this rule is applicable to both root (dhātu) and non-root (adhātu) forms. The anuvṛtti of dhātoḥ, carried from 6.1.8 līti dhātor . . . , got suspended in view of specification by dhātu of 6.1.8 dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ (Kāś.: dhātor iti prakṛtam yat tad dhātvāder iti punar dhātugrahaṇān nivṛttam. tena dhātor adhātōś ca vakārayakārayor vali āparato lopo bhavati). Refer to the appendix (II:418-20) under 1.1.60 adarśanam lopāḥ for derivational details of some examples:

2. It is stated that kāryin ‘operand, object of operation’ should be speci-
fied in a rule prior to its related kārya ‘operation’. Our present rule states operation (lopaḥ) first followed by the operand (vyor vali). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as vyor vali lopaḥ. This way one would also make half a mora less articulatory effort in reading this rule. The o of lopa equals two moras as opposed to the ah of lopaḥ which equals only one and one-half. Why did he use lopaḥ first? Did he have any special propose in mind? Perhaps he used lopaḥ to indicate that this deletion takes precedence over other operations is conflict (PM ad Kāś: vidhyantarāt pūrvam evāyam lopo bhavati).

Consider, for example, the derivation of kandūya and lolūya from (kandūya + (K)v(IP) + sU)) and (lolūya + (K)v(IP) + sU)), where subsequent to deletion of final a of kandūya and lolūya, rules 6.1.65 lopo vyor vali and 6.1.67 ver aprktasya both become applicable. The first rule requires deletion of y, of kandūya and lolūya, as against the second which demands deletion of v of (K)v(IP). The deletion of y, as indicated by means of prior placement of lopaḥ in this rule, takes precedence over the deletion of v. This deletion of y is internally conditioned (antarāṅga) as against deletion of v which comes externally conditioned (bahirāṅga).

What if one finds a conflict in the application of rule 6.1.67 ver aprktasya and 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ? Here again the internally conditioned deletion of v (kviblopa) will take precedence over the deletion of y. What if one applies 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ prior to the deletion of v, based upon interpretation of saptami ‘locative’ of ārdhadhātuhe (carried in 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ) as viśayasaṇtami ‘locative of domain’? But this will still not remove conflict of application between deletion of v (kviblopa) and y (valīlopa). For deletion of v, because of being pāra ‘subsequent’ and nitya ‘obligatory’, will apply first. But this deletion of v will remove the condition under which the deletion of y could apply. That is, there will not be any v to follow. This deleted v cannot be brought back, via sthānivadbhāva, since deletion of y is an operation with aL ‘sound segment’ as its focus (alāśrayavidhi; 1.1.58 na padāntadāvivacana . . . ). The deletion of y thus will become impossible to accomplish. It is in view of this, as the preplacement of lopaḥ in this rule suggests, that valīlopa, i.e., deletion of y, takes precedence over deletion of v, i.e., aprktalopa.

3. Why can the v of vraścakā and vraścanāḥ not be deleted before r, a sound included within the signification of vali. Commentators state that this v cannot be deleted since it is part of initial citation of the root in the DP (auspadesīka). For, a deletion, if accomplished, will render the initial citation as vacuous (vyarthā). The argument that since this v can still be heard elsewhere, i.e., in vrscati and vavrasca, and hence, the initial citation of v will not become vacuous, is not acceptable. For, samprasaṇa in vrscati is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga), based upon its dependency on an affix (Śa) marked with N (nīt; 1.2.4 sārvadhātuhe aprit). Similarly, halādīṣeṣa (7.4.60 halādiṣeṣah) in vavrasca is externally conditioned because of its dependency on abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo’ bhyāsah). The deletion of v, because of its dependency on a
sound segment (varnāśrayatvāt), is internally conditioned (antarāṅga). The
v thus should be considered aṣpadēśika and hence not be deleted.

4. Jinendrabuddhi believes that preplacement of lopaḥ in this rule is sim-
ply done in view of lāghava ‘economy’. He strongly objects to accepting
the reversal of order of operand (kārīn) and operation (kārya) as an indicator
for preplacement of lopaḥ (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: anyas tu pūrvaṃ kāryinirdesō yuktah
paścāt kāryanirdesā iti pūrvaṃ vyor grahaṇe kartavye kimartham lopagrahaṇam
kriyata iti pūrvaṇpaksam varṇayati sa cāyuktah).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.67 वेरप्रक्तस्य

ver aprktasya
/veh 6/1 aprktasya 6/1/
(lopaḥ #66)
aprktasya veh lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of a vi termed aprkta.

Examples:

brahmahā ‘killer of a brāhmaṇa’
hṛūnahā ‘killer of a fetus’
gṛtasprk ‘one who sips ghee’
tailasprk ‘one who sips oil’
arddhabhāk ‘one whose share is one-half’
pādabhāk ‘one whose share is one-fourth’
turīyabhāk ‘ibidem’

1. Rule 1.2.41 aprkta ekāl pratyayah assigns the term aprkta to an affix con-
stituted by a single aL. The vi of veh is used to make a general reference to
all affixes which share a vi and which, after deletion of their ii elements, are
reduced to the form of a single aL. Thus, we get affixes KvIP (3.2.87 brahma-
bhrūnaṃvṛtreṣu kvip), KvIN (3.2.58 sṛṣo' nudake kvin), Nul (3.2.62 bhājo nvih),
vIT (3.2.67 janasanakhanakrama . . .) and vIC (3.2.73 vījute chandasi), all
with a common vi. Refer to the appendix (II:446–48) under 1.2.41 aprkta . . . for derivational details of most examples.

Note that these affixes are introduced after verbal roots (dhātoh) and,
when termed aprkta, are deleted in toto. Their derivates are then termed
nominal stems (prātipadika) by rule 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca, under the
provision of 1.1.52 pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam.

6.1.68 हलिन्याभ्यो दीर्घातिनिनिर्विकस्तं हल

haliniyābbhyo dirghāt sutiṣyaaprktam hal
/haliniyābbhyah 5/3 = hal ca nī ca āp ca = haliniyāp (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ;
dirghāt 5/1 sutisi 1/1 = suś ca tiś ca siś ca = sutisi (sam. dv.) aprktam 1/1
hal 1/1/
(lopaḥ #66)
halantūd nīvantād ābantāc ca dirghāt param ’su, ti, si’ ity etad aprktam hal
luptate
A sU, ti and si, termed aprkta, when occurring after an item which ends
in a haL, or in a long ī and ā of the feminine affixes Nī and āP, is
deleted by LOPA.

Examples:

rājā ‘nominative singular of rājan ‘king’
taksā ‘. . . of takṣan ‘carpenter’
ukhāsrat ‘nominative singular of ukhāsrans’
parṇadhvat ‘nominative singular of parṇadhvans’
kumārī ‘girl’
gaurī ‘fair’
sāṅgaravī ‘Śiva’s consort’
khāṭvā ‘cot’
bahurājā ‘a city with many kings’
kārīṣagandhyā ‘a name; she who smells like a dried cow-dung’
abibhar bhavān ‘you supported, sir’
ajāgar bhavān ‘you remained awake’
abhīno’ tra ‘derivate of bhīd (LAN→siP)’
achchino’ tra ‘derivate of chīd (LAN→siP)’

1. The word lopaḥ here is explained as luptate asau lopaḥ ‘that which is
deleted’, a passive interpretation made via object serving as means (karma-
sādhana) of accomplishing deletion. This, of course, following the popular
interpretation of lopaḥ. A technical interpretation will require lopa to refer
to adarśana ‘non-appearance’, the process as a means (bhāvasādhana). If the
word lopa is interpreted in its technical meaning of adarśana then its syntac-
tic coordination (sāmanādhikaranya) and, consequently, its coreferentiality
with hal will be impaired. The technical term LOPA means adarśana ‘non-
appearance’. How could a consonant (hal) be called adarśana ‘non-appearance’.
One cannot, looking at the nominative of hal, interpret the pañcamī
‘ablative’ of halīyabhīyah (1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya) as saṣṭhi ‘genitive’
(1.1.49) saṣṭhi sthāneyogā). One cannot even subject the nominative of hal to
be transformed into genitive to thereby establish a connection with lopaḥ.
Such a transposition of inflectional endings (viḥaktiviparītāna) is improper.

A qualifier-qualified relationship (viśeṣana-viśeyabhāva) between lopaḥ and
hal can be established when lopaḥ is interpreted as denoting karman ‘object’.
The word sutisy aprktam also becomes a qualifier to the same hal. The word
dirghāt is also interpreted as a qualifier to niyābbhyah. How do we know that
dirghā is a qualifier to nyābbhyah? By interpreting it as a qualifier based upon two requirements of sambhava ‘possibility’ and vyabhicāra ‘deviation’. A form which ends in Nī and aP may meet the sambhava ‘possibility’ requirement of ending in a dirgha ‘long vowel’. A deviation from this ‘possible’ termination in a long vowel is also witnessed when the long vowel of these affixes is shortened via, for example, purnad바वā ‘masculine transformation’. The word dirgha cannot be treated as a qualifier to hal for the obvious reason of impossibility (asambhava).

2. Note that ti and si, for lack of their introduction after items ending in Nī and aP, are not related to nyābbhyah. The question of deleting ti and si will thus arise when they occur after a base ending in a consonant (hal). The nominative singular sU will be construed with nominal stems ending in a consonant. It will also be construed with bases ending in feminine affixes Nī and aP. Thus, we get rājan + sU, (ukhāsrans + KuIP + sU), (parṇadhvan + KuIP + sU) and kumārī + sU, (khaṭvā + TāP + sU), (kārisagandhya + aP + sU), etc.

3. Why do we need this rule to delete sU after a base which ends in a consonant? Why can we not delete it by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah? That is, with the understanding that a of rājan will be replaced with long a of 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau and the n will be deleted by 8.2.7 nalopah prātipadikāntasya. But this derivation of rājā will run into problems in connection with deletion of n. Rule 8.2.23 is subsequent (para) in the tripādi ‘the last three quarter chapters’ and hence, as per 8.2.1 pūrvastrāsitādhām, deletion of s will be suspended in view of deletion of n. We will still end up with a wrong form *rājān. The question of deleting n will not arise here since n will then not be occurring at the end of a nominal stem termed pada. Similar problems will be encountered in deriving ukhāsrat and parṇadhvat from (ukhāsrans + KuIP + sU) and (parṇadhvan + KuIP + sU)) where n of srans and dhvans will be deleted by 6.4.27 aniditām hal... to yield ukhāsras and parṇadhvas. Given the strings ukhāsras + sU and parṇadhvas + sU, rule 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah will delete the s of sU, thereby producing ukhāsras and parṇadhvas. Now consider 8.2.72 ksursransudhamsvanadvahām daḥ which will replace the final s of ukhāsras and parṇadhvas with d. But since this replacement must take place at the end of a pada, and also since 8.2.72 ksursransu... is subsequent to 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah, rule 8.2.72 will be treated as suspended (asiddha) in view of deletion of s. The strings will still be considered as ukhāsras and parṇadhvas. That is, the final s cannot be replaced with d.

Let us now consider abhinah ‘second person singular past imperfect active’ of bhid ‘to split’ as in abhino’ tra, where utva of 6.1.113 ato ror aplutād aporte will be blocked. That is, given bhid + (LVN→siP)→bhid + ŚnaM + si→bhinad + si→a(T) +bhinad + s(i→p) = abhinad + s→abhina (d→r); 8.2.75 daś ca) + s = abhinar + s, 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah cannot apply to delete the
final s. For, r could then not be changed to u to finally derive abhino’tra. The deletion of s will be accepted as suspended (asiddha). An example such as abibharbhavān would not even involve s-deletion after r since 8.2.24 rāt sasya will restrict the deletion to apply only to s used after r. The following verse summarizes the preceding:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sanyogāntasya lopa hi nalopādir na siddhyati/} \\
\text{rātu te naiva lopaḥ syād halas tasmād vidhiyate/}
\end{align*}
\]

Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.69 एहहस्वात्संबुध्दे:

\[
eṁ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ \\
/erh rasvāt 5/1 = eṁ ca hrasvaś ca = enhrasvam (sam. dv.), tasmāt; \\
sambuddheḥ 6/1/ \\
(lopaḥ #66 hal #68) \\
enantāt prātipadikād hrasvāntāc ca paro hal lupyate sa cet sambuddher bhavati \\
A consonant (haL) which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel, either denoted by the abbreviatory term eN, or else, termed hrasva 'short', is replaced with LOPA, provided the consonant happens to be that of sambuddhi.
\]

**Examples:**

- he agne ‘O Agni’
- he vāyo ‘O Vāyu’
- he devadatta ‘O Devadatta’
- he nadi ‘O nadi’
- he vadhu ‘O vadhū’

1. Note that sambuddhi refers to the nominative singular ending sU when used with the denotatum of sambodhana ‘address’ (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ, read with 2.3.47 sambodhane ca).

This rule carries the anuvṛtti of both lopaḥ and hal. The word aprkta is explicitly used in the preceding sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtti of aprkta is canceled. For, there is no point in explicitly stating aprkta when 6.1.67 ver aprktaṃsya already has it.

The word hal must be carried. For, in its absence, enhrasvāt will then qualify sambuddhi to yield the following interpretation:

\[
enantād hrasvāntāc ca parasyāḥ sambuddher lopaḥ ‘a sambuddhi which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel denoted by eN, or ending in a hrasva, is deleted by means of LOPA.’
\]

This interpretation, however, will make deriving he kunḍa impossible. For, given kunḍa + s(U), deletion by this rule and replacement of sU by am (ambhāva; 7.1.24 aṭo’ m) both become applicable. If 7.1.24 blockes deletion
at the strength of being subsequent (paratva) then the a of am, in view of 1.1.54 ādeh parasya, also qualifies for deletion. The deletion of a of am, in the absence of hal in this rule, will obtain on account of its occurrence after the short a of kunda. An undesired form, i.e., *kunda + (a→ϕ) m = kunda + m→kund(a→a) + m = *kundām will then result with the application of 7.3.102 supi ca. To sum up: hal must be carried to this rule.

If one carries hal, and still qualifies sambuddhi with eihrasvāt, then sambudhi will qualify hal to yield the following interpretation:

eihantād hravāntāc ca parā yā sambuddhiḥ tasyāḥ hal luptaye 'the hal of a sambuddhi which follows a nominal stem ending in eN, or one ending in a short vowel, is deleted by means of LOPA.'

This interpretation will create difficulties similar to kunda + s(U) where, after the deletion of a in kunda + s, s cannot be deleted due mainly to the preceding base not ending in a vowel. It is for this reason that hal alone is to be qualified by eihantād hravāntāt and sambuddheḥ. The nominal inferred via sambuddhi will then be interpreted as 'ending in a vowel either denoted by eN, or termed short', in consonance with tadantavidhi 'treating a specification made with x as also ending in x'. The hal qualified by sambuddheḥ will be interpreted as part of sambuddhi because of its genitive (saṣṭhi) denoting avaya 'part of a whole'.

2. Kāśika offers he agne 'O! Agni' and he vāyo 'O! Vāyu' as examples for bases ending in eN. Thus, we get agn(i→e) + s(U→ϕ) = agne + s and vāy(u→o) + s(U→ϕ) = vāyo + s after it-deletion and guna by 7.3.108 hravasya gunaḥ. This rule then deletes s. The deletion of s prior to guna is not accomplished since guna is considered stronger than deletion (LOPA). Kāśika thus states: eihagrahaṇam kriyate sambuddhigunabaliyastvāt 'ei is used to indicate that guna before sambuddhi is stronger (than deletion)'. Examples for deletion after bases ending in a short vowel are: he devadatta and he nadi, he vadhū and he kunda. The deletion after nadi and vadhū of he nadi and he vadhū is accomplished after shortening of iand ū of nadi and vadhū by 7.3.107 ambāthanaṇyodhrasvāh. Kāśika also states that deletion in he kunda applies only to the m of am gotten by first replacing sU with am by 7.1.24 ato’ m and then replacing the sequence a + a with a via pūrvarūpa ‘a form similar to the preceding’ of 6.1.107 ami pūrvah (Kāś.: kundṣaśabdād ‘ato’ m ity am, ‘ami pūrvah’ iti pūrvaive kṛte halmātrasya makārasya lopaḥ). Why this dual application of 7.1.24 ato’ m and 6.1.107 ami pūrvah when we can easily delete s occurring after kundā, a base ending in hravas. The newly derived kundā where its final a is a pūrvarūpa of a + a may not even be viewed as ending in a. For, this rule requires the base to end in a short vowel. What ends in a short vowel in this newly derived kundā is kundā and not kunda, the base ending in a short a. For, the single a-replacement becomes final to what precedes (pūrvam praty antavadbhāvat), and not to the base. I omit further details of this argument because of its
complexity. Suffice it to say that getting pūrvarūpa and then deleting m is an exercise in vain. One should accomplish deletion without replacement in am. Our last example, he katarat, involves at, i.e., adD, as a replacement for sU. The final a of katarat is deleted by 6.4.143 teh because the affixal replacement is marked with D. The i of at in katar + at cannot be deleted since the base does not end in a short vowel. That is, it ends in a consonant. The deletion of sambuddhi is thus blocked.

3. Note that this rule offers deletion of the sU of sambuddhi. But 8.2.84 dūrādd hūte ca also replaces the ti of the sentence with a PLUTA. That is, when the ti of he rāma! is replaced with pluta, we will not find rāma terminating in a hrasva ‘short’. This will block the deletion of sU. Recall that this situation will arise only when one relies upon the doctrine of vākyasamskārapakṣa. For, it is here alone that the required ‘termination in short’ (hṛśvāṇtata) is impaired. Commentators offer examples which, in turn, show their acceptance of the padasamskārapakṣa.

6.1.70 छैं: छन्दसिः बहुलम्

śes chandasi bahulam
/ṣeh 6/1 chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/
(lopaḥ #66)
‘śi’ity etasya bahulam chandasi viṣaye lopo bhavati
LOPA, in the Vedic, comes variously in place of Śi.
yā kṣetra ‘the fields which . . .’
ya vanā ‘the forests which . . .’
yāni kṣetraṇi ‘ . . .’
yāni vanāni ‘ . . .’

1. Note that ṣeh refers to the Śi-replacement of Jas ordered by rule 7.1.20 jaśsasoh śih, under the condition of a neuter base (napumsaka). A deletion of Śi by this rule will still facilitate introduction of nUM (7.1.72 napumsakasya jhal acaḥ). Thus, yad + (Jas→Śi)) = yad + i→yad + (i→∅)→yad + n(UM→∅)) = yad + n = ya(d→a) + n, where d is replaced with a (7.2.102 tyadādīnāmah). Rule 6.1.97 ato guṇe reduces the sequence a + a to a to yield y(a + a→a) + n = yan. The short a is then lengthened (6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddha) and the n gets deleted (8.2.7 nalopah prātipadīkāntasya). A non-deletion of Śi, under the provision of bahulam, will yield yāni where deletion of n will be blocked. Similar derivational consequences are involved in deriving kṣetra/ kṣetraṇi and vanā/vanāni.

2. Haradatta (PM) claims that yā can be derived as follows, particularly by replacing i of ya + i with Dā:

yad + (Jas→Śi) i; 7.1.20 jaś sasoh śi; yad + i→
yad + (ya(a→a); 7.2.102 tyadādīnāmah; ya + a + i→
\[
y(a + i \rightarrow i) \quad 6.1.97 \; \text{ato guṇe;} \; ya + i \rightarrow ya + (i \rightarrow D) \ddot{a};
\]
\[
7.1.39 \; \text{supām suluk . . . ;} = ya + \ddot{a} \rightarrow y(a + \ddot{a} \rightarrow \ddot{a}) = yā;
\]
\[
6.1.102 \; \text{prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ}
\]

Haradatta indicates how other derivates can be also accounted for. This rule thus should not be formulated for Vedic (PM ad Kāś.: ayaṁ yogo śakyo' vaktum).

6.1.71 ह्रस्वस्य पितकृती तुकः

hrasvasya piti kṛtī tuk
/hrasvasya 6/1 piti 7/1 kṛtī 7/1 tuk 1/1/
piti kṛtī parato hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ tūgāgam bhavati

Augment tUK is introduced to a verbal root ending in a short vowel (hrasva) when an affix, either marked with P as an it or temed a kṛt, follows.

Examples:

agnīcit 'he who heaped the ritual fire'
somasit 'he who pressed out soma'
prakṛtya 'after having made'
prahrṛtya 'after having taken away'
upastutya 'after having praised'

1. Note that dhātoḥ is inferred here at the strength of the kṛt affix marked with P. Read with hrasva, it yields the interpretation: hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ ' . . . a verbal root ending in a short vowel'. This, of course, is accomplished via tadantavidhi. Augment tUK, because it is marked with K as an it, is introduced at the end of the verbal root (1.1.46 ādyantau takitau).

Kāśikā offers counter-examples ālīya and grāmanīḥ where tUK cannot be introduced because verbal roots ī and ī end in a long vowel. Examples such as kṛtam and hṛtam are offered to show that tUK cannot be introduced where a kṛt affix, namely Kta, marked with K follows. Similarly, paṭutaraḥ and paṭutamaḥ are given to show that tUK cannot be introduced when affixes taraP and tamaP follow. For, they are marked with P but are not kṛt. They are taddhita affixes.

Note that tUK cannot be introduced in grāmanīḥ brāhmaṇaṁkulaṁ where the long Ī of grāmanī is replaced with a short (1.2.47 hrasvo napuṁsake . . . ). For, this shortening is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga) due mainly to its dependency on sound segments (varṇāśrayatvā) and hence it is suspended (asiddha). Consequently, tUK cannot be introduced because Ī of grāmanī will still be viewed as its long counterpart. This is how the paribhāṣā (PŚ 51) asiddham bahirāṅgam antaraṅge intervenes to block tUK.
6.1.72 संहितायाम्

samhitāyām
/samhitāyām 7/1/
adhikāro’ yam ‘anudāttam padam ekavarjam’ iti yāvat. prāg etasmāt sūtrād
ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmaḥ samhitāyām ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
When samhitā ‘close proximity between sounds’ obtains ... 

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This domain of samhitā is valid up to 6.1.158 anudāttam padam ekavarjam.
2. The locative (saptamī) in samhitāyām denotes viṣaya ‘domain’. Consequently, an operation (kārya) cannot be performed unless the operand (kāryin) and attendant conditions (nimitta) both fall within the scope of samhitā (PM: kārī-nimittayoh samhitāyāṃ viṣayabhūtāyāṃ vakṣyamānaṃ kārīṃ bhavati). Consider dadhy atra ‘there is yoghurt here’ and madhu atra ‘there is honey here’ where 6.1.77 iko yan aci applies to yield dadh(i→y) + atra = dadhy atra and madh (u→v) + atra = madhu atra. Rule 1.4.109 paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ samhitā defines samhitā as ‘closest proximity between sounds’. The i and u of dadhi and madhu must share close proximity with a of atra. For, in its absence, we will end up with dadhi atra and madhu atra with no application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. A pause between two sounds which exceeds the duration (kāla) of half of mora (ardha-mātrā) impairs samhitā.

6.1.73 चं च

cē ca
/che 7/1 ca ø/
(hrasvasya tuk #71 samhitāyām #72)
chakāre paraṭaḥ samhitāyāṃ viṣaye hrasvasya tug ągamo bhavati
Augment tuk is also introduced to a short vowel when ch follows in samhitā.

EXAMPLES:

icchati ‘... desires’
gacchati ‘... goes’

1. Note that che specifies the condition (nimitta) in consonance with which tUK is introduced. The locative singular form che has cha as its base. It is logical then to assume that cha, a form ending in a, forms the condition of introducing augment tUK. Commentators state that only ch, a form constituted by a single consonant, forms the condition. Why did Pāṇini specify it with a. For ease of articulation (chakāre akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ). This is in consonance with specifications found in 3.2.162 vidbihidicchideḥ and 7.4.41 sācchor anyatārasāyām.
If Pāṇini intended a specification with ch he should have used ch in the locative, i.e., chādau. This being the case, (PŚ 34): yasmin vidhau tadā-dāv... would have yielded the interpretation, chādau ‘that which has ch at its beginning’. That is, many words with ch at their beginning could then have been included. This would have been prolix (gaurava), especially with reference to cognition (jñāna).

Haradatta (PM ad Kāś.) explains two kinds of adhikāras: (i) arthādhikāra ‘domain relative to meaning’ and (ii) śabdādhikāra ‘domain relative to form’. The first focuses on the meaning of a specifying form, as opposed to the second which focuses on form. The word hrasva, for operational purposes specific to 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti..., was interpreted as ‘that which ended in a short vowel’. This was a meaning interpretation made possible via tadantavidhi. This rule resorts to a formal interpretation of hrasva. That is, for purposes of introducing augment (āgama) tUK, a short vowel (hrasva) will be treated as the āgami ‘that which receives an augment’ (hrasva evātrāgāma na tv adantah). Incidentally, this Kāśikā statement should end with na tadantah ‘not ending in that’ as opposed to na tv adantah ‘and not ending in aT’. The question of a base ending in a does not arise here.

If tUK were to be introduced to a form ending in a short vowel then tUK, on account of being introduced to an abhyāsa, will become part of the abhyāsa. It will then be dropped by 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ. If a single short vowel is treated as the items receiving tUK, then tUK does not become part of the abhyāsa (abhyāsāvayaya). How come a short vowel receiving tUK is not considered as part of the abhyāsa? Kāśikā states that part of a part does not become part of a whole (nāvayavāyavah samudāyavayavo bhavati). This is why tUK in cicchidatuh (←ch + tUK+ chid + atus) and cicchiduh (←ch + tUK+ chid + us) is not treated as abhyāsa. Kāśikā rightly remarks that nāvayavāyavah samudāyavayavo bhavati ‘part of a part cannot be accepted as part of a (larger) whole’.

But part of a part may, elsewhere, also be treated as part of a whole. Consider sāṅgulir devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta has fingers’ where ‘finger’, a part of Devadatta’s hand, is treated as part of Devadatta. I omit further details of this argumentation for fear of expatiation.

6.1.74 आँमाञ्च

āṁmaṇoś ca
/āṁmaṇoḥ 6/1 (itar. dv.) ca φ/
(tuk #71 samhitāyām #72 che #73)
āño niita isadādiṣu caturas artheṣu vartamāṇasya māṇaṣ ca pratiṣedha-vacanasya chakāre paratas tug āgamo bhavati
Augment tUK is also introduced to āN and māN when ch follows in samhitā.
EXAMPLES:

ācchāyā ‘slight shade’
ācchādayati ‘covers . . .’
ācchāyāyāḥ ‘. . . slight shade’
ācchāyām ‘up to the shade’
mācchaitsit ‘third singular LUN-derivate of chid used with mā ‘not’
mācchidat ‘third singular LAN-derivate of chid used with mā’

1. Note that āN and māN with N as an it are specified for availing particular meanings. The first āN, a particle (nipāta), is used with four meanings of īsat ‘slight, a little’, kriyāyoga ‘in construction with that which denotes action’, maryādā ‘exclusive limit’ and abhividi ‘inclusive limit’. An āN which denotes maryādā and abhividi is assigned the term karmapravacaniya (1.4.89 ān maryāḍāvacane). This leads to selection of pañcamī ‘ablative’ after the nominal in construction with āN (2.3.10 apñcamy apañparibhiḥ). The result with tUK is ācchāyāyāḥ. The mā of māN is, of course, a negative particle (nipāta). An optional indeclinable compound (avayābhāva; 2.1.13 ān maryāḍābhividhyoh) ācchāyā, paraphrased as īsac chāyā ‘slight shade’ and interpretable as both maryādā ‘exclusive limit’ and abhividi ‘inclusive limit’, derives from āN + sU chāyā + āNasI. The t of tUK introduced to ā is replaced with c (8.4.40 stoś cunā ścuḥ).

2. What is the purpose of qualifying ā and mā with N? Consider ācchāyā/ ācchāyā; and pramāchandah/pramāchandah, where this rule cannot apply because ā is not a karmapravacaniya. Similarly, pramā has verbal root mā ‘measure’ used with the preverb pra. That is, pramā is used with chandas. The optional tUK in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.76 padāntād vā.

3. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.75 दिर्घात

dirghāt
/ dirghāt 5/1 /
(tuk #71 samhitāyām #72 che #73)
dirghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dirghasya tug āgamo bhavati

Augment tUK is introduced to that long vowel (dirgha) which occurs before ch, provided when ch follows it in samhitā.

EXAMPLES:

hṛicchati ‘third singular LAT-derivate of hṛicch ‘to be bashful, ashamed’
mlecchati ‘third singular LAT-derivate of mlecch ‘to mutter, speak indistinctly’
apacācchāyate ‘continually breaks; derivate of yaN in third singular middle LAT of apa-chā’
vicācchāyate ‘. . . of vi-chā’
1. Kāśikā offers a long paraphrase of this sūtra as follows:

(i) ḍīrghāt paṇo yās chaḥkāras ‘the ch which occurs after a long vowel’
(ii) tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya ‘that long vowel which occurs before that (ch)’
(iii) tug āgamo bhavati ‘tUK is introduced as an augment’

The locative (saptamī) of che, in association with the paṇcamī ‘ablative’ of dīrghāt, and an anticipated sāṣṭhi ‘genitive’ for the specification of an āgami ‘that to which an augment is introduced’, may be interpreted as genitive. It is a general practice in the tradition to transform a locative (saptamī) into genitive (sāṣṭhi) if the locative occurs after an ablative (paṇcamī; cf. (PŚ: 71) ubhayānirdese paṇcaminirdeśo balīyān). Consequently, tUK, in view of 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya, may be introduced to ch. This of course will be wrong. Kāśikā’s rather long paraphrase is intended to clear up any possible confusion. It is also intended to make clear that an augment becomes part of what it is introduced to. If it is introduced to a long vowel, it becomes part of the long vowel. That is, it does not become part of what the long vowel is part of (cf. avayavāvayavah samudāyāvayavo na bhavati). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.76 पदांतात्वम्

padāntād vā
/padāntāt 5/1 = padasya antaḥ (saṣ. tat.), tasmāt; vā ṣ Katy puk #71 saṃhitāyāṃ #72 che #73 dīrghāt #75

padāntād dīrghāt paṇo yās chaḥkāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya pūrveṇa nityaṃ prāpto vā tug āgamo bhavati

Augment tUK is optionally introduced to a pada-final long vowel when ch follows it in saṃhitā.

EXAMPLES:

kuṣīcchāyā ‘shade of a hut’
kuṣīcchāyā
kuvalīcchāyā ‘shade of a particular tree’
kuvalīcchāyā

1. An optional tUK is offered against the obligatory provision of the preceding rule. This provision of tUK is not made relative to padavidhī ‘process of integrating fully inflected words’ (2.1.1 samarthah padavidhitah). It can be best described as padāntavidhī ‘a process relative to the end of a pada’. The preceding rule introduces tUK before ch, obligatorily, to a non-pada-final long vowel. Our present rule makes that provision optional in case of a pada-final long vowel followed by ch. Thus observe: tiṣṭhatu kumārīc chatraṃ hara
devadattasya 'let the girl wait; carry the umbrella of Devadatta'. We can also get kumārī chatram, optionally.

Note that tUK, if introduced, will go through ścutva (t→c; 8.4.40 stoś cunā ścuḥ). Observe kuśicchāya and kuśichāyā, where the second example lacks tUK.

2. A vārttika proposal is made for viśvajana, etc., to also receive an optional tUK in the Vedic (vt.: viśvajanādīnām chandasi vā . . .). Thus, viśvajanač chatram/viśvajanachatram. Nyāsa remarks that 6.1.73 che ca would have offered obligatory tUK in the absence of this statement. But since all operations are optional in the Vedic (sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi viṅkalpyante), we can still get this optional tUK. This statement is then intended for clarity.

6.1.77 इको यणिः

iko yaṇ aci
/ikāḥ 6/1 yaṇ 1/1 aci 7/1/
(saṃhitāyām #72)
aci pariṣṭha iko yaṇ ādeso bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term iK is replaced by corresponding sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aC follows in saṃhitā.

Examples:

dadhyatra 'there is yoghurt here'
madhuvatra 'there is honey here'
kartaṇam ‘for he who is doing’
hartraṇam ‘for one who carries’
lāṅgriṭh ‘one who (which) has the shape of ḷ Kṛṣṇa while playing his flute’

1. Note that iK and yaN denote four sounds each: i, u, r, l and y, v, r, l, respectively. Since the number of elements in these sets is equal (saṃāna), their equivalency must be assigned in consonance with order of their enumeration (1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyām . . .).

2. The locative (saṃpūraṇa) in aci is interpreted as parasaptami ‘that which specifies what follows’. When interpreted in accord with the specification of 1.1.65 tasminn iti nirdīṣṭe pūrvasya, we conclude that sounds denoted by iK are replaced with corresponding sounds denoted by yaN when sounds denoted by aC immediately (avayavahita) follow. That is, an operation specified by that which ends in the locative obtains on that which immediately precedes.

Pāṇini also formulates 6.1.101 akhaḥ savarṇe dirghah whereby a single homogeneous long vowel is ordered as a replacement for a sequence of two contiguous homogeneous vowels denoted by the abbreviatory term aK, i.e.,
Rule 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* has a wider right context denoted by *aC* which includes the denotata of *aK*. The *aK* of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dirghah* also includes the denotata of *iK*. Now the question: what if an *iK* is followed by another homogeneous *iK* in *samhitā*? Rules 6.1.77 and 6.1.101 will both find their scope of application. Can one replace the prior *iK* with a corresponding *yaN*? Can one replace the sequence of two homogeneous vowels denoted by *iK* with a single long homogeneous vowel? The provision of a single long homogeneous vowel replacement for a sequence of preceding and succeeding homogeneous vowels will become vacuous (*vyartha*) if 6.1.101 is not applied against 6.1.77. Thus, the use of *ekah pūrvaparayoh dirghah* ‘a single long vowel in place of the sequence of a preceding and following vowel’ and *savarne* ‘when a homogeneous vowel follows in extreme proximity . . . ’ makes it possible for: 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* to carve out its domain of application without interfering with the scope of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dirghah*.

This notion of extreme proximity is read in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiśte pūrvasya*. A question may be raised here: why bring 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . when *samhitāyāṃ* itself can account for proximity. After all, two sounds in *samhitā* are not supposed to be separated (*vyavahita*) by a duration exceeding half a mora (*ardhamātrā*). It is argued that 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . is brought into play to ensure contiguity (*ayavadhāna*). Consider *sudhi + upāsyah* where the duration of *dh* before *i* equals half a mora. If contiguity was not considered, the *i* of *dhi* may cause the *u* of *su* to be replaced with its counterpart in *yaN*. Thus, the notion of contiguity brought into play on the basis of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . alone can block this *yaN* of *u*.

2. The word *aci* carries through 6.1.108 *samprasārṇāc ca*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *yaN* against *savarnādirgha* ‘homogeneous long vowel’, in contexts where a vowel denoted by *iK* and occurring after a *phuta* is followed by a homogeneous vowel denoted by *iK*. Thus, *bho3 i indram = bho3 (i→y) indram = bho3 yindram*.

6.1.78 एचोड़यवायवः:

*e cof yavāyāvah /
ecaḥ 6/1 ayavāyāvah 1/3 = ay ca av ca ǎy ca ǎv ca = ayavāyāvah (itar.
dv.) /
(samhitāyāṃ #72 aci #77)
ecaḥ sthāne' ci parataḥ 'ay, av, ǎy, ǎv' ity ete ādēśā yathāsaṃkhyāṁ bhavanti A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term eC is replaced by *ay, av, ǎy, ǎv*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *samhitā*.

Examples:

*cayanam* ‘heaping’
*lavanam* ‘cutting’
kayete 'who are these'
yayete 'these people who . . .'
vāyau avaruṇaddhi 'blocked the two winds'

1. Here again, order of enumeration will determine the equivalency of equal number of items specified in two sets (1.3.10 yathāsamkhyam . . .). The other conditions of saṃhītyām and acai remain the same. Can one apply 1.3.3 halantyam and 1.3.9 tasya lopah to delete the final consonants of cay, etc.? No. This sandhi provision will then become vacuous (vyarthā).

6.1.79 वान्तो यि प्रत्यये

vānto yi pratyaye
/vāntah 1/1 = vakāro nte yasya (bu.); yi 7/1 pratyaye 7/1/
(saṃhītyām #72 acai #77 ecaḥ #78)
yo' yam ecaḥ sthāne vāntādesāḥ, okārasya av, aukārasya av, sa yakārādau pratyaye parato bhavati
A v-final replacement comes (in place of an o and au) when a y-initial affix follows.

Examples:

bābhrovyaḥ 'descendant of Babhru'
māṇḍavyaḥ 'descendant of Maṇḍu'
śaṅkvyaṃ dáru ' . . . wood beneficial for spike'
pićavyaḥ kārpaśaḥ 'beneficial for cotton tree'
nāryo hradaḥ 'a lake which can be crossed over by boat'

1. This rule covers two replacements ending in v, i.e., av and āv. Their corresponding substituenda will then be o and au (ut.: odaśi ceti ca vakavyaṃ).

2. The locative in yi, when read in view of 1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya, will yield the interpretation: 'when that, an affix, which ends in y follows'. But this tadantavidhi 'an operation relative to that which may end in what specifies it' interpretation will be blocked in favor of a tadādīvidhi 'an operation relative to that which begins with what specifies it'. How do we know that tadādīvidhi should block tadantavidhi? We know it from the vārttika (cf. 1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya): yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe. It specifies that tadādīvidhi is favored where a single aL 'sound segment' specifies the right context of an operation. Our y in yi is a single sound.

3. The rule is formulated so that a replacement in av and āv could be accomplished where a condition different from the acai of 6.1.78 eco' yayūyāvah may be involved.

4. Note that the three conditions of vānta, yi and pratyaye must be met. Consider rai + am which will involve a replacement in āy, as against āv. Thus, we get rāyam as in rāyam icchati 'wishes for wealth'. A replacement for o and
au in av and āv cannot be allowed in go + bhyām and nau + bhyām either. For, the affixes here do not begin with y. Such replacements are also not allowed for o and au in go + yānam and nau + yānam because what follows with an initial y is not an affix.

5. Note that a vārttika proposal allowing av as a replacement for o of go in the Vedic is allowed before yūti. Thus, we get gavṛūṭih ‘a herd of cows and bulls’, as against goyṛūṭih in the classical language. A proposal for replacing o with av before yūti is made for classical usage, only when what is signified is a measure of road (adhvaṇaparimāne ca). Thus, we get g(o→av) + yūti = gavṛūti ‘a distance of nearly four miles (krośayugam)’.

6.1.80 धातुविकल्पकालितियां

dhātōs tannimittasyaiva
/ dhātoh 6/1 tannimittasya 6/1 = tad nimittam yasya (bv.), tasya; eva φ/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ecah #78 vānto yi pratyaeye #79)
dhātor ya ec tannimitto yakārādipratyayānyimittas tasya yakārādau pratyaeye
parato vāntādeso bhavati

A sound denoted by eC which is part of a verbal root (dhātu) conditioning an affix beginning with y is replaced with a substitute terminating in v, provided the affix beginning with y follows in saṃhitā.

Examples:

lavyam ‘ready to be cut’
pavyam ‘ready to be cleansed’
avāṣyaśalāvyaṃ ‘should indeed be cut’
avāṣyaśapāvyam ‘should indeed be cleansed’

1. The word tannimitta is explained as sa (yādi-pratyayaḥ) nimittaṃ yasya (ecaḥ) ‘that (the y-initial affix) which constitutes the condition of that, i.e., o and au of eC’. The elements whose nimitta is specified by the bahuvrīhi compound tannimitta are thus recognized as o and au of a dhātu ‘verbal root’. We know it from the genitive of dhātoh which, in turn, is used with the signification of avayava ‘part of a whole’. An affix beginning with y is thus recognized as a condition. This helps us understand the rule as follows: ‘a replacement ending in v comes in place of the o and au of a dhātu, provided these both are conditioned by an affix which begins with y (yāḍi) and follows in saṃhitā’. Consider lū + yaT→l(ū→o) + yaT→l(o→av) + yaT = lavya + sU→lavyam, a derivate of yaT (3.1.97 aco yat). We can similarly get pavyam. Our next two examples, i.e., avāṣyaśalāvyaṃ and avāṣyaśapāvyam, are compounds termed upapada. They derive by introducing affix NyaT (3.1.125 or āvaśyake) after verbal roots lū and pū under the condition of avāṣyaṃ, a conjoined pada. Thus, avāṣya + am + lū + NyaT→avāṣya + l(ū→o→av) + NyaT→avāṣya + l(av→āv) + (N)yaT = (avāṣya + lāvya) + sU = avāṣyalāvyaṃ. We similarly get
avaśyapāvyaṃ. Note that the compound is formed in consonance with 2.1.72 mayūravyaṃsakādayāś ca. The m of avasyam gets deleted in accord with the statement lumped avasyamah kṛtya(?). Rule 7.2.115 acoʾ niṇiti accomplishes the vṛddhi of ā which is subsequently replaced with āv. Recall here that NyaT conditions vṛddhi and under its condition we further get the āv replaced with āv. The au for which we get āv is thus tannimittaka.

2. The condition of tannimitta is important so that a replacement ending in v is blocked when an affix beginning with y follows, but does not condition o and au. Consider for example the controlled derivation of upooyate from upa + veN + (LAṬ→ta) where affix yaK is further introduced under the condition of the following ta, a sārvaṭhātuka. Our string upa + ve + ya + ta yields upa + vo + ya + ta through samprasāraṇa and ātva and a replacement for a + u in o. The o of upo cannot be replaced with av to finally derive, for example a wrong form *upavayate, under the condition of the following y-initial affix yaK. For yaK did not constitute the condition for bringing about o as a replacement for a + u. A form such as *āryata, with a replacement in āv parallel to āuyata from āT + veN + (LAṬ→ta), can also not be accomplished before yaK for similar reasons. The taddhita derives lauyamāniḥ ‘descendant of Lūyamāna’ and pauyamāniḥ ‘descendant of Pūyamāna’ can also not have their au replaced with āv since affix yaN occurring after lū and pū of lūyamāna and pūyamāna does not condition the vṛddhi-replacement au for ā. This vṛddhi is conditioned by affix iN (4.1.92 tasyāpatyam; 4.1.95 ata iṅ), introduced after lūyamāna + ṇas and pūyamāna + ṇas by 7.2.117 taddhīteṣu acāṃ ādeḥ. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. The word eva is used here to serve a restrictive purpose (niyamārtha). That is, it is used to restrict av and āv as replacements for o and au of a verbal root only when a y-initial affix conditions o and au. Thus, these replacements will apply in the context of a dhātu only when a y-initial affix conditions o and au.

Recall that the tradition generally believes in yato evakāraḥ tato’ nyatra niyamah ‘a restrictive provision focuses on something other than the item after which eva is used’. This rule uses eva after tannimittasya. Consequently, the restrictive provision will focus on dhātoḥ. Notice that dhātoḥ and tannimittasya are both in the genitive. These are both qualifiers (viśeṣana). The eva after tannimittasya will focus on dhātu, and hence, the restriction will apply to the eC of a dhātu. The notion of tannimittakatva will be brought as a qualifier. Thus, consider oyate which derives from ā + veN + yaK + ta. Recall that yaK is introduced with the denotatum of karman. Verbal root veN goes through samprasāraṇa and subsequent pūrvarūpa of (u→u) e→v(u + e→u). The initial ā of the string along with resultant u then gets replaced with a single guṇaḥ, i.e., o (6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ). Note that o qualifies for dhātoḥ ‘of a verbal root’ but does not qualify for tannimimittakatva. This restrictive provision will thus not apply. This restrictive provision will also not be available to
bābhramya where \( eC \) (babhr(\( u \rightarrow o \)) is conditioned by a \( y \)-initial affix but it belongs to a nominal stem. That is, it does not satisfy the condition of \( dhātoḥ \).

6.1.81 स्वयज्ञी सङ्क्याधि

\[ \text{kṣayyajayyyau sākyārthe} \]
\[ /\text{kṣaya-jayyau 1/2 (itar. dv.); sākyārthe7/1 = sākyaś cāsau arthaḥ (karm.), tasmin/} \]
\[ \text{(saṃhitāyāṃ #72 yi pratyaye #79 dhātoḥ #80)} \]
\[ 'kṣi, ji' ity etayor dhātuvor yati pratyaye parataḥ sākyārthe gamyamānē ekārasyāyādeśo nipātyate \]

The \( e \) of verbal roots \( kṣi \) 'to decay' and \( ji \) 'to win' is replaced with \( āy \), via nipātana, when the root is followed by affix \( yaT \) and derivates denote the sense of \( sākya \) 'possible'.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{sākyah kṣettum = kṣayyah 'that which is possible to decay'} \]
\[ \text{sākhyo jetum = jayyah 'that which is possible to win'} \]

1. Note that \( kṣayya \) and \( jayya \) are derivates of \( yaT \) (3.1.97 aco yat), used with the signification of \( sākyārtha \) 'possibility'. This rule offers \( ay \) as a replacement for \( e \), via nipātana. The \( e \), in turn, is a \( guṇa \) replacement for \( i \) of \( kṣi \) and \( ji \). Kāśīkā offers \( kṣeyam pāpam 'sin to be destroyed' and jeyo vṛṣalāh 'a lowly Śūdra who is to be tamed' as counter-examples where, because the denotata of derivates is 'necessity' as opposed to 'possibility', \( e \) cannot be replaced with \( ay \).

6.1.82 अयवस्तदर्थः

\[ \text{krayyas tadarthe} \]
\[ /\text{krayyah 1/1 tadarthe7/1 = tasya arthaḥ (saś. tat.), tasmin} \]
\[ \text{(saṃhitāyāṃ #72 yi pratyaye #79 dhātoḥ #80)} \]
\[ \text{kriṇātēr dhātos tadarthe krayārthan yat tasminn abhidheyeye yat pratyaye parato' yādeso nipātyate} \]

Verbal root \( kṛi \) 'to barter' receives a substitute in \( ay \) when an affix beginning with \( y \), particularly \( yaT \), follows and the derivate denotes something on sale.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{krayyo gauh 'an ox on sale'} \]
\[ \text{krayyah kambalaḥ 'a blanket on sale'} \]

1. Note that \( krayya \) is a derivate of \( yaT \) introduced after verbal root \( ḌUkrīṇ \) 'purchase, barter'. The derivate meaning here is: \( tadarthe \) 'in the sense of that, i.e., verbal root'. Commentators explain that the meaning of the base
(prakṛti) is principal (pradhāna) here. The word krayya is explained as krayārtham yah prasāritah 'that which is put out for sale'. Consider now a counter-example: kreyo no dhānyam na cāsti krayam 'this grain we wish to purchase is not for sale'. Here again, the e resulting out of guṇa is replaced with ay.

6.1.83 भययप्रवये च चचन्दसि

bhayyaprayaye ca echanndasi
/bhayya-pravayye 7/1 (itar. dv.) ca φ chandasi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 yi prayaye #79 dhūtōh #80)
bibheter dhātor prapūrvasya ca ‘vi’ ity etasya yati prayaye parataś chandasi viṣaye ‘yādeśo bhavati

Forms such as bhayya and pravayya are derived, via nipātana, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

bhayyaṁ kila āsit ‘that was indeed frightening’
vatsarāṁ pravayyā ‘a young cow ready for impregnation’

1. Note that bhayyah is derived with yaT signifying āpādāna (3.3.113 kṛtyāyuto . . .). The word pravayyā is derived, via nipātana, only in the feminine. One can derive it from: pra + (aj→vī) + yaT or pra + vī + yaT; where, in the first string, aj gets replaced with vī (2.4.56 ajer vy aghaṇaṇpoh). Verbal root vī in the second string is used with the signification of gati ‘movement’ and prajanana ‘giving birth’, etc. The yaT is, of course, introduced by 3.1.97 aco yat.

6.1.84 एकः पूर्वपरयोः:

ekah pūrvaparayoh
/ekah 1/1 pūrvaparayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/
(samhitāyām #72)
adhiķārō' yam 'khyāt parasya' iti prāg etasmāt
sūtrād ita uttaram yad vaksyāmas tatā pūrvasya parasya dvayer api sthāne ekādeśo bhavatīty etad vedātaryam

One comes in place of both the preceding as well as the following when samhitā obtains.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvendrah ‘best among cots’
mālendrah ‘best among garlands’

1. This is an adhiķāra valid through rules enumerated prior to 6.1.112 khyāt parasya.
The word pūrvaparayoh specifies a sequence of two contiguous elements as sthāni ‘items to be replaced’, simultaneously (yugapat). There may be confusion as to what should be replaced, for example, under the provision of 6.1.87 ād gunah. That is, if pūrvaparayoh is not specified. It is stated that the locative (saptami) of aci, occurring after the ablative (pañcamī) of āt, will be transformed into saṣṭhi ‘genitive’ similar to 8.3.29 Ṛah si dhūṭ where locative si is transformed into genitive and receives augment dhUṭ. This way, 6.1.87 ād gunah will have aci transformed into acaḥ, a genitive, and there will not be any confusion as to what should be replaced. But this will only make clear that an aC occurring after āT will be replaced with guna. It will not make clear that the guna vowel will come in place of the preceding ā and the vowel which follows. The word pūrvaparayoh must then be stated to facilitate a replacement in place of two contiguous vowels.

This single replacement must also come in place of two contiguous vowels simultaneously (yugapat). Some argue that ekaḥ, especially in view of 6.1.85 antādīvac ca, should account for a single replacement for two contiguous vowels simultaneously. Hence, we do not need pūrvaparayoh. If this is acceptable then pūrvaparayoh must be viewed as used for ease of comprehension (sukhapratiparyartham). But since proper understanding of this rule without pūrvaparayoh, though with the help of 6.1.85 antādīvac ca, is possible only via a locative occurring after an ablative transformed into genitive, use of pūrvaparayoh is still economical. Doing without pūrvaparayoh is prolix (gaurava).

2. This rule includes ekaḥ so that two separate replacements for the preceding and following contiguous sound segments can be blocked. For one may expect two replacements corresponding to two items to be replaced. Such an expectation can be justified in view of rule 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto nah... , whereby the t of a niṣṭhā suffix, when occurring after r and d, is replaced with n. Additionally, the preceding d is also replaced with n. The Mahābhāṣya finds the use of ekaḥ as unnecessary.

6.1.85 अन्तादिवच

antādīvac ca
\antādīvac \phi = antaś ca ādiś ca (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ tulyam; ca \phi/
(samhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84)
‘ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh’ iti yo’ yam ekādeśo vidhiyate sa pūrvasyāntavaḥ bhavati
parasyādvad bhavati

A replacement in place of the preceding and following sound segments in samhitā is treated as final (anta) of what precedes and initial (ādi) of what follows.

Examples:

brahmabandhūḥ ‘a contemptible brähmaṇa’
vrksau 'nominative/accusative dual of vrksa 'tree'

1. A replacement coming in place of two contiguous sound segments is treated as final of what precedes and the initial of what follows. The words anta and adi denote avayava 'part'. It is only natural that we understand them in view of their avayavina, the whole (samudāya) with reference to which they are parts. What is this avayavina, especially in this context of a single replacement in place of a preceding and a following sound? There are three possibilities.

(i) This extension applies to the preceding (pūrva) and following (para) sound segments for which ekaḥ specifies a single replacement.

(ii) This extension applies to entities which, prior to a single replacement, preceded the prior sound segment and followed the subsequent sound segment, with the understanding that prior and subsequent segments will be simultaneously replaced with a single sound segment.

(iii) This extension applies to a form which contained the prior sound segment as its final, and to another form which contained the subsequent sound segment as its initial.

The first interpretation is not acceptable because prior and subsequent sound segments would be removed by a single replacement. How could one talk about antādi when prior and subsequent segments themselves are missing. The second interpretation is also problematic. Consider vrksa + au, where a + au are replaced by a single replacement in a. This a is a single replacement in place of a non-sUP (asup) and a sUP. It cannot, because of there being nothing to follow the sUP, become the initial of what follows. It is in view of this that the third interpretation is accepted. This interpretation is also not trouble free. Consider, for example, brahmabandhūḥ, derived from brahmabandhu + u → brahmabandhū + sU, where a single long replacement comes in place of the final u of a nominal stem and the ṭ of the feminine affix īṇ. For, the prior u is removed. The final dh of brahmabandh cannot be treated as the substituenda (sthāni) of the replaced u since it was not the sthāni to start with (anārambhāti). This same is also applicable to the following items to be replaced. This extension will therefore apply to forms which preceded and followed the two sounds as their final and initial. A single replacement will be treated as final of the form which precedes it, the same way the sound it replaced was its final. This single replacement will also be considered as initial of what follows it, the way the item it replaced was its initial. Consider brahmabandhūḥ which derives from (brahmabandhū + sU). The final ṭ of brahmabandhū is a single replacement in ṭ for the final u of brahmabandhu and the initial ṭ of affix īṇ. Now, a sU is introduced after a
nominal stem, or a form that ends in the feminine affixes characterized with \(N\) and \(aP\). Since brahma\(=\)bandh\(u\) is not a nominal stem, and also since \(uN\) is not one of the feminine affixes covered by \(N\) and \(aP\), s\(u\) cannot be introduced by 4.1.2 sa\(u\)jasma\(u\). . . . How can one then derive brahman\(=\)abandh\(u\)h from brahma\(=\)bandhu + s\(U\)? This rule makes it possible for \(u\), a replacement of \(u\) + \(\ddot{u}\), as final of brahma\(=\)bandhu, the nominal stem. A s\(U\) can now be introduced to derive brahma\(=\)bandh\(u\).h.

2. Note that this antava\(=\)d\(h\)h\(a\)va ‘treatment as final of the preceding and initial of the following’ is not desired where an operation is to be performed relative to a sound segment. Consider kha\(t\)v\(a\)b\(h\)hi\(h\) \(\leftarrow\) kha\(t\)v\(a\) + b\(h\)i\(s\), where b\(h\)i\(s\) cannot be replaced with a\(i\)s (7.1.9 a\(to\) b\(hi\)s a\(i\)s). For, the \(\ddot{a}\) of kha\(t\)v\(a\), gotten from homogeneous long replacement (savarna\(m\)\(\dot{a}\)rgh\(a\)) of a + \(\ddot{a}\) of kha\(t\)v\(a\) + \(\ddot{a}\), cannot be treated as final of kha\(t\)v\(a\), a form ending in a\(T\). The instrumental plural of kha\(t\)v\(a\) will thus be kha\(t\)v\(a\)b\(h\)hi\(h\). Now consider third singular perfect of hve\(N\)→hv\(a\) (4.1.45 ã\(d\)e\(c\)a upad\(e\)s\(e\) . . .), i.e., juh\(a\)v\(a\), where given juhu + Na\(L\), 7.1.34 \(\ddot{a}\)t au n\(a\)l\(a\)h cannot be applied. For, hv\(a\) goes through sampras\(a\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(r\)\(a\)na (6.1.33 abhyastas\(a\)ya ca) and produces h\(u\) with p\(\ddot{u}\)r\(\ddot{v}\)ar\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{p}\)a. This h\(u\) happens to be a single replacement for the vocalic sequence u + \(\ddot{a}\)→-h(\(u\)→\(u\))\(\ddot{a}\). Note that Na\(L\) cannot be replaced with au, understanding that h\(u\) ended in \(\ddot{a}\) based on u being a single replacement for u + \(\ddot{a}\). A vrddhi replacement gotten from 6.1.88 vrddhir eci is not considered as initial of what followed, in applying 6.1.109 en\(a\)h pad\(\ddot{a}\)nt\(\ddot{a}\)d ati. Consider asyai + a\(s\)vah where asyai derives from idam + (\(N\)) e = idam + e with augment sy\(\ddot{a}\)\(T\) (7.3.114 sarvam\(\dot{a}\)\(m\)\(n\)n\(h\) sy\(\ddot{a}\)d . . .) and deletion of id (7.2.113 h\(a\)li lop\(a\)h). This gives us a\(m\) + sy\(\ddot{a}\) + e which yields a + sy\(\ddot{a}\) + e, where m of (id→\(\phi\)) a\(m\) + sy\(\ddot{a}\) + e gets replaced with a (7.2.102 ty\(\ddot{a}\)d\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{d}\)\(i\)n\(\ddot{a}\)m\(\dot{a}\)h). The a + (m→a) = a + a is then replaced with a single a (6.1.97 a\(t\)o gu\(n\)e) to offer a + sy\(\ddot{a}\) + e = asy\(\ddot{a}\) + e. Rule 6.1.88 vrddhir eci will now apply to produce asy(\(\ddot{a}\) + e→ai) = asyai. We cannot now apply 6.1.109 en\(a\)h pad\(\ddot{a}\)nt\(\ddot{a}\)d ati on asyai + a\(s\)vah to produce a single replacement similar to the preceding e for ai + a of asyai and a\(s\)vah, respectively. For, ai cannot be viewed as e.

Some argue that 1.1.56 sth\(\ddot{a}\)niv\(\ddot{a}\)d ã\(d\)e\(s\)o’ naluid\(h\)au itself can account for what this rule provides. Hence this rule is unnecessary. Others argue back that extensional provision of this rule is anum\(\ddot{a}\)n\(i\)ka ‘presumed’, because it is based upon part of a replacement (avayat\(\dot{u}\)a). It is not a direct (praty\(k\)\(\ddot{a}\)sa) replacement as may be required by the word ã\(d\)e\(s\)a of 1.1.56 sth\(\ddot{a}\)niv\(\ddot{a}\)d. . . . It is for this ‘presumed’ status of the replacement that we need this extension rule. I omit details of these two positions for fear of expatiation.

6.1.86 सत्तुतुकोरसिद्दः:

\(\text{sattu\text{-}tukor\text{-}asiddh\(a\)h}\)

\(/\text{sata}-\text{\text{-}tukoh} \ 7/2 \ (\text{it\text{-}ar. \ dv.}); \ \text{asiddh\(a\)h} \ 1/1 \ (\text{na\text{-}n. \ tat.})/\)

\(\text{samhit\(\dot{o}\}y\(\ddot{a}\)m} \ #72 \ \text{ek\(h\) p\(\ddot{u}\)r\(\ddot{v}\)apar\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{r}\)\(\ddot{y}\)oh} \ #84)\)

\(\text{sate\text{-}tuki ca kartav\(\dot{e}\}y ev\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{d}\)e\(s\)o’ Siddh\(\dot{a}\)h bhavati\)\)
A single replacement in place of the preceding and the following sound segments in samhitā is treated as if suspended (asiddha) when operations relative to a replacement in s (satva) and augment tUK are to be performed.

Examples:

ko' sicat ‘who watered . . .’
ko’iya ‘who is this person’s . . .’
yo’sya ‘he who is of this person’s . . .’
ko’smai ‘who is this person to whom . . .’
yo’smai ‘he to whom . . .’
adhitya ‘having studied . . .’
preya ‘having returned . . .’

1. This rule suspends a single replacement (ekādeśa) of two contiguous sound segments when a replacement in s, or introduction of augment tUK, is to be accomplished. That is, a replacement is treated as not having taken effect (asiddha) when these two operations (satva and tUK) are to be performed. To sum up: this suspension negates operations characteristically conditioned by a single replacement (kṛtaikādeśa-nimittaka-pratisedha). It favors application of a characteristic operation conditioned by a substituendum (sthāni-lakṣana-kārya).

What is the purpose of this provision of asiddhatva? Is it needed for creating ‘absence’ (abhava) of a single replacement? Or else, it is needed for indicating inability of replacement to perform what it is supposed to perform. For, what is siddha can be treated as asiddha if it does not do what it is supposed to do. That is, it is similar to son (putra) who can be treated as a non-son (aputra) if he does not perform the duties of a son (putrākāryakaraṇe sāmarthyāt). A replacement can similarly be treated as a non-replacement. If this ‘statement of suspension’ (asiddhavacana) tries to realize the absence of a single replacement, then adhitya cannot be derived with augment tUK. Why? Because the short i will already be removed by the replacement? A short vowel cannot be brought about if it has been removed by a single replacement. Killing the killer of Devadatta cannot bring Devadatta back to life’ (na hi devadattasya hantāri hale punar devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhava-tīty . . .). The ‘absence’ interpretation of asiddhatva thus has to be abandoned.

This asiddhatva must then be interpreted as ‘incapability of affecting an operation (kāryāsāmarthyāt)’. One considers a sthāni as not having been displaced when its corresponding ādeśa is treated as asiddha ‘not having taken affect’. Let us consider kah asicat, where kim of kim + s(U) is replaced with r(U) of 8.2.66 sasajusī ruh. The r is then changed to u (6.1.113 ato ror . . .). Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ will then apply on kau + asicat to offer a single guṇa replacement for au + a. Rule 6.1.109 evaḥ padāntād ati will then require a single replacement for the pada-final eN, i.e., e, o, and the a, of asicat, thereby
yielding \(k(o + a \rightarrow o)\) *sicit = ko' *sicit*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādesāpratyaayayoh* cannot apply to replace the *s* of *asicat* with *s* (*sativa*), because our present rule will make *o* suspended. That is, *s* of *sicit* will be occurring after *a* of *asicat*, a sound not covered by the abbreviatory term *iN*. One can also cite ko' *sya, yo' *sya, ko' *smai and yo' *smai* as additional examples, where *sativa* is negated based upon *asiddhatva* of a single replacement.

*Kāśīkā* offers *adhīya* and *pretya* as examples where *tUK* is allowed based upon *asiddatva*. Given (advhi + i + (Ktvā→LyāP)) and (pra + i + (Ktvā→LyāP)), the two *i* vowels are replaced with a single long *i* (6.1.100 *akah savarne dirgha*). The *a i* sequence of *pr(a + i) + ya* is replaced with a single *guna* vowel *e*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti krti tuk* cannot introduce *tUK* if single replacements are not treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'. For, replacement vowels are not short (*hrasva*). If replacement vowels both are treated as *asiddha*, augment *tUK* can be introduced to verbal root *i* ‘to go’.

2. A question against the formulation of this rule is also raised with reference to *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅga*. That is, a single replacement will be treated as *bahiraṅga* ‘externally conditioned’ since it applies with reference to two words. The application of *sativa* and *tUK* will be considered as *antaraṅga* ‘internally conditioned’ because they apply relative to a single word. What is the need for this rule when the *bahiraṅga* provision of a single replacement will automatically become suspended (*asiddha*). Commentators inform that this rule serves a restrictive purpose with regard to this interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*). It indicates that the *bahiraṅga-paribhāsa* does not apply where contiguous vocalic sequences of a *bahiraṅga* or *antaraṅga* operation are involved. Consequently, in *aksadyūḥ*, a replacement in *yaN* is treated as *siddha* ‘accomplished’ on account of the *asiddhatva* of externally conditioned *ūTH* (6.4.132 *vāha ātih*). This same also becomes a *jñāpaka* ‘indicator’ for existence of another *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 52) *nājānantarayam bahis* . . .

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *asiddhatva* in connection with *samprasāraṇa*, locative singular ending *N̄i*, and the first singular *ātmanepada* ending *t̄*, should be disallowed. Given *śaka + Śas + hu + KoIP*, we get *śakahū*, through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisväpi* . . ., *h(v→u)e*, *ātva* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .; (hu→ā), *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca; h (u + ā→u = hu) and *dirgha* (6.4.2 *halah; h(u→u = hū*). The application of 8.3.59 *ādesāpratyaayayoh* . . . for replacing the locative plural affixal *s* in *śakahū* + *su* to produce *śakahisū* is facilitated by this *vārttika* proposal. That is, the single replacement is treated as *asiddha* because the ending is not locative singular. But consider *vrkṣe chatram* where the *e* is considered as *siddha* because *N̄e* is locative singular. This can then allow optional *tUK* of 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. We thus get *vrkṣec chatram* and *vrkṣe chatram*. The first singular *ātmanepada* form *apace* illustrates how *e* of *aT̄ + pac + (ŚaP + (LUN→vT̄)) = *apac + (a + i→e) = *apace* can also be treated as *siddha*. Consequently, given *apace chatram*, we will get optional *tUK*. Thus, *apace chatram* and *apace chatram*. 
6.1.87 आद्गुणः:

ād guṇah
/āt 5/1 gunah 1/1/
(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekāḥ pūrvaśarayoh #84)
avarñāt paro yo'c, aci ca pūrvo yo' varnaḥ, tayoḥ pūrvaśarayor avarñācoḥ
sthāne ekō guṇādeśo bhavati

A single replacement in guna comes in place of both, a vowel (aC) which follows a and the a which precedes that vowel, in saṃhitā.

Examples:

khaṭvendrah = khaṭvā + indraḥ
mālendrah = mālā + īndraḥ
tavehate = tava + īhate
khaṭvehate = khaṭvā + īhate
tavodakam = tava + udakam
khaṭvodakam = khaṭvā + udakam
tavarśyāḥ = tava + rśyāḥ
khaṭvarśyāḥ = khaṭvā + rśyāḥ
tavalkārah = tava + ḫkāraḥ
khaṭvalkārah = khaṭvā + ḫkāraḥ

1. Of course, the a here also refers to its homogeneous (savarna; 1.1.69 anudit savarnasya . . . ) counterparts. Note that a sequence of a followed by a gets a single ā replacement of 6.1.100 akāh savarṇaṃ dirghaḥ. A sequence of a followed by e, o, ai or au is similarly subject to a single replacement in vṛddhi (6.1.88 vṛddhir eci). This rule allows a single replacement for a sequence of a followed by i, u, r or ḫ. Rule 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇah defines guna as aT, e and o. Given tava + idam and khaṭvā + indraḥ, we get tav (a + i→e) dam = tavēdam and khaṭv (ā + i) ndram = khaṭvendram. A single replacement in e is chosen, based upon its similarity of place of articulation (sthāna) with a + i, throat (kaṇṭha) and palate (tālu). A guna-replacement in a, of ḫ, is required to be followed by ḫ, similar to a replacement of r which is required to be followed by r (1.1.51 ur an ṛaparāḥ; Kāśiḥ: ḫkāṣya sthāne yo' n tasya laparātvam iṣyate). For, a specification of ḫ is considered as included within the specification of r.

6.1.88 व्रद्धिचि

vṛddhir eci
/vṛddhih 1/1 eci 7/1/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ekāḥ pūrvaśarayoh #84 āt 87)
avarñāt paro ya ec eci ca pūrvo yo'varnaḥ tayoḥ pūrvaśarayor avarnaicoḥ
sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement in vṛddhi comes in place of both, a sound de-
noted by the abbreviatory term $eC$ ($e$, $o$ $ai$, $au$) which follows $a$ and the
$a$ which precedes $eC$, in $samhītā$.

Examples:

$$
brahmañḍakā = brahma + edakā \\
kañṭvaidakā = kañṭvā + edakā \\
brāhmañṭikāyanaḥ = brahma + aitikāyanaḥ \\
kañṭvaitikāyanaḥ = kañṭvā + aitikāyanaḥ \\
brahmaudanaḥ = brahma + odanaḥ \\
kañṭvauḍanaḥ = kañṭvā + odanaḥ \\
brāhmaupagavah = brahma + aupagavah \\
kañṭvauṇagavah = kañṭvā + aupagavah
$$

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding ($ādgunasyāṇavadāḥ$). A
sequence of sounds with $a$, followed by $e$, $o$, $ai$ or $au$, is replaced with a corre-
sponding single $vṛddhi$ vowel. Here again, similarity of place of articulation
helps select corresponding replacements. Recall that $taparakaṇa$ in 1.1.1
$vṛddhi$ $āḍaic$ is not intended for blocking $ā$ from also denoting its homoge-
neous counterparts. For, $ā$ is not included within $aṇ$ (1.1.69 $aṇu$ $t$ $aṇa$ $s$ $aṇa$ $cāpratayak)$.
Instead, it is used for constraining $aiC$. Consequently, a replace-
ment is limited in duration. That is, we always get replacements in $dirga$
($a$/$ai$/ $au$) and not in $p$ $u$ $t$ $u$ $a$. Incidentally, a replacement in $a$ may also be
followed with $r$ (6.1.91 $u$p$a$r $a$ $d$ $a$ $t$ $au$).

6.1.89 एतेष्ठत्युष्ट्रसु

$etyedhatyūḥṣtu$

$\text{/etyedhatyūṣṭsu} \ 7/3 = \text{eti} ś \text{ca edhati} ś \text{ca} \ ू \text{ṣ} \text{ca} = \text{etyedhatyūṭhaḥ (itar. dv.,)}$

$\text{teṣu/}$

($samhītāyām \ #72 \ ari \ #77 \ ekaḥ \ pūrva \ pārayoh \ #84 \ ै \ t \ ै \ ै \ vṛddhi \ eci \ #88)$$

avarnāt paro ya in gatau ity etasya ec, edha vṛddhau ूṣḥ ity etayoś ca yo’c, 
$\text{eteṣu ca pūrvo yo’ varṇas tayoḥ pūrva \ pārayor \ varṇācoh \ sthāne vṛddhi \ ekādesो}$

bhavati

A single replacement in $vṛddhi$ comes in place of both, the $a$ which
precedes a sound denoted by $eC$ and the $eC$ which follows this $a$, pro-
vided $samhītā$ finds its scope.

Examples:

$\text{upai}tī = \text{upa} + \text{eti}$

$\text{upaiśi} = \text{upa} + \text{esi}$

$\text{upaimi} = \text{upa} + \text{emi}$

$\text{upaidhate} = \text{upa} + \text{edhate}$

$\text{praidhate} = \text{pra} + \text{edhate}$

$\text{prasthauhaḥ} = \text{prastha} + \text{uhaha}$
prāṣṭhauhā = prāṣṭha + ŭhā
prāṣṭhauhe = prāṣṭha + ŭhā + Ne

1. Note that vṛddhih, eci and āt are all carried over. The word eci can only qualify eti. A qualifier must be capable of being removed, or else, be deviating (vyabhicāra). Such a deviation is not possible (sambhava) in connection with edhA since it is always found as beginning with eC. There is no sense in saving an edhA which begins with eC. This qualification of eC, in case of ŭTH, is impossible (asambhava). The i of iN may, or may not, yield an e. This e can then be specified by eci. A tadādividhi interpretation (paribhāṣā (34): yasmin vidhau tadādāv algraheṇa) will yield the following meaning: . . . when a occurs followed either by the eC of iN, or by the aC of edh or ŭh.

Thus, consider upa + eti→upaiti, upa + edhate→upaidhate and prāṣṭha + ŭhā→prāṣṭhauhā. This rule is an exception to 6.1.94 eni pararūpam, whereby a sequence of prefixal a, or ā, followed by the root-initial e, or o, is replaced with a single form similar to the following. It can, however, not be accepted as an exception to 6.1.95 omānos ca which also orders pararūpa, under fairly similar conditions. For, this rule is a prior exception (purastāpavāda) and hence, purastāpavāda anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān (Ś 60) ‘prior exceptions block most immediate provisions and not any subsequent’.

Now consider prāṣṭhauhā, where affix NuI is introduced after vah, used in conjunction with prāṣṭha. We thus get prāṣṭha + vah + (NuI→ϕ), where affix NuI gets deleted after vṛddhi, yielding prāṣṭha + (v(a→ḥ) + (NuI→ϕ)) = prāṣṭhavāh. Rule 6.4.132 vāh ŭh orders samprasārāṇa and related operations on a string, for example, prauṣṭhavāh + (N) as, yielding prāṣṭha (v→ū(TH) āḥ)) + as→prāṣṭha (ū + ā→ū) h + as = prāṣṭha + ŭh + as. Of course, we get a single long ŭ to replace the sequence ŭ + ā, through application of 6.1.107 samprasārāṇāc ca. Our present rule can now order the sequence a + ŭ to be replaced with a single vṛddhi substitute. We will thus get prāṣṭha (a + ŭ→au) h + as = prāṣṭhauhās. Deriving prāṣṭhauhā with rutuavisarga of s at the end of prāṣṭhauhās is easy. We will similarly get prāṣṭhauhā and prāṣṭhauhe with nominal endings Tā and Ne, respectively.

2. This rule is an exception to guṇa, in the context of ŭth, and of pararūpa, a replacement similar to the following (6.1.94 eni pararūpam), in the context of e of eti and edhati.

Why do we have to qualify iN as ej(ādī) ‘eCinitial’ for accomplishing vṛddhi? Consider upetah, derived with a single e-replacement for a + i, of upa + itah, where itah could be a derivate of i ending in Kīra or tas (LAT→tas), third dual active. Our present rule could have ordered a single vṛddhi-replacement, instead. The result would have been a wrong form: up(a + i→ai) ta = *upaita. This is why a qualified iN is required.

This same is also true of a qualified edhA in pr(a + i→e) dhidhat→predidhat, a LUN-derivate of causal edhA, used, for example in mā bhavān predidhat ‘please
sir do not cause it to grow'. Our present rule cannot order \textit{vṛddhi} to yield a wrong form \textit{*pраиддhat}, because \textit{edhA} does not begin here with \textit{e}. The negation of \textit{mā} is used to indicate that augment \textit{āT} is blocked here (6.4.74 \textit{na mānīyoge}).

3. The following are some \textit{vārttika} proposals:

(i) A single \textit{vṛddhi} vowel comes as a substitute when \textit{aksā} follows \textit{ūhini}. Thus, \textit{aksauhiṇī}.

(ii) Also when \textit{sva} is followed by \textit{īra}, \textit{īrīna} and \textit{irini}. Thus, \textit{svairam/ svairini}, etc.

(iii) A \textit{vṛddhi} is also a single substitute when \textit{pra} is followed by \textit{ūdha}, \textit{ūdhī}, \textit{esa} and \textit{esya}. Thus, \textit{prauhāh}, \textit{praudhāh}, \textit{praudhīh}, \textit{praisah}, \textit{praisyāh}.

(iv) A \textit{vṛddhi} is also a single substitute when an \textit{a-final} word is followed by \textit{ṛta}. Thus, \textit{sukhena + ṛṭa = sukhenāṛttaḥ}, as against \textit{sukhena + ithub + sukhenētaḥ}.

(v) A single \textit{vṛddhi} substitute is also desired when \textit{ṛna} follows \textit{pra}, \textit{vatsatara}, \textit{kambala} and \textit{vasana}. Thus, \textit{pra + ṛnam \rightarrow prāṛṇam}, \textit{vatsatarā + ṛnam = vatsatarāṛṇam}, etc.

(vi) Also when \textit{ṛna} and \textit{daśa} are followed by \textit{ṛna}. Thus, \textit{māṛṇam} and \textit{daśāṛṇam}.

6.1.90 \\ \textbf{आटच}\\

\textit{āṭaś ca}\\
\textit{/āṭah 5/1/ ca ṣ/}\\
(samhītāyām #72 aci #77 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 vṛddhiḥ #88)\\
\textit{āṭah paro yo’ c ac ca pūrvo ya āṭ, tayoh pūrvaparayor āḍacoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekadēśo bhavati}\\
A single \textit{vṛddhi} vowel comes in place of both, a vowel which follows \textit{āT} and the \textit{āṬ} which precedes that vowel, when \textit{samhītā} finds its scope.

\textbf{Examples:}\\

\textit{aikṣiṣṭa} ‘third person singular active \textit{LUH}-derivate of \textit{iks} ‘to see’’\\
\textit{aikṣata} ‘third person singular active \textit{LAN}-derivate of \textit{iks} ‘to see’’\\
\textit{aikṣiṣyata} ‘third person singular middle \textit{LRH}-derivate of \textit{iks}’\\
\textit{aubhīt} ‘third singular active \textit{LUH}-derivate of \textit{ubh} ‘to fill’’\\
\textit{ārdhnot} ‘third singular active \textit{LAN}-derivate of \textit{ṛdh} ‘to grow’’\\
\textit{aubjet} ‘third singular active \textit{LUH}-derivate of \textit{ubh} ‘to press down, subdue’’

1. Note that \textit{eci} is no longer carried. The \textit{āT} of \textit{āṭaḥ} refers here to augment \textit{āṬ}, introduced by 6.4.72 \textit{āḍ ajāḍinām}. A single \textit{vṛddhi} substitute replaces the \textit{ā}, of \textit{āṬ}, and a vowel which may follow \textit{āṬ}. Consider \textit{aikṣiṣṭa}, \textit{aikṣata} and \textit{aikṣiṣyata}, forms of verbal root \textit{iks} ‘to see’ in \textit{LUH}, \textit{LAN} and \textit{LRH}, respec-
tively, where augment āT is introduced by 6.4.72 ād ajādīnām. We get the initial ai of these forms as a single replacement of ā of āT and the i of īks. Refer to many derivatives of LŪN, LĀN and LRN under the appendix of volumes II-III for additional details. A similar vrddhi replacement of ā + u is found in aubhit and aubhit. A vrddhi replacement in ār is found in ārdhnot, a LŪN derivate of rdhU 'to go'. All these examples would have gotten a replacement in guna if we did not have this rule.

2. The ca is not intended for attracting vrddhi to this rule. It is for something additional (adlikavidhānārtham). It is used for blocking a single replacement similar to what follows (cf. 6.1.95 omānoś ca and 6.1.96 usy apadāntā). We get aursiyat, aukāriyat and audhīyat.

6.1.91 उपसर्गादृत धाती

_upasargād rti dhātau_
_/upasargāt 5/1 rti 7/1 dhātau 7/1/
(samhitāyam #72 aci #77 ekāḥ pūrvarūpyoh #84 āt #87 vrddhih #88)
avarāntād upasargād ṛkārādau parataḥ pūrvarūpyoh sthāne vrddhir ekādeśo bhavati

A single vrddhi replacement comes in place of both, an a at the end of a preverb and a ṛ at the beginning of a verbal root, when samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

_upārcchati = upa + rccchati_
_prārcchati = pra + rccchati_
_upārdhnoti = upa + rdhnoti_

1. This rule allows a single vrddhi-replacement for the final a of a preverb and initial ṛ of a verbal root. This is an exception to 6.1.87 ād gunah.

2. What is the purpose of stating upasargāt 'after a preverb'? Consider khaṭvā + rccchati→khaṭvarcchati and mālā + rccchati→mālarcchati, where we find guna with a following ṛ (rapara) since there is no preverb. Now consider prarccchakaḥ of prarccchako deśāḥ, paraphrased as pragatā rccchakā asmād deśāt 'a place from where bears have departed'. There is no vrddhi here. For, an upasarga is viewed as an upasarga in relation to a verb with which it is used. The pra of prarccchakaḥ is related to gam of gata and not to rch. The ṛ of rccchaka cannot facilitate vrddhi.

The condition of a root beginning with ṛ is also necessary. Consider upa + stāḥ→upetaḥ where, because of a lack of ṛ, we do not get vrddhi. The taparakaraṇa in ṛti is used to block vrddhi in examples such as upa + ṛkāriyat→uparkāriyati. A ṛ qualified with taparakaraṇa in short (hrasva). The ṛ or ṛkāriyat is long (dirgha).

3. Why is the word dhātau stated explicitly when it can be easily under-
stood in view of upasargāt. It is argued that dhātau is explicitly used so that an optional prakṛtiḥbāva ‘the state of originally was; non-sandhi’ of 6.1.128 rtyakah could be blocked. That is, the prakṛtiḥbāva of Śākalya will be blocked in the context of r of a dhātu.

6.1.92 वा सुप्रापिषले:

vā supy āpiṣaleh
/vā ∅ supi 7/1 āpiṣaleh 6/1/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 āt #87 vṛddhiḥ #88 upasargād rti dhātau #91)
subantaśvayave dhātvā ṛkārādau parato‘ varṇāntād upasargāt pūrvaparayor āpišaler ācāryasya matena vā vṛddhir ekādeo bhavati
A single vṛddhi replacement, in the opinion of Āpišali, optionally comes in place of both, the final a of a preverb and the initial r of a verbal root, when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

upārṣabhīyati = upa + rṣabhīyati
upārṣabhīyati = upa + rṣabhīyati
upālkāriyati = upa + ṭkāriyati
upālkāriyati = upa + ṭkāriyati

1. The word āpišali, especially in view of vā, is used to denote respect (pūjārtham). For, it cannot denote option which vā already does.

2. Since a dhātu cannot be subanta ‘that which ends in a sUP’, the word subanta is interpreted as dhātvāvayava ‘part of a verbal root’. Thus, we get the meaning subantaśvayave dhātau ‘... when a subanta contained within a dhātu follows ...’. We get rṣabha iva ācarati = rṣabhīyati and upa + rṣabhīyati→ upārṣabhīyati (guna) and upārṣabhīyati (vṛddhi). Similar interpretations apply to other examples.

3. A homogeneous relationship (sāvartya) between r and ī is again invoked here. That is, a reference with r also includes a reference to ī. A replacement of ī, similar to one of r followed by r (rapara), is also followed by l (lapara) in accord with the Mahābhāṣya (ad 1.1.50 sthāne’ taratamah).

6.1.93 ओतोदम्यसो:

auto’ m śasoh
/ā (deleted 1/1) otaḥ 5/1 amśasoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84)
oṭo’ mi sasi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayor ākāra ādeśo bhavati
A single ā comes in place of both, the o which am and Śas follow and the a of am and Śas which follow o, when samhitā finds its scope.
6.1.94  Adhyāya Six: Pāda One

Examples:

gām paśya ‘see the cow’
gāh paśya ‘see cows’
dyām paśya ‘look towards heaven’
dyāh paśya ‘... heavens’

1. This rule allows a sequence of o, plus the a of am and Śas, to be replaced with ā. The am, because of its associated usage (sāhacaryaḥ) with Śas ‘accusative plural’, and also because of the anuvṛtti of supi, is interpreted as accusative singular. Consider acino + am and asuno + am, where, in deriving acinavam and asunavam ‘first person singular past imperfect active’ (LAṈ) forms of ciN ‘heap’ and suN ‘to press out juice’, we get am as a replacement of miP ‘first person singular active’ (3.4.101 tathasthamipām...). We do not get a single replacement in ā because am is not the accusative singular nominal ending. Our proper examples will be gām paśya and gāh paśya, from go + am and go + Śas, respectively.

Now consider the pronominal dyo which also ends in o. An affix termed sarvanāmasthāna (1.1.43 sud anāpumsakasya) which may occur after it is desired to be marked with N as an it (7.1.90 goto nit). This Nit status would cause vrddhi. Our present rule blocks this anticipated vrddhi in favor of a replacement in ā. How come the vrddhi of 7.1.90 goto nit does not block this ātva on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 vipratisdhe param kāryam)? This rule will be left without any scope (niravakāsa) of application if ātva is blocked by vrddhi.

6.1.94 एकी पररूपम्

enī pararūpam
/enī 7/1 pararūpam 1/1/
(samhitāyām #72 ekāh pūrva-pararūyoh #84 āt #87 upasargād dhātavu #91)
avarñātād upasargād enādau dhātavu pūrva-pararūyoh pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement, similar to the second of a vocalic sequence, comes in place of both the final a of a preverb and the initial en (e, o) of a verb root, when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

upelayati = upa + elayati
prelayati = pra + elayati
upoṣati = upa + oṣati
prokhati = pra + okhati

1. Note that āt and upasargād rti dhātavu are carried over. This rule orders a replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence. It thus consti-
tutes an exception to 6.1.88 vyṛdhir eci. Consider elayati, of upelayati and 
prelayati, where il ‘to inspire’ of the curādi group is used with causal NiC in 
the present (LAf). Thus, il + NiC→eli; eli + (LAf→tiP)→eli + ŚaP + tiP→ 
eI(i→e→ay) + a + ti = elayati. A single replacement in o can be seen in 
up(a+o→o) sati = upośati and up(a +o→o) khati = upōkhati.

2. Some also carry vā supy āpiśaleḥ, via anuvṛtti. A single sentence inter-
pretation (ekavākyatā), with vā supy āpiśaleḥ brought via anuvṛtti, will block a 
single substitute outside the context of supi. This, of course, is not desired 
(iṣṭa). A split interpretation (yogavibhāga) is therefore recommended. The 
first split rule will offer a single substitute obligatorily where the root is not a


denominative. The second will make a single substitute optional where a

denominative is involved. The first split rule will obviously not include the

subdhātav interpretation facilitated by the anuvṛtti. One must remember here 
that getting these two interpretations via yogavibhāga is not easy. Interpreta-
tion of the learned alone is our recourse (vyākhyānam eva śrānam).

3. Haradatta states that pararūpa in this rule is used for subsequent rule 
(uttarārtha). For this rule, eni itself is enough. The use of the word rūpa does 
not make sense (cintya). Consider 6.1.107 ami pūrvah where pūrvaparayoh 
pūrvah itself accounts for a single substitute similar to what precedes in a 
sequence. That is, with no use of rūpa (PM ad Kāś.: sūtre pararūpagrahānam 
uttarārtham. iha tu eniṭy eva siddham-eni parata ekādeso bhavaṭāti. rūpagrahānam 
cintyaprayojanam, tathā ca ‘ami pūrvah’ ity atra rūpagrahānam na kṛtam).

4. Following vārttika proposals are made in the Mahābhāṣya in connection 
with pararūpa:

   (i) A pararūpa, as against savanādīrgha, is desired in śaka + andhuḥ = 
       skandhuḥ, etc.
   (ii) A similar application is to be followed in deriving simantaḥ from 
        (sim (n→φ) + anta) = simanta+ sU, when the signification is ‘hair’.
   (iii) A following eva also goes through pararūpa when the sense is not 
        niyama ‘restrictive provision’. Thus, iha + eva→iheva ‘here’, 
        as against ihaiva bhava ‘be here (and not any place else)’.
   (iv) An optional pararūpa is ordered in compounds when oṭu and oṣṭha 
        follow. Thus, sthulotuḥ/sthulautuh ‘a fat cat’ and bimboṣṭhi/ bimbaṣṭhi 
        ‘a female with her lips as red as Bimba fruits’.
   (v) A pararūpa should also be stated when eman, etc., follow in the 
        Vedic. Thus, apāṃ tu + eman→apāṃ tveman and apāṃ + tvā + 
        odman→apāṃ tvodman.

6.1.95 ओमादोऽच

omānoś ca
/omānoḥ 7/2 = om ca ān ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ/
(samhitāyām # 72 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 āt #87 pararūpam #94)
avarṇāntād omi āṇi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpaṁ ekādeso bhavati

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, the a which precedes and the o of om or the ā of āN which follow, when saṃhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

kom ity avocat 'said, 'kā + om = kom'
yom ity avocat 'said, 'yā + om = yom'
oḍhā = ā + uḍhā
adyodhā = adya + oḍhā
tadoḍhā = tadā + oḍhā

1. This rule carries the anuvṛtti of āt. Thus, a sequence of a followed by o of om and ā of the preverb āN is replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows (pararūpa). Consider k(ā→o→o)m) = kom ity avocat 'who said Om' and (ā + ū→ō)ḍhā) = oḍhā; ady(a + o→o)ḍhā) = adyoḍhā, etc., which are exceptions to 6.1.88 vyḍḍhir ecī. Now consider adya + arśyāt = adyarśyāt, an exception to 6.1.100 akāh savarṇe dīṛghaḥ. A specification with āN is needed so that pararūpa is not blocked by savarṇadīṛgha.

6.1.96 usyapadaṇṭāt

usy apadāntāt
/usi 7/1 apadāntāt 5/1 = padasya antaḥ; na padāntāh (nañ. with int. ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmā/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ekah pūrvaparayoḥ #84 āt #87 pararūpaṁ #94)
avarṇād apadāntād usi pūrvaparاور गुणapavādaḥ pararūpaṁ ekādeso bhavati

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-pada final a which precedes and the following u of us which follows, when saṃhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

bhindyūḥ = bhindyā + us
chindyūḥ = chindyā + us
aḍuḥ = adā + us
aṇuḥ = aṇā + us

1. Note that us refers here to the jus-replacement of jhi ‘third plural active ending’ (3.4.108 jher jus; 3.4.110 atah, etc.). This pararūpa is an exception to guna (6.1.87 ad gunaḥ).

2. The word apadāntāt qualifies āt. Thus, this replacement will be avail-
able when the final sound of a *pada*. Consider, *kā + usrā* and *kā + usítā* where *us* occurs after an *ā* which is occurring at the end of a *pada*. We thus get *guna*, in *kosrā* and *kosítā*, instead. The use of *apadántāt* does not make much sense, especially when one considers *us*. What is this *us*? If it is an affixal replacement of *jhi* (3.4.108 *jher* *jus*), then it must be occurring at the end of a non-*pada*. Thus, the negation of *apadántāt* does not make much sense. If *us* is something else, for example the syllable *us*, then a counter-example such as *kosítā* makes sense. May be *apadántāt* is used for subsequent rules.

6.1.97 अतो गुणे

*ato gune*

/ atas 5/1 gune 7/1/

(samhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 parārūpam #94 apadántat #96) akārād apadāntad gune parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne parārūpam ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and a *guna* vowel which follows the *a*, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

**Examples:**

*pacanti* 'third person plural LAT-derivate of *pac* 'to cook'*

*yajanti* '... *yaj* 'to sacrifice'*

*pace* 'first singular middle LAT-derivate of *pac*'

*yaje* '... of *yaj*'

1. The first two examples, i.e., *pac + a + anti*→*pacanti* and *yaj + a + anti* = *yajanti*, illustrate that this rule is an exception to *savarnadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ* *savarne śīrgah). The next two, i.e., *pac + a + e* = *pace* and *yaj + a + e*→*yaje*, illustrate that it is also an exception to *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*).

2. A question is raised against treating this rule as an exception to *savarnadīrgha*. For, this exception rule (*apavāda*) falls in between (*madhye*) 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ* *savarne śīrgah*. That is, an exception placed in between must block a prior provision and not any subsequent ((PŚ 61): *madhye* 'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān). This rule should be treated as an exception to *vṛddhi* alone. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of *guna* in this rule enables it to also become an exception to 6.1.100 *akaḥ* *savarne śīrgah*. For, if *guna* was not mentioned for blocking 6.1.100 *akaḥ* *savarne śīrgah*, this rule should then have been formulated simply as *ato* 'padāntāt'. A single substitute in *e* for the vocalic sequence of *a + e* could then have been accomplished by bringing *eni*, via *anuvṛtti*. The next rule could have been then formed as *jusi ca* to account for instances of *fus* with the *anuvṛtti* of *apadāntat*. This then would have covered everything. Note
that formulations such as these would also be economical. But Pāṇini, with explicit use of guna, chose otherwise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita invokes purastāpavādanyāya in connection with this rule. He thinks that a prior exception (purastāpavāda), for example this rule, should block only an immediately following (anantara) provision, i.e., 6.1.100 ahaḥ savarṇaḥ dirghah. It can then, in view of purastāpavāda, not be an exception to 6.1.101 prathamayoh . . . (SK: purastāpavāḍa anantarān vidhīn bādhanate nottarān iti nyāyena ‘ahaḥ savarṇa’ ity asyaivāpavādo na tu ‘prathamayoh . . .’ ity asyāpi).

3. Why do we require a non-pada-final (apadānta) short a? So that pararūpa does not apply in yānti, etc., where a of yā + anti, is long. The condition of a following guna is necessary so that pararūpa can be blocked in examples such as apaça + i → apaçe. The word apaçe derives via a single guna replacement of 6.1.87 ād gunah.

Why is a guna vowel required to occur after a non-pada-final a? So that this pararūpa could be blocked in favor of savarṇadīrgha. Consider danda + agram → danda-gram, where the a of danda is treated as occurring at the end of a pada, via pratyayalaksana (1.1.62 pratyayalope pratyayalaksanam).

6.1.98 A vyaktaānukaranasyāt śānti
avayaktānukanānasyāt itau
/ avayaktānukanānasyā 6/1 = na vyaktah = avyaktah; avyaktasya anukaranām (saṣ. tat.), tasya/
(samhitāyām #72 ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pararūpam #94)
avayaktānukanānasyā yo’ c chabdās tasmād itau pūrvaparayoh sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence comes in place of both, the at of an inaudible imitation (echo; avyaktānukarana) which precedes and the i of iti which follows, provided samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

paṭat iti = paṭiti
ghaṭat iti = ghaṭiti
jhaṭat iti = jhaṭiti

1. The word avyakta of avyaktānukanāṇa is explained as aparisphunt ‘not clearly articulated’. Of course, that barely articulated form will become articulated when imitated. For example, paṭat was articulated as an imitation of a barely audible paṭat. This at when followed by iti will, with the following i, be replaced with i to yield paṭ( at + i → i) iti = paṭiti. We similarly get jhaṭ( at + i) iti = jhaṭiti.

Why do we have the condition of avyaktānukanāṇa? Consider jagat + iti =
jagad iti, where at + i cannot be replaced with i because jagat is not an inarticulate expression. Why after at? Consider maraṭ + iti → maraḍ iti where i occurs after at. Similar purpose is served by the following iti. Consider paṭat + atra where the absence of iti disallows this replacement.

A vārttika proposes that an avyaktānukaraṇa which consists of more than one vowel alone should be allowed for purposes of this rule. Thus, srat + iti should not be allowed to yield sriti. Why do we not allow pararūpa in ghaṭad iti of ghaṭad iti gambhiram ambudair naditam 'ghaṭad was thus a deep sound made by clouds?' Because this anukaraṇa does not have at. It has ad, instead.

6.1.99 नाम्रेदितस्यान्तस्या तृवा

नाम्रेदितस्यान्तस्या तु वा
/ na vā amṛeditasya 6/1 antyasya 6/1 tu vā vā/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaaparayoḥ #84 pararūpam #94 avyaktānukaraṇasyāt itau #98)
avyaktānukaraṇasyāmṛeditasya yo'c chabda itau tasya pararūpam na bhavati
A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence does not come in place of both, the preceding at of an inaudible imitation termed amṛedita and the i of iti which follows, provided saṃhitā finds its scope.
The final t of the amṛedita, instead, goes through optional single replacement similar to what follows in the sequence.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paṭatpaṭad iti} & = \text{paṭatpaṭa (a + i→i) ti} = \\
\text{paṭatpaṭ (a + i→e) ti} & = \text{paṭatpaṭeti karoti} \\
\text{paṭatpaṭad iti karoti}
\end{align*}
\]

1. This rule first negates the provision of the preceding rule in the context of an amṛedita, the following pada of a repeated sequence (8.1.2 tasya paramāmṛeditam; 8.1.1 sarvasya due). It then allows an optional single replacement for the final t with iti. Thus, we get paṭat iti→paṭat + paṭa(t + i→i)ti = paṭatpaṭa + ti→paṭatpaṭ (a + i→e) ti = paṭatpaṭeti paṭatpaṭa (t→d) + iti + paṭatpaṭaditi. Note that iteration is allowed by 8.1.4 nityavīpsayoh. We will get the first derive through the application of pararūpa and 6.1.87 ādgunah. We will get paṭatpaṭad iti, through jāstva (t→d; 8.2.39 jhalām jas' nte), if the option of pararūpa is not availed.

2. Note, however, that an imitation of a combination of words, for example paṭatpaṭat, cannot be allowed this option. Such combinations will be covered by the preceding rule to yield paṭatpaṭa iti→paṭatpaṭeti.

3. Note that what the Kāśikāvṛtti lists as rule 6.1.100 niṭyam amṛedita dāci is a vārttika (PM ad Kāś.: vārttikam evedam. vṛttikāt sūtrarūpena paṭhitam). This vārttika offers obligatory (niṭya) pararūpa for the t of an echo such as paṭat, when an amṛedita followed by DāC follows. Thus, given paṭat + paṭat + (D)ā(C)
= ṭaṭaṭ + paṭaṭ + ā we get paṭaṭ(ś + p → p) aṭaṭ + ā. This, through the application of ści-deletion (6.4.143 teḥ) of the final at, produces paṭaṭaṭ (aṭ → ś) + ā = paṭaṭaṭā as in paṭaṭaṭā karoti. ' . . . sounds paṭaṭaṭaṭ'. An additional example is: damadamā karoti. It is important to remember that deletion of ści should follow iteration. That is, iteration is accomplished in anticipation of DāC, and ści-deletion follows after parariṣṭa. The locative of dāci, in the vārttika proposal, is consequently interpreted as denoting viṣaya 'domain'. Incidentally, DāC cannot be allowed if the echo word is followed by iti.

Recall that 5.4.57 avyaktānukaraṇāḥ dvyāvarārdhāḥ anītau dāci introduces DāC where, in consonance with dāci vivakṣite dve bahulam, we also get doubling.

6.1.100 अक्षः सवर्णे दीर्घः:

akhaḥ savarne dirghah
/akhaḥ 6/1 savarne 7/1 dirghah 1/1/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaaparyah #84)

akhaḥ savarne 'ci parataḥ pūrvaaparyah sthāne dirgha ekādeṣo bhavati
A single vowel comes as a replacement in place of both, a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aK and a vowel homogeneous (savarṇa) with it that follows, when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

danādagram = danā + agram
dadhindraḥ = dadhi + indraḥ
madhūdake = madhu + udake
hotṛyāḥ = hotṛ + rṛyāḥ

1. This rule provides for a single long replacement for both, a preceding vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aK (a/i/u/ṛ/l) and the homogeneous (savarṇa) vowel which follows. The condition of akhaḥ is required so that, given agni + (N) e → agn(i → e) + e = agne + e, through ści-deletion and application of 7.3.111 gher ṃiti (read with 1.4.7 śeṣo ghy asakhi), we get agn(e → ay) + e = agnaye, through the application of 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah. That is, a single long replacement cannot take place here because e falls outside the denotata of aK. A sequence of two words, for example dadhi + atra, will yield dadh(i → ī) + atra = dadhyatra through application of 6.1.77 iko yañ aci since i of dadhi is not homogeneous with the a of atra. This shows why we need the condition of savarne. The condition of aci is imposed so that the application of this rule could be blocked in examples such as kumāri + ṛte where 1.1.10 nājhalau is brought to block homogeneous relationship between a vowel and a consonant.

2. Some claim that 1.1.10 nājhalau can still not be able to block homogeneous relationship between i and ś. For, rule 1.1.69 anuditsavarṇasya
cāpratayah, read with 1.1.9 tulyāṣyaprayatnam savarmam, allows a sound denoted by aN, i.e., a/i/u/ɪ/ʃ/e/o/ai/au/h/y/v/r/l to denote sounds homogeneous with them. The homogeneity (sāvartya) between i and ɪ thus cannot be impaired. It is argued that a vākya, here a rule, cannot apply within its specified scope unless the scope is fully cognized. The scope of application of 1.1.69 anuditsavarnasya ... still remains to be cognized at the time when 1.1.9 tulyāṣyaprayatnam savarnam is cognized. Consequently, 1.1.69 anuditsavarnasya cāpratayah cannot block the provision of 1.1.9 nājjhalau. Besides, the ac of 1.1.9 nājjhalau, for reason of its cognitive association with the inventory of sounds (varṇasamā尽可能; Śivasūtras 1–14), will denote only nine vowels, a/i/u/ɪ/ʃ/e/o/ai/au, as listed. Rule 1.1.69 anuditsavarnasya cāpratayah will then have to apply, leaving aside the scope of application of 1.1.9 nājjhalau. Furthermore, note that sāvartya is specified with aC. Consequently, aci is read (via anuvṛtti) in the wording of this rule. For, in its absence, a long replacement will find its scope in kumārī ṛete where i and ɪ can be accepted as homogeneous.

This rule is an exception to 6.1.84 ād guṇah, insofar as a is concerned. Elsewhere, it is an exception to 6.1.74 iko yan aci.

2. A vārttika proposal allows a replacement in long ɪ optionally with ɪ, a special sound, when a short ɪ is followed by its homogeneous counterpart (savarnadīrghatave ɪɪ ɪ vā vacanam). Thus, hotɪ + ṭkārah → hotīkārah and hotṛkārah.

A similar vārttika proposal also allows for optional ɿ when ɿ follows. Thus we get hotɪ + ṭkārah → hotīkārah. A long replacement is not possible because ɿ does not exist.

Incidentally, what is provided by these vārttika proposals consists of the duration of two moras (mātra) each. There are two r and l sounds in the middle with 1/2 mātra each. The vowels on each side carry 1/2 mora each. Refer to the SK (‘ṛtī ɪ vā’, ‘ɿ ṭ vā’ ubhayatrāpi vidheyaṁ varṇadāvyaṁ dvimātraṁ. ādyasya madhye dvau repau, τayor ekā mātra. abhito’ jbhakter apara. dvitiyasya tu madhye dvau lakārāu śeṣaṁ prāgval) for additional details. Such usages are very rare.

6.1.101 प्राथमित्य वूर्वसावर्नहः:

prathamāyah pūrvasavarnah
/ prathamāyah 7/2 pūrvasavarnah 1/1 = pūrvasya savarnah (sā. tat.)
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 akah dirgha #100)
prathamāyām dvitiyāyām ca vibhaktāv aci akah pūrvaparayoh śāne
pūrvasavarnadīrgha ādēśo bhavati

A single long vowel, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of both—a vowel denoted by aK and an aC of prathamā ‘first triplet, nominative’ and dvitiyā ‘second triplet, accusative’ that follows this aK, when samhitā finds its scope.
Examples:

agni
vāyu
vrksāh
vrksān

1. The word *prathamayoh* is interpreted as a compound parallel to *prathamā ca prathamā ca = prathame*, where only one *prathamā* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*). The first *prathamā*, of course, refers to the first triplet of nominal endings *sU, au, Jas*. The next *prathamā* is interpreted as referring to first among remaining triplets of nominal endings. Thus, *prathame* of *prathamayoh* refers to *prathamā* and *dviiyā* nominal endings: *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auT, Šas*, respectively. The dual in *prathamayoh* also brings *dviiyā* within the denotatum of *prathamā*, by association (*sānacarya*). Or else, as Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśi*) suggests, *supī* of 6.1.92 vā supī āpiśaleḥ should be carried to make *prathame* to refer to ‘*sU, au, Jas* and *am, auT, Šas*, the first two triplets of *sUP*.

2. Why does 6.1.97 ato guṇe not apply to cause a single substitute similar in form to the following *a* of *Jas* and *Šas* in *vrksāh* and *vrksān*, the nominative and accusative plural forms of *vrksa* ‘tree’. Commentators explain that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), such as the *pararuṇa* of 6.1.96 ato guṇe, can only block the most immediate provision such as the *savarnadirgha* of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarne dirghah* and not any subsequent, for example, the *pūrvasavarṇadirgha* of this rule (*PŚ: 60*) *purastāpavāda anantarān vidhin bādhante nottarān*. Our present rule will block the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarne dirghah* on the basis of *niravakāṣatava* ‘no scope of application’.

The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to block a replacement similar to what follows (*parsavarnā), in an example such as *agni + au*. The condition of *aci* ‘when *aC* follows’ is required to exclude *vrksa + sU → vrksah* and *plakṣa + sU → plakṣah*, where *s* of *sU* is not a vowel. The condition of *akaḥ* ‘after a sound denoted by *aK*’ is also required so that given *nau + au*, where *au* of *nau* is not included within the denotatum of *aK*, a single replacement is blocked. We thus get *n(au → āv) + au → nāvau* through 6.1.78 *eco yavāyāvah*. The word *dirghah* is required so that a corresponding *pluta* ‘extra-long’ vowel homogeneous with what precedes can be blocked from coming as a single substitute.

6.1.102 तस्माच्छसोः न: पुःसि

tasmāc chaso nah pumsi
/tasmāt 5/1 śasāḥ 6/1 nah 1/1 pumsi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 pūrvasavarnaḥ #101)
tasmāt pūrvasavarnadirghād uttarasya śaso' vayavasya sakārasya pumsi
nakārādeśo bhavati
The $s$ of Śas which occurs after a long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes is replaced with $n$ in the masculine.

**Examples:**

vrksān ‘accusative plural of vrksa ‘tree’
agni ‘agni ‘fire’
vāyū ‘vāyu ‘wind’
kartā ‘... kartṛ ‘doer’
śandaṅkā ‘... śandaṅka ‘eunuch’
sthūrakā ‘... sthūraka ‘man’

1. Note that tad of tasmāt, a variable, refers to the single replacement accomplished by our preceding rule. For, that alone could be the most proximate antecedent available. The genitive in āsasōh is interpreted as denoting avayava ‘part of a whole’. That is, $n$ comes in place of a part of Śas. Actually, the $n$ will come in place of the $s$ of Śas because the $a$ of Śas, as in vrksa + Ās as →vrks(a + a→ā)s = vrksās, would have already been replaced as part of a single long replacement in ā. We will thus get vrksā(s→n) = vrksān. Words such as vrksān, agni, vāyū, kartā, kartṛ, śandaṅkā, and pāṇḍhakā offer additional examples, all with their denotatum qualified with masculine (puṃsi). The condition of tasmāt is required so that $n$-replacement does not apply in an example such as etān carato gāh paśya ‘look at these grazing bulls’. In the absence of stating tasmāt, we will get a replacement in $n$ (natva) in masculine, whenever, in the context of ekāh pūrvaṇārayoḥ, a replacement in ā (6.1.93 auto’mśasōh) is to be accomplished. We will not get natva if tasmāt is read in relation to pravasavarnaṛgha ‘a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes’.

The word puṃsi is interpreted here in two ways: (i) a replacement in $n$ is allowed only when multiplicity (bahuṇa) of males (puṇḍa) is denoted; a replacement in $n$ is allowed when multiplicity is denoted by Śas, introduced after a base in masculine? There are problems in both views. The first will not allow a replacement in $n$ in bhṛkuṁśaṇ where bhṛkuṁśa denotes a male dancer dressed like a woman. For, Śas then will not be denoting plurality of men. Worse yet, the first view will also allow a replacement in caṇcāh ‘scarecrow’ where caṇcā is a derivate of kaN (5.3.96 ive pratikrtau), subsequently deleted by 5.3.98 lum manusye. A deletion by LUP will occasion the application of 1.2.51 lupti yuktavad vyaktivacane. We can still not get rid of feminine even though the denotatum is masculine.

The second view is not free of problems either. Consider sthūrakā parallel to sthūrāyāh apatyāṇi bahuni where sthūrā is feminine ending in TāP. Affix yaN (4.1.105 gargaḍibhyo yaṉ) of sthūrā + Ńas + yaṉ gets deleted by 2.4.64 yaṉaṇos ca. Affix TāP is also deleted subsequently by 1.2.49 luk taddhitaluki. The word sthūra is still feminine. Hence, no replacement in $n$. The same
problem is faced by ararakān. It is to resolve such problems that puṃsī is interpreted as denoting 'when the sense of puṃ ‘male’ (puṃarthā) is denoted’. The Mahābhāṣya offers the following ślokavārttika:

natvam puṃsām bahutve cet puṃsabdād isyate striyām/
napuṃsake tathaiveṣṭām striśabdāc ca prasayate//
puṃsabdād iti ced īṣṭam sthūrāpatye na sidhyati/
kundinyā arakāyāḥ puṃsprādhānyāt prasidhyati//
puṃsprādhānye ta eva syur ye dosāḥ pūrvacoditāḥ/
tasmād arthe bhaven natvam vadhrikādiṣu yuktavat//'

2. The condition of Śās is required to block n-replacement, for example, in vṛksa + Jas → vṛksāḥ. The denotatum of puṃsī similarly blocks n-replacement in kumārī, dhenūḥ and bahvīḥ.

6.1.103 नविचि

nād ici
/na ṣ at 5/1 ici 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrva-parayoḥ #84 dirghaḥ #100 pūrva-
avarṇaḥ #101)
avartnād ici pūrvasavartndirgho na bhavati
A long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes does not come in place of an a (short or long) and a following sound denoted by iC, when samhitā finds scope.

Examples:

vṛksau ‘nominative/accusative dual of vṛksa’
plāksau ‘. . . of plakṣa’
khāṭve ‘. . . of khāṭvā’
kundaḥ ‘. . . of kundā’

1. This rule negates a single long replacement similar to the preceding, when what precedes is an a or ā. Consider vṛksa + au → vṛksau where, because of this negation, we get a single vṛddhi replacement (6.1.88 vṛddhir eci). Now consider khaṭvā + au → khaṭve where 7.1.18 auṇ āpah applies to yield khaṭvā + (au → (Ś)ī)) = khaṭvā + ī. Rule 6.1.87 ād gunaḥ then-offers a single guna replacement to produce khaṭv(ā + ī→e) = khaṭve. This same applies to kunda where Ś is introduced by 7.1.19 napuṃsakāc ca. These illustrate how negating a pūrvasavartndirgha results into application of a single guna replacement.

2. The condition of āt ‘after an a or ā’ is required so that a single long replacement can be blocked in examples such as agni + au → agnī, where au occurs after i. The condition of ici ‘when a sound denoted by iC follows’ is required so that pūrvasavartndirgha cannot be blocked in examples such as vṛksa + Jas → vṛksāḥ.
6.1.104 दीर्घाज्ञसि च

dīrghāj jasi ca
/ dīrghāt 5/1 jasi 7/1 ca φ/
(samhitāyām #72 ekāḥ pūrvasparayoh #84 dīrghah #100 pūrvasavarnaḥ #101 na ici #103)
dīrghāj jasi ici ca parataḥ pūrvasavarnaḥgho na bhavati
A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding also does not come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the vowel of Jas or iC which follow, when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

kumāryau ‘nominative dual of kumārī ‘girl’
kumāryah ‘nominative plural ...
brahmabandhvaau ‘nominative dual of brahmabandhū’
brahmabandhvah ‘nominative plural ...

1. This rule negates pūrvasavarnaṅgha ‘a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a vocalic sequence’, also when a long vowel, other than ā (6.1.103 nād ics), is followed by iC and Jas ‘nominative plural’. Consider kumārī + au→kumār(i→y) + au = kumāryau and kumārī + (f)s→kumār (i→y) + as = kumāryas(s→r→h) = kumāryah, where 6.1.77 ico yan aic applies in the absence of pūrvasavarnaṅgha. Similar derivational provisions are also applicable to brahmabandhū + au→brahmabandhvaau and brahmabandhū + Jas→brahmabandhvah.

2. The anuvṛtti of āt is suspended so that the negation can apply after any long vowel. The long ā of āT will be included within the reference of dīrghāt. The ca is then used to attract ics. The word dīrghāt is used so that the guṇa application of rules 7.3.109 jasi ca and 7.3.110 rto nisarvanāmasthanayoh can be saved from over application (atiprasānga). The condition of Jas is required so that this negation does not apply to kumārīḥ paśyā and vadhūḥ paśyā, which both are instances of Šas ‘accusative dual’.

6.1.105 वा छन्दसि

vā chandasi
/ vā φ chandasi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 ekāḥ pūrvasparayoh #84 dīrghah #100 pūrvasavarnaḥ #101 na ici #103 dīrghāj jasi ca #104)
dīrghāc chandasi viṣaye jasi ca ici ca parato vā pūrvasavanāṅgho na bhavati
A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding does not, in the Vedic, optionally come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the Jas or iC which follow, when samhitā finds its scope.
Examples:

mārutiḥ = māruti + ās ‘accusative plural of māruti’
mārutyah ‘optional ās-derivate’
piṇḍiḥ = piṇḍi + ās ‘accusative plural of piṇḍi’
piṇḍyah ‘optional ās-derivate’
vārāhi ‘modification of varāha = vārāhi + au
vārāhyau ‘optional derivate with au’
upānahi ‘shoe; upānahi
upānahyau ‘derivate with au’

1. This Vedic option of pūrvasavarnadīrgha is offered in favor of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. Our earlier rule offers negation of pūrvasavarnadīrgha, obligatorily (nītya).

6.1.106 अभि पूर्वः:

ami pūrvaḥ
/am/ 7/1 pūrvaḥ 1/1/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 ekaḥ pūrva-parayoh #84 akaḥ #100)
ami parato'kah pūrva-parayoh sthāne pūrva-rūpam ekādeso bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both,
a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aK which precedes and the a of am, when am follows and samhitā finds scope.

Examples:

vrkṣam
plakṣam
agnim
vāyum

1. Why do we have to state pūrvaḥ in this rule when it is already available via anuvṛtti. Carrying pūrvaḥ from the preceding rule will also mean carrying savarnaḥ. This can create problems in determining the quality of a replacement. Consider kumāri + am→kumārīm, where the sthānis ‘item(s) to be replaced’, i.e., i + a, together carry the duration of three mātrās ‘moras’. Since a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces (1.1.50 sthāne’ ntaratanmah), the i which replaces i + a must also carry the duration of three mātrās. The correct replacement is an i carrying only two mātrās. The use of the word pūrva restricts the exact nature of the replacement. How? The word pūrva, without any association with savarana, simply means ‘(identical with) what precedes’ and not ‘homogeneous with what precedes’. Consequently, our present rule only allows a replacement which is identical in quality with the preceding sound denoted by ak (Nyāsa ad Kāś: yathājātīyakah pūrvas tathājātīyaka eva yathā syād ity evam artham pūrva-grahaṇam).
Why is dirghāt not carried to this rule? Because pūrvah introduces something new (ārambhasaṃarththyā) which may be incompatible with it.

2. Some also carry the anuvṛtti of 6.1.106 vā chandasi, whereby optional application of 6.1.77 iko yañ aci can account for samīm/šamyam and gaurīm/gauryam in samīm paśya/šamyam paśya and gaurīm paśya/gauryam paśya. This, however, is done with split-interpretation (vākyabheda) of vā chandasi. For, a single sentence interpretation (ekavākyatā) of this rule with the inclusion, especially of vā with chandasi, will create problems in the classical usage where a replacement identical with the preceding (pūrvah) alone is desired.

3. It is stated that dirghāt should also be carried here (Nyāsa ad Kāsikā: dirgha iti cēhānuvarttate, anyathā hidam vacanam anarthakaṃ syāt). Perhaps we must correct cēhānuvarttate 'is also carried here' to read as: neḥānuvarttate 'is not carried here'. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) rightly states that dirghāt iti nānuvarttate... 'dirghāt is not carried...'.

6.1.107 Samprasaṇāca

samprasaṇāca ca
/samprasaṇāt 5/1 ca φ/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pūrvah #106)
samprasaṇād aci parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvavṛtam ekādeo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding samprasāraṇa vowel and the vowel which follows, when samhitā finds scope.

Examples:

iṣṭam ‘(yaj + Kta) + sU’
uptam ‘(vap + Kta) + sU’
ghītam ‘(grah + Kta) + sU’

1. This rule offers a single replacement identical with the preceding in place of a samprasāraṇa vowel which precedes and a vowel which follows it. Thus, we get (y→i) aj + ta→iaj + ta→(ia→ī)j + ta = ij + ta→i(j→ś) + ta→is + (t→t) a = iṣṭa; (v→u) ap + ta→(ua→u)p + ta = up + ta and grah + iT + ta→g(r→r)ah + i + ta→g(ra→r)h + i + ta→grh + (i→i) + ta = grhīta, etc. Note that the i of grh + i + ta is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 halah. The j of ij is replaced with s by 8.2.36 vaśacbhṛasṛṣṣ. . . . The t of is + (t→t) = iṣṭa goes through śṭutva (8.4.41 śṭunā śṭuḥ).

2. How come we do not get a single replacement identical with the preceding in śakahvauv ‘those two who are challenging the Śaka’ and śakahvartham ‘for one who challenges the Śaka’ at the stage when the strings are śakahū + au and śakahū + artham? We find that ū and au of śakahvau and ū and a of śakahvartham are not part of the same base that contains the samprasāraṇa vowel. Consider the derivation of šakahū, from šakahvā + KuLP, where the v
of śakahvā goes through samprāśarāṇa. The resultant, i.e., śakah(u→v)ā = śakahuā, gets its uā replaced with a long ū to yield śakahū. The ū of śakahū will be considered as pūrvasavarna in view of 6.1.85 antādi vac ca. This single replacement is possible because uā are part of the same base which contains the samprāśarāṇa vowel. A single replacement cannot apply to ū + au, of śakahū + a and u, since these two vowels both are not internal (antaraṅga). A non-application of this rule, for accomplishing a single replacement, cannot make it vacuous since this rule has already applied, and thus has established its scope of application (in deriving śakahū, etc.). As a consequence, śakahvau and śakahvartham involve the application of 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aći, instead.

6.1.108 एक: पदान्तदति

enah paṇḍāntād ati
/ēnāh 5/1 paṇḍāntāt 5/1 (śaṣ. tat., tasmāt) ati 7/1/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ekah pūrvaparayoḥ #84 pūrvaḥ #106)
enah yah paṇḍāntas tasmād ati pataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvapurāṇa
ekādaśo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by eN and the aT which follows eN, when saṃhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

agnē' tra ‘O Agni, here’
vāyō' tra ‘O Vāyu, here’

1. This rule forms an exception to 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah. Thus, given agnē + atra and vāyō + atra, where e and o of agnē and vāyō are guna replacements (7.3.108 hrasvasya guṇah) for i and u of agnī and vāyu, we do not get e and o replaced with ay and au, respectively.

Since the single replacement of this rule obtains only after a vowel denoted by eN, dadhi + atra and madhu + atra, remain excluded from the scope of this rule. We get dadhy atra and madhu atra, instead. The condition of paṇḍānta as a qualification of eN blocks a single replacement in ce + ana and lo + ana, where e and o are again guṇa replacements of i and ū of ci and lū. The results are: c(i→e→ay) + ana = cayana and l(ū→o→av) + ana = lavana. The condition of a following short a is required so that this replacement does not apply in bhāno + iti and vāyo + iti which must produce bhān(o→av) iti = bhānav iti and vāy(o→av) + iti = vāyav + iti, through application of 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah. Note that the application of 6.1.78 can still not be blocked in deriving vāy(u→o→av) āyāhi→vāyav āyāhi and bhān(u→o→av) āyāhi = bhānav āyāhi, since what follows the o of bhāno and vāyo is the long ā of āyāhi. That is, it is not an aT, the vowel quality specified with the following t
(taparakarana; 1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya). This also shows why taparakarana is also needed.

6.1.109 डसिकसोच्च

नसिनासोः ca
/ṇasi-ṇasoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) ca φ/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pūrvah #106 ekaḥ ati #108)
eñ uttarayor nasināsor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by eN and the aT of NāsI and Nās which follows eN, when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

agnēr āgacchati
agnē svam
vāyor āgacchati
vāyoh svam

1. This rule allows single replacements under the right condition of a of the nominal endings NāsI ‘ablative singular’ and Nās ‘genitive singular’. Consider agni + (N) asI→agni + as and vāyu + as, where a guṇa application of 7.3.111 gher niti produces agn(i→e) + as = agne + as and vāy(u→o) + as = vāyo + as. A single replacement of this rule produces agn(e +a→e)s and vāy(o+a→o)s = vāyos. The s can then go through rutva or rutva-visarga to produced agner or agneḥ of agner āgacchati or agneḥ svam. This same also applies to vāyos of vāyor āgacchati and vāyoh svam.

The word padāntāt is not carried here because of impossibility (asambhava). That is, this single replacement is allowed only where eN does not occur at the end of a pada.

2. Note that since eN denotes two vowels and NāsI and Nās denote an equal number of nominal endings, rule 1.3.10 yathāsaṁkhyam anudeśah samānām cannot be invoked. That is, this single replacement cannot be limited only to instances where e constitutes the left condition for NāsI, and o forms the left condition for Nās. For, this replacement is conditioned by the single right condition of aT, of course, of NāsI and Nās. But aT is not the same. It belongs to two different endings. One can argue here that yathāsaṁkhyā can still not be invoked. For, the compound listing of NāsI and Nās in nasināsoh becomes an indicator (jñāpaka). It indicates that yathāsaṁkhyā should not be invoked since Pāṇini does not formulate the rule as: nasināsēś ca as he does elsewhere following provisions of 2.2.34 alpāc taram. This reversal of order of Nās and NāsI then must serve the special purpose of impairing yathāsaṁkhyā.
Actually, \( \text{NasI} \) and \( \text{Nas} \) do not go through provisions of this rule. It is, instead, their relatum (sambandhī) which does. Notice that \( \text{NasI} \) and \( \text{Nas} \) are two and are also part of the predicate. Accepting two predicates (vidheya) will offer an opportunity for yathāśaṁkhyā ‘assigning equivalency in the order of enumeration’ to apply. Besides, \( ca \) will then not allow only one to be carried.

6.1.110 रत्त उत्तर

\( \text{ṛta ut} \)

\( /\text{ṛtaḥ} 5/1 \text{ ut} 1/1/ \)

(\( \text{saṁhitāyām} \ #72 \text{ ekāḥ pūrva-parayoh} \ #84 \text{ pūrvaḥ} \ #106 \text{ ati} \ #108 \text{ nasināsah} \ #109)\)

\( \text{ṛkārāntād uttarayor nasināsor ati parataḥ pūrva-parayor ukāra ekādeśo bhavati} \)

A single replacement in \( uT \) comes in place of both a \( rT \) and the \( aT \) of \( \text{NasI} \) and \( \text{Nas} \) which follows \( rT \), provided when saṁhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

- hotur āgacchati
- hotuh svam

1. Note that a replacement specified for two in the genitive (\( \text{pūrva-parayoh}; \text{ṛtaḥ} \) and \( \text{nasināsoh} \)) receives attributes of either one of them (Kāś: \( \text{dvayoh ṣaṭṭhīnirdīṣṭayoh sthāne yah sa labhate nyataravyapadeśam} \)). It is for this reason that \( u \), followed by \( r \) as an attribute of \( r \) (1.1.51 \( \text{ur an r aparah} \)), comes as a replacement. Thus, \( \text{hot}(r + a→ur)s \), as in hotur āgacchati, where the final \( s \) of hoturs is deleted (8.2.24 \( rāt satya) \). The \( r \) can still be replaced with visarga when occurring either before a pause or a sound denoted by khaR (8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjanīyah). Thus we can get hotuḥ and hotuḥ svam, respectively.

The taparakaṇa in \( rT \) and \( uT \) is intended for limiting the denotatum of \( r \) and \( u \) to its short duration. Long \( ū \) and \( ū \) are thus excluded.

6.1.111 खयत्यात्यस्य

\( \text{khyatyaś parasya} \)

\( /\text{khyatyaś} 5/1 = \text{khyaś ca tyāś ca = khyatyam (sam. dv.), tasmāt; parasya 6/1/} \)

(\( \text{saṁhitāyām} \ #72 \text{ ati} \ #108 \text{ nasināsah} \ #109 \text{ ut} \ #110)\)

\( \text{khyatyaś parasya nasināsor at ukārādeśo bhavati} \)

An \( uT \) comes in place of the \( aT \) of \( \text{NasI} \) and \( \text{Nas} \) when \( aT \) occurs after \( \text{khy} \) and \( \text{tya} \) and saṁhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

- sakhyur āgacchati
sakhyaḥ svam
patyur āgacchati
patyuh svam

1. Note that, with khyatyāt, this rule specifies khi/khī and ti/tī, both short and long, having their i and ī replaced with y to produce khy and ty (kṛta-
yanādeśa). A specification with i/ī replaced with y enables reference to both
khi and ti along with their corresponding long forms khī and tī. We thus
get sakhyaḥ āgacchati and sakhyuh svam where sakhyuh can be derived from
sakhi + (N) asI or sakhi + (N) as, through sakhi + (a→u)s→sahk(i→y) + us→
sakhyu(s→r→h) = sakhyuh. This same applies to patyur āgacchati and patyuh
svam where patyuh can be derived from pati + NasI or pati + Nās.

Now consider the derivation of sakhiḥ and sakhyuh where the bases are
derivates of the denominative verb sakhiya. Thus, sakhaḥ is derived as a
bahuvihi, parallel to khena saha vartate (2.2.28 tena saheta tulyayoge). The
saha, an upasarjana ‘secondary constituent’, is then replaced with sa of 6.3.82
vopasarjanasya. One now derives sakhiya, parallel to sakham icchati, with the
introduction of KyaC (3.1.8 supa ātmanah kyac). The a of sakha then goes
through a long replacement in i (itva; 7.4.33 kyaci ca). An introduction, and
subsequent deletion, of KviP after sakhiya with further deletion of a, through
pratyayalopa, and of y through 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali, produces sakhi. Recall
here that wherever 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali and 6.1.67 ver aprktasya both obtain,
6.1.66 lopo vyor vali should apply first. For, once 6.1.67 ver aprktasya applies,
6.1.66 lopo vyor vali cannot. The nominative singular of this sakhi will then be
sakhiḥ, through rūtva-visarga of s(U). We can now get sakhyuh, a form of
sakhi with NāsI or Nās. This will be similar to forms of sakhi. Now consider
lūnyur āgacchati ‘the one who wishes to chop comes’ and lūnyuh svam which
follow similar patterns. Note, however, that given lūnī + (N) asI and lūnī +
(N) as, the n-replacement of the t of niṣṭā suffix Kta (1.1.26 ktaṭavatā niṣṭā),
brought about by 8.2.44 ivādiḥkhyah, will, in accord with 8.2.1 pūrvarāśiddham,
still be t in view of this rule. That is, this rule still sees lūtī + Nās, as against
lūntī + Nās.

2. For reasons that khi and khī are specified here with their modified forms (vikrtanirdeśa) khy and ty, this rule cannot allow a replacement in u in
sakher āgacchati and senāpater āgacchati. Recall that the word sakhi, and not
any word ending in sakhi (Paribh. grahanavatā prātipadikena . . . (Ps: 32)), is
excluded from the assignment of the term ghi. Consequently, one can derive
atisakhiḥ, parallel to atikrāntah sakhā yena saḥ ‘he by who a friend is excelled’,
with the help of assignment of the term ghi. The guna replacement of i of
atisakhi + NāsI and atisakhi + (N) as can thus not go through a replacement
in y. Instead, it will be replaced with ay. This also blocks u-replacement for a
of this rule. This again explains why specifications such as khy and ty are
made with i/ī replaced with y.
6.1.112 अति रोरप्पुतादद्वुते

ato ror apūtād apute
/atāh 5/1 ror 6/1 apūtā 5/1 (nañt. tat.) apute 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 ait 108 ut #110)

akārdapūtād uttārasya roh rephasya ukārānubandhaviśiṣtasya akāre' plute
parata ukārādeso bhavati

An ut comes in place of a ru (roh) which occurs after a non-plute vowel, provided a non-plute vowel follows and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

vrkso' tra
plakso' tra

1. This ut-replacement for ru is offered against y of 8.3.17 bhobhago' pūrvasya yo'si. Thus, consider vrksas + atra and plaksas + atra, where the final s of vrksas and plaksas has its source in the nominative ending sU. This s is replaced with ru by rule 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh. A replacement in u for ru then produces vrksa (ru→u) + atra→vrksa + u + atra and plaksa (ru→u) + atra→plaksa + u + atra. A guṇa application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah followed by a single o-replacement for (o + a)→o (6.1.108 enaḥ padāṇtād ait) produces vrksa(u→o) + atra = vrks(o + a→o) tra = vrkso' tra. This same applies also to plakso' tra.

Note that u-replacement of this rule is specified with reference to ru-replacement of 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh. Rule 8.2.1 pūrvatrāśiddham makes 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh suspended (asiddha) in view of the application of this rule. That is, this rule cannot see the ru with reference to which a replacement in u is to be accomplished. Commentators explain that 8.2.1 pūrvatrāśiddham cannot be invoked here. For, if ru is considered suspended, u-replacement of this rule will become vacuous (vyarthaka). Since this u-replacement is specified with roh, and also since there is no other r qualified with U as an it (Nyāsa: kasyacid ukārānubandhaviśiṣtasya ro asambhavāt), 8.2.1 pūrvatrāśiddham cannot be invoked to render 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh suspended in view of our present rule. Besides, the sthāni is here specified in the subject category with ru. The u-replacement is part of the predicate. How could a replacement be allowed without correct identification of the sthāni. The ru-specification of replacement in 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh will become vacuous. If r, as against ru, is considered as the sthāni, we will also get u as a replacement for rin bhṛtar gaccha (6.1.114 haśi ca).

Considering ru against r as sthāni will create problems in assigning the term it (to U of ru) and subsequently deletion impacted by it. Consider the controlled derivation of rāmah from rāma + sU→rāma + ru. Note that the pada-final (padānta) condition of 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruh will get transferred to
The \textit{Aṣṭādhyāyī} of Pāṇini

6.1.113

\(rU\). The \(r\) of \(rU\) has now to be replaced with the \textit{visarjanīya} of 8.3.15 \textit{kharavasānyayor visarjanīyāḥ}. The \(r\) of \(rU\) cannot be accepted as occurring at the \textit{avasāna} ‘cessation’, unless, of course, \(U\) is deleted via the assignment of the term \(it\) (\textit{itsamjñālopa}). If \textit{rutva} is considered \textit{asiddha}, we cannot get the deletion of \(U\) termed \(it\). The \textit{visarjanīya} cannot be accomplished unless the \textit{pada} status of 1.4.14 \textit{suptiṇantam padam} is not available to what ends in \(r\) (\textit{rephānta}). The argument that \textit{padatva} of what ends in \(r\) can be accepted simply on the basis of \textit{vidhāna-sāmarthya} ‘at the strength of Pāṇini’s own desired specification’, is not acceptable. For, \textit{vidhāna-sāmarthya} is not in the danger of becoming vacuous. It has served its purpose (\textit{caritārtha}) in examples such as \textit{punar}. Rejecting \textit{asiddhatva} is the only choice. One must remember, however, that the question of \textit{itsamjñā-lopa} does not arise in replacing \(rU\) with \(u\). The question arises only in the context of a replacement in \textit{visarjanīya}. For, 6.1.112 \textit{ato ror} . . . and 6.1.114 \textit{haśi ca} both have \(rU\) specified via \(roḥ\).

2. The condition of \(aT\) (in \textit{atah}, with \textit{taparākrāna}; 1.1.70 \textit{tapaśas tathālaya}) is intended for blocking an \(uT\)-replacement in examples such as \textit{agnir atra} and \textit{vrksā(\(r\rightarrow h\))atra} where \(rU\) is preceded by \(i\) and \(ā\). The condition of an \(r\), qualified with \(U\) as an \(it\), is required so that this replacement does not apply to \(r\) of \textit{prātar atra} and \textit{svaṛ + atra}. For, the \(r\) of \textit{prātar} and \textit{svaṛ} is not derived. It is part of the bases, instead.

Now consider \textit{vrksar iha} where \(u\)-replacement cannot be accomplished because what follows is \(i\) of \textit{iha}. This shows why the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{ati} from 6.1.108 \textit{enah padāntād ati} is needed. This condition will also block \(u\)-replacement in \textit{vrksar + āśritisah} where what follows is a long \(ā\).

The twin qualifications of \textit{aplutād} ‘after a vowel other than an extra-long (\textit{pluta})’ and \textit{aplude} ‘before a vowel other than a \textit{pluta},’ for vowels which precede and follow \(r\), are required to block this replacement in examples such as \textit{sūrōtaś atra nvasi} and \textit{tiṣṭhatu paya āśvisvin} where \(ā\) is a \textit{pluta}. The argument that \(ā\) will still be seen by our present rule as \(a\), especially since it is ruled by rules 8.2.84 \textit{dūrādā hūte ca} and 8.2.86 \textit{guror anṛto nantyasyāpy} . . . , and hence, \(u\)-replacement cannot be blocked, is not acceptable. An explicit mention of \textit{pluta} in \textit{aplutād} and \textit{aplude} will block invoking suspension by 8.2.1 \textit{pūrvatrasiddham}. If \textit{pluta} is considered as suspended, this rule can apply where the context has a preceding \(aT\). Why can we not block \textit{asiddhatva} ‘suspension’ of \textit{pluta} with the help of \textit{taparākrāna}? The \textit{taparākrāna} cannot block suspension of \textit{pluta} since it has lost its strength after setting aside the long vowel (\textit{dirgha}).

6.1.113 हशि च

\textit{haśi ca}

/\textit{hasi} 7/1 ca \$\phi$/
(saṃhitāyām #72 ut #110 ataḥ ro #112)
haṣi ca parata’ṛ uttarasya ror ukārādeṣo bhavati
A rU which occurs after a is replaced with u, when a sound denoted by
the abbreviatory term haŚ (Śs 5–10) follows and saṃhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

puṛuṣo yāti
puṛuṣo hasati
puṛuṣo dadāti

1. This rule provides for a replacement in u when rU occurs preceded by
aT and followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term haŚ (Śs. 5–10).
Consider puṛuṣa + (s(U)→rU→u)) = puṛuṣ(u→o) in puṛuṣo yāti. Similarly,
puṛuṣo hasati and puṛuṣo dadāti.

2. Note that aplitā is still carried. This can then block the u-replacement
in examples such as suśrotāḥ dehi. The ca in this rule is used to attract the
anuvṛtti of ati. This will also facilitate ati alone to be carried in subsequent
rules. The anuvṛtti of hasi will be suspended. Besides, hasi, when carried, will
not make any sense.

Incidentally, a rule is generally formulated with subject (uddēśya), predic-
te (vidheya) and conditions (nimitta), if any. Any one of this lacking in a
rule must be supplied via anuvṛtti. Notice that this rule simply offers the
condition (nimitta).

6.1.114 प्रकृत्यां: पादमव्यपरे

prakṛtyā’ ntahpādam avyapare
/prakṛtyā 3/1 antahpādam φ = madhye pādasya (avyayībhāva), tasmin;
avyapare 7/1 = na avyapare (naṁ-tat.); av ca ya ca = avyau (dv. tasmin)/
(saṃhitāyām #72 eṇah ati #108)
pādamadyayastha en ati pare prakṛtyā bhavati na tu vakārayakārapare’ti
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term eN remains as is when the
same occurs before aT in the middle of the quarter of a ṛk ‘Vedic hymn’,
and saṃhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

te agre aśvāmāyuñjan
te āśmiṇijaṃvamādadhuḥ
upapṛṣyaṇto adhvaṃ
śīrō apaśyaṃ
sujāte aśvāsūnte
adhvaṛyo adribhir svatam

1. This rule makes the provision of prakṛtibhāva ‘retention of that which
it was; absence of *sandhi* in the middle of a Rk-verse when a sound denoted by *eN* occurs followed by *aT*. Thus, consider *sujaṭe aśvasīnṛte* where *e* of *sujaṭe* is not subjected through *sandhi*, but is retained as is.

2. The word *prakṛtyā* denotes absence of any *sandhi* operation. The *pādam* of *antaḥpādam* denotes a quarter of a verse. The word *antaḥ*, an indeclinable, combines with *pādam* to form an *avayābhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avrayāṃ vibhaktisamāpa* . . .) with the denotatum of *vibhakti*. It here means ‘in the middle’ (madhye). The locative introduced after the compound base *antaḥpāda* cannot be deleted by 2.4.82 *avrayād āśrupaḥ*. It is replaced with *am* of 2.4.84 *trīyāsaptamyor bahulam*, instead. Note that the *nimitta* ‘that which conditions’, i.e., *aT*, as well as the *kāryin* ‘that which goes through an operation’, i.e., *eN*, both must fall within the quarter of a Rk-verse (*Kāś: tau cen nimittakāryināv antahpādam = rkpādamadhye bhavataḥ*). This enables blocking of *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.109 *enāḥ padāntād ati*) and *ay-replacement* (6.1.78 *eco’yavāyāvah*) in example such as *te agré . . . and te asmin . . .*, etc. Incidentally, *enāḥ*, which ends in *pañcamī* ‘ablative’, is here changed into *prathamā* ‘nominative’ to facilitate proper interpretation of this rule. A question is also raised about carrying a distant *enāḥ* (6.1.108 *enāḥ padāntād ati*), as against carrying the proximate *ror* (6.1.112 *ato ror . . .*). Haradatta states that interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse here (*PM ad Kāś: atra ca vyākhyaṇām eva śaraṇam*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *pāda* here should be interpreted as *ṛkpaḍa* ‘quarter of a Rk-verse’, and not any quarter of a verse (*ślokapāda*). Actually, the examples covered by this rule are all Vedic. It is for this reason that some recommend carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from 6.1.105 *vā chandasi*, via *manḍukapūliti* ‘frog’s leap’. This *anuvṛtti* will continue up to 6.1.121 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* whereby *prakṛtiḥbhāva*, at the strength of *sarvatra* ‘everywhere’, will apply in both Vedic as well as classical usages. For, the non-restrictive provision of *sarvatra* can make much sense in view of the restrictive provision of *chandasi*. Some still insist that *sarvatra* itself is enough to indicate the application of *prakṛtiḥbhāva* in the Vedic and classical usage.

4. Some also read this *sūtra* without *avyāpare*. This should not be accepted since the following rule cannot account for derivates focused. Others still read this *sūtra* as *nāntahpādam avyāpare* whereby it becomes a negation (*pratisedha*) of *sandhi*.

6.1.115 अव्यादवद्वादव्रकमुद्वत्तयमवन्त्ववस्यसु च

*avyādāvadyādavakramuravratāyamavantvavasyasu ca/
  avyāt-avadyāt-avakramuḥ-avrata-ayam-avantu-avasyasu 7/3 ca φ/
(samhitāyam #72 enah ati #108 prakṛtyāh antahpādam #114)
‘avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avrata, ayam, avantu, avasyu ‘ity eteṣu yakāra-
vakārapare ‘py atiparato ntaḥpādam eḥ prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term ेN which occurs in the middle of the quarter of a verse also remains as is when the a of aryāt, avadyāt, avakramuh, avrata, ayam, antv, and avasyu follows, and samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

agnih prāthamo vasūbhīrno avyāt
mitramaho avadyāt
mā śivāsa avákramuh
te no avaratāh
śatadhāro ayam maniḥ 'this gem has hundred facets'
te nó antvā pītaraḥ
kuśikāsō avasyavāh

1. This rule generally constitutes an exception to 6.1.108 eṇah padāntād ati and 6.1.78 eko'yavāyāvaḥ.

6.1.116 यजुस्युः:

yajusy uryah
/yajusī 7/1 uryah 1/1/
(samhitāyam #72 eṇah ati #108 prakṛtyā #114)

uraḥśabda eṇanto yajuśi visaye'ti prakṛtyā bhavati
The form uryah when ending in ेN in the usage of the Yajurveda remains as is when a follows, and samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

uro antarikṣam

1. Note that uro ends in ेN through the application of 8.2.66 sasajuṣo ruḥ and 6.1.112 ato ror . . . Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah then requires a single replacement in guṇa to yield ura(s→rU) → ura(r→u) → ur(a + u→ō) = uro. This guṇa, however, can be accomplished by 7.1.106 sambuddhau ca if uro is to be interpreted as a singular address form (sambuddhi). Some therefore also read the sūtra as yajuṣy uro.

This prakṛṭibhāva cannot be limited to the context of antahpādam. For, there are no verse-quarters in the Yajurveda (SK: yajuṣi pādānām abhāvah). It will thus apply everywhere.

6.1.117 आपोजुषांवर्षायुष्णोवर्षिष्ठेः:म्बेया:म्बिकेपुर्वे

āpojusānavorṣṇavorṣiṣṭhe mbe' mbele' mbikepūrve
/āpo-jusānavorṣṇavorṣiṣṭhe-amb-e-ambe (used without endings); ambike-
pūrve 1/2 = ambike sābdāt pūrve (pañc. tat.)/
(samhitāyām #72 ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuśi #116)
The Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini

6.1.118

‘āpo-juśāño-vṛṣṇo-varūṣīthé’ity ete śabdā ‘ambe ambāle’ ity etau ca yāv ambikesabdvāt pūrvaṃ yajuṣi pāṭhitau te ati parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti

The words āpo, juśāno, vṛṣṇo, varūṣīthē, and ambe and ambāle as well, remain as are when used before ambike in the usage of the Yajurveda, provided a follows and samhītā finds its scope.

Examples:

āpo asmān mātarāḥ sundhayantu
juśāno apturājyāsyā
vṛṣṇo amsubhyām gabhāstipūtaḥ
varūṣīthē adhī nāke
ambe ambālyambike

1. Haradatta states that the first word, i.e., āpo, ends in Jās ‘nominative plural’ (obligatorily plural); the second, i.e., juśāno, in sU ‘nominative singular’; the third, i.e., vṛṣṇo, in Śas ‘accusative plural’; and the fourth, i.e., varūṣīthē, in Nī ‘locative singular’.

The rest are forms of sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ; PM ad Kāś: tatra prathamam jasantam; dvitiyam svantam; tṛtiyam śasantam; caturtham nyantam; itare sambuddhyante). Jīnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa) accepts vṛṣṇo as a singular ending in sāṣṭhi ‘genitive’ (saṣṭhyekavacanāntam).

6.1.118 अङ्गूः इत्यादिः

aṅga ityādau ca
/aṅge 7/1 ityādau 7/1 = iti = aṅgha; tasyādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; ca φ/
(samhītāyāṃ #72 enaḥ ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116)
angsaabdāya ev tadādau cakkre yah pūrvah sa yajuṣi visaye ti prakṛtyā bhavati

The eN of an aṅga before a, and the eN of any other form before the initial a of an aṅga, remain as are, when samhītā finds its scope in the usage of the Yajurveda.

Examples:

aṅdraḥ pṛāno aṅge aṅge adidyat
aṅdraḥ pṛāno aṅge aṅge nididyat
aṅdraḥ pṛāno aṅgo aṅgo aṅgo aṅgo aṅḍaṣam

1. Note that the word iti is used here to bring yet another reading of aṅge in this rule (PM ad Kāś: itikaraṇenānantarokto īṅgasabdhą pratyavamrṣyate).

The meaning of ityādau is inferred as tadādau where tad, a variable, refers to aṅga as its antecedent. The ca is used in the sense of samuccaya ‘conjoining two or more things together’. Thus, ca, when read with ityādau with the preceding aṅge, offers two interpretations to this rule:

(i) the eN of aṅge, when followed by a, goes through prakṛtibhāva and
(ii) an eN, also when followed by the initial a of ange, goes through prakṛtibhāva.

Thus, given prāno ange ane aśociṣam, we get prakṛtibhāva in ane aśociṣam where eN is part of ane. We also get prakṛtibhāva in prāno ane where eN is not a part of ane. That is, it is not necessary that eN must be part of ane. Conversely, it is also not necessary that the following a must also be the initial a of ane.

6.1.119 अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे

anudātte ca kudhapare
/anudātte7/1 ca kudhapare7/1 = kuś ca dhas ca = kudhau (dv.); kudhau
parav yasmāī (bv. with int. dv.), tasmin/
(samhitāyām #72 enaḥ ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116)
anudātte cāti kavargadhakārapare parato yajuṣī viṣaye en prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term eN remains as is in the usage of the Yajurveda, when an a marked with anudātta occurs before kU, i.e., k, kh, g, gh, and n, or dh, and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

ayaṃ so' gniḥ ‘this is that same agni’
ayaṃ so’ dhvarah ‘that is that same sacrifice’

1. This rule offers prakṛtibhāva, in the usage of Yajurveda, where eN occurs before an anudātta a followed by kU and dha. Incidentally, the a at the end of dha, in kudhapare, is used for ease of articulation. Thus we get prakṛtibhāva in so agniḥ and so adhvaral, where a of agni and adhvara is followed by g and dh, respectively. This a is also anudātta. The word agni is derived with affix ni and, hence, is marked by its affixal udātta at the end (Unādisūtra 499: agner nalopaś ca). Its a then automatically becomes anudātta (6.1.157 anudāttaṃ padam . . . ). The a of adhvara is also anudātta because adhvara, as a nominal stem (prātipadika), is marked udātta at the end (antodātta; Unādi 1: phīṣa antodāttah). The g of agni and dh of adhvara make their a meet the condition of kudhara.

2. The condition of anudātta is required so that prakṛtibhāva can be blocked in examples such as adho'gre where a of agre is udātta (Unādisūtra 196: ṛjendrāgravaṃjra . . . ). The condition of kudhapare is required so that prakṛtibhāva can be blocked where an anudātta a is followed by any other sound. Thus, consider so' yam agniḥ sahasriyāḥ where prakṛtibhāva is not allowed in so' yam because a is followed by y. One can say that so ayam should receive prakṛtibhāva similar to satadāro ayam maṇiḥ, in consonance with 6.1.115 avyādavadyāt. . . . This, however, is not possible since 6.1.114 applies under the condition of antahpādam. The examples do not come from a pāda of the Yajurveda.
6.1.120 अवपथासि च

avapathāsi ca
/ avapathāsi 7/1 ca φ/
(samhitāyām #72 enāḥ ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣī #116 anudātte #119)
‘avapathāḥ’ ‘śabdē’ ‘nudātte’ kārādaun prato yajuṣi viṣaya en prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term eN, remains as is in the usage of the Yajurveda, when avapathāḥ, with its initial a marked with anudāatta, follows, and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

stri rudrebhya avapathāḥ

1. The ca is used to attract anudātte. The word avapathāḥ, of stri rudrebhya avapathāḥ, is a derivate of LAṆ ‘imperfect’ where LAṆ gets replaced with the ātmanepada second person singular ending thās (4.1.77 lasya; 4.1.78 tiptaṣṭhi . . . ). Its a, occurring after rudrebhya, remains anudāatta in consonance with 8.1.28 tin atiṇāḥ.

The condition of anudātte is required so that, elsewhere, this prakṛtibhāva can be blocked. Kāśikā offers yad rudrebhya’ vāpathāḥ as a counter-example where prakṛtibhāva, in rudrebhya’ vāpathāḥ, is blocked because avapathāḥ is used in combination with a particle (nipāta), namely yad. Rule 8.1.30 nipātairyadyadi . . . blocks the anudāatta status of a of avapathāḥ.

6.1.121 सर्वत्र विभाषा गो:

sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ
/sarvatra φ vibhāṣā 1/1 goḥ 6/1/
(samhitāyām #72 enāḥ padāntād ati #108 prakṛtyā #114)
sarvatra, chandasi bhāṣāyām ca, ati parato gor en prakṛtyā bhavati vibhāṣā
The pada-final eN, of go, optionally remains as is everywhere (sarvatra), when a follows and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

go’gram

1. Note that sarvatra ‘everywhere’ indicates that this optional prakṛtibhāva is valid in both the Vedic as well as classical (bhāṣā) usages.

6.1.122 अवष्प्तस्फोटायनस्य

avaḥ sphaṭīyaṇasasya
/avaḥ 1/1 sphaṭīyaṇasasya 6/1/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 padāntāt #108 vibhāṣā goh #121)
aci parato goh sphoṭāyanasya acāryasya matenāvan ādeśo bhavati
The o of a pada-final go is optionally replaced with avaN, in the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, when aC follows and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

gavāgram 'ahead of cattles'
go' gram
gavājinam 'cow-hide'
go' jinam
gavodanam 'cow and rice'
gavaudanam
gavoṣṭram 'cow and camel'
gavaustram

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of ati is suspended, especially because when carried, it will block avaN in examples such as go + odanam = gavaudanam, etc. The anuvṛtti of aci, via maṇḍukāpluti 'frog's leap', is required. How come Kāśikā (ad 6.1.77 iko yan aci) remarks that aci, as a governing word (adhikāra), should be carried only up to 6.1.108 samprasāranāc ca. Haradatta (PM ad Kās) explains that Kāśikā's statement is made in view of uninterrupted anuvṛtti of aci (nirantarānuvṛtyabhiprāyam tad ity adoṣah). He, however, also adds that, in all such instances, vyākhyāna 'explanation of the learned' alone is our resource.

2. The word sphoṭāyanas is used here for expressing respect (pūjā). For, vibhāṣā itself can account for option. We will thus get go agram (prakṛtiḥbhāva with no avaN), go' gram (with pūrvarupa) and gavāgram (with avaN and savarnadīrghā). We similarly get go odanam, gavaudanam; go ajinam and gavājinam, etc.

3. This replacement in avaNvis marked udātta at the beginning (ādyudātta), via nipātana. But it is desired only in bahuvrīhi compounds such as gavāgram, paraphrased as gavo agram asya 'he in front of whom are cows'. Elsewhere, for example in a tātpuruṣa compound, this accent is blocked and the compound is marked udātta at the end (see Nyāsa ad Kāśikā for additional details).

6.1.123 इत्येच

Indre ca
/indre7/1 ca ṭ/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 goh #121 avaN #122)
indrasābdaṁśe ci parato gor nityam avaṇādēso bhavati
The final o of go is replaced with avaN when the aC of indra follows and samhitā finds its scope.
Examples:

gavendrah ‘best among cows; lord of cattle’
gavendrayajnasvarah

1. This rule offers obligatory avaN when go occurs followed by the aC of indra. Thus, g(o→ava + indrah = gav(a + i→e)ndrah = gavendrah and gavendrayajnasvarah.

2. Kāśikā also reads nityam as part of this rule. But this is not needed. For, avaN is made optional by the preceding rule. This express formulation then must make avaN obligatory. Those who follow the Kāśikāvṛtti state that nityam is used for anuvṛtti in the following rule. The Mahābhāṣya, Padamaṅjarī and Siddhāntakaumudī read nityam as part of the following rule. I also accept this position and read nityam as part of the following rule.

6.1.124 प्रतिप्रग्रह्या संस्कृत नियमम्

/plutapragrhyaḥ aci nityam
/plutapragrhyaḥ 1/3 = plutāś ca pragrhyaś ca (itar. dv.); aci 7/1 nityam 1/1/
(samhitāyām #72 prakṛtyā #114)

/plutāś ca pragrhyaś cāci prakṛtyā bhavanti nityam

Those which are termed plutā and pragrhya remain as are, obligatorily (nityam), when a vowel (aci) follows and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

devadattāḥ atra navasi ‘Devadatta, live here’
yajñadattāḥ idamānaya ‘Yajñadatta, bring this’
agnī iti ‘nominative/accusative dual of Agni’
vāyu iti ‘nominative/accusative dual of Vāyu’
khāṭvā iti ‘nominative/accusative dual of khaṭvā ‘cot’
mālē iti ‘nominative/accusative dual of mālā ‘garland’

1. Kāśikā reads nityam in the wording of the preceding sūtra and carries it to this rule via anuvṛtti. This, in turn, is contrary to what the Mahābhāṣya, SK and PM maintain.

2. Rule 1.1.11 idūded dvivacanām pragṛhyam and 1.1.27 ukālo’j hrasvadīṅgha-plutah define pragṛhya and plutā, respectively. We thus get prakṛtiḥāva inagnī iti, vāyu iti and khaṭvā iti, where i, ū and e are pragṛhya. Consider devadattāḥ atra navasi and yajñadattāḥ idamānaya as examples of prakṛtiḥāva where ā as is a plutā, in consonance with 8.2.84 dūrādd hiute ca. Note that rule 8.2.84 dūrādd hiute ca, which assigns the plutā-status to a, is contained within the tripādi ‘first seven and one quarters of the Aṣṭādhyāyī’. Consequently, 8.2.1 pūrvatrā-siddham, if invoked, will make it suspended in view of the application of this rule. But since Pāṇini explicitly offers plutā as locus (āśraya) of prakṛtiḥāva
and also since suspension (asiddhatva) caused by 8.2.1 pūrvarāsiddham will remove this locus, plaśa-status of āś, remains intact. For, specification of prakrtibhāva via kāryin, i.e., āś, as locus will then become meaningless (anarthaka; Nyāsa ad Kāś: asmād eva prakṛtibhāve kartavye siddhaḥ plaśaḥ, anyathā tasya kāryituenāśrayanam anarthakam syāt).

2. Note that aci is explicitly stated, as against being brought via anuvṛtti. This is done to focus on the vowel which may otherwise condition sandhi. Consider jaṇu asya where a of asya conditions prakṛtibhāva. Now consider (jaṇu + uN→jaṇu) asya, where a does not condition long replacement. A prakṛtibhāva in jaṇu u is thus not possible. The uN in jaṇu u(Ū) asya is a particle (nīpāta). The vowel which serves as a condition for single replacement with its preceding u does not occur after a pragrhya. The vowel which follows uN also does not serve as a condition for single replacement. It is for this reason that, in the absence of prakṛtibhāva, a single replacement applies (PM ad Kāś: uṇ nīpātah, tasya pūrveṇa sahaikādeśasya yan nimittam na sa pragrhyād uttarah, yaś ca tataḥ para na sa ekādeśasya nimittam iti prakṛtibhāvābhavād ekādeśo bhavaty eva). In fact we can also get jān(u + u→ū→v) asya, as in jaṇu asya rujati, not from 6.1.77 iko yaṁ aci but from 8.3.33 maya uṇo vo vā. The aci, stated again in this rule, facilitates this. For, in the absence of a restated aci, this rule would be interpreted as pragrhyo'ci paratah prakṛtyā bhavati 'a pragrhya when followed by a vowel remains as is'. This, in turn, would offer prakṛtibhāva also to the single replacement obtained by replacing u with its preceding u. A restatement of aci blocks this prakṛtibhāva. For, the single replacement in ū will be interpreted as containing initial pragrhya (ādivadbhāva). An application of 6.1.77 iko yaṁ aci can also be blocked because of this prakṛtibhāva (PM ad Kāś: punar agraḥane tu na bhavati, tatraikādeṣe kṛte tasyādivadbhāvāt pragrhyagrahaṇenaagrahaṇāt 'iko yaṁ aci' iti yaṇādeśaḥ prakṛtibhāvān na bhavati 'maṇ uṇo vo vā' iti pakṣe vakārah).

The use of nityam, of course, not only retains prakṛtibhāva but also blocks shortening of 6.1.126 iko asavarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca. It is thus used for prakṛtibhāva, in addition to blocking any other operation (kāryāntara).

6.1.125 आऽनोनृनासिकर्षण्डनसि

āno' nunāsikaś chandasi
/ānāḥ 6/1 anunāsikah 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 prakṛtyā #144)
āno'ā paratah samhitāyāṃ chandasi viśaye' nunāsikādeśo bhavati sa ca prakṛtyā bhavati

An āN is replaced with an anunāsika, in the Vedic, when aci follows and samhitā finds its scope, with an additional provision that the anunāsika remain as is.
Examples:

\[ \textit{abhra} \text{ a } \textit{apah} \\
\textit{gabhira} \text{ a } \textit{ugraputra} \text{ jighamsatah} \]

1. This rule offers nasalization of \( \dot{a} \) of \( \dot{a}N \), of course, when a vowel follows. Furthermore, the resultant \( \ddot{a} \) also goes through \textit{prakrtibhava}. Some also read this \textit{sutra} with \textit{bahulam} ‘variously’. Consequently, \( \ddot{a} \) does not become nasalized, for example, in \textit{indro bahuhyam} (\( \ddot{a} + \text{atarat} \rightarrow \ddot{a} \text{tarat} \)). Note that the \( \ddot{a} \) becomes nasalized only when \( \ddot{a} \) is used without any meaning (\textit{anarthaka}). Thus, we get \textit{abhra} \text{ a } \textit{apah}. An \( \dddot{a} \), used as a prefix (\textit{upasarga}) with a root (\textit{dhatu}), does not become nasalized, and go through \textit{prakrtibhava}, because it then carries meaning (\textit{sarthaka}) as a modifier to the action (\textit{kriyavisesanatvai}). Consequently, we get a long replacement in (\( \dddot{a} + \text{atarat} \rightarrow \dddot{a} \text{tarat} \)). It can still remain an \( \dddot{a} \), as in \( \dddot{a} \text{atarat} \), if one accepts the reading of \textit{bahulam}.

6.1.126 इकोसवर्ण शाकल्यस्य हस्तवच

\[ \text{i}k\acute{o} \text{ savarna} \text{ śakalyasya hrasv\text{a} ca} \]
\[ /i\acute{k}a\tilde{h} 6/1 \text{ asavarna} 7/1 = \text{ na savarna} (\text{ nañ. tat.}), \text{ tasmin; śakalyasya} 6/1 \]
\[ \text{ hrasva} 1/1 \text{ ca} \phi/ \]
\[ (\text{sāmhitāyām} \#72 \text{ acī} \#77 \text{ prakṛtyā} 114) \]
\[ \text{i}k\acute{o} \text{ savarna} ' \text{ ci paratah śakalyasyācāryasya matena prakṛtyā bhavanti hraśvā ca tasyekah sthāne bhavati} \]

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term \textit{iK} remains as is, in the opinion of Śākalya, when \textit{sāmhitā} obtains and a non-homogeneous vowel follows; additionally, this \textit{iK} is replaced with a \textit{hrasva} ‘short’.

Examples:

\[ \text{dadhi atra} \]
\[ \text{dadhya atra} \]
\[ \text{madhu atra} \]
\[ \text{madhuya atra} \]
\[ \text{kumāri atra} \]
\[ \text{kumāry atra} \]
\[ \text{hiśori atra} \]
\[ \text{hiśory atra} \]

1. Note that an \textit{iK}, when followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (\textit{asavarna}), will automatically facilitate the application of 6.1.77 \textit{iko yan acī}. Our present rule, for the very reason that it is formulated (\textit{ārambhaśamarthyā}), could then provide for \textit{prakṛtibhava} and \textit{hrasva} optionally, against the provision of 6.1.77 \textit{iko yan acī}. Mention of Śākalya is then made for showing respect (\textit{pujārtham}).

2. The \textit{ca} in this rule should not be used for carrying \textit{prakṛtyā}. For, provi-
sion of hrasva itself can make prakṛtibhāva available. But hrasva, without ca, can provide for prakṛtibhāva only when iK denotes a long (dīrgha) vowel. The prakṛtibhāva is also required where iK may be a short (hrasva). But hrasva of this rule will not make any sense in the context where iK may denote a hrasva. It can serve no purpose there (prayojanābhāvāt). Why do we need a hrasva to be replaced with a hrasva? So that vocalic sandhi can be blocked. Thus we can get dadhi + atra→dadhi atra and adāhy atra. The idea that a hrasva is replaced with hrasva, through short replacement of this rule at the strength of ca, is no vacuous rule application. For, rules are like clouds (parjanyavat) which rain indiscriminately over both land and water. They are kṛtakāri ‘effecting results’ because their justification lies in bringing about results. They are not like fire (dahanavat) whose justification lies in undoing what was brought about (akṛtakāri).

3. A vārttika proposal is made to negate this prakṛtibhāva where a form marked with S as an it (sit) follows, or where an obligatory compound (niyasaṃāsa) finds its scope. Thus, we get rtviyaḥ, parallel to rtu + ghaS, paraphrased as rtu prāptaḥ asya ‘that whose season has approached’. Recall that gh of ghaS will be replaced with iy (7.1.2 āyaneṣyiniyāḥ . . . ) and the negation of prakṛtibhāva will occasion the application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. That is, rtu + (gh→iy) a(S)→rt(u→iy) + iya = rtviya + s(U)→rtviyaḥ. Rule 1.4.16 siti ca will here assign the term pada (1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam). Or else, 6.4.146 or guṇah will offer application of guṇa. We also get obligatory compounds such as (vi + ākaraṇa + sU) → vyākaraṇam and (kumāri + artha + sU) → kumāryartham. It is in view of this vārttika that examples under this rule are all vākyas ‘non-compounds’.

Note that the locative in sin-nityasamāsayoh receives split interpretation (ekam api dvīdhā bhidyate). It is interpreted as denoting the right condition of what follows (parasaptamī) in the context of sit. It is interpreted as a locative denoting scope (visayasaaptamī) in the context of nityasamāsa ‘obligatory compound’.

Yet another vārttika proposal requires prakṛtibhāva, without any replacement in hrasva in the Vedic examples such as īśā aksah, kā īmare and pathā agaman.

6.1.127 अन्तयः:

ṛty akah
/ṛti 7/1 akah 1/1/
(samhitāyām #72 prakṛtyā #114 sākalyasya hrasvas ca #126)
ṛkāre parataḥ sākalyasyācāryasya matenākah prakṛtyā bhavanti, hrasvaḥ ca tasyākah sthāne bhavati

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aK remains as is in the opinion of Sākalya, when samhitā finds its scope and ṛ follows; additionally, this aK is replaced with a hrasva ‘short’.
EXAMPLES:

khaṭva ṛṣyaḥ
māla ṛṣyaḥ
kumāri ṛṣyaḥ
hoṭṛ ṛṣyaḥ

1. Why is this sūtra formulated when the preceding itself can account for prakṛtiḥbāva and hrasva. The preceding sūtra can accomplish prakṛtiḥbāva and hrasva when an iK may be followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (asavarna). This sūtra is needed for contexts where a vowel other than one denoted by iK (anik, i.e., aK) may precede. It is also needed for contexts where a homogeneous (savarna) vowel may follow. Elsewhere, the preceding sūtra itself can account for prakṛtiḥbāva and hrasva. Thus, consider khaṭvā + ṛṣyaḥ→khaṭva ṛṣyaḥ and hoṭṛ + ṛṣyaḥ→hoṭṛ ṛṣyaḥ, where ṛ of hoṭṛ is short.

2. Why do we need iti? So that prakṛtiḥbāva and hrasva is blocked in khaṭv(ā + i→e)nдраḥ→khaṭvendraḥ. The condition of akah blocks prakṛtiḥbāva in vrks(au→āu) + ṛṣyaḥ = vrksāv ṛṣyaḥ.

6.1.128 अप्लुतवदूपिष्ठते

apiḥutavat upeśṭhite
\[\text{apiḥutavat} \phi = \text{na ṧlutavat (naṁ. tāt.)}; \text{upeśṭhite} 7/1/\]
upasthitam nāmāṅśa itikaranah samudāyād avacchidya padam yena svarūpe’ vasthāpyate tasmin parataḥ pluto’ plutavād bhavati

A ṧlutā is treated as if non-;base64 encoding-> when a non-Vedic (anāṛṣa) iti follows and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

suślokāḥ iti = suśloketi
sumaṅgalāḥ iti = sumaṅgaleti

1. The word āṛṣa is explained as a taddhita derivate of ṛṣi ‘Veda’ signifying tatra bhavah ‘born or found there in’. The negative anāṛṣa may generally refer to something other than what is found in the Vedas. However, iti, with the qualification of upasthite, defines its context to itikarana ‘attaching iti’. Technically, upasthita refers to the process of splitting individual padas of a sentence and marking them with iti (Kāś: upasthitam nāmāṅśa itikaranah). Thus, suślokāḥ iti. This is what then is viewed as anāṛṣa. The āḥ of suślokāḥ is pluta (8.2.84 dūrādd hūte ca). This pluta, in view of our present rule, becomes a non-pluta and, hence, blocks the prakṛtiḥbāva provision of 6.1.120 pluta-pragṛhyā aci nityam. We then get suślokāḥ + iti→suśloketi and sumaṅgalā + iti→sumaṅgaleti. These examples both involve guṇa-replacement, in the absence of prakṛtiḥbāva.

2. Why is this specification of pluta made with vāt? In the absence of vāt,
the specification would have been made as *pluto* *plutaḥ*. This, in turn, could negate only the *pluta*. That is, in a situation where *prakṛtibhāva* obtains conditioned by *pluta* and *pragrhyā* both, negation applies to one conditioned by *pluta*. *A prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragrhyā* cannot be negated. Consequently, *pluta* will be heard in *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragrhyā* (Kāśi: *apluta ity ucayamāne pluta eva praśidhyeta . . . pragrhyāśraye prakṛtibhāve plutasya śravaṇam na syāt*). Examples are: *agniḥ iti, vāyuḥ iti*. The *prakṛtibhāva*, consequent upon assignment of the term *pragrhyā* by 1.1.11 *idūdē dvivacanam pragrhyam*, applies to *agniḥ iti* and *vāyuḥ iti*. The *pluta*, of course, is retained in consonance with 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpya ekaikasya prācām*.

6.1.129 यस चाक्रवर्मनस्य

ि3 cākravarmaṇasya

/i3 (1/1 deleted) cākravarmaṇasya 6/1/

(aci #77 aplutavat #128)

ि3 kārh pluto‘ ci parataś cākravarmaṇasyācāryasya matenāplutavad bhavati

An i termed *pluta* is treated as if a non-*pluta*, in the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa, whenever a vowel (aC).

**Examples:**

- astu hityabravīt = astu hi3 ity abravīt
- cinu hidam = cinuhī3 idam

1. Mention of Cākravarmaṇa is made for indicating option (*vikalpa*). It is intended for suspending the *anuvṛtti* of the Vedic *iti* (*tadupasthite nṝṇtyartham*) already available (*prāpta*). It is also used for facilitating this option when a non-Vedic *iti* follows (*aprāpta*). Thus, the use of Cākravarmaṇa is intended for *ubhayatra-vibhāṣa*. Consider *astu hīty abṛtām* ‘those two indeed said ‘astu’, where *astu* is the third singular imperative of *as* ‘to be’ and *hi* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Rule 8.2.93 *vibhāṣā prāśtrapravacane hēḥ* assigns *pluta* to *hi* and, since the specification is desired to have been made with *vat* (*aplutavadbhāva*), *prakṛtibhāva* is blocked in favor of lengthening (*dīrga*). Thus we get *astu hīty. . .* An option of *prakṛtibhāva* will yield *astu hi3 ity abṛtām* with no sandhi. Kāśikā states that *aplutavadbhāva* ‘treatment of a *pluta* as if a non-*pluta*’ is also desired in the contexts of vowels other than an i. We thus get *vaśāḥ iyam* and *vaśeyam*, where *guna*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, applies through *aplutavadbhāva*.

6.1.130 दिव उत्त

diiva ut

/ diivah 6/1 ut 1/1/

(padāntāt→padasya #108)

divah padasya ukārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of a *pada*, namely *div*, is replaced with *uT*.

**Examples:**

- *dyukāmah* 'he whose desire is in heaven'
- *dyumān*
- *vimaladyu dinam* 'bright day'
- *dyubhyām*
- *dyubhiḥ*

1. The rule allows a replacement in *uT* for the final *v* (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*) of *div* when the same is *prātipadika* turned into a *pada*. Note that *div* is not a verbal root. For, its specification is here made without its *i*-element *ū*. The condition of *div* being a *pada* is reconstructed based upon the anuvṛtti of *pada* from 6.1.108 *eihā padāntād ati*. How come *pada* of *padāntāt* alone is carried? Why not the full word *padāntāt*? A compound sometimes can also be carried in part (*ekādesa*). The condition of *pada* is needed so that the *v* of *diva*, as in *divau* and *divah*, can be blocked from availing a replacement in *u*.

Now consider some examples: *dyukāmah*, a bahuvrīhi paraphrased as *divi kāmo yasya* 'he who wishes for heaven' and *dyumān*, paraphrased as *dyauh asti yasya* 'he who possesses heaven'. The bahuvrīhi compound-base *div + kāma*, after deletion of internal inflectional endings, has its *v* replaced with *u*. This yields *di(v−u) + kāma = diu + kāma* which, after application of *yaN*, yields *d(i→y)u + kāma = dyu + kāma = dyukāma*. Incidentally, *dyumān* is the nominative singular of *dyumat*, a derivate of *div + mat(UP) = di(v−u) + mat→d(i−y)u + mat = dyumat*.

2. Note that *div*, when treated as a verbal root, may cause the application of 6.4.19 *chvoḥ śud anunāsike*. Thus, given *aksadyūhyām*, where *aksadyū* is a derivate of *Kulp* introduced after *div* used in combination with the cooccurring *pada aksa + bhis*, we get *uTH* for *v*. An application of *yaN*, on *i* of *div* before *uTH*, can then yield *aksadyū* of *aksadyūhyām*. The *T* in *uT* is also explained as intended for canceling *uTH* (*Kāś: taparakarāṇam uṭho nivrtyartham*). Since a sound brought about by application of a rule (*bhāvyamāna*) refers to sounds homogeneous with it, then when subjected through *samprāsāraṇa*, will refer to a short *u* equal in duration of half a mora (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*). Why then use *taparakarāṇa* with short *u*? It is for this reason that *taparakarana* is intended more for canceling *uTH*.

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6.1.131 एतत्तदः: सुलोपोकरोन्न्यमस्य एति

*etattadoḥ sulopo’kor anañsamāse hali*

etattadau yāv akakārau naṇśamāse na varīte tasyor yaḥ suśabdah tadarthe
sambaddhah tasya saṃhitāyāṁ visaye hali parato lopo bhavati

A nominal ending, namely sU, when used after etad and tad not containing k and not being used as part of a negative compound (naṇśamāsa), is deleted, provided a consonant (hali) follows and saṃhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

esa dādāti 'this one gives'
sa dādāti 'he gives'
esa bhunkte 'this one eats'
sa bhunkte 'he eats'

1. Let us consider esa dādāti 'this one gives?' where esa is derived from etad + sU. The final d of etad is replaced with a by 7.2.102 tyadādinām aḥ. Rule 6.1.97 aṭo gune then orders pararūpa, a single replacement similar to what follows. We thus get: et(a→a) + s(U)→et(a + a → a) + s(U). The preceding t of etat is then replaced with s (7.2.106 tadoḥ sāv anantyayoh) to yield e(t→s)a + s(U). This s is then replaced with s of 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh. We thus get e(s→s)a + s(U) = esa + s(U). Our final derivate esa is gotten after deletion of sU.

This rule focuses on etad and tad only. That is why we do not get deletion of sU, in yo dādāti, where yad forms the base. The condition of sU is also important. This then does not allow deletion in etat + au→etadau where the ending is au. The negation of akoḥ 'of those with no k' excludes forms of etat and tat which may be derived with aṅkaC. Thus, one may derive a form such as esakah and sakah, where aṅkaCis introduced prior to the ṭi (1.1.64 aco'ntyāḍi ṭi; 5.3.71 avayayasarvanāṁnām aṅka prāk teḥ) of eta + s(U) and ta + s(U). Our forms eta and ta, of course, derive from etad and tad with the application of d→a (atva) and a + a→a (pararūpa), as already explained in connection with esa. The resultant forms with aṅkaC, i.e., etaka + s(U) and taka + s(U), cannot go through deletion of sU. They will yield esakah and sakah, where s of esakah goes through a replacement in s. The negation of akoḥ is necessary because, in its absence, a specification by means of etad and tad could also include references to their forms with aṅkaC. Such a reference is possible in view of the Paribhāṣā (PŚ: 90): tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate 'a specification made in grammar by a form also refers to its corresponding forms which may have inserts within'. That is, etad and tad can also refer to their forms qualified with aṅkaC.

The negation of anaṇśamāse 'when not in combination with a negative particle' is important for blocking deletion of sU in aneso dādāti and aso dādāti, where anesah and asah are paraphrased as na esaḥ and na saḥ. The n in na esaḥ is deleted by 6.3.73 na lopo. . . Augment nUṭ of 6.3.74 tasmān
nuḍ . . . is then introduced to derive \((n→φ) a(Ñ) + s(U) + (etad→esa) + sU→a + n(U)T + s(U) + esa + s(U) = an + (sU→φ) + esa + (sU→φ) = anesa + sU→anesaḥ\). Similar rules apply in deriving asaḥ. Note that naÑ is related to etad and tad because a negative compound has its following constituent as principal (uttarapadapradhāna).

The condition of hali ‘when a consonant follows’ blocks deletion of sU, in examples such as esaḥ + atra → eso’ tra and saḥ + atra → so’ tra, where what follows is a vowel.

6.1.132 स्थङ्गर्दिष्ठः बहुलः

syasa chandasi bahulam
/syah 1/1 chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 sulopah hali #131)
‘sya’ īti etasya chandasi hali āraha bahulaṇh sor lopo bhavati
A sU which occurs after sya, in the Vedic, is variously deleted when a consonant (hali) follows and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

utra sya vañī kṣipanim tūranyati grivāyāṁ baddhō api kaksā āsanī
esa sya tē pavata indra somāḥ

1. Note that deletion of sU here refers to one which occurs after \((t→s)ya = sya\) of tyad. That is, \((tya(d→a)→tý(a + a→a)→(t→s)ya = sya))\); sya + sU. A provision of bahulam also makes this deletion non-applicable, elsewhere. Thus, we get yatra syo nipatet.

The word syaḥ is an imitation (anukarana) of the nominative, used with the denotatum of ṣaṣṭhi ‘genitive’ (ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā).

6.1.133 सोञ्चि लोपे चेत्यादपूरणम्

so’ ci lope cet pādapūranaṁ
/sōh 6/1 acī 7/1 lope 7/1 cet φ pādapūranaṁ 1/1 = pādasya pūraṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.)/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 sulopah #131)
’saḥ’ īty etasyāci īrahaḥ sulopo bhavati lopē sati cet pādah pūryate
The sU of saḥ is deleted when a vowel (acī) follows, provided this deletion facilitates completion of the quarter of a verse (pādapūrṇam).

EXAMPLES:

sedu rājā kṣayati carṣaṇīnām
sauṣādhiṣpranāturūdhyaśe

1. This rule allows deletion of sU with the express purpose of completing a verse quarter. Thus, given sa + sU + idu and sa + sU + osadhi, we get
sa + (sU→ṣ) + i → s(a + i → e) du = sédu and sa + (sU→ṣ) + oṣadhi→s(a + o→au) sādhī = sausādhī, after sU-deletion and single guna and vṛddhi replacements.

2. Kāśīkā states that some also desire pāda to refer to quarter of a verse. That is, in addition to referring to the quarter of a Rgvedic hymn (ṛk pāda) in view of chandasi:

saiṣa dāsarathi rāmaḥ/ saiṣa rājā yudhiṣṭhirah/
saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī/ saiṣa bhīmō mahābalah/

6.1.134 सुप्रकाश्यः

sūṭ kāṭ pūrvah
/sūṭ 1/1 kāṭ 5/1 pūrvah 1/1/
(samhita-yām #72)
adhiṅkāro' yam. ita uttaram yad vākyāmas tatra 'sūṭ iti 'kāṭ pūrvah' iti caitad
adhiṅkāram veditavyam
Augment sUT is introduced before k.

EXAMPLES:

samskartaḥ 'he who beautifies, etc.'
samskartum 'for beautifying'
samskartaṇyaṃ 'that which is to be . . .'  

1. This is an adhiṅkāra 'governing rule', valid up to 6.1.157 pāraskarapra-bhṛini ca. The T in sUT is an it. Its U is intended for ease of articulation. Since this rule provides for sUT to be introduced before k, 1.1.46 ādyantau tākitaū is not invoked for its placement. A question is raised against marking sUT with T as an it, especially since 1.1.46 ādyantau tākitaū is not to be invoked in connection with its placement. It is stated (Bhimasena Śāstrī, II: 562) that T as an it is here intended for distinguishing sUT from su (of 8.2.70 parinivvahyāh sevasitasaya . . . ). Or else, a specification made with su, without T, may have confused su(T) with verbal root su. This, in turn, would have yielded undesired interpretations.

Illustrations will be offered under individual rules.

2. Pāṇini specifies kāṭ pūrvah to indicate that sUT does not become part of what contains k (Kāś: kāṭpūrvavagrahaṇam suṭo bhaktajñāpanārtham). Augment sUT, because of being marked with T, could have been introduced as an initial element anyway (1.1.46 ādyantau tākitaū). Consider the controlled derivation of samkrṣṭa, third person singular middle form of LIN, from sam + kṛ + (LIN→ta)→sam + kṛ + ta, where, after sīyUT, we get sam + kṛ + sīy + ta. Augment sUT is now introduced before ta in view of 3.4.107 sūṭ tīthoh. The y of sīy, in sam + s(UT) + kṛ + sīy + s(UT) + ta, is then deleted by 6.1.66 lōpo vyor vali. Note that sUT before kṛ is accomplished by our present rule. If this sUT
is treated as part of kr then skṛ will become saṃyogādi ‘that which has a conjunct in its initial position’. Rule 7.2.43 rtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ will then require a guna replacement for r. This will yield a wrong form. It is to block such applications that sUT, at the strength of its specification by kāt pūrvaḥ, is not treated as part of what contains k (kakāravān). A guna and iT conditioned by saṃyogādi (cf. 7.2.43 rtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ) will be blocked if sUT is treated part of the conjunct (saṃyoga). A sUT, if treated as part of the conjunct, would also not allow nighāta ‘blanket anudāta’ (cf. 8.1.28 tin atiṇah). The word saṃskṛśīṣṭa goes through anusvāra of m and s-replacement for both of its s sounds.

Now consider saṃskriyate, a third singular present passive, derived from sam + kr (LAT→te)→sam + kr + yaK + te where yaK is introduced by 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak. The r of kr is replaced with ni (7.4.28 nig śayaglinkṣu) and augment sUT is introduced to yield sam + sUT + k(r→ni) + ya + te = saṃskriyate. This intervening s, if treated as part of kri, would have also blocked nighāta ‘blanket anudāta’ of 8.1.28 tin atiṇah. Incidentally, in matters of accentuation, an insert consonant is treated as if not present (avidyamānāvat).

How is a guna conditioned by initial conjunct (saṃyogādi) accomplished in saṃcaskaratuḥ and saṃcaskaruḥ if sUT is not treated as part of that which contains k. Actually, sUT becomes part of saṃcaskr, an anga, after iteration (PŚ (90): tanmadhyapatitas tadgraahanena grhyate). The guna then applies to derive saṃcask(r→ar) + atuḥ = saṃcaskaratuḥ. But 7.4.10 rtaś ca saṃyogāder...; even when sUT is treated as part of kr, cannot allow guna since skṛ with initial conjunct is not a dhātu ‘verbal root’. A vārttika proposal is made to allow guna of 7.4.10 also where penultimate conjunct is involved (saṃyogopadha; saṃyogopadhagrahaṇam ca ‘ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder gunah’ity atra vaktavyam).

3. Two vārttika proposals of this rule have been jointly listed by the Kāśikārvatti as a separate sūtra:

(i) ad̐vayavāya upasamskhyānam ‘sUT is introduced before k also in contexts where aT intervenes’ and
(ii) abhyāsavāvyāye ‘pi ca ‘sUT is introduced before k, also where abhyāsa ‘doubling’ intervenes’.

The necessity of these proposals is explained relative to introduction of sUT on the one hand and that of aT and abhyāsa ‘doubling’ on the other. It is argued that an operation, i.e., sUT, is more powerful because it is internal (antrāṅga) to the preverb (upasarga) and the root (dhātu). This operation is to be performed before any external (bahirāṅga) operation, i.e., aT and abhyāsa conditioned by the affix. But since sUT is introduced before k and it does not become part of the form which contains k, T and abhyāsa, when applied, will follow s. This, in turn, is not desired (iṣṭa). It is to remove this difficulty that these express propositions are made. One has to apply aT and
abhyaśa first and then, even with them intervening, sUT is introduced before k. This will offer all desired results (sarvam ıştaṃ siddhyati).

Provisions of the first proposal are illustrated with samaskarot and samaskārīt, third person singular active imperfect (LaN) and immediate (LUN) past forms of verbal root kr, used with the preverb sam. Notice how sUT, i.e., s after a, is introduced before k, even when aT, i.e., a before s, intervenes. We also get sañcaskāra and parascaskāra, where ca results out of abhyāsa. Augment sUT is again introduced before k, even when abhyāsa intervenes. See the appendix for full derivational details.

6.1.135 सम्पर्यपेश्य: करोती भूषणे

samparyupebyah karotau bhūṣane
/ sam-pari-uptehyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; karotau 7/1 bhūṣane 7/1/
(samḥitāyām #72 sut kāt pūrvah #134)
‘sam, pari, upa’ ity etebhya bhūṣanārthe karotau parataḥ sut kāt pūrvo bhavati
Augment sUT is introduced before k when verbal root kr ‘to do, make’, used with the preverbs sam, pari and upa, occurs with the signification of bhūṣana ‘ornamentation’.

EXAMPLES:

samṣkartā
samṣkartum
samṣkartavyam
pariṣkartā
pariṣkartum
pariṣkartavyam
upaskartā
upaskartum
upaskartavyam

1. This rule allows for introduction of sUT before k when verbal root kr is used with the preverbs sam, pari and upa, provided when the signification is bhūṣana ‘ornamentation’. Consider samṣkartā which is a derivate of trC introduced after kr used with sam. Refer to the derivation of kartā (II:388) in the appendix. Given sam + s(UT) + kartā, the m of sam is replaced with rŪ (8.3.5 samah sut). We now have sa(m→r(Ū)) + s + kartā = sar + s + kartā. The a of sar is optionally nasalized by 8.3.2 atrānunāsikāh pūrvasya tu vā. Now we have sār + s + kartā and sar + s + kartā. Rule 8.3.4 anunāsikat paro’nusvāravah introduces anusvāra after a before rU, provided a is non-nasalized. This application changes sar + s + kartā into sam + r + s + kartā. Rule 8.3.18 karavāsānayor visarjanīyah can then apply on both strings to yield: sā(r→h) + s + kartā = sāh + s + kartā and sam + (r→h) + s + kartā = samh + s + kartā. A vārttikā under 8.3.36 vā śari, i.e., sampunkānām so vaktavyah, requires the h to be
replaced with s. We thus get sā(h→s) + s + kartā = sās + s + kartā and sam(h→s) + s + kartā = sams + s + kartā. Forms with single s are also used, especially when the option of rU which leads to an additional s, via h, is accepted.

A statement of the Mahābhāṣya, namely samo vā lopam eke, also deletes m of sam, thereby yielding a single s derivate. Similar rules apply in deriving samskartum and samskartavyam, the derivatives of tumUN and tavyaT, respectively. Derivates such as pariṣkarta, pariṣkartum and pariṣkartavyam involve replacement of s by s (8.3.70 suṣṭusvāṇjām). Deriving upaskartā, upaskartum and upaskartavyam does not offer anything new.

2. The condition of bhūṣana is necessary so that examples such as upakaroti ‘... does a favor’ are blocked from receiving sUT. Some, however, claim that examples such as samskṛtam annam ‘cooked food’ requires sUT, even when the signification is other than bhūṣana. Others claim that samśāra of anna can still be viewed as bhūṣana.

3. Some do not read upa as part of this rule. For them the sūtra is simply: samparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣane.

6.1.136 समवाये च

samavāye ca
/samavāye 7/1 ca φ/
(samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāṭ pūrvah #134 samparyupēbhyaḥ karotau #135)
samavāyaḥ = samudāyaḥ, tasmiṁś cārthe karotau samparyupēbhyaḥ kāṭ pūrvah suḍ āgamone bhavati

Augment sUT is introduced before k when verbal root kr, used in conjunction with the preverbs sam, pari and upa, follows with the signification of samavāya ‘mass, aggregation, collection’ and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

tatra nah samskṛtam
tatra nah pariṣkṛtam
tatra nah upaskṛtam

1. Why was a single sūtra with the form of samparyupābhyaṃ karotau bhūṣanasamavāyayoh not formulated?

6.1.137 उपायप्रतियत्वावैकृतवायाध्याहारेषु

upāt pratiyatnavaikṛtvāvyādyāḥyāḥresu
/ upāt 5/1 pratiyatna-vaikṛta-vāvyādyāḥyāḥresu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāṭ pūrvah #134 karotau #135)
‘pratiyatna, vaikṛta, vāvyādyāḥyāḥ’ ity eteṣv arthesu gamyamānēsu karotau dhātav parata upāt suṭ kāṭ pūrvo bhavati
Augment *sUṭ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when *pratiyatna* 'change or enhancement in an existing quality', *vaikṛta* 'modification' and *vākyādyāhāra* 'paraphrase; supplying words to a sentence to explain understood meanings' are signified and *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

**Examples:**

*edho dāhasyopaskurute* 'wood brings new quality to the water'
*kaṇḍagunasyopaskurute* 'ibidem'
*upaśkrtaṁ bhūṅkте* 'eats in a bad manner'
*upaśkrtaṁ gacchati* 'walks in a bad manner'
*upaśkrtaṁ jaśpatai* 'speaks in a bad manner'
*upaśkrtaṁ adhīte* 'studies in a bad manner'

1. Why was the rule not formulated as *saṁparibhyām karota bhūṣanasaṁavāyayoh upāt pratityatnavākyādyāhāreṣu ca?* Answers Haradatta, go ask the maker of the *sūtras* (*PM: sūtrakāramaṇa*).

A separate formulation of *sūtras* 6.1.135, 6.1.136 and 6.1.137 was perhaps necessitated because of diverse signification of derivates. Additionally, the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* alone is carried to the next rule. Formulating a rule with all the preverbs may have created confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* subsequently. If they all carried here they all had to be carried subsequently.

2. The word *pratiyatna* is explained as *saṁha* ‘necessary effort’ for enhancing an existing quality, or maintaining one already enhanced. (*Kāś: saṭa guṇāntarādhāim wādhyāya vyādhasa vā tadaāvasthāya saṁha*). The word *vaikṛta* simply means *vikṛta* 'brought into a state of modification'. The word *vākyādyāhāra* is explained as expression mention of words whose meanings otherwise must remain understood (*Kāś: gāmyamānārthasa vākyasa svarūpayopādānaṁ vākyasyādyāhāraḥ*).

### 6.1.138 किरतात लवने

*kiratau lavane*
*/kiratau 7/1 lavane 7/1/

(samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāṭ pūrvah #134 upāt #137)

Augment *sUṭ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when the signification is *lavana* 'cutting' and *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

**Examples:**

*upaśkrtaṁ madrakā lunantī* 'the people of Madra cut having spread it around'
*upaśkrtaṁ kāśmīraka lunantī* 'the people of Kashmir cut having spread it around'
1. Note that only upāt is carried here. This rule provides for sUT before k when kṛ ‘scatter, spread about’ is used with the preverb upa and the signification is lavana ‘cutting, chopping’. Affix NamUL, in upaskāram, is introduced in consonance with bahulam of 3.3.113 kṛtyaḥpuṣto bahulam.

2. A vārttika proposal also requires the introduction of sUT when kṛ, used with the preverb upa, occurs with NyuL (3.1.10 tumuṇṇasulau kriyāyam . . ).

6.1.139 हिंसायां प्रतेष्च

hiṃsāyāṁ prateṣ ca
/ hiṃsāyāṁ 7/1 prateḥ 5/1 ca φ/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 suṭ kāṭ pūrvah #134 upāt #137 kiratau #138)
upāt prateṣ cottarasmin kiratau viṣaye suṭ kāṭ pūrvo bhavati hiṃsāyāṁ viṣaye
Augment sUT is introduced before k in the context of verbal root kṛ, used after upa and prati, when the signification is hiṃsā ‘harm’ and samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

upaskārṇa haṁ te vṛṣala bhūyāt ‘may your cutting O! Vṛṣala, lead to violence’
pratiskīrṇa haṁ te vṛṣala bhūyāt ‘ibidem’

1. Our examples, upaskārṇa and pratiskīrṇa, are derived from upa + s + kṛ + ta and prati + s + kṛ + ta, via application of i-replacement (itva; 7.1.100 ḫa id dhātoḥ), with a following r (raṇāratau; 1.50 ur an raṇaḥ), change of i to ē (nātva; 8.2.42 raḍābhīyāṁ niṣṭhāo . . . ), lengthening (dīṅgha; 8.2.77 háli ca) and replacement in n (nātva; 8.4.1 ṛaṇābhīyāṁ no naḥ . . . ). Thus, upa + s + k(ṛ → ēr) + ta → upaskir + (t → n) a → upask(i → ēr) + n a → upaskir + (n → n) a = upaskārṇa.

2. Why do we have the condition of hiṃsā? So that examples such as pratiskīrṇam can be kept out of the scope of sUT.

6.1.140 अपाच्छत्वाचाकुकुनिदालेखने

apācatuspācchakunisvā álekhane
/apāt 5/1 catuspāc-chakunisvā 7/3 = catuspādaś ca śakunayaś ca (itar. dv.),
tesu; álekhane 7/1/
(samhitāyāṁ #72 suṭ kāṭ pūrvah #134 kiratau #138)
apād uttarasmin kiratau catuspācchakunisvā yad álekhanaṁ tasmin viṣaye suṭ kāṭ pūrvo bhavati
Augment sUT is introduced before k of verbal root kṛ, when the same is used after preverb apa and the signification is ‘scratching, scraping’ (ālekhana) relatable to a quadruped (catuspād), or a bird (śakunayaḥ), and samhitā finds its scope.
**Examples:**

*apaskirāte vṛṣabho hṛṣṭah* ‘happy, the bull is digging up dirt’
*apaskirāte kukkutāḥ bhaksyārthi* ‘hungry, the rooster is digging up dirt’
*apaskirāte śve āśrayārthi* ‘seeking a shelter, the dog dusts off the place’

1. Notice that the above examples are all in ātmanepada ‘middle’. A vārttika proposal requires such ātmanepada usages when the signification is harṣa ‘joy’, jīvika ‘livelihood’ and kulāya ‘making a shelter’ (harṣajīvikākulāyakaranāsuv iti vaktavyam). Elsewhere, one should use active endings (parasmaipaṇḍa).

### 6.1.141 कुस्तुम्बुरः जातिः:

*kustumburūṇi jātiḥ
/kustumburūṇi 1/3 jātiḥ 1/1/
(saṃhitāyām #72 suṣ #134)
‘kustumburūṇi’ iti suṣ nipātyate jātiṣ ced bhavati
Augment sUṬ is introduced before t in deriving kustumburu, when jāti ‘class’ is signified and saṃhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

*kustumburūṇi* ‘a kind of vegetation; food plant’

1. This introduction of sUṬ before t is made via nipātana. The specification of kustumburu in naṭumṣaka ‘neuter’ bahuvacana ‘plural’ is not intended to be as such (āvivākṣita). One can also find usages other than neuter plural.

2. The condition of jāti is necessary to rule out examples such as kustumburūṇi, etc., where tumburu denotes a squash (tinduki) of bad quality. The signification of the compound base is nindā ‘censure’.

### 6.1.142 अपरास्परः क्रियासातत्त्वे

*aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatyate
/ aparasparāḥ 1/3 kriyāsātatyate 7/1 = kriyāyāḥ sātatyam (śaś. tat.)/
(saṃhitāyām #72 suṣ #134)
‘aparasparā’ iti suṣ nipātyate kriyāsātatyate ganyamāne
Augment sUṬ is introduced in deriving aparasmār, via nipātana, when kriyāsātatyā ‘uninterrupted action’ is denoted and when saṃhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

*aparasparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti* ‘Caravans move continuously’

1. The word kriyāsātatyā is explained as an action with no interruption (satatam avicchedena). This is what is meant by sātatyapravadha ‘constant
occurrence’ of gamana ‘movement’. Elsewhere, we will get an example such as aparaparāh sārthāh gačchanti, where the action takes place only once.

2. Note that sātāya is used with the signification of satatā ‘permanence, continued’. It is formed with sam in combination before tata. Additionally, there is an optional deletion of m. Thus, satatam and santatam. Consider the following verse from the Mahābhāṣya.

lumped avaśyamah kṛtye tuṁkāmanamacer api/
 samo vā hitatatayor māṃsaśya paci yudghaṇoh//
‘the m of avaśyam goes through deletion; the m of tumuna is deleted when kāma and manas follow; the m of sam goes through optional deletion when hita and tata combine to follow; the final a of māṃsa also goes through optional deletion when verbal root pac, qualified with yuT (LyuT) or GHaN, follows.’

The following examples illustrate the intent of this verse:

avaśyam kāryam = avaśyaśakāryam; kartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ = kartukāmah;
 kartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ = kartukāmah; sahitam, samhitam, satatam, santatam;
māṃspacanam, māṃspacanam; māṃspākah, māṃspākah.

6.1.143 गोष्पदां सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु

gospadam sevitāsevitāpramāṇeṣu
/gospadam 1/1 sevitāsevitāpramāṇeṣu 7/3 = sevitam ca asevitaṃ ca
pramānaṃ ca = sevitāsevitāpramāni (itar. du.), teṣu/
(samhitāyām #72 suṣ #134)
gospadam iti suṣ nipātate tasya ca satvam sevite’ sevite pramāne ca viṣaye

Augment sUT is introduced in deriving gospada, via nipātana, with an additional provision of replacement of s with ṣ, when gospada, sevita, asevita and pramāna are signified.

Examples:

gospado deśāḥ
‘a place where cows graze’
agospadāny aranyāni
‘(large) forests where cows do not graze’

1. Augment sUT and ṣ-replacement for its s (satva) is provided in the context of sevita ‘frequented’, asevita ‘not frequented’ and pramāna ‘measure’. The condition of asevita is cited so that agospada can also be accounted for. Why does one have to cite asevita when negation (pratISEDha) of sevita itself can account for it? But such a negation can only account for contexts where sevita is possible. What of contexts where sevita is impossible. That is, negating sevita can account for a place which is possible to frequent but for
some reason it is not. The asevita of our rule refers to situations where possibility of frequenting is simply out of question (asambhava). Thus, agospadani aranyani ‘large forests which cows do not frequent’. Examples such as gospadaparam vrsto devah ‘it rained to the extent that only cow’s footprints could fill up’, etc., denote a measure (pramāṇa). Thus, gospada is not here used in the sense of a cow’s footprint. Elsewhere, we will get goh padam = gopadam ‘cow’s foot’.

6.1.144 आस्पद प्रतिष्ठायाम्
āspadam pratiṣṭhāyām
/āspadam 1/1 pratiṣṭhāyām7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 suṣ #134)
ātmayāpanāya sthānam = pratiṣṭhā, tasyām āspadam iti suṣ nipātyate
Augment sUT is introduced in deriving āspada ‘place’, via nipātana, when pratiṣṭhā ‘place for earning a living’ is denoted and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

āspadam anena labdham ‘he has found a place where he can earn his living’

1. Note that āspadam is derived as a neuter derivate of affix GHa. Thus, ā + sUT + pad + GHa = āspada + sU→āspadam. The word pratiṣṭhā is explained as ātmayāpanāya sthānam ‘a place for sustenance’. Elsewhere, we will get āpadāt = āpada + sU→āpadam, an indeclinable compound, with the meaning of ablative (pañcamī) involving no sUT.

6.1.145 आस्कर्यमानित्ये
āscaryam anitye
/āscaryam 1/1 anitye7/1 = na nityam (naṅ. tat.), tasmin/
(samhitāyām #72 suṣ #134)
anitye’ rtha āscaryam iti suṣ nipātyate
Augment sUT is introduced in deriving āscarya, via nipātana, when anitya ‘surprising, unusual, impermanent’ is denoted, and samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

āscaryam yadi sa bhunītā ‘it will be a surprise if he ate?’
āscaryam yadi so’ dhiyita ‘it will be a wonder if he studied?’

1. The word anitya refers to something unusual and extraordinary (abhutatvam). Thus, we get ā(N) + car + ya(T)→ā + s(uT) + car + ya→ā + (s→s) + car + ya = āscarya. Augment sUT is, of course, provided via nipātana. Affix
yaT, though, is offered by a vārttika proposal (cañer āñi cāgura). We will get acaryam karma sobhanam ‘one should pursue some noble deed’ outside the meaning scope of anitye.

6.1.146 वर्चस्के वस्कः

varcaske vaskaraḥ

/varcaske 7/1 avaskaraḥ 1/1/

(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)
‘avaskara iti nipātyate varcas’ abhidheye
Augment sUT is introduced in deriving avaskara, via nipātana, when varcaska ‘throw away food; useless’ is denoted, and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

avakiryata ity avaskaraḥ

1. The word avaskara denotes annamalam ‘food not fit for eating’. It can also denote a place where such food is thrown away. It can be derived with affix aP (3.3.57 ṭdor a) introduced after verbal root ka, used with the preverb ava. The sUT, of course, is introduced via nipaṭana. Affix aP thus has the signification of karman ‘object’.

6.1.147 अपस्करो रथाङ्गम

apaskaro rathāṅgam

/apaskaraḥ 1/1 rathāṅgam 1/1 = rathasya aṅgam (saś. tat.)/

(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)
‘apaskara iti nipātyate rathāṅgam ced bhavati
Augment sUT is introduced in deriving apaskara, via nipātana, when rathāṅga ‘part of a chariot’ is denoted, and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

apaskaraḥ ‘part of a chariot’

1. The word apaskaraḥ is derived similarly to avaskaraḥ. Elsewhere, we get apakarah with the signification of brahmacārinaḥ striyāṁ reṭah sekaḥ ‘a celebrate’s sprinkling of semen into a woman’.

6.1.148 विष्कर: शकुनी वा

viskiraḥ šakunāv vā

/viskiraḥ 1/1 šakunāv 7/1 vā φ/

(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)
‘viskira iti vā sut nipātyate šakunāv abhidheye
Augment $sUT$ is optionally introduced in deriving viṣkira, via nipātana, when śakuni 'bird' is denoted and saṃhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

viṣkiraḥ 'bird'
viṣkiraḥ 'ibidem'

1. Kāśikā reads the sūtra as viṣkiraḥ śakunir viṅkro vá. It is argued that vá alone could have accounted for optional vikiraḥ. The Mahābhāṣya reads the sūtra as viṣkiraḥ śakunau vá. Kāśikā still uses it to show that this optional derivation is available only in the context of śakuni 'bird', and not anywhere else. The two derivates can be derived with optional $sUT$ and introduction of affix Ka (3.1.135 igupadhañāpīkrih kah) after verbal root kṛ used with the preverb vi. Of course, ṛ will be replaced with ir, as shown earlier in connection with upaskīram, etc. The word viṅkira must also here mean śakuni 'bird'.

6.1.149 हस्यावचनानांतरपदे मन्त्रे

hrasvāc candrottarapade mantre
/hrasvāt 5/1 candrottarapade 7/1 = candraś cāsau uttarapadam ca (itar. dv.), tasmin; mantre 7/1/ (saṃhitāyām #72 sUT#134)
candraśabda uttarapade hrasvāt parah suś āgamo bhavati mantraviśaye

Augment $sUT$ is introduced after a short vowel in the mantra usage when candra follows, and saṃhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

suścandro yuśmān

1. Kāśikā offers sūryācandramasāv iva as a counter-example where $sUT$ cannot be introduced because sūryā ends in a long vowel. A classical usage such as sucandrá paunāmāśi 'a night with beautiful full moon' can also not qualify for $sUT$ either. That is, it cannot qualify for its status as a mantra. An example such as candram asi can also be out because asi, eventhough it follows, does not qualify as a following constituent. Thus, uttarapade refers to constituency in a compound.

6.1.150 प्रतिष्काशच करोः:

pratiṣkāšaḥ ca kaśeh
/pratiṣkāśah 1/1 ca ḫ kaśeh 5/1/ (saṃhitāyām #72 sut #134)
'kaśah gatiśāsanayoh' ity etasya dhātoḥ pratiṣṭhūrvasya paśadbhayaci kṛte suṣ nipātyate tasyaiva śatvam
The word *pratiśkaśa* is additionally derived by introducing augment *sUṬ* before *k* of verbal root *kaś*, used with the preverb *prati*, with an additional provision that *s* of *sUṬ* be replaced with ś.

Examples:

*grāmam adya pravekṣyāmi*
'I shall enter the village today'

*bhava me tvam pratiśkaśah ‘you be my companion’*

1. The word *pratiśkaśah* is a derivate of *aC* derived from *prati + kaś+ aC → prati + sUṬ + kaś+ aC*. Affix *aC* is introduced in consonance with 3.1.134 *nandigrahīpacādibhyo.* . . . . The word itself is explained as vārtāpurūṣa ‘someone to converse with’, *sahāya* ‘companion’ and *purojāyi* ‘he who goes before’.

2. The condition of a verbal root such as *kaś* ‘to move, govern’ is needed to block *sUṬ* in an example such as *pratiśkaśo śvah = pratigatah kaśām* ‘a horse who cannot be controlled with a whip’ where *prati*, as a preverb, is related to *gam* ‘to go’ and *kaśā* ‘whip’ is not a verbal root.

6.1.151 प्रस्कन्वहिरिहिचन्द्रवृषी

*praskāṇvaḥhariścandrāv rṣī*

/praskāṇvaḥhariścandrau 1/2 (ītar. dv.) rṣī 1/2/ (samhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)

‘praskāṇva, hariścandra’ ity suṭ nīpātyate rṣī ced abhidhēyau bhavataḥ

Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *praskāṇva* and *hariścandra*, when *samhitā* finds its scope and the denotata are sages (rṣī).

Examples:

*praskāṇvaḥ rṣīh ‘a sage named Praskāṇva; (he from whom sins have departed)’

*hariścandraḥ rṣīh ‘a sage named Hariścandra; (he for whom moon is like Hari)’

1. Why mention *hariścandra* here when the same can be derived with 6.1.149 *hrasvāc candrottarapade mantrē*? This example refers to usage outside the Mantra literature. Lack of *sUṬ*, in *prakāṇva māṇavakah* and *haricandro māṇavakah*, indicates that *māṇavaka* ‘boy, celeb ate’ is not a rṣī ‘sage’.

6.1.152 मस्करमस्करिणी वेणुपपिरिब्राजकयोऽ

*maskaramaskarinau venuparivrājakayoḥ*

/maskara-maskarinau 1/2 (ītar. dv.)

*venu-parivrājakayoḥ 7/2 (ītar. dv.)*

(samhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)
‘maskara, maskarin’ ity etau yathāsāṃkhyam venu parivrājake ca nipātyete
The words maskara and maskarin are derived via nipātana with the introduction of augment sUT when the signification is venu ‘bamboo’ and parivrājaka ‘wandering ascetic’, respectively.

**Examples:**

maskaro venuh ‘maskara is a kind of Bamboo’
maskari parivrājakah ‘maskarin is a wandering ascetic’

1. The words maskara and maskarin are derived with sUT when the signification is venu ‘bamboo, flute’ and parivrājaka ‘wandering ascetic’. Elsewhere, we get makarāh ‘crocodile, shark’ and makari ‘ocean’, a derivate of inI paraphrased as makarāh santi asmin ‘that in which there are crocodiles’.

2. Some derive maskara by introducing affix aC after verbal root kṛ, used with the preverb māN. The derivate is then paraphrased as mā kriyate = yena pratiṣidhyate ‘a bamboo stick by means of which someone is disciplined not to do something’. Of course, aC and sUT are introduced via nipātana. The word maskari ‘a wandering ascetic’ is derived with affix inI, signifying tācchīya ‘he whose nature it is to . . .’. A maskari preaches people to desist from worldly affairs and seek inner peace (mā kunuta karmāṇi sāntir vah śreyasī). Both these examples will involve sUT and shortening of mā.

6.1.153 कास्तीराजस्तुद्दे नगरे

kāstirājastunde nagare
/kāstirājastunde 7/1 (itar. dv.); nagare 7/1/
(sāmhitāyām #72 sū #134)
‘kāstira, ajastunda’ ity etau śābdau nipātyete nagare’ bhidhey
The words kāstira and ajastunda are derived via nipātana with the introduction of augment sUT when sāmhitā finds its scope and derivates signify a city (nagara).

**Examples:**

kāstirāṃ nāma nagaram ‘a city named Kāstira’
ajastunda nāma nagaram ‘a city named Ajastunda’

1. The non-sUT derivates kāṭira and ajatunda are derived from kā + īra and aja + tunda, parallel to īsat īram ‘small shoreline’ and ajasya iva tundam asya ‘one whose belly is similar to that of a goat’. The derivates of sUT must, of course, name cities.

6.1.154 पारस्करप्रभृतिनि च संज्ञायाम

pāraskaraprabhṛtini ca sāṃjñāyām
/pāraskaraprabhṛtini 1/3 = pāraskara prabhṛtir yeśām (bv.), tāni; ca φ
samjñāyām 7/1/
(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)
pāraskara-prabṛti ca śabdarūpaṇi nipātyante samjñāyām viśaye
The word pāraskara, and its likes, are derived via nipātana with the introduction of augment sUT, when derivates denote a name (samjña) and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

pāraskaro deśah ‘Pāraskara is a place’
kaaraskaro vrksah ‘Kāraskara is a tree’
rathaspā nadī ‘Rathaspā is a river’
kiskuḥ pramāṇam ‘Kiśku is name of a measure’
kiskindhā guhā ‘Kiśkindhā is a cave’

1. Note that Kāśikā lists kāraskaro vrksah as a separate sūtra. Our present sūtra, which accounts for an open ended listing of nominals with express condition of samjñāyām ‘when a name is denoted’, is much more economical. In fact, the Mahābhāṣya lists kāraskaro vrksah as an example under this rule. It is for this reason that I have not listed kāraskaro vrksah as a separate rule.

2. These words should be accepted as derived. Efforts, however, are still made to explain their derivation. Thus, pāraskara is derived parallel to pāram karoti ‘goes across’, an upapada-samāsa ‘a compound formed with a conjoined word’. Thus, pāra + am + kṛ + Ṭa yields pārakara with deletion of am and guṇa of kṛ with a following r. Augment sUT gives the final derive as pāraskara signifying a place. Incidentally, affix Ṭa is introduced by 3.2.20 kṛṇo hetutācchilya . . . . A similar application of rules can also derive kāraskaraḥ.

The word rathaspā, again a compound similar to the preceding examples, is explained as a nadī ‘river’, paraphrased as ratham pāti ‘. . . protects chariots’. It may be treated as a derive of Ka (3.2.3 āto’nupasargā . . . ) where 6.46 āto lopa iti ca deletes the ā of pā. Thus, rathap(ā→ϕ) + (K) a = ratha + s(UT) + p + a = rathaspā. Feminine affix ṬāP (4.1.4 ajādyataḥ ūṇḥ) is then introduced to derive rathaspā. Haradatta accepts the derivate as rathaspā, parallel to ratham pāti, where s of sUT goes through a replacement in s (satva), via nipātana. Other examples can be similarly explained.

2. A proposal is also made to derive taskara and brhaspati with sUT, provided the derivate signifies cora ‘thief’ and devatā ‘divinity’. Given tat + kara and bhrat + pāti, the final t in the first constituent of both examples is deleted, again via nipātana.

6.1.155 अनुदात्तम पदमेकवर्जम्

anudāttaṁ padam ekavarjam
/ anudāttaṁ 1/1 padam 1/1 ekavarjam 1/1 = ekam varjayitvā (upa. tat.) /
yatrānyah svara udāttaḥ svarito vā vidhiyate, tatrānudāttam padaṃ ekaṃ varjajīvīṣā bhavati etad upahitiṣam draṣṭavyam

A pada bears the anudātta accent with the exception of one syllable specified as follows.

Examples:

See under rules to follow.

1. This rule assigns blanket anudātta with the exception of one specifically marked otherwise. Thus, 6.1.60 dhātuḥ requires that the final of a verbal root be marked udātta. A verbal form such as gopāyatī will thus be marked anudātta everywhere except for its final udātta.

2. Note that specific assignment of accent on components of a given word may be more than one. This creates a difficulty. Which one of the many be made an exception to blanket anudātta? The guiding principle must be satiṣṭasvaro baliyāḥ 'an accent which is expressly specified against what already exists is treated as comparatively more powerful'. Thus most subsequently taught accent should be accepted as an exception to blanket anudātta.

It is stated that the accent of a vikaraṇa, for example Śnā, is accepted as more powerful than the accent of a verbal root (dhātu). That is, when it comes to accepting one accent and the choice has to be made between a root-accent and the accent of a vikaraṇa, the accent of a vikaraṇa is to be excluded. The accent of an affix, such as tās, is treated as more powerful than the accent of a vikaraṇa. Thus, the accent of an affix must be selected as an exception when it comes to a choice between the accents of a vikaraṇa and an affix. Finally, the accent of ām is treated as more powerful that of an affix. Thus, lunaṭi, lunaṭah and lunaṭastṛām. What is made an exception to blanket anudātta, in the last example, is the final udātta of ām. The rest of the pada is marked anudātta. The provision of this sūtra thus enables one to get rid of individual accents, for example, of an augment (āgama), vikaraṇa 'base-modifying suffix', prakṛti 'base' and pratyaya 'affix'. Thus, the Mahābhāṣya:

āgamasya vikārasya prakṛteḥ pratyayasya ca/
prthaksvaranirvartarṇam ekavarṇam padaśvarah/ /

Consider the derivation of catvārāḥ from catur + Jās, where augment ām, because of being marked with M as an it, is inserted before the final r. Augment ām is udātta by 7.1.98 caturanāḍuhoḥ ām udāttaḥ. The accent of ām thus blocks the accent of catur. Consequently, udātta of ām is treated as an exception. The accent of anĀN, marked udātta by 7.1.75 asthidadiḥ . . ., similarly blocks the initial udātta accent of dadhi in deriving daghānī. Consider gopāyati again, where the derived root gopāya is marked udātta at the end blocking the initial udātta accent of suffix āya. It is the accent of the derived base
which is treated as more powerful. But consider also kartavyam where the initial udātta accent of affix tavyaT blocks the final udātta accent of the root kr. Thus we get: kartavyam.

Note that, in addition to most immediately specified accent (satiśīṭa), relative strength of accents is also determined on the basis of notions such as para ‘subsequent in order’, nitya ‘obligatory’, antaraṅga ‘internally conditioned’ and āpavāda ‘exception’. Thus, in gopāyati, accent of affix āya, an initial udātta, is an exception to the accent of verbal root guṇ, a final udātta. It blocks the accent of guṇ but is then blocked by the accent of the newly derived base gopāya, again a final udātta.

6.1.156 कर्षात्ततो घंजोः न उदात्त:

karsātvato ghaṇo’ nta udāttaḥ
/karsātvatāḥ 6/1 = ād asyāsīṭī atvān; karsāṣ ca ātvāṃś ca (sam. dv. with int. bv.); ghaṇah 6/1 anteḥ 1/1 udāttaḥ 1/1/karsātebrahādātor ākāraṇvataś ca ghaṇāntasyānta udātto bhavati

An udātta is assigned to the final of verbal root krṣ ‘to draw’, and also to that which ends in affix GHaN and contains an ā.

Examples:

karsāḥ
pākāḥ
tyāgāḥ
rāgāḥ
dāyāḥ
dhāyāḥ

1. A specification (nirdeśa) of krṣ with its modified (vikṛta) guṇa-form karsa is made so that the tudādi root krṣ can be excluded from the scope of this rule. That is, the final udātta accent applies to karsa, ending in GHN, provided it is the derivate of the bhvādi root krṣ. The tudādi derivate of GHN, i.e., karsa, will, of course, be marked udātta at the beginning (ādyudātta). Thus, we get karsaḥ.

The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to the initial udātta accent of 6.1.197 nityādir nityam. Recall that GHN is marked with N as an it. Examples of derivatives of GHN with ā are: pākāḥ, rāgāḥ and dāyāḥ, where ā comes from vṛddhi. The y of dāyāḥ comes from yUK of 7.3.33 āto yuk...
(anta udāttāḥ #156)

‘uṃcha’ity evam adīnāṃ anta udāto bhavati

The final of the list headed by uṃcha is also marked with udātta.

EXAMPLES:

uṃchāḥ
mlecchaḥ
jaṭpāḥ
vyādhaḥ

1. Note that uṃchāḥ ‘grain picked from fields after harvest’, mlecchaḥ ‘corrupt’, jaṭpāḥ ‘warrior’ and jaṭpāḥ ‘gossip’ are all derivatives of GHaN qualified for ṛṇitsvāra ‘accent based on N and Nas an it’. This rule assigns final udātta. Others, i.e., jaṭpāḥ and vyādhaḥ, are derivatives of aP (3.3.61 vyadhajapor anupasarge). They should have qualified for initial udātta of dhātoḥ (6.1.159 dhātoḥ).

2. A final udātta is also recommended for garha, a derivate of aP, provided the signification is diśya ‘corruptible’. Elsewhere, gar is means poison and is marked initial udātta.

Derivatives of GHaN (3.3.121 halas ca), particularly veda ‘that by means of which one knows’, vega ‘that by means of which one goes’, veṣṭa ‘that by means of which something is enclosed’ and bandha ‘that by means of which one ties’, are similarly marked udātta at the end. This, of course, is done only when the derivatives denote karana ‘instrument’. They are again marked initial udātta when the denotatum is bhāva ‘action’.

Yet another proposal is made for stu, yu and dru to be marked udātta at the end in the Vedic (stuyudrvaś chandasi). For, paristut, samyut and paridrut derive with KvilP and augment tUK, where KvilP goes through total deletion. A similar proposal is also made for vartaḥ, used in the sense of stotra ‘praise’ (sānaveda: vartaniḥ stotre).

The word dgraḥ when signifying śvabhra ‘hole, chasm’ is also marked udātta at the end. Elsewhere, it is marked udātta at the beginning. Incidentally, śvabhra is used with varying significations. It is not clear what signification conditions this proposal. Similar accentual proposal is made also for sāmbah ‘along with Ambā’ and tāpah, provided the signification is bhāvagarhā ‘censure of denoted action’. This restriction of bhāvagarhā, however, is not required in case of uttamaḥ and śāsvattamaḥ which are also marked udātta at the end.

A proposal is also made for derivatives of GHaN, such as bhakṣa, mantha, bhoga and deha which do not contain ā, to be marked udātta at the end.

6.1.158 अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तात्तलोपः:

anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ
/anudāttasya 6/1 ca φ yatra φ udāttalopāḥ 1/1 = udāttasya lopāḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.)/
(udāttah #156)
yasmin anudātte parata udātto luṣyate tasyānudāttasyādir udātto bhavati
An anudātta is also marked udātta when it conditions the deletion (LOPA) of a preceding udātta.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī
pathah
kumudvān

1. Consider kumārī which is a derivate of the feminine affix ṚiP. The word kumāra is marked udātta at the end by phīso'ntodāttah (Phīṣūtra: 1). Affix ṚiP, which is marked anudātta, follows it. Since deletion of the udātta a of kumāra is caused by the following anudātta of ṚiP (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitaun), our present sūtra allows i to be marked udātta. The sUP in pathah, pathāḥ and pathhe are all marked udātta at the end. But since the nominal endings condition ti-deletion of in of pathin, they are marked udātta. All the three words are thus marked udātta at the end. This same applies to mat of DmatUP in kumudvān, nadvān and vetasvān where kumuda, etc., are all marked udātta at the end. Of course, mat, because of being marked with Pas an it, is anudātta. Recall that the final a of kumuda, etc., is deleted under the condition of mat marked with D. Consequently, the ā of vāin kumudvān, etc., is marked udātta.

2. Why is anudātasya used as a qualifier? Consider prāṣānga + yāT = prāṣāngyah, paraphrased as prāṣāngam vahati (4.4.76 tad vahati . . .). Now, prāṣānga is marked udātta at the end (6.2.144 thāthagrah . . .). Its final a is deleted before yāT marked with svarita (6.1.183? tāsyānudātten . . .). How come this svarita does not become udātta after having caused deletion of the udātta which precedes? But this reasoning is not valid? For, at the time when yāT is marked svarita, the remainder of the word becomes anudātta in view of the general accentual provision of 6.1.155 anudāttah padam . . . But still there is no deletion of an anudātta here. The word anudātta is here used to indicate that an initial anudātta becomes udātta.

This sūtra, in the absence of anudātasya, could have been formulated as yatrodāttalopaś ca. This, with antāḥ, could then have yielded the meaning: yatra (yasmin pratayaye parataḥ) udātto (luṣyate) tasyānta udātto (bhavati) 'the final of that, following which an udātta is deleted, is marked udātta'. This could create difficulty in examples such as mā hi dhukṣātām and mā hi dhukṣātām. That is, the final of ātām and āthām could then be marked udātta which is not desired. Recall that the a of Ksa (of duḥ + sa + ātām and duḥ + sa + āthām) is deleted conditioned by the following ā (of ātām and āthām). The use of anudātasya then becomes an indicator (jñāpaka) for marking initial a as anudātta. Additional support for this view comes from the use of hi and
ma in these examples. Note that ma blocks the introduction of aT (6.4.74 na mañyoge). For, aT would have made the pada marked initial udatta. This, in trurn, would have caused the deletion of an a marked anudatta. Similarly, dhukṣatāṁ would have received blanket anudatta of 8.1.28 tiṇatiṇaḥ. That is, if hi was not given as part of examples (8.1.34 hi ca).

3. Why is the word yatras used here? Consider bhārgaṇaḥ, bhārgavaṇa and bhurgavaḥ, where the aN (4.1.114 ṛyandhakarurṣṇi . . .) of bhurgavaḥ is deleted prior to the introduction of nominative plural Jas. Affix Jas is not the cause (nimitta) of this deletion. It simply offers its scope (viṣaya). Consequently, Jas is not marked udatta. This would have not been possible without the use of yatras.

The use of udatta (in udāttalopah) is made so that in examples such as vaidi and aurui, the affixal i (NiN; 4.1.73 sārṇaravādyayo . . .) conditioning the deletion of a of vaidya, could not be marked udatta. For, the anudatta i does not cause the deletion of an udatta a. Isn't a an udatta in vaidya? No. Because, as a derivate of aN (4.1.104 vidādibhyo . . .), it is marked udatta at the beginning (6.1.196? ṃntyādir nityam) and consequently, 6.1.155 anudāttam padam . . . marks its remainder as anudatta. Thus, i of NiN, in vaidi, causes the deletion of an anudatta.

6.1.159 धातोः:

dhātoḥ
/dhātoḥ 6/1/
(anta udātah #156)

dhātor anta udātto bhavati

The final of a verbal root is marked udātta.

Examples:

pacāti
ūrnōti
gopāyāti
yāti

1. Note that antaḥ is carried here. The a of pac, since it is a monosyllabic root, is marked udātta. Affixes SaP and tiP of pacati are both anudātta because they are marked with P as an it (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). The a is, subsequently, marked with svarita (8.4.66 udāttānudādanudāttasya svaritaḥ) to yield pacāti. A derived root such as gopāya is also marked udātta at the end. This a will again becomes svarita to yield gopāyāti. The yā of yāti is udātta, where the SaP gets deleted by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah . . . ).

6.1.160 चितः:

cītah
/citaḥ 1/1 = cakāra ita yasya (bh.)/
(anta udāttah #156)
cita’ nta udātto bhavati
A form ending in what is marked with C as an it is marked udātta at the end.

Examples:

bhaṅguram
bhāsram
meduram
kuṇḍināḥ
bahuṣpatavah
uccakaiḥ

1. The first three examples are derivates of GHuraC (3.2.161 bhaṅjabhāsamido ghuraC), an affix with C as an it. The next example, i.e., kuṇḍināḥ, has a replacement in kuṇḍinaC, again marked with C as an it.

It is stated that this provision of final udātta is intended for the entire form. That is, it is not intended just for the form which may be marked with C as an it. Thus, bahupatavah is derived with bahuC marked with C, but it is preposed (5.3.68 vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāḥ). The final udātta conditioned by C as an it thus applies to the form bahupatavah. Similar accent applies to uccakaiḥ, a derivate of akaC, where the affix is introduced before the ṭī of the base (5.3.71 avyayasarvanāmnāṁ akaḥ prāk teḥ).

2. A vārttika proposal is made in the Mahābhāṣya for express purpose of marking derivates of bahuC and akaC with final udātta (saprkrśer bahvaka-jarham). Patañjali does not see any need for this vārttika. He thinks that the sūtra itself can account for it. For, citaḥ of the sūtra refers to ‘a form which has C as an it’.

6.1.161 तद्वित्तस्य

taddhitasya
/taddhitasya 6/1/
(anta udāttah #156 citaḥ #160)
citaḥ taddhitasyaṁta udātto bhavati
A taddhita affix marked with C as an it is marked with udātta at the end.

Examples:

kaunjāyanāḥ

1. Why is this rule stated when the preceding itself can account for its function? This rule is needed so that derivates such as kaunjāyanāḥ, kaunjāyanau and kaunjāyanāḥ could still be marked with final udātta. Notice
that affix *CphaN → ayana* has two *it*-elements, i.e., *C* and *N*. Rule 6.1.194  
*nityādir nityam* requires that whatever derives with an affix marked with *N* and *N* as an *it* be marked obligatorily with *udātta* at the beginning.

Rule 6.1.160 *citaḥ* would require a final *udātta* for forms ending in an affix marked with *C* as an *it*. Our examples, since they end in an affix marked with *C* and *N*, will qualify for both accents. Our present rule is required to resolve such conflicts. Besides, if *N* as an *it* were to regulate this accent, *C* as an *it* will become vacuous. For, *N* as an *it* has two functions: *vṛddhi* and accent. The *C* serves only one purpose of regulating accent.

6.1.162 कितः:

\[
\text{kitāḥ} \\
/kitāh 1/1/ \\
(\text{anta udāttaḥ #156 taddhitasya #161}) \\
\text{taddhitasya kito' nta udātto bhavati} \\
\text{A taddhita affix marked with K as an it is marked udātta at the end.}
\]

**EXAMPLES:**

- nādāyanaḥ
- cārāyanaḥ
- gksikāh
- sālākikāh

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Recall that an affix, such as *phaK* (4.1.99 nāḍādhīnyaḥ phak) and *thaK* (4.4.2 tena dīvyaṭi . . .) of our examples, is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Forms ending in these affixes could then have been marked *udātta* at the beginning of the affix. And not at the end of derivates of these affixes which is desired. Thus, an *udātta* in *kauṇjāyana* would have obtained at the ā and not at the final a.

6.1.163 तिस्र्यो जसः:

\[
\text{tisrbhyo jasāḥ} \\
/tisrbhyah 5/1 jasāḥ 6/1/ \\
(\text{anta udāttaḥ #156}) \\
\text{tisrbhya uttarasya jaso' nta udātto bhavati} \\
\text{The final of jas which occurs after tisṛ is marked udātta at the end.}
\]

**EXAMPLES:**

- tisras tiṣṭhati

1. The word *tisṛ* refers to the replacement of *tri* obtained in feminine (7.2.99 trīcaturo striyām . . .). The word *tri* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Pūṣṭiutra*
1: *phîśo' ntodâttah*). Its replacement *tîśr* will also be marked *udâttâ* at the end. A *yâN* replacement for *ṛ* yields *tîśr* + *Jâs*, where *r* is a replacement for *ṛ*, an *udâttâ*. The *a* of *Jâs*, an *anudâttâ* (3.1.4 *anudâttau suppitau*), will thus qualify for a *svarīta* of 8.2.4 *udâttasvarītayoh* . . . Our present rule offers *udâttâ* as an exception to that.

Note that *tîśr* is always used in the plural. The accent of *Jâs* after *tîśr* remains unaccounted for. The accusative plural *Śâs* will be marked *udâttâ* in view of 6.1.172 *udâttayāno halpūrvāt*. Rule 6.1.177 *saṭtrīcaturbhya kalpūdhīh* will account for other endings. This rule provides for *Jâs*. It is argued that *Jâs* need not be used in the rule. That is, the *sūtra* should have been formulated simply as *tîśrbhyaḥ*. Since *Jâs* alone is relevant for accentual specification, the rule would have automatically covered it. But specification by *Jâs* is needed so that proper accent can be obtained where *tîśr* can be used with singular and dual endings. But *tîśr* is only used in the plural. Not when it occurs as a non-principal constituent in *aṭtisrau* and *aṭtisraḥ*. The provision of this rule will not apply to such instances. A non-use of *Jâs* could account for accent where *tîśr* alone is used before *Jâs*. A lack of specification by *Jâs* will create conflicts in cases where *tîśr* occurs combined as a secondary constituent.

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6.1.164 चतुरः: ससि

*caturâḥ śâsi*

/*caturâḥ 6/1 śâsi 7/1/*

(*anta udâttâḥ #156*)

*caturâḥ śâsi pârato'nta udâttō bhavati*

The final of *catur* is marked *udâttâ* at the end when *Śâs* follows.

**Examples:**

*caturâḥ pâśya*

1. The word *catur* is a derviaye of *urâN* (*Unâdi 5.59 catat uraṇ*) and hence, is obligatorily marked *udâttâ* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñityādir nityam*). This rule assigns final *udâttâ* as an exception.

Note that this rule does not apply to *catasr*, a replacement of *catur*, used before *Śâs* in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturō strīyām . . .*). The accent of *catur* would have applied to *catasr* by way of *stânīvadâbhava* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced'.

A proposal is then made for initial *udâttâ*, instead.

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6.1.165 सवेकाचस्वतीयादिविरिभिक्तः

*sâv ekâcas trītyādir vibhaktiḥ*

/*sau 7/2 ekâcâḥ 1/1 = eko'c yasmin (bu.), tasmāt; trītyādiḥ 1/1 = trītyā ādir yasyāḥ (bu.) vibhaktiḥ 1/1/
(udāttāḥ #156)
sau ya ekāc tasmāt parā tṛīyādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings, enumerated beginning with tṛīyā through saptami, are optionally marked with udāttā when they occur after a form which remains monosyllabic before su of locative plural.

Examples:

vācā
vāghbhyaṁ
vāghbhṛḥ
vāghbhyaḥ
yātā
yādbhyaṁ
yādbhṛḥ

1. This rule assigns udāttā accent for specified endings under the condition of their occurrence after a form which remains monosyllabic in locative plural. Thus, the instrumental and dative singular endings ṯā and ṇē which occur after rājan to yield rājnā and rājnē will not qualify for this accentual provision. For, the locative plural form of rājan, i.e., rājāsu, does not have a monosyllabic (ekāc) form before su. The locative plural of vākis vāksu, where we find a monosyllabic form. Consequently, we get vācā, vāghbhyaṁ and vāghbhṛḥ, etc.

The condition of ekāc will itself block accentual provision of this rule from applying to specified endings occurring after non-monosyllabic nominal stems such as giri and hari as in giriṇā and hariṇā. The condition of tṛīyādi ‘instrumental, etc.’ blocks this provision from applying to prathamā and dvitiyā as in vācau and vācāḥ. Finally, the specification of ekāc in saptamibahuvacana ‘locative plural’ blocks this provision from applying to tvayā and tvayi which are monosyllabic but are instrumental and locative singular, respectively.

6.1.166 अन्तोदातावदहरुःद्वितीयतिर्भुवनात्मकवित्वमात्राः

antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyāṁ anityasamāse
/ antodāttāt 5/1 uttarapadāt 5/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 anityasamāse 7/1 = nityāḥ samāsaḥ, na nityasamāsaḥ (naṅ. taṭp. with int. karm.), tasmān/
(udāttāḥ #156 ekācas tṛīyādir vibhaktih #165)
anityasamāse yad uttarapadam antodāttam ekāc ca tasmāt parā tṛīyādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings enumerated beginning with tṛīyā through saptami are optionally marked udāttā when they occur after a monosyllabic final constituent of a non-obligatory compound (nityasamāsa) marked udāttā at the end.
EXAMPLES:

paramavācā
paramavācē
paramatvācā
paramatvācē

1. This rule makes accentual provision for specified endings occurring after the following monosyllabic constituent of a compound other than one formed obligatorily. Thus, we get paramavācā where instrumental singular Tā is optionally marked udātta. The compound, here formed with parama, is a karmadhāraya. It is also non-obligatory (anītya). Rule 6.1.220 samāsasya will assign the final udātta accent in case this option is not accepted. The word nityam of anītyam refers to compounds which are formed within the domain of nityam, for example under the provision of rules 2.2.18 kugatiprādayah, etc. The word nitya is thus used technically. It does not refer to compounds which may be formed by rules outside the domain governed by nityam, but which lack a corresponding paraphrase with their constituents (asvapatavigraha). Consider agnicītā and somasutā, both instrumental singular forms of agnicīt and somasut, where the compound is allowed by a rule of the domain of nitya (nityādhikāre). The word cit is here udātta because of the retention of the original accent of the following pada (6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt kṛt). The option of this present rule will not apply here. But now consider avācā brāhmaṇena and suvācā brāhmaṇena which are bahuvrihi compounds formed outside the domain of nitya and which do not yield a parallel paraphrase. These compounds get the final udātta of 6.2.172 bahuvrihau naṁsubhyām. The paraphrase in these compounds is made, not with nañ and su but with avidyamānā and śobhanā. Our present rule will thus apply here to offer optional udātta to the nominal endings.

A condition of antodātāt is necessary so that final udātta of this rule can be blocked in avācā, suvācā and suvācā which are tatpurusā compounds ending in tṛtyā 'instrumental'. The final constituent of these compounds is not final udātta. Rule 6.2.2 tatpurusē tulyārtha... retains the original accent of the initial constituent (pūrvapadapariktisvara).

The word uttarapada is used so that it can be qualified with ekāc to yield the interpretation: 'a following constituent which consisted of a single aC'. The rule with this interpretation would have applied to ānuṇah urk = śvornā but would not have applied to paramavāc, since the compound consists of more than one aC. That is, ekāc would have become a qualifier to the compound (samāsaviśeṣana).

6.1.167 अन्वेषणंद्वस्वर्णमालम्यतः अन्वेषणंद्वस्वर्णमालम्यतः

aṅceś chandasy asarvamānasāsthamānam
/aṅceḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1 asarvanāmasthānam 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/
(udāṭṭah #156 vibhaktīḥ #165)
aṅceḥ parā asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāṭṭā bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A nominal ending other than sarvanāmasthāna is marked with udāṭṭa,
in the Vedic, when the same occurs after aṅcU.

EXAMPLES:

indrō dadhiḥco asthibhiḥ

1. Consider dadhiḥcaḥ where dadhiḥ is used with ṇas ‘genitive singular’.
Our nominal stem dadhiḥ is derived with affix KviP introduced after aṅc
used with the cooccurring condition of dadhi + am (3.2.59 ṭtvigdadhiḥk . . .).
We get dadhiḥ after the deletion of ṇ (6.4.138 acaḥ) and lengthening of i
(6.3.137 cau).

Why use asarvanāmasthānam when triyā, etc., could itself account for it.
But triyā, etc., cannot account for ṇas ‘accusative plural’ which is not in-
cluded within the sarvanāmasthāna. It is thus to account for ṇas that
asarvanāmasthāna is used as a qualifier. Thus, ṇas of pratīcaḥ in pratīco bāhūn
also gets udāṭta.

6.1.168 उदितमपदायप्पुरायद्युभयाः

/ūdīdampadādyappumaridvyubhyāḥ
ūdīdampadādyappumaridvyubhyāḥ 5/3 = ūth ca idān ca padādayas ca ap
ca pum ca rai ca dyauś ca = ūdi . . . divah (itar. dv.), tebhhyah/
(udāṭṭah #156 vibhaktīḥ #165 antodāṭṭā #166 asarvanāmasthānām #167)
‘ūth, idam, padādi, ap, pum, rai, div‘ ity etebhyo'
sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāṭṭā bhavati
A nominal ending other than sarvanāmasthāna is marked udāṭṭa when
it occurs after stems ending in ūth, and idam; nominals enumerated
beginning with pada, etc., and ap, pum, rai, and div.

EXAMPLES:

praṭhauḥah
praṭhauḥā
ābhyaṁ
ebhīḥ
nipadaścatiuro jahi
yā dato dhāvate
apaḥ paśya
adbhīḥ
pumṣah
rāyaḥ paśya
divah paśya
1. Note that *padādi pada*, etc., refers to replacements enumerated beginning with *pada* through *niś* of rule 6.1.61 *padannomāsa*. . . . The *anuvṛtti* of *antodāttāt* blocks *udātta* of a nominal ending where an *anudātta* obtains with reference to *anvādesa* ‘reference to antecedent’ (2.4.73 *idamo*’ *nvādeśe* . . . . That is, this rule will not apply when *idam* is not marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to the appendix under 1.1.21 *ādyantavada ekasmin* for derivational details of *ābhyaṃ*. Incidentally, the *a*, of *aŚ* in *gbhīḥ*, is replaced with *e* of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to restrict the provision of this rule to instances of *uTH* only when *uTH* is penultimate of the base. Thus, consider *aṅśadyuvā* which derives from *aṅśadyū + Ṭā* where *uTH* is final. Our present rule will not apply here.

Note that the accentual provision of this rule will apply to a nominal endings occurring after *padādi* when they are replacements as explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not say anything about it. Commentators interpret this specification of *padādi* as *vīvasthih-vibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. This is done by carrying *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.166 *antodāttād* . . . . The *padādi*-replacements all are *ekāC* and hence create conflicts of accentuation with 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas*. . . .

6.1.169 अष्टनो दीर्घात्

*aṣṭano dirghāt*

/ *aṣṭanaḥ 5/1 dirghāt 5/1/*

(*udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktih #165 asarvanāmaśasthānam #167*)

*aṣṭano dirghāntād asarvanāmaśasthānavibhaktīr udātā bhavati*

A nominal ending which is not *sarvanāmaśasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after *aṣṭan* ‘eight’ ending in a long vowel.

**Examples:**

*aṣṭāḥ*

*aṣṭāḥbhyaḥ*

*aṣṭāsu*

1. Note that *aṣṭan* is enumerated in the *gṛtādi* group of nominals. It is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phītsūtra: 21*). The final (1.1.51 *alo’nyasya*) *n* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) by 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*. We thus get two sets of forms of *aṣṭan*, i.e., *aṣṭa* and *aṣṭā*. The provisions of this rule apply to an ending which occurs after *aṣṭā*. The *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttāt* is not applicable here since *aṣṭā* will already be *anudātta* at the end.

2. The use of the word *dirghāt* has several implications. Firstly, it indicates that the *ā*-replacement of *n* of *aṣṭan* is optional. For, a specification by *dirghāt* will be useless if there was no form of *aṣṭan* ending in a short *a*. Secondly, it also indicates that the form of *aṣṭan* replaced with *ā* is termed *sat* (1.1.24
śnāntā śat). For, if this jnāpaka ‘indication’ is not accepted, this accentual provision (conditioned by ā) will be blocked by the subsequent provision of 6.1.176 śastra-ctur-bhyo hala-di, read with 6.1.177 ḫaly upottamam, on the basis of paratva. Of course, in contexts where ā-replacement does not apply.

6.1.170  satanumoni nadyajādi
/satūḥ 5/1 anumah 5/1 = nāsti numah yasya (bv.), tasmāt; nadyajādi 1/2 = ac ādir yasya (bv.); nadi ca ajādi ca (itar. dv.)/
(udātaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 antodāttāt #166 asarvanāmāsthanam #169)
anumah yah śatpratayah tadantād antodāttāt parā nadi ajādir vibhaktir asarvanāmāsthanam udātā bhavati

That which is termed a nadi, and a non-sarvanāmāsthanā nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked udātta when they occur after a form which, marked anudatta at the end, terminates in affix ŚatR with no introduction of augment nUM.

Examples:

tudāti
nudāti
lunāti
punāti
tudātā
nudātā
lunātā
punātā

1. Note that antodāttāt is carried here. The word nadi is used with its technical sense in consonance with 1.4.3 yuṣṭrayākhyau. The ī of a nadi is marked udātta when an optional augment nUM is not introduced by 7.1.80 acchinadyor num. Our present rule does not apply where the option of nUM is accepted. Thus, we get tudantī and nudantī.

Now consider tudati, derived from tud + Śa + (LAT → ŚatR) = (tud + a + at) NiP), where NiPis anudātta because of its Pas an ī (3.1.4 anudātta suppitau). The ŚatR replacement of LAT, a sār-vadhātuka, becomes anudātta in view of 6.1.183 tasyānudātennidupadesāl. . . . This anudātta, along with the udātta of tud, is jointly replaced with udātta by 8.2.5 ekādeśa udātenodāttaḥ. The ī of nadi can then be marked with udātta, since it will be occurring after an udātta. But 8.2.1 pūrvarāsidham will make the result, i.e., udātta of tudati + ī, suspended (aiddha). That is, now ī will not be occurring after an udātta. Consequently, it cannot be marked udātta by our present rule. The specification of anum in this sūtra, along with the split interpretation (yogavibhāga) of n in 8.2.3 na mune, becomes an indicator (jnāpaka) that an accentual single re-
placement (ekādesa) does not become asiddha. Thus we get: tydāti and nydāti. Incidentally, lunātā and punatā are derivates with Śnā where the ā of (lũ + nā + at) + ṭā) and (pũ + nā + at) + ṭā) is deleted (6.4.112 śnābhyos tayor ātaḥ). Incidentally, the long ū of verbal roots lũN and pũN are replaced with short by 7.3.80 pūādānām krasvah.

2. The condition of nadyajāḍī excludes the application of this rule to tydaddhyām and nydaddhyām where the ending starts with a consonant. The condition of antodāttāt is also necessary to exclude examples such as dadāti and dadhātāt where 6.1.186 abhyastānām ādiḥ requires an initial udātta.

3. A vārttika proposal is also made here to bring bṛhatī/bṛhatā and mahatī/mahatā within the scope of this rule.

6.1.171 ुदात्तयणो हल्पुर्वत

udāttayaṇo halpūrvat
/udāttayaṇah 5/1 = udāttasya yaḥ (śaś. tat.), tasmāt; halpūrvat 5/1 = hal
pūrvu yasya (buv.), tasmāt/
(udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktih #165 asarvanāmasthānam #167 nadyajāḍī #170)
udātasthāne yo yaḥ halpūrvas tasmāt parā nadi ajādir yā'
sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udātā sā bhavati
That which is termed a nadi, and a non-sarvanāmasthāna nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked udātta when they occur after a yaN (y, u, r, l) which replaces an udātta occurring after a haL (consonant).

Examples:

kṛtrī
hartrī
pralavitrī
gṛtrā
hartrā
pralavitrā

1. Note that examples of this rule are all derivates of trG. The bases are thus all marked udātta at the end (6.1.160 citāḥ). A yaN-replacement in r, which replaces the udātta r, occurs after the consonant t. This occasions the udātta accent for ī and the endings. This rule blocks the svarita of 8.2.4 udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya.

2. The condition of udātta is necessary so that kartrī/kartrā and hartrī/hartrā can be excluded. These derivates end in trN and are, hence, udātta at the beginning. The condition of haL is required to exclude examples where yaN does not occur after a consonant. Thus, consider bahutījavā which derives from bahutita(u→o) + ṭā.

3. A vārttika proposal is also made to include bases which end in n. Thus, we get vākyapatniyam where 4.1.36 vibhāśa sapūrvasya introduces n as a final
replacement of \textit{patni} and \textit{NiP} is introduced by 4.1.5 \textit{ṛnnebhyo niḥ}. Since \textit{pati} is marked \textit{udāṭṭa} at the end, and this \textit{udāṭṭa} retains after the replacement, \textit{NiP} becomes \textit{udāṭṭa}.

\begin{multicols}{2}

\textbf{6.1.172 नोडः यात्रोः:}

\begin{verbatim}
naṇḍhātvoh
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
/nař ṁṇḍhātvoh 6/2 = ūn ca dhātúś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/

(udāṭṭaḥ #156 vibhaktīḥ #165 asarvanāmasthānam #169 nadyajādi #170 udāṭṭa yano halpurvāḥ #171)
\end{verbatim}

That which is termed a \textit{nadi}, and a non-\textit{sarvanāmasthāna} nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are not marked \textit{udāṭṭa}, provided they occur after ū\textit{N}, or a \textit{yaN}-replacement of a verbal root which replaces an \textit{udāṭṭa} and after a \textit{haL} (consonant).

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item brahmābandhva
  \item brahmābandhve
  \item vīrābandhvā
  \item vīrābandhvē
  \item sākrivā
  \item sākrivē
  \item khalapvē
\end{itemize}

1. This \textit{sūtra} negates what the preceding \textit{sūtra} provides. Note that the qualification of \textit{nadi} does not apply here. A \textit{nadi} is not found occurring after ū\textit{N} and a \textit{dhātu}. Now consider our two examples, \textit{brahmābandhva} and \textit{brahmābandhve}, where a \textit{bahuvrīhi} is formed parallel to \textit{brahmā bandhur asyāḥ}, and ū\textit{N}, an \textit{udāṭṭa} (3.1.3 ādyudāṭṭaḥ) by affixal accent (\textit{pratyayasavara}), is introduced after the compound. The short \textit{u} of \textit{brahmābandhu}, along with the long of ū\textit{N} (4.1.66 ūn utohaḥ), is then replaced with a single long ū. This single long replacement (\textit{ekādesa}) is marked \textit{udāṭṭa} by 8.1.5 \textit{ekādesa udāṭtenadāṭṭaḥ}. The long ū is further replaced with its \textit{yaN} counterpart \textit{v}, under the following condition of nominal endings \textit{Tā} ‘instrument singular’ and \textit{Ne} ‘dative singular’. These nominal endings, because of the negation of this \textit{sūtra}, cannot be marked \textit{udāṭṭa} as the earlier rule provides. They must be marked \textit{svaratā} by 8.2.4 \textit{udāṭtasvaritayoh}. . . . The rest can be marked \textit{anudāṭṭa} in view of 6.1.155 \textit{anudāṭṭam padam}. . . .

This negation also applies after the \textit{yaN} of a verbal root. Thus, \textit{sākrivā}, \textit{sākrivē} and \textit{khalapvē}, where \textit{sakrīlū} and \textit{khalapū} are \textit{uapapada-samāsa}, parallel to \textit{sakrīl lūnāti} and \textit{khalam punāti}. Verbal roots \textit{lū} and \textit{pū} occur here before affix \textit{KuIP}. This affix is a \textit{kṛ}, and consequently, 6.4.83 \textit{oh supī} orders \textit{yaN} as a replacement of \textit{ū}, an \textit{anudāṭṭa} (Kāś: \textit{kvibantasya kvibuttara-padaprakṛtivaramañ̄todāttasya ‘oh supī iti yañādesaḥ}).
\end{multicols}
6.1.173 हस्तनुद्भयां मतुप्

hṛṣvanuḍbhyāṁ matuṇ
d'rhasvanuḍbhyāṁ 5/2 = hṛṣvaś ca nūṭ ca (itar. du.), tābhyaṁ; matuṇ 1/1/
(udāṭṭhā #156 antodāṭṭaṁ #166)
ḥrisvāntād antodāṭṭāṁ nūṭāś ca paro matub udāṭto bhavati
Affix matuṇ is marked udāṭṭa when it occurs either after a form which ends in a hṛṣva 'short' vowel marked udāṭṭa, or after augment nUT.

Examples:

agnīmān
vāyumān
kartrmān
hkartrmān
aṃkṣanvata
śīrsavatā

1. The bases of our derivates agnīmān, vāyumān, kartrmān and hkartrmān all end in a short vowels. The first two are marked udāṭṭa at the end by nominal stem accent (prātipadikasvara). The next two end in affix trC and hence are accented in view of 6.1.160 citāh. Affix matuṇ is introduced after aṃkṣan by 5.2.94 tād asyāśī. . . Now consider aṃkṣanvata and śīrsavatā where 7.1.76 chandasy api drṣyate introduces anAḥ to yield aṃks(i→aṃkṣan(ĀN) + mat(u)P) = aṃks + mat. Augment nUT is then introduced by 8.2.16 ano nūṭ. The n is, of course, deleted by 8.2.7 nalopaḥ. . . . The final forms are derived with the introduction of instrumental singular Tā with subsequent replacement of m→a and of n→n. The second example involves a replacement in śīrsan (6.1.60 śīrsan chandasi). Affix matuṇ is here marked udāṭta.

2. A paribhāṣā of Vyādi (svaravidhau vyāṇjanam avidyamāṇavat) which makes a consonant as if non-existent with reference to accentual operations does not apply here. For, this specification by nUT would become useless. Thus, consider, for an exception, mgarutvān.

A vārttika proposal also requires matuṇ to be marked udāṭṭa when it occurs after re. Thus, āṛguṇ. Yet another proposal negates this udāṭṭa when matuṇ occurs after trī, for example, in (trī + mat + NīP + sU) = trivatīḥ.

6.1.174 नामान्यतत्स्थापम्

nāmānya anyatarasyām
/nāmāny 1/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(udāṭṭhā #156 vibhaktiṁ #165 antodāṭṭaṁ #166 hṛṣvaḥ matuṇ #173)
matupi yo hṛṣvas tadantād antodāṭtād anyatarasyāṁ nāṃ udāṭto bhavati
An optional udāṭṭa is assigned to nāṃ when it follows matuṇ, used after that which terminates in a short vowel and is marked udāṭṭa at the end.
EXAMPLES:

agninam
agninam
vayunam
vayunam
kartram
kartram

1. Note that the bases of these genitive plurals all end in a corresponding short vowel when matUP is introduced. Note that hrasva is qualified here with matUP to yield the meaning: ‘... ending in a hrasva occurring before matUP’. This way, udatta can be obtained with reference to current (sampaṭīka) hrasva and bhūtapūrva ‘one which was short previously’, as well. Thus, we get śīrṇām and cātāśrṇām as examples.

The condition of nUT is needed so that this rule does not apply to dhēnvām and śākatyām where we have ām (7.3.116 ṇer ām . . .), but no nUT. The final udatta of 6.1.171 udāttayaṇaḥ halpūrvāt thus applies. The condition of hrasvāt keeps examples such as kumārīṇām, where kumārī ends in a long vowel, out of the scope of this rule. Finally, nām cannot be marked udatta also when it does not occur after a base marked udatta at the end. Consider vasunām and trapunām where vasu and trapu are marked udatta at the beginning.

6.1.175 द्वारकांनविस बहुलम्

ñyāś chandasi bahulam
/ñyāḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/
(udāttah #156 vibhaktih #165 nām #174)
ñyantāc chandasi viṣaye nām udātto bhavati bahulam

A nām used after that which ends in NyāP, in the Vedic, is variously marked udatta.

EXAMPLES:

dvāṣaṇānāmabhībhāṣṭāṭīnām
bahvīnām pīṭā
ngāṇām pāre
yagyāṁīmām marutāḥ

1. Note that bhāṇjati and bahvi are derivates of _FN_P. This provision of udatta may, as indicated by bahulam ‘variously’, not be found in other examples. Thus, consider nāṇām, of ngāṇām pāre, and jāyāntinām, of jāyāntinām marutāḥ, where nām is marked anudatta because of being a vibhakti ‘nominal ending’.

6.1.176 षट्वर्कात्मविस हलादिः:

ṣaṭṭricaturbhyo halādiḥ
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

6.1.177

/saṭṭricaturbhyaḥ 5/3 = śat ca tryaś ca catvāraś ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; halādīḥ
1/1 = hal ādir yasya (bv.)/

(udāṭṭhā #156 vibhaktīḥ #165)

satsamjñākebhyaḥ, 'tri, catur'īty etābhhyām ca parā halādir vibhaktir udāṭṭa
bhavati

A nominal ending which begins with a consonant is marked with udāṭṭa when it occurs either after an item termed śat, or after tri and catur.

Examples:

śaḍbhīḥ
śaḍbhyaḥ
śaṇnām
paṇcānām
triḥī
trayaṇām
caturbhyaḥ
caturṇām

1. Note that antodāttāt is not carried here. Stems such as śas, paṇcan and saṅtan are termed śat (1.1.24 śnāntā śat). The condition of halādi is needed to exclude examples such as catasrah where Śas ‘accusative plural’ begins with a vowel (ajādi).

6.1.177 jālpyopatam

/jhali 7/1 upottamam 1/1/

(udāṭṭhā #156 vibhaktīḥ #165 saṭṭricaturbhyaḥ #176)

saṭṭricaturbhyaḥ yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadaṇte pade upottamam udāṭṭam bhavati

The upottama ‘penultimate; next to the last’ of a pada is marked with udāṭṭa when it ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced either after a stem termed śat, or after tri and catur.

Examples:

paṇcabhis tapas taḥpāti
saṭṭabhiḥ parān jayati
tiṣrbiḥ ca vahāse trimśatā
caturbhīḥ

1. This rule assigns udāṭṭa to the next to the last (upottama; also cf. upadhā; 1.1.64 alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā) of a pada, derived with a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after śat, tri and catur. Consider paṇcabhiḥ, saṭṭabhīḥ, tiṣrbiḥ and caturbhīḥ where the next to the last a, r and u are marked udāṭṭa. Note that upottama is explained as next to the last (uttama)
vowel of a word consisting of at least three syllables (Kāś: tṛiprabhṛīnām antyam uttamam; tasya samīpam upottamam; also see notes under 4.1.78 anīñor . . .).

2. Derivatives such as pāṇcānām and spatānām are offered as counter-examples where ām is a nominal ending beginning with a vowel (ajādi). Derivatives such as sadbhīh and sadbhyah are also treated as exception since they do not meet the condition of upottama. These words contain only two vowels.

6.1.178 विभाषा भाषायाम

vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 bhāṣāyām 7/1/
(udāttah #156 vibhaktih +165 sātricaturbhyaḥ #176)
sātricaturbhyaḥ yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pada upottamam udāttaṃ bhavati vibhāṣā bhāṣāyāṃ visaye

The next to the last (upottama) vowel of a pada which, in the Classical language, ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after an item termed sat, or after tri and catur, is marked udātta, only optionally.

Examples:

pāṇcābhīḥ
pāṇcābhīḥ
saptābhīḥ
saptābhīḥ
tīsṛbhīḥ
tīsṛbhīḥ
caturbhīḥ
caturbhīḥ

1. This rule offers an optional udātta in the bhāṣā ‘classical language’. Thus, the udātta of the upottama becomes optional to the udātta of the nominal ending.

6.1.179 न गोव्सावर्णराजङ्क्रुवाक्ष्यः

na gośvansāvavarṇarāṇāṃ kruṇāṅkṛtdbhyaḥ
/n/a φ go-svān-sāvavarṇa-rād-aṅ-kruṇ-kṛtdbhyaḥ 5/1 = sau avarṇam = sāvavarṇam (sapt. tāt.); gauś ca svā ca sāvavarṇaḥ ca rāṭ ca aṅ ca kruṇ ca kṛt ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ/

‘go, śvān, sāvavarṇaḥ, rād, aṅ, kruṇ, kṛt’ ity etebhyo yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
Provisions made by the preceding rules do not apply to go ‘cow’, śvān ‘dog’, sāvavarṇa ‘a form which ends in a when used with the nominative singular st‘, rāṭ ‘a KvIP-derivate of rāj‘, aṅ ‘a KvN-derivate of aṅcU‘, kruṇ ‘a KvN-derivate of kruN‘ and kṛt ‘a KvIP-derivate of kṛ‘ to do’ and kṛtI ‘to cut’.
EXAMPLES:

gavā
gavē
gobhyām
sugunā
sugavē
sugubhyām
śunā
śunē
śubhyām
paramāśunā
paramāśunē
paramāśubhyām
yebhyāh
tebhyāh
kebhyāh
rājā
paramarājāh
prācā
prācē
prāghhyām
krunca
paramakrunca
kṛtā
paramakṛtā

1. Note that this rule makes negative provisions against some positives already made. Thus, consider gavā, etc., where this rule negates the udāṭta of nominal endings made available by 6.1.165 sāva ekācas. . . The udāṭta of the nominal stem go will be retained here. A similar negation applies to sugunā etc., where anudāṭta is optionally available to nominal endings by 6.1.166 antodāṭtād uttarapadād . . . The final udāṭta of the following pada (6.2.171 naṁsubhyām) is thus retained. The udāṭta is similarly negated in śunā and paramāśunā, etc. Provisions of 6.1.165 sāv ekācas . . . and 6.1.166 antodāṭtāt . . . (in combination with parama) are again negated. Our examples, yebhyāh, tebhyāh and kebhyāh, are derivatives of bhyaś introduced after yad, tad and kim. The word rāj is a derivative of Kulp introduced after rājR 'glow'. But an is a derivative of kulN introduced after aṅcU. This nasalized reference to aṅcU is intended for restricting this negation to only where no deletion of n occurs. Recall that 6.4.30 nāncaḥ pūjāyām blocks such deletion when aṅc is used with the denotatum of praise (pūjā). A similar specification for accentual negation is also made by kruṇ, again a derivative of kulN (3.2.59 ṛtvigdadvṛk . . .). A reference with kṛt, a derivative of kulP, is made to include
both \( kṛ \) or \( kṛI \) 'to cut'. A derivate of \( kṛ \) will, of course, involve introduction of \( tUK \) (6.1.71 \( hrasvasya \) \( pitikṛti \) \( tuk \)). Similar explanations apply to other compound bases.

6.1.180 दिबो झळः

divo jhal
/divah 5/1 jhal 1/1/
(udāṭṭaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 na #179)
divah pari jhaladir vibhaktir nodattā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a jhaL (Śs. 8–14) and occurs after div 'heaven' is not marked with udāṭṭa.

EXAMPLES:

dyubhyām
dyubhiḥ

1. This rule negates the udāṭṭa, of 6.1.160 sāv ekācas \ldots and 6.1.163 uḍidampa \ldots, in favor of the initial udāṭṭa of the nominal stem. The condition of jhalādi is imposed to exclude divā, etc., where the ending begins with a vowel (ajādi).

6.1.181 नृ चान्यतत्त्वायस्

\( nṛ \) cānyatarasyām
/nṛ (5/1 deleted) ca ṣ anyatarasyām 7/1/
(udāṭṭaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 na #179 jhal #180)
'nṛ' ity etasmāt parā jhalādi vibhaktir vibhaktir anyatarasyām nodattā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a jhAL (Śs. 8–14) and occurs after \( nṛ \) 'man' is optionally not marked with udāṭṭa.

EXAMPLES:

\( nṛbhīḥ \) 'instrumental plural of \( nṛ \)'
\( nṛbhīyām \) 'dative-ablative dual \ldots '\n\( nṛbhīyah \) 'dative-ablative plural \ldots '\n\( nṛṣy \) 'locative plural \ldots '\n
1. This negation applies optionally to the nominal stem accent (prāti-pādikasvara). The udāṭṭa of 6.1.165 sāv ekācas \ldots will apply if this negative option is not accepted.

6.1.182 तित्त्वतित्तम्

tit svaritam
/tit 1/1 = takāra it yasya (buv); svaritam 1/1/
tit svaritaṁ bhavati
That which is marked with \( T \) as an \( \textit{it} \) is marked with \textit{savrīta}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{cākārsyām}
  \item \textit{jiḥirsyām}
  \item \textit{kāryām}
  \item \textit{kāryām}
  \item \textit{hāryām}
\end{itemize}

1. This rule is an exception to the more general initial \textit{udātta} of an affix (3.1.3 \textit{ādyudāttaś ca}). Thus, \textit{cākārsyām} and \textit{jiḥirsyām} are derivatives of \( \textit{yaT} \) (3.1.97 \textit{aco yat}) introduced after the derived roots \textit{cikīra} and \textit{jiḥirṣa}. Recall that the \textit{a} of \ldots \textit{sa} is deleted by 6.4.48 \textit{ato lopah}. Affix \textit{yaT}, because of its \textit{t} as an \textit{it}, is marked \textit{savrīta}. Consequently, 6.1.155 \textit{anudāttam padam} \ldots marks the remainder as \textit{anudātta}. Our next two derivatives of \( \textit{NyaT} \) (3.1.124 \textit{ṛhaloḥ n yat}) follow similar rules.

\textbf{6.1.183 तस्यनुदात्तनम् द्वितिदुपदेशाल्लसवर्धातुकम्युदात्तमहन्विडः:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tāsyanudāttenidadupadesāl lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ahnuvinoḥ}
  \item \textit{/tāsyanudāttenidadupadesāt 5/1 = anudātta ita yasya sa = anudāttet}
  \item \textit{(bu.); nahāra it yasya sa = nit (bu.); at cāsau upadesās ca = adupadesāḥ}
  \item \textit{(karma); tāsī ca anudāttec ca nic ca adupadesās ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt;}
  \item \textit{lasārvadhātukam 1/1 = lasya sārvadhātukam = lasārvadhātukam (śaś. tat.);}
  \item \textit{anudāttam 1/1 ahnuvinoḥ 6/2 hnuś ca in ca = hrnuvīnau (itar. dv.); na hrnuvīnau}
  \item \textit{(naśn. tat.); tayoh/}
  \item \textit{tāser anudātteteto nito’ kārāntopadesāc ca sābdāt param}
  \item \textit{lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ca bhavati ‘hnuṇ, in’ ity elābhyāṃ param}
  \item \textit{varjayitavā}
\end{itemize}

A \textit{sārvadhātuka} replacement of \( \textit{LA} \) is also marked with \textit{anudātta} when it occurs after the following with the exception of \textit{hnuN} and \textit{iN}: that which ends in \textit{tāś}; a verbal root marked with an \textit{anudātta} as \textit{it}; a verbal root which is marked with \( \textit{N} \) as \textit{it}; that which is given as ending in \textit{a} in \textit{upadesa}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kārttā}
  \item \textit{kārttārau}
  \item \textit{kārttāraḥ}
  \item \textit{āstē}
  \item \textit{vastē}
  \item \textit{sūtē}
  \item \textit{ṣētē}
  \item \textit{tukdatē}
\end{itemize}
1. This again is an exception to the general provision of affixal *udāṭta* at the beginning. Consider *kartā*, from *kṛ + LUT*, where third person singular, dual and plural replacements of *LUT* are replaced with *Da*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭah prathamasya dāraurasah*). We thus get the *ātmanepada* form: *kṛ + (ta→D) ā = kṛ + ā→kṛ + tās + ā*, where 3.1.33 *syatāsi ṭṛutoḥ* introduces *tās*. The ās of *tās* goes through *ti*-deletion and the *guṇa* of *ṛ*, with its following *ṛ*, produces *k(ṛ→ar) + t(ās→ṣ) + ā = kartā*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where third personal dual and plural active endings *tas* and *jhi* will be replaced with: *rau* and *ras*, respectively.

Note that these derivates involve a fairly complex interaction of accentual rules. Thus, *kartā* involves interaction of the accent of *dhātu*, *tās* and ā. Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where *kṛ* is marked *udāṭta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Affixes *tas* and *jhi* will also bring their affixal *udāṭta*. This same will apply to augment *tās*. Both *rau* and *ras* are also marked *udāṭta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara; 3.1.3 ādy udāṭta ca; 3.1.4 anudāṭttau suppitau*). How come the existing accent of *tās* could not block the *udāṭta* of *rau* and *ras*? Because *sati śisto pi vikaranasvaro lasārvadhātuksam vacaṃ na bādhate 'the accent of a vikaraṇa, eventhough existent, does not block the accent of a sārvadhātu replacement of LA'. The *udāṭta* of *rau* and *ras* is then marked *anudāṭta* by our present rule.

2. Verbal root *āsA* 'to sit, stay' and *vasā* 'to cover' are marked with *anudāṭta* as their *u*, and hence, allow *ātmanepada* 'middle' endings. The *te* in *āste* and *vaste*, because of being a sārvadhātu replacement of *LA*, is marked *anudāṭta*. Because of the accent of root (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*), this *anudāṭta* is finally replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 udāṭṭād anudāṭtasya svāritāḥ). Thus we get āstē and *vastē*. Derivates of verbal roots *śūN* and *śīN*, i.e., *śūte* and *śetē*, illustrate the specification by *Nī*. Now consider *tyādatāh* and *nudāṭhāh*, examples of a verbal root ending in *a* in *upadeśa* (adupadesa). These roots will be marked *udāṭta* in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. Affix *tas* will then be marked *udāṭta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭtās ca). Augment *Ṣa*, which is then introduced, also ends in *a* in *upadeśa*. Our present *sūtra* will mark *tas* as *anudāṭta* in view of *Ṣa* ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. The *tas* finally becomes a *svarita*. This same applies to the derivation of *pacatāh* and *pāthatāh* where *ṢaP* is still considered ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. For, *anubandhas*, here *Ṣ* and *P*, are not treated as part of *ṢaP*, in *upadeśa*.

The last two examples, i.e., *pacamānāḥ* and *yajamānāḥ*, involve *ṢaṇaC* (3.2.124 *laṭah satśānaçav...*) and augment *mUK* (7.2.82 *āne muk*). A question is raised as to whether *mUK* is to be introduced to the root which still stays *adupadesa* with *ṢaP*, or it should be accepted as introduced to the *āṅga*
which ends in a? In the first case, the adupadesā status of the root will remain intact. For, an āgama becomes part of what it is introduced to (Paribhāṣā (Pāśa 12): yadāgama guṇibhūtās tadgraḥanena grhyante). This can clear the way for anudāṭta of the sārvadhātuka replacement. If one accepts the second position, then mUK will intervene between adupadesā and suffix tas. The anudāṭta of tas can then not be accomplished. Commentators state that tas can still be marked anudāṭta even with this second option. They state that mUK will be treated as externally conditioned (bahiraṅga) in view of accentuation of tas, an operation conditioned internally (antarāṅga). That is, in matters of accentuation (svāravidihi), augment mUM (mugāgama) will be treated as external (bahiraṅga). But do not forget the accent of ŚauC which will avail the accent in view of its C as an i. This accent will be blocked by subsequent accent of the sārvadhātuka affix tas.

3. The condition of tās, etc. is required so that affixes such as tas and jhi, for example in cimutah and cinvanti, can be excluded. But the Śnu in these examples is treated as marked with N (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit)? Only when an operation on what precedes, and not on what follows, is to be performed (pūrvasya kāryam prati nīd bhavati na tu parasya). That is, it can be considered a Nīt for blocking guna of i of ci. It cannot be considered a Nīt for accent on what follows. One may even accept the Nīt of this sūtra as referring to a Nīt in upadesā, and not to an extensional (ātideśika) Nīt.

The condition of adupadesā similarly excludes examples such as ḍhaṭah and ḍhaṭha where tas and thas occur after han, a root ending in n in upadesā. The condition of lasārvadhātukam is necessary so that pacamānāh, etc., do not come within the scope of this rule. Affix CānaŚ (3.2.129 tācchīlavyavacana . . .) is here introduced directly. It is not a replacement of LA. The condition of sārvadhātukam similarly excludes ḍṣye, ḍṣyāte and ḍṣyijre, where replacements of LA, i.e., eŚ, āte and ireC (3.4.81 lītas tajhayor . . .), are not sārvadhātuka. Finally, hntyte and yad adhīte are used to illustrate the exclusion of hnvino. Particle yat is here used to indicate the retention of the root accent (8.1.30 nīpātair yadyadi . . .).

6.1.184 आदि: सिचो ज्यतरस्याय्य

ādiḥ sico nyatarasyām
/ādiḥ 1/1 sicah 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(udāṭṭah #156)
sijantasya anyatarasyām ādir udāṭto bhavati

The initial (ādi) of that which ends in sIC is optionally marked udāṭta.

Examples:

mā hi kāṛṭām
mā hi kāṛṭām
mā hi lāviṣṭām
mā hi lāviṣṭām

1. This optional udātta applies to a form which ends in augment sI C. Thus, we get mā hi kārṣṭām and mā hi kārṣṭām, where the first is udātta, initially, as per this rule. The second is marked udātta at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāttaśa). But consider mā hi lāviṣṭām and mā hi lāviṣṭām, where the first is marked udātta at the beginning. The second, however, is marked udātta in the middle (madhyodātta). The anudātta of sI C, because it is marked with C as an it (cīkaraṇa), is blocked. The i of augment iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyeḥ valādeḥ), since it becomes part of that which ends in a sI C, is marked udātta in view of C as an it of sI C. A preceding hi in these examples illustrates that the anudātta of 8.1.34 hi ca is negated.

2. A vārttika proposes that, in matters of initial udātta of a form ending in sI C, an affix marked with P as an it and not used with iT should be optionally marked udātta. Thus consider mā hi kārṣām and mā hi kārṣām where miP is an affix marked with P as an it. It is also marked anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau supitau). We would get only one form in the absence of the vārttika proposal. That is, with udātta initially in view of 6.1.159 dātoḥ. This restricted proposal in the context of non-iT allows another form with udātta in the middle (madhyodātta).

6.1.185 स्वपादिहिंसामञ्जिनः

svapādihiṃsām acy anīti
/svapādihiṃsām 6/1 = svap ādir yeṣām te (bv.); svapādayaś ca hiṃś ca (itar.
dv.), teṣām; aci 7/1 anīti 7/1 (bv.), tasmin/
(udāttaḥ #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 ādiḥ anyatarasyām #184)
svapādinām hiṃse cājādāv anīti lasārvadhātuke parato’ nyatarasyām ādir
udātto bhavati

The initial of svap, etc., and of hiṃs as well, is optionally marked udātta when a replacement of LA which begins with an aC and does not permit augment iT follows.

EXAMPLES:

svapānti
svapanti
śvagsanti
śvagsanti
hiṃsanti
hiṃsanti

1. This rule offers optional udātta at the beginning of specified roots. Of course, when a sārvadhātuka replacement of LA which begins with an aC and is not used with iT follows. Incidentally, lasārvadhātukam, a form ending
in the nominative (prathamā), is here changed into locative (saptamā) in relation to ace and aniti. Thus, we get two examples where, in one, we get initial udātta. We get middle udātta in the other, due to affixal accent. These examples are all third plural active where jh of jhi is replaced with anit (7.1.3 jho’ niah). This, in turn, makes the affix vowel-initial (ajādi).

This initial udātta option is not available, for example in svapyāt and himsyāt, on the one hand, and in svasitah and svapitah, on the other. The first two examples do not have an ending beginning with a vowel. The next two are used with augment iT.

This provision is desired (iṣṭa) only when a vowel initial affix marked with N as an it follows (nity ajādāv ayam vidhir isyate). Thus, svapāni and hīngsāni. The sārvadhātukā replacement of the first person active are treated as marked with P as an it (pit 3.4.92 āḍ uttamsasya pic ca). Rule 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit will not allow a pit affix to be accepted as nit.

6.1.186 अभ्यस्तानामादिः:

abhyaṣṭānāṃ ādīḥ
/abhyaṣṭānām 6/3 ādīḥ 1/1/
(udāttaḥ #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 ace aniti #185)
abhyaṣṭānāṃ ajādāv anīti lasārvadhātuke parata ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of an abhyasta is marked with udātta when a replacement of LA which begins with an AC and does not permit augment iT follows.

Examples:

dāṭi
dāu
dadāti
dadāu
dadhāti
dadhāu
jaṅṣāti
jaṅṣātu
jaṅgrāti
jaṅgrātu

1. The word āḍi, though available via anuvṛtti from the previous rule, is expressly used to make this rule obligatory (nitya). The term abhyasta is assigned to a form which results out of doubling (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam). Thus, dadāti and dadhāti are forms of LA where dā and dhā go through doubling. Their SaP goes through deletion by ŚLU (2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah śluḥ). Refer to derivational details of jaṅsātuḥ (II:412–13) where the term abhyasta is assigned by 6.1.6 jaṅsityādayah saṭ.

6.1.187 अनुदात्ते च

anudātte ca
/anudātte 7/1 = avidyamānām udāttam asmin (bū.); ca ṣ/
(udāttaḥ #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 abhyastānām ādiḥ #186)
avidyamānodātte ca lasārvadhātuke parato’ bhyaṣṭānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of an abhyasta is also marked with udātta when a replacement of LA with no anudātta follows.

Examples:

dadāti
jahāti
dadhāti
jihite
mimīte

1. This rule is formulated to account for instances where a sārvadhātuka replacement of LA does not begin with a vowel. The locative anudātte is not interpreted here technically (śāstrīya) as: ‘when an anudātta follows’. It is interpreted as a bahuvrihi compound parallel to avidyamānāh udāttaḥ yasmin tasmin ‘that within which there is no anudātta’. This will enable the rule to apply where a vowel is either deleted, or is replaced with yaN. Consider dadhāti and dadhāty atra where the final i in the first example is deleted (3.4.100 iṭaś ca) to yield dadhāt. The second example involves a replacement in yaN before atra. Recall that tiP is anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). A technical interpretation of anudātta will block udātta of this rule where the anudātta i gets deleted, or is replaced with yaN. For, there would not be any anudātta to follow. In cases of replacements in yaN, the initial udātta of this rule still applies. The replacement, since it is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga), becomes suspended (asiddha). Refer to the appendix (III:761) for derivational details of dadāti and dadhāti.

6.1.188 सर्वस्य सुपि

sarvasya supi
/sarvasya 6/1 supi 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #186)
sarvaśabdasya supi parato ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of sarva is marked udātta when sup follows.

Examples:

sarvāḥ
sarvāu
sarvē

1. This initial udātta is offered here against a final udātta (Uṇādi: 1.153: sarvanidhṛdhariṣu . . .). This makes sarva an anudātta at the beginning. Con-
sequently, sārvaḥ, a derivate of aṇ (4.2.44 anudāttāder aṇ), is marked with anudāttā at the beginning. The condition of supi ‘when sUP follows’ blocks this accentual provision in sarvatārah and sarvatāmāḥ where sarva is followed by taraP and tamaP.

2. A vārītika proposal is made to avail this accentual provision, for example in sarvastomaḥ, even when a nominal ending is deleted (Mahābhāṣya ad 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya). That is, the deleted nominal ending is still considered as udāṭta at the beginning (3.1.3 ādyudāttā ca), via pratyayalakṣāna ‘operation characteristic of an affix obtains even when the affix gets deleted’ (1.1.62 pratyayalope . . .). This deletion of nominal ending in sarvastomaḥ results on account of compound formation.

Yet another proposal is made to interpret sarva of this rule as one not qualified with akaC (anacha). That is, this accentual proposal does not apply to sarva when used with affix akaC. Recall that sarva may also refer to sarvaka because akaC is here contained within sarva (cf. (Paribhāṣā (90): tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate).

6.1.189 भीष्मभृद्धधन्यन्दिरक्षाजागरा प्रवयायात्पि पिति

bhīhrībhṛhumadadhana-janadaridrā-jāgarām pratyayāt pūrvam piti
/bhi-hṛi-bṛ-hu-ma-dhana-jana-daridrā-jāgarām 6/3 (itar. dv.); pratyayāt
5/1 pūrvam 1/1 piti 7/1 = pakāra it yasya (bv.), tasmin/
(udāttāḥ #156 lasārvadhātukam #185 abhyastānām #183)
‘bhi, hṛi, bṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, jāgr’ ity eteśām
abhyastānām lasārvadhātuke piti pratyayāt pūrvam udāttāṃ bhavati
That part of an abhyasta, particularly of bhi, hṛi, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, and jāgr which precedes an affix, is marked udāṭta when a sārvadhātuka-replacement marked with P as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

bibhetī
tiheti
tibhartī
tuheti
magattu naḥ pariṃmā
jajanadhīṃvām
dādhanaḥ
dārīdrāti
tāgarīti

1. Note that 6.1.187 anudātte ca offers initial udāṭṭa to a form termed abhyasta. This rule offers udāṭta to a part of abhyasta which precedes the affix. Refer to the appendix for derivalional details.
6.1.190 लिति

/liti 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #156 prayayāt pūrvam #189)
lakāretsamjñake prayayāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati
That which precedes is marked udātta when an affix marked with L as an it follows.

Examples:

cikīrṣakāh
jhīrṣakāh
bhaurikjvidham
bhaulikjvidham
āṣukāribhāktam

1. Note that the i before aka is marked udātta in cikīrṣakāh and jhīrṣakāh. That is, after 6.4.48 āto lopah deletes the final a of cikīrṣa and jhīrṣa. Refer to the appendix (II:406–7) for full derivational details. Affixes vidhal and bhaktal which are introduced after bhaulique and āṣukāri are also marked with L (4.2.54 bhaurikjyādyaisukārīyādibhypo vidhalbhaktalau).

6.1.191 आदिर्नमुल्यन्यतरस्यायः

ādīr namuly anyatarasyām
/ādīḥ 1/1 namuli 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #156)

namuli parato nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
An initial is optionally marked udātta when affix NamUL follows.

Examples:

lolūyamlolūyam
lolūyāmlolūyam

1. This rule provides for optional udātta at the beginning of a root which occurs before NamUL. Why state this rule when the earlier rule can account for its provision. This rule is stated for roots which are not monosyllabic (ekāc). Consider lolūya which is a root derived with yaN with the signification of kṛyāsabambhihāra ‘intense action’. Given lolūya + NamUL = lolūya + am, where 6.4.48 āto lopah deletes the final a before the ārdhadhātuka suffix NamUL, we get lolūyam. This derivate then becomes optionally udātta at the beginning. This option will be made against the udātta in the middle (madhyodātta; ... ya ... ) of the preceding rule. Another set of two forms are gotten from doubling of lolūyam when the signification is ābhikṣṇya ‘over and over again’ (ut.: ābhikṣṇe āve bhavataḥ; ad 8.1.12 prakāre gunavanacasya).
The second lolūyam of lolūyam lolūyam will then be termed āmṛedita (8.1.2 tasya paramāmṛeditam). Consequently, it will also become anudāttā (8.1.3 anudāttam ca).

6.1.192 अच: कार्त्तिकः

acah kartryaki
/acah 6/1 kartryaki 7/1 = karttari vihito yak (saapt. tat.); tasmin/
(udāttaḥ #156 upadesāt #183 ādīh anyatarasyām #191)
ajantā ye upadesā dhātavas teśāṃ kartryaki anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
A vowel-final (ajanta) root in upadesa is optionally marked udātta at the beginning when affix yaK with the signification of kartr ‘agent’ follows.

Examples:

lūyāte kedārah svayam eva
lūyatē kedārah svayam eva
stīryate kedārah svayam eva
stīryatē kedārah svayam eva

1. Recall that 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak introduces yaK after a verbal root when bhāva ‘action; root-sense’ or karman ‘object’ is denoted. This rule covers instances of yaK where an object (karman) is treated as if it was kartr. Such a treatment of karman is made possible via vyapadesivabhāva ‘treatment of a secondary as principal’ of 3.1.87 karmavat karmanā tulyakriyah. We thus get lūyate where this rule offers optional udātta at the beginning. In the absence of this initial udātta, 6.1.183 tāsyānudāttet . . . will assign anudāttā to te. Rule 3.1.3 ādyudāttast ca will then assign affixal udātta to yaK.

6.1.193 थली च सेतीड्यनो वा

thali ca setiṭ anto vā
/thali 7/1 ca φ seti 1/1 (bv.); iṭ 1/1 antaḥ 1/1 vā φ/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādīh anyatarasyām #191)
seti thali iṭ vā udātto bhavati anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām
An iṭ, when used before a following thalī, is optionally marked udātta; additionally, the final and initial are also optionally marked with udātta.

Examples:

lūlavithā
lūlavithā
lūlavitha

1. Note that this rule does not use ca in its right place. It should be paraphrased to attract ādīh, thereby yielding two paraphrases: (i) thali seti iṭ vā udātto bhavati ‘iṭ is optionally marked udātta when thalī, conjoined with
6.1.194 Adhyāya Six: Pāda One

iT, follows’; (ii) anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām udātto bhavati ‘an initial or final is optionally marked udātta’. Notice that vā is used here even when anyatarasyām is carried. Commentators explain that this rule offers udātta as a single operation (kārya). It, however, has three kāryin ‘operands’: iT, ādi and anta. The expressly used vā is intended for denoting option of operands. The anuvṛtti of anyatarasyām offers operational option of udātta. Thus, we get three forms marked with udātta, as specified with iT, ādi and anta. A fourth form with udātta on what precedes the affix can be gotten at the strength of thal, an affix marked with L as its it (6.1.190 liti). This will be an operational option (kāryavikalpa). Consider luvāvitha which derives from lū + (LIT→siP→thal)→lū + thal, where LIT gets replaced with thal, via second person singular active ending siP (3.4.82 parasmaipadānāṃ ānlutusūsthala . . .). Reduplication (6.1.8 liti dhator . . .), followed by iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed valadeḥ) and shortening of ā of the first lū produces: lū + lū + thal(L)→lū + lū + i(T) + thal(L)→l(ū→u) + lū + i(T) + thal(L). An application of guna (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārthadhātukavoh), followed by av (6.1.78 eco’ ācayāvah), then yields: lū + l(ū→u→av) + i(T) + thal(L) = lū + lav + i + thal = luvāvitha. This rule will mark the iT of this derivate udātta. The initial and final of this derivate will also be marked udātta. Of course, these three options will be availed in turn (paryāya). Finally, because thal is marked with L as an it, 6.1.190 liti will offer udātta on what precedes the affix. Thus we get four alternate forms: luvāvitha, luvāvitha, luvāvitha and luvāvitha.

6.1.194 जित्तियादिरनिर्देशम्

śnityādir nityam
/śniti 7/1 = naś ca naś ca = śnau (dv.); śnāv itāv asya (bv. with int. dv.),
tasmīn; ādīth 1/1 nityam 1/1/
(udāttaḥ #156)
śniti niti ca nityam ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of a form is marked udātta when that which has N or N as an it follows.

Examples:

gārgyāḥ
vāśyāḥ
vāsūdevakah
arjūnakah

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent (pratyayasaśra; 3.1.3 ādyudāttaḥ ca). The first two examples are derivates of yaN (4.1.105 gārgādibhyo yaN), marked with N as an it. The next two are examples of vuN (4.3.98 vásudevārjunābhīyām vun), marked with N as an it.
2. Note that 1.1.62 pratyayalopa pratyayalakṣāṇam cannot be invoked for
this application. That is, one cannot avail this accentual provision where affixal deletion applies. Consider gargāḥ and vidāḥ where 2.4.64 yaṇaṇaś ca offers deletion of affixes yaṇ and aṇ. The examples will thus be marked as gargāḥ and vidāḥ, without consideration of this rule.

6.1.195 आमन्त्रितय च

āmantritasya ca
/āmantritasya 6/1 ca φ/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)
āmantritasyādir udātto bhavati

The initial of that which is termed an āmantrita is also marked udātta.

Examples:

devādattaḥ
devādattau
devādattāḥ

1. Note that the term āmantrita (2.3.48 sā’ mantritam) is assigned to the nominative used with the signification of sambodhana ‘address form’. This rule blocks the provision of rule 6.2.148 kārakād dattaśrutayor . . . in devādatta, devādattau and devādattāḥ.

6.1.196 पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने

pathimathoh sarvanāmaṁsthāne
/pathimathoh 6/2 = panthāḥ ca manthāḥ ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; sarvanāmaṁsthāne 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)
pathimathoh sarvanāmaṁsthāne parata ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of pathin and m athin is marked udātta when an affix termed sarvanāmaṁsthāna (1.1.42 śī sarva . . .) follows.

Examples:

panthāḥ
panthānaṁ
panthānaḥ
manthāḥ
manthāḥ
manthānaṁ
manthānaḥ

1. Note that pathin (Uṇādi 4.11) and m athin (Uṇādi 4.112) are derivates of inl. They are marked udātta at the end in view of affixal accent. They are here offered udātta at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of pathāḥ (II:398–99). Similar rules apply in deriving manthāḥ.
2. The condition of sarvanāmāsthāne blocks this udātta at the beginning, for example, in pathah paśya where a non-sarvanāmāsthāna accusative plural ending Śas follows. The word is marked udātta at the end (6.1.158 anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopah). Here again 1.1.62 pratayalope . . . cannot be invoked. Note, however, that pathi of a bahuvrīhi compound, such as pathipriyah, is marked udātta at the end on account of the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam).

6.1.197 अन्तर्वत्र तव पुष्पम्

antai ca tavai yugapat
/anaih 1/1 ca φ tavai (1/1 deleted) yugapat φ/
(udātah #156 ādiḥ #191)
tavai/pratayalopasya śabdasyāntaś cādiś ca yugapad udāttau bhavatah

The initial, and final as well, of that which ends in affix tavai is simultaneously (yugapat) marked udātta.

Examples:

karttavai
hrttavai

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent of udātta at the beginning (3.1.3 ādyudāttas ca). Affix tavai is introduced by 3.4.14 kṛtyārthe tavai. . .

2. The word yugapad is used for allowing udātta to the initial and final of tavai, simultaneously. Recall that ekavarjam of 6.1.155 anudāttam ekavarjam goes contrary to an application, in turn (paryāya).

6.1.198 क्षयो निवासे

kṣayo nivāse
/kṣayah 1/1 nivāse 7/1
(udātah #156 ādiḥ #191)
kṣayaśaśado nivāse bhidheśe ādyudātto bhavati

The word kṣaya is marked udātta at the beginning when nivāsa ‘residence’ is the signification.

Examples:

kṣayē jāgrhi prapaśyan

1. Note that kṣaya, paraphrased as kṣiyanti nivasanti yasmin ‘that in which they live, decay’, is a derivate of affix GHa (3.3.118 puṃsi samjñāyām . . .), introduced after verbal root kṣi ‘decay’. This initial udātta is offered against final affixal anudāttata (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). This accent will not be available to kṣayaḥ of kṣaya dasyūnām vartate ‘there is destruction of bandits’ where the signification is something other than nivāsa.
6.1.199 जयः करणप्

jayaḥ karaṇam
/jayaḥ 1/1 karaṇam 1/1/
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)
jayaśabdah karaṇavācā ādyudātto bhavati
The word jaya signifying karaṇa ‘means’ is marked udātta at the begin-
ning.

Examples:

jayo’ śvah ‘a horse by means of which one wins’

1. The word jaya is again a derivate of GHa. Here again, this initial udātta blocks the final affixal accent of the derivate. That jayaḥ denotes karaṇa ‘instrument’ is explained by the paraphrase: jayanti tena ‘by (means of) that they win’. The jayaḥ of jaya varttate brāhmaṇāṇām ‘brāhmaṇas are victorious’ does not qualify for this accenual provision. For, this jaya derives with affix aC (3.3.53 er aC) with the signification of root-sense (bhāva).

6.1.200 व्रषादीनां च

vrṣādīnāṃ ca
/vrṣādīnām 6/3 = vrṣa ādir yeṣām (bv.), te, ca φ/
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)
vrṣādīnām śabdānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of items enumerated in the list headed by vrṣa is also marked udātta.

Examples:

vrṣāḥ
janaḥ
jvarāḥ

1. Note that vrṣāḥ is a derivate of Ka (3.1.135 igupadhajñā . . .) introduced after vrṣ ‘to water, rain’. The other two examples are derivatives of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahāpacādy . . .) introduced after janā ‘to be born’ and jvarā ‘to be afflicted’. The accentual provision of this rule is made against affixal udātta at the end (antudātta).

2. Note that the vrṣādi is treated as an ākṛtiṇa ‘open-ended’. That is, any nominal for which no initial udātta has been expressly provided can be covered by this rule.

6.1.201 संज्ञायामपुप्पमानम्

samjñāyām upamānam
/samjñāyām 7/1 upamānam 1/1/
(udāttāḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)

upamānasabdhaḥ samjñāyām udātto bhavati

A standard of comparison (upamāna) is marked udātta when the signification is a name (samjñā).

**Examples:**

cāṅcā
vardhrīkā
kharākuṭī
dāśī
dvārya

1. Note that cāṅcā ‘a doll, straw figure’, derived with a deleted kāN (5.3.96 iva pratiṅkṛtau; 5.3.98 lūm manusye), can denote a name by way of serving as an upamāna ‘standard of comparison’. Here again, 1.1.62 pratayalopa . . . cannot be invoked for purposes of accentuation.

6.1.202 निष्ठा च द्वयज्ञात्

niṣṭhā ca dvayjanāt

/nīṣṭhā 1/1 ca dīvacy 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (b.), tat; anāt 5/1 = na āt (naṅ. tat.)/

(udāttāḥ #156 ādiḥ #191 samjñāyām #201)

niṣṭhāntam ca dvacy samjñāyām viṣaye ādyudāttaṃ bhavati

That which contains two vowels, and ends in an affix termed niṣṭhā, is also marked with udātta at the beginning, provided the signification is a name (samjñā) and what is to be marked anudātta is not an ā.

**Examples:**

dattāḥ
guptāḥ
buddhāḥ

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (pratayah-svara). Refer to the appendix (III:775–77) for derivational details of dattāḥ. Similar rules derive buddhāḥ, from buddh + Kta. Recall that affixes Kta and KtavatU are termed niṣṭhā (1.1.26 kṛtakatavatū niṣṭhā).

2. This accentual provision cannot apply to deva and bhīma, two derivates of non-niṣṭhā suffixes aC and maK, respectively. It does not apply to cintīta and raksita, because these both consist of more than two vowels. Derivates of niṣṭhā, for example, tṛtā and āpta are also excluded since they have ā at the beginning. Finally, kṛta and hṛta must also be excluded because they do not denote a name.

6.1.203 शुक्लध्रष्टा

śukkadṛṣṭau
/śuṣka-dhrṣṭau 1/2 (itar. dv.)/
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)
śuṣka, dhrṣṭa ity etāv ādyudāttau bhavataḥ
The words śuṣka and dhrṣṭa are marked udātta at the beginning.

Examples:
śuṣkāḥ ‘dried’
dhrṣṭāḥ ‘daring’

1. Note that śuṣka and dhrṣṭa are derivatives of niṣṭhā suffix Kta, where Kta of the first example is replaced with ka (8.2.51 śuṣah kaḥ). Our next example involves t as a replacement for t (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). These examples could be covered by the previous rule. This initial udātta is then offered to cover usages outside the scope of samyñā ‘name’ (Kāś: asajñārthāḥ ārambhāḥ).

6.1.204 आशित: कर्त्ता
āśitaḥ karttā
/āśitaḥ 1/1 karttā 1/1/
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)
āśitaśābdāḥ kartrvācā ādyudātto bhavati
The word āśita, when used with the signification of kartṛ ‘agent’, is marked udātta at the beginning.

Examples:
āśito devadattāḥ ‘Devadatta has eaten’

1. Note that āśita is a derivate of Kta (3.4.70 tayor eva . . .) introduced after verbal root aś used with the preverb āN. The affixal denotatum is here interpreted as kartṛ. It is stated that aś is a transitive root, but it becomes intransitive (akarmaka) when the object (karman) remains unexpressed. The Mahābhāṣya (ad 3.4.72 gatyarthākarmaka . . .) accepts that Kta is here introduced in the sense of kartṛ, via nipātana. The accentual provision of this rule blocks the provision of 6.2.144 thāthaghaḥ . . .

Two counter-examples, i.e., āśītam annam and āśītam devadattena illustrate how their Kta denotes karman and bhāva, respectively. Obviously, āśita here cannot qualify for this accent.

6.1.205 रिक्ते विभाषा
rikte vibhāṣā
/rikte 7/1 vibhāṣa 1/1/
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)
riktaśābdē vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of rikta is marked udātta, only optionally.
Examples:

\[
\text{rika} \text{āh} \text{ ‘emptied’}
\]

\[
\text{rika} \text{āh}
\]

1. Note that \text{rika}, a derivate of \text{ricIR} + \text{Kta} where the signification is a name (\text{samjñā}), can qualify for obligatory \text{udāṭṭa} at the beginning (6.1.102 \text{nīṣṭhā ca dṛṣṭānāī}). This rule makes that provision optional. That is, when the signification is something other than a name. A final \text{udāṭṭa} (6.2.144 \text{ṭhāṭhaghañ . . .}) will apply if optional provision of this rule is not accepted.

6.1.206 \text{juṣṭārṇिदे च च्छन्दसी}

\[
\text{juṣṭārṇिदे cāc chandasi}
\]

\[
/\text{juṣṭārṇिदे} 7/1 = \text{juṣṭa} \text{ś ca arpitāś ca (śitar. dv.), tayoh; ca} \phi \text{ chandasi} 7/1/\]

\[
(\text{udāṭṭaḥ} \#156 \text{ādiḥ} \#191)
\]

\[
\text{juṣṭa, arpitā’ḥ } \text{ety } \text{ṣabdārūpe chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ādyudāṭte bhavataḥ}
\]

The initial of \text{juṣṭa} and \text{arpita} is optionally marked \text{udāṭṭa} when the usage is Vedic.

Examples:

\[
\text{juṣṭāḥ}
\]

\[
\text{juṣṭaḥ}
\]

\[
\text{arpitāḥ}
\]

\[
\text{arpitaḥ}
\]

1. This optional provision of initial \text{udāṭṭa} only applies to the Vedic usage. Elsewhere, in the classical (\text{bhāṣā}) usage, we will get \text{udāṭṭa} at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭtaś ca).

Our first example derives with affix \text{Kta}, introduced after \text{juṣṭi ‘to enjoy}} with an additional application of \text{ṣutu} (8.4.41 \text{ṣuṇā ṣuṭh}). The second example also derives with \text{Kta}, introduced after \text{r ‘to go}’ with causal \text{MiC}. Further application of augment \text{pUK} (3.2.184 artiṁniudhū . . .), and an application of \text{guna}, derive \text{arpita}. The accentual provision of this rule is again marked against affixal accent.

2. The \text{chandasi} provision of this rule restricts usages to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas with the exception of the Mantras.

6.1.207 \text{nityāṃ अम्बे}

\[
\text{nityāṃ mantras}
\]

\[
/\text{nityāṃ} 1/1 \text{ mantras} 7/1/
\]

\[
(\text{udāṭṭah} \#156 \text{ādiḥ} \#191 \text{juṣṭārṇिदे} \#206)
\]

\[
\text{juṣṭa, arpitā’ḥ } \text{ety } \text{ṣabdārūpe mantraviṣaye nityāṃ ādyudatte bhavataḥ}
\]

The words \text{juṣṭa} and \text{arpita}, in the \text{Mantra} usage, are obligatorily marked with \text{udāṭṭa} at the beginning.
EXAMPLES:

juṣṭām devānām
arpitām pitṛnām

1. Note that mantra is used for the samhitā sections of the Vedas, especially the Rgveda and the Yajurveda. Some here do not accept the anuvṛtti of juṣṭa. For, juṣṭa is also found udātta at the end in the Mantra usage. Thus, they want optional udātta for juṣṭa there.

2. Why state nityam when the very formulation of mantra as a separate rule can accomplish this obligatory provision. The word nityam is then intended for clarity. Or else, for anuvṛtti in the following rule (Nyāsa ad Kāś: ārambhasāmarthya ēva nityatve siddhe nityagrahāṇam vispaṭārtham, uttārārthaḥ ca).

6.1.208 युष्मदस्मादोदिति

yuṣmadasmador nasi
/yuṣmad-asmadoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) nasi 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādih #191)
‘yuṣmad-asmad’ ity etayoḥ śabdayoh nasi parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of yuṣmad and asmad is marked with udātta when Nās follows.

EXAMPLES:

tavā svam
mamā svam

1. Note that yuṣmad and asmad are derivates of affix madIK (UṇādiI:119). They are also marked udātta at the end, via affixal accent. Given yuṣmad + Nās and asmad + Nās, rule 7.1.27 yuṣmadasmadbhāyan nāso’ ś replaced Nās with aŚ. Rule 7.2.96 tava mamau nasi also replaces yuṣm and asm of the bases with tava and mama, respectively. Thus, yuṣmad + ((N) as→a(Ś)) = yuṣmad + a→(yuṣm→tava) ad + a = tava + (ad→ϕ) + a = tava + a. Rule 7.2.90 śese lopah causes the deletion of ad. We get the final derivate with a single replacement: tav(a + a→a) = tava (pararūpa; 6.1.97 ato gune). Similar rules also apply in deriving asmad.

This accentual provision goes against the final udātta provision of 8.2.5 ekādeśa udāttendāttaḥ.

6.1.209 दयिच

nayi ca
/nayi 7/1 ca ϕ/
(udāttaḥ #156 ādih #191 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #208)
'ne'ity etasmimś ca parato yuṣmadasmador ādir udāṭto bhavati
The initial of yuṣmad and asmad is also marked udāṭta when ṇī follows.

Examples:

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{tubhyyām} \\
& \text{maḥyām} \\
\end{align*}\]

1. A separate formulation of this and the preceding rule is intended for resolving doubts of yathāsamkhya ‘assignment of equivalents in accord with equal number of enumerated items’. That is, (i) yuṣmad is marked udāṭta when ṇaṇī follows; and (ii) asmad is marked udāṭta when Ne follows. A separate formulation can account for udāṭta of yuṣmad and asmad before ṇaṇī and Ne both.

Note that Ne ‘dative singular’ after these two bases is replaced with am (7.1.28 ṇeh praṭhamayor am). These bases are also replaced with tubhyya and maḥyā (7.2.95 tubhymahāyau nayi), respectively. Other rule applications are similar to tava and mama. Note that these bases are both udāṭta at the end. The affix is udāṭta at the beginning. A single replacement (ekādeśa) similar to the following (paraṛūpa), i.e., \( a \)-replacement in ṃuṭha \((a + a \rightarrow a) m = ṃuṭhyām\), should thus be also marked with udāṭta. This rule blocks it.

6.1.210 यतोऽनवः:

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{yato' nāvah} \\
& /yataḥ 6/1 anāvah 1/1 = na nau (nañ. tata.), tasmāt/ \\
& (udāṭṭah #156 ādīh #193 dvyač #202) \\
& yaṭpratayāṃtasya dvyač ādīr udāṭta bhavati na cēn nau śabdāt paro bhavati \\
& \text{That which contains two vowels and ends in affix } yaT \text{ is marked udāṭta at the beginning, provided } yaT \text{ does not occur after nau ‘boat’.}
\end{align*}\]

Examples:

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{ceyām} \\
& \text{jeyām} \\
& \text{kaṇṭhyām} \\
& \text{oṣṭhyām} \\
\end{align*}\]

1. Note that dvyač is understood here from 6.1.202 niṣṭhā ca dvyaṇaṇāt. This rule offers udāṭta as an exception to the svarita of 6.1.182 tit svaritam. This provision of initial udāṭta must be blocked in case of nāyām, where affix yaṬ is introduced after nau (3.1.97 aco yat). Refer to the appendix (III:364–65) for derivational details of cejyam and jeyam. The last two examples are also derivatives of yaT, introduced by 5.1.6 āśarīvāvayavād yat.

Note that a derivate of yaT which consists of more than two vowels is not allowed this accent. Thus, cikṣryām and lalāṭyām which must be marked with svarita (6.1.182 tit svaritam) at the end.
6.1.211 ईडवन्दवृश्चकां षयतः:

िदावंदवर्षांसादुहाम न्याताः
/िदा-वंदाव्र-सांसा-दुहाम 6/1 (ितार. द्व.)/ न्याताः 6/1
(उदात्ताः #156 ािि #191)
‘िदाः, वंदा, व्र, सांस, दुह‘ इते सच्छन मः न्यात तदांताय पदीर उदात्तो भावति

The initial of that which ends in न्यात, introduced after verbal roots िदाः‘praise’, वंदा‘respect’, व्रः‘honor’, सांस‘praise’ and दुह‘to fulfill’,
is marked with उदात्त.

Examples:

िद्याः
वंदोयाः
वार्याः
सास्याः
दोह्या देनुंह

1. Here again we find an exception to 6.1.183 तित स्वारििम्. Note that affix न्यात could not be included within the reference of यात of the earlier rule. For, it consists of two ‘ि-elements, न and त. Affix न्यात is introduced after specified verbal roots when the signification is भावा ‘root-sense’ and करमन ‘object’ (3.1.24 र्हालो न्यात).

6.1.212 विभाषा वेण्वनाथायोः:

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानायोः
/विभाषा 1/1 वेणु-िन्धानायोः 6/2 (ितार. द्व.)/
(उदात्ताः #156 ािि #191)
‘वेणु-िन्धाना’ इत्यतो वर्षासा ािर उदात्तो भावति

The initial of वेणु and इन्धाना is optionally marked with उदात्त.

Examples:

वेणु
वेणु
िन्धानाः
ित्तिन्धानाः
ित्तिन्धानाः

1. Note that वेणु is a derivate of उणादि affix नु (3.38: आजुिरिियो निि). Consequently, it is subject to an obligatory उदात्त at the beginning (6.1.194 ीनिताय पदीर नियमम्). Our present rule offers an optional उदात्त at the end. Note, however, that वेणु is obligatorily marked उदात्त at the beginning when a name (सामीणाः 6.1.201 सामीणयाः उपामानम्) is denoted.

The word इन्धाना can be derived with affixes CānāŚ (3.2.129 ताचिल्या-वयो . . .) and ŚānāC (3.2.124 लाताः शासानासाव . . .), both introduced after
ʻNindhi ‘to kindle’. A derivate of CānaŚ, because of its C as an it (6.1.160 citah), will be marked udāṭṭa at the end. This same will also apply to a derivate of ŚānāC. A derivate of ŚānāC will require this affix to replace LA.". This will further require introduction of ŚānāM, followed by deletion of its n (6.4.23 śnān nalopah). Thus, indh + (LA.T → (Ś)āna(C)) = indha + āna→indha + (Ś)na(M) + āna→indh + (n→φ) a + āna. The a before āna is also subsequently deleted (6.4.111 śnasor al lopah), to finally produce indhāna. There are several accentual interactions involved here. Firstly, we will get the final udāṭṭa of ŚānāC due mainly to C as an it. This accent of a sārvadhātuka-replacement of LA cannot be blocked by the affixal accent of initial udāṭṭa of ŚnaM, a vikarāṇa (cf. satīśiṣṭo ‘pi vikarāṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaram na bādhate). But since ŚnaM has a is upadeśa (6.1.183 tāsyānudāṭtān . . .), ŚānāC will then be marked anudāṭṭa. The ŚnaM itself will be marked with affixal udāṭṭa at the beginning. But recall that a of ŚnaM gets deleted before āna. This will occasion udāṭṭa in the middle (madhyodāṭṭa; 6.1.158 anudāṭṭasya ca yatro . . .).

6.1.213  

**Tṛṣaṃgaraśaṃskaḥsūtraḥbhadrakāraṇānām**

\[tyāgarāgaeśasakuaśaśvathakrathānānām\]

/tyā-ga-ra-ga-hās-ka-hu-śa-śva-tha-kra-thānām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/

(udāṭṭāh #156 adīh #191)

ʻtyāga, rāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, krathāʼ ity eteśām vibhāṣā ādir udāṭto bhavati

The initial of tyāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, and krathā is optionally marked with udāṭṭa.

**Examples:**

- tyāgaḥ
- tyaagāh
- rāgaḥ
- ragaḥ
- hāsāh
- hāsah
- kuhaḥ
- kuhah
- śvathāh
- śvathah
- krathāh
- krathah

1. Note that tyāgaḥ, etc., are derivate of GHaṉ. They are subject to final udāṭṭa because of Nas an it (6.1.156 karṣātvato . . .). This rule offers udāṭṭa at the beginning as an option. The remaining examples are all derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahi . . .). They thus get optional final udāṭṭa against the initial udāṭṭa option of this rule.
6.1.214 उपोत्तमं रिति

\[\text{upottamam riti}\]
\[\text{/upottamam 1/1 riti 7/1 = repha it yasya (bu.), tasmin/}\]
\[\text{(udāṭṭāḥ #156)}\]
\[\text{ridantasya upottamam udāṭṭam bhavati}\]

The penultimate of that which ends in an affix with \(R\) as an \(it\) is marked with \(udāṭṭa\).

**Examples:**

- \(kṛgauṇīyām\)
- \(hṛgauṇīyām\)
- \(pṛtujātiyāh\)
- \(mrdfjātiyāh\)

1. This rule offers \(udāṭṭa\) to an \(upottama\) ‘next to the last (vowel) of a word with three or more vowels’, where the derivate entails an affixal \(R\) as an \(it\). Thus, \(kṛgauṇīyām\) and \(pṛtujātiyāh\) where \(aniyaR\) (3.1.96 \(tavattavyāṇiyyaḥ\)) and \(jātiyaR\) (5.3.96 \(prakāravacane jātiyar\)) are both marked with \(R\) as an \(it\). This again is an exception to affixal accent of final \(udāṭṭa\).

6.1.215 चक्रवृत्तार्थस्याम्

\[\text{caṇy anyatarasyām}\]
\[\text{/caṇi 7/1 anyatarasyām 1/1/}\]
\[\text{(udāṭṭāḥ #156 ādiḥ #191 upottamam #214)}\]
\[\text{caṇante’ nyatarasyām udāṭṭam bhavati}\]

The next to the last of that which consists of at least three syllables and ends in \(CaN\) is marked \(udāṭṭa\).

**Examples:**

- \(mā hi cikgratām\)
- \(mā hi cikaratām\)

1. Refer to derivational details of \(acikara\) (II:507–9). Similar rules apply in deriving \(cikaratām\) of \(mā hi cikaratām\). The \(tas\) of \(cikaratām\) is replaced with \(tām\) (3.4.101 \(tastathamipām\)). Augment \(aT\) is here blocked because of concurrent \(māN\) (6.4.74 \(na mānyoge\)). The \(anudāṭṭa\) of \(cikaratām\) (8.1.28 \(tiṣatiṇaḥ\)) will also be blocked because of \(hi\) (8.1.34 \(hi ca\)) after which a \(pada\) ending in \(N\)occurs (8.1.28 \(tiṣatiṇaḥ\)). The \(anudāṭṭa\), however, will apply to \(tām\), a \(sārvadhātuka\) replacement of \(LA\), because it occurs after \(a\) (6.1.183 \(tāsyanudāṭten\)). Our present rule offers \(udāṭṭa\) to the \(a\) of \(ka\) of \(cikara\). The \(a\) of \(ra\) will be marked \(udāṭṭa\) by affixal accent if the option of this rule is not accepted.

This accentual provision is not available to \(mā hi daghat\). For, \(daghat\) con-
sists of only two vowels and thus the condition of upottamam cannot be met here.

6.1.216 मतो: पूर्वमात्संजाया स्त्रियायम्

*matoh* pūrvam āt samjñāyām striyām

//matoh 5/1 pūrvam 1/1 āt 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1 striyām 7/1/ (udāttah #156)

matoh pūrvā ākāra udātto bhavati tac cen matvantam striśinge samjñā bhavati

An ā before matUP is marked with udātta when the derivate signifies a name in the feminine.

**Examples:**

udumbgrāvāti 'name of a city'
puṣkgrāvāti 'name of a city'
śgrāvāti 'name of a city'

1. Recall that matUP of these derivate is introduced by 4.4.84 nadyām matup. The m of matUP is replaced with v (8.2.11 samjñāyām). The long ā which precedes matUP has its source in the application of 6.3.119 matau bahvaco. . . . The long of śaravāti, however, is caused by 6.1.120 śarādīnām ca. These derivate of NīP are all marked anudātta at the end. For, NīPis an affix marked with P as an it (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). Our present rule offers udātta to the ā which precedes matUP.

2. Counter-examples, such as ikṣumāti and drumavāti, illustrate how the absence of a long ā before matUP makes this rule inapplicable. A counter-example for samjñāyām is offered in khaṭvāvāti 'a place with many cots'. A counter-example for striyām is offered as śaravān. Finally, gavādini is offered as a counter-example for the condition of matoh.

6.1.217 अन्तोङ्करणः

anto' vatyāh

//anto 1/1 avatyāh 6/1/

(udāttah #156 samjñāyām #218)

avatiśabdāntasya samjñāyām anta udātto bhavati

The final of that which ends in avatī is marked udātta when the signification is a name.

**Examples:**

giṅgavati 'name of a place'
khaḍgavati 'name of a place'
hamavatī 'name of a place'
kāṇḍavatī 'name of a place'
1. A word-form ending in *avati* is here offered *udatta* at the end. This accentual provision is made against the final *anudatta* of the feminine affix *NiP* (3.1.4 *anudattau suppitaun*). Here again we get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *samjñāyām*). A long replacement for the short *a* before *matUP* is again accomplished by 6.3.120 *sāradinām ca*.

6.1.218 इवत्यहः:

*īvatyāḥ*

/īvatyāḥ 5/1/

(*udātaḥ #156 samjñāyām #218 antah #219*)

*īvatisabdāntasyānta udātto bhavati striyāṁ samjñāyāṁ viṣaye*

The final of that which ends in *īvati* is marked with *udatta* when the signification is a name.

**Examples:**

*ahīvati* `name of a place`

*kṛṣīvati* `name of a place`

*munīvati* `name of a place`

1. The *v* of these examples is a replacement of *m* of *matUP*. The long ā has its source in the application of 6.3.120 *sāradinām ca*. Our present rule offers *udatta* against affixal *anudatta* of *NiP*.

6.1.219 चौ

*cau*

/cau 7/1/

(*udātaḥ #156 antah #217*)

*cau parataḥ pūrvasyānta udātto bhavati*

That which occurs in construction before *cau* is marked *udatta* at the end.

**Examples:**

*dādhicāḥ*

dādhicā
dādhicē
dābhucāḥ
dābhucā
dābhucē
dābhucē
dābhucē
dābhucē
dābhucē
dābhucē
dābhucē

1. Note that *cau*, a locative singular form of *ru*, refers to verbal root *aṅcU* with its *it*-elements deleted. A specification with *cau* is made after deleting the nasal of *aṅcU*. Consider *dadhic* where affix *KuIN* (3.2.59 *rtvigladhrīg* . . . ) is introduced after *aṅcU* to form an *upapada-samāsa 'conjoined compound',
under the cooccurrence condition of \textit{dadhi} + \textit{am}. Recall that affix \textit{KuIN} goes through total deletion. Given \textit{dadhi} + (\textit{am} \rightarrow \textit{a}) + \textit{aṅc}, where deletion of \textit{am} is due to compound formation, 6.4.24 \textit{aniditām hal} . . . deletes \textit{n} of \textit{aṅc}. The \textit{a} of \textit{dadhi} + \textit{ac} is also deleted (6.4.138 \textit{acah}). The preceding \textit{i} is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.138 \textit{cau}). Thus, \textit{dadhičaḥ}, an accusative plural with \textit{Śas}. Note that \textit{a} of \textit{aṅcU} is \textit{udātta} by 6.2.130 \textit{gatikārakopapadā}. . . . The nominal ending \textit{Śas} was \textit{anudātta} to start with (3.1.4 \textit{anudāttau suppiita}). Rule 6.1.158 \textit{anudāttasya} . . . then offered \textit{udātta} to \textit{Śas}, because it occurred after a deleted \textit{udātta}, i.e., \textit{a}. Our present rule made the proposal of \textit{udātta} to \textit{i} which precedes. Other examples follow similar derivational details.

6.1.220 समासस्य

\textit{samāsasya}

\textit{samāsasya 6/1/}

(\textit{udāttah} #156 \textit{antah} #219)

\textit{samāsasyānta udātto bhavati}

The final constituent of a compound is marked with \textit{udātta} at the end.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{rāja-puruṣah} ‘king’s man’
  \item \textit{brāhmaṇa-kambaraḥ} ‘brāhmaṇa’s blanket’
  \item \textit{kanyā-svanah} ‘girl-noise’
  \item \textit{patāha-sabdah} ‘noise of the Paṭaha (war) drum’
  \item \textit{nadi-pañcaḥ} ‘river-noise’
  \item \textit{rājaprasat} ‘royal-seal’
  \item \textit{brāhmaṇa-samit} ‘assembly of brāhmaṇas’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule assigns final \textit{udātta} accent to a compound. Recall that a compound is formed by integrating two or more syntactically related nominals (2.1.4 \textit{saha supā}). Constituents of a compound bring their own individual accents. Our present rule assigns a single final \textit{udātta} accent to the compound as a whole. Thus, the final of \textit{brāhmaṇa-samit} will be marked \textit{udātta}. Since vowels alone have the characteristic ability to carry accents we get \textit{i} of \textit{brāhmaṇa-samit} to be marked \textit{udātta}. More explanations, especially in relation to accentual interaction, will be offered under rules of the next quarter (\textit{pāda}). For, rules of the second quarter of \textit{adhyāya} six form an exception to this rule.

\textbf{Pāda Two}

6.2.1. \textit{बहुव्रीहो प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्}

\textit{bahuvrihau prakṛtyā pūrva-padam}

\textit{bahuvrihau 7/1 prakṛtyā 3/1 pūrva-padam 1/1/}
bahuvarihau samāse pūrwapadasya yaḥ svaraḥ sa prakṛtyā bhavati
The accent of an initial constituent in a bahuvarīhi compound remains as it originally was.

Examples:

kāṛṣṇottarāsaṅgāḥ 'men who cover themselves with the hide of a black deer'
yiivalajāḥ 'that (a city) which has its entry point marked by a ritual post'
brāhmaṇaṅgaripāraskandāh 'a place where a celibate is the protector'
snātakaputraḥ 'he whose son is a scholar'
adhyāpakaṇḍaḥ 'he whose son is a teacher'
vīrottīyaṇaḥ 'he whose son is a presiding ritualist'
maṇusyaṅāthaḥ 'he whose lord is a man'

1. This rule marks the beginning of exceptions to provisions of the last sūtra of the preceding quarter. Rule 6.1.220 samāsasya requires the final constituent of a compound to be marked udāṭtā at the end. Rule 6.1.155 anudāṭtam padam ekavarjām demands that all vowels, except for one, be marked anudāṭta in a compound. Thus, in view of the preceding, a compound will be marked udāṭta at the end. The remaining syllables of a compound will then have to be marked anudāṭta. It is here that our present rule intervenes. It offers the initial constituent of a compound to retain its original accent. That is, it does not have to conform to provisions of rule 2.1.220 samāsasya, read also in view of 6.1.155 anudāṭtam padam. . . . The original accent referred to here by prakṛtyā must then be an udāṭta or svarīta. For, it cannot be one offered by the blanket anudāṭta of 6.1.155 anudāṭtam padam. . . .

2. Consider kāṛṣṇottarāsaṅgāḥ, a bahuvarīhi compound, where its initial constituent kāṛṣṇa is a derivate of aṆ, introduced after krṣṇa + Ńas (4.3.154 prāṇirajatādibhāṇ) with the signification of vihāra 'modification, product'. Rule 6.1.194 Ńinīṣādir niyātām assigns initial udāṭta to kāṛṣṇa, obligatorily, at the strength of Ń as an i in aṆ. Our present rule requires that this initial udāṭta accent be retained in the compound. A similar retention of initial udāṭta is witnessed in yuṣpāvalajāḥ 'a city where a ritual post marks its entry point', parallel to yuṣpa valajāḥ yasya. The word yuṣpa is a derivate of affix pa, introduced after yu 'join, unite, mix' (Uṇādī III:27: kusyubhyas ca). The lengthening of u is gotten from Uṇādī III:25: stuvo dirghaś ca. Affix pa is treated as marked with Ń as an i (Uṇādī III:26: suśrībhāṃ nic ca).

A bahuvarīhi such as brahmaṇaṅgaripāraskandāḥ, parallel to brahmaṇaṅgaripāraskandāḥ yasya yasmin vā 'he of whose (or a place where) a celibate is the protector'. The word brahmaṇarī is a derivate of affix ŃinI (3.2.80 vrate), used with the signification of an upamāna 'standard of comparison'. This
derivate of \textit{kr	extipa{t}} is marked \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} at the end (6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt \textit{kr	extipa{t}}). The word snātaka, in snātakaputraḥ ‘he whose son is a scholar’, is a derivate of \textit{kaN} and is marked \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} at the beginning. The adhyāpaka ‘teacher’, of adhyāpaputraḥ ‘he whose son is a teacher’, is marked \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} in the middle (madhyodātta) because it is a derivate of \textit{Nvul} marked with \textit{L} as an \textit{it} (6.1.190 līt). The śrotiya, of śrotiyaputraḥ ‘he whose son is presiding retualist’, is a derivate of ghaN, via nipātana. It is marked \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} at the beginning because of \textit{N} as an \textit{it} in ghaN (5.2.84 śrotiyaś chando’ adhīte). The manusya, of manusyanāthah ‘he of whose lord is a man’, is a derivate of yaT (4.1.161 manor jātāv . . .) with an additional provision of \textit{SUK} Rule 6.1.182 \textit{tit} svaritam assigns \textit{svarita} to the affix. Consequently, manusya carries a \textit{svarita} at the end.

It has been stated that \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} and \textit{svarita} are understood here. Consequently, this rule will not apply where the initial constituent of the compound is all \textit{anudātta} (sarvānudātta). An example is \textit{samabhāgaḥ} ‘a thing with equal parts’ where sama is marked \textit{anudātta} on both syllables. The compound will thus be marked \textit{ud	extipa{t}ta} at the end (6.1.220 samāsasya).

### 6.2.2 तत्पुरुषेऽ तु व्यायामोऽवृत्तेऽपतिष्ठत्यायां तत्पुरुषोऽपतिष्ठ्यायां:

\begin{quote}
tatpuruṣe tulyārtha-tṛ̱yāśaṣṭaptamayupaṁanāvayayadvitiyākṛtyāḥ
/ tatpuruṣe 7/1 tulyārtha-tṛ̱yāśaṣṭaptamayupaṁanā-vayayadvitiyā-kṛtyāḥ 1/3 = tulyo’ rtho yasya (bv.); tulyārtham ca tṛ̱yāś ca saṁtām ca upamānām ca avayam ca dvitiyā ca kṛtyās as (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrva)padaṁ #1

tatpuruṣe saṁpade tulyārtham tṛ̱yāntam saṣṭaptamyantam upamānanāci
 avayam dvitiyāntam kṛtyantam ca yat pūrva)padām tat prakṛtyisvaraṁ bhavati
\end{quote}

An initial constituent which, in a \textit{tatpuruṣa} compound, either denotes the sense of tulya ‘equal, similar’ or ends in tṛ̱yā and saṣṭaptam or is an indeclinable denoting an upamāna ‘standard of comparison’ or ends in dvitiyā, or else, ends in a kṛtya suffix, retains its original accent.

**Examples:**

- tulyāśvetah ‘equally white’
- tulyālohitah ‘equally red’
- sādṛ̱kchvētah ‘similar white’
- sādṛ̱glōhitah ‘similar red’
- sādṛ̱sāśvetah ‘similar white’
- sādṛ̱sālohitah ‘similar red’
- śāṅkukā̱kaṁdah ‘split by an axe’
- kṣirikā̱nah ‘made one-eyed by a boar’
- aṅkṣaśauṇḍah ‘skilled at the game of dice’
- pānāśauṇḍah ‘addicted to drinking’
śastrīśyāmā ‘black as a little knife’
kumudāṣyeni ‘lily-white’
ḥaṃsagādgādā ‘swan-like sweet-speaking woman’
dūrvākāṇḍāsyaśāma ‘black as a blade of grass’
śarakhāṇḍāgaunī ‘fair as a piece of reed’
abhrāmaṇāḥ ‘non-brāhmaṇa’
kubrāhaṇaṇā ‘bad brāhmaṇa’
myhūrttasūkham ‘momentary pleasure’
sarugrātrakālīṇī ‘entire night as auspicious’
bhajyōṣṇam ‘warm food’
bhujyālavanam ‘salty food’

1. The first six examples are compounds termed karmadhāraya (2.1.68 kṛtyatulyākkhyā ajātyā). The initial constituent of the first two, i.e., tulya, is a derivate of yaT. It is marked with udātta at the beginning (6.1.210 yato nāvah). The sadṛk of sadṛkhvetah ends in KuIN (vt.: samānānyayoṣ ceti . . .; ad 3.2.60 tyaddāisu . . .), and, hence, is marked udātta at the end (6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt . . .). Affix KuIN, as usual, goes through total deletion. This preceding vārttika proposal also derives sadṛṣa of sadṛṣasvetaḥ with affix KaN. The sa as a replacement for samāna comes from 3.5.89 dṛgṛṣa-vatuṣu . . . gatikārakopapadāt . . . The word sadṛṣa, a derivate of kaN introduced after drṣ, is marked udātta in the middle (madhya).

The word śaṅkulā derives with affix Ka used with the signification of GHaN (vt.: ghañarthe kavidhānam; ad 3.3.58 grahavidrniścigamaś ca). The instrumental compound (trīyā-tatpuruṣa) is formed by 2.1.29 trīyā-tatkṛtārthena . . . Thus, śaṅkulā is marked with affixal udātta at the end. The word kiri of kirikāṇaḥ is a derivate of i (Unādi 4.143 kṛgrṣr . . .) which is treated as marked with K. It is also marked udātta at the end.

The aksa of aksaśauṇḍaḥ is a derivate of sa (Unādi 3.45 arṣer devane). The s as a replacement for ś of verbal root aś, and k for the resultant s as well, are gotten from the applications of 8.2.36 varścambahjasr . . . and 8.2.41 kah si. The s as a replacement for affixal s, is gotten from 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh. Here again, aksa is marked with affixal udātta at the end. The pāna of pānaśauṇḍah has verbal root pā marked with udātta. For, it ends in LyuT, an affix marked with L as an it (6.1.184 līt). The compound in these examples is formed by 2.1.39 saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ.

Compounds such as śastrīśyamā, kumudāṣyeni, haṃsagadgadā and dūrvākāṇḍāsyaśāmā are all formed by 2.1.55 upamānāmi sāmānyavacanaiḥ. The word śastrī ends is NiŚ. It is marked udātta at the end. The word kumuda is a derivate of Ka, paraphrased as kau modate ‘blossoms on earth’ (vt.: ka-prakariṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyaṇam; ad 3.1.5 tundaśokayaoh . . .). This again is marked udātta at the end. The haṃsa of haṃsagadgadā is a derivate of sa (Unādi III:62: vṛṛtprādivaḥ . . .). Here again, we get final udātta by affixal accent. The next compound constituents, i.e., dūrvākāṇḍa and śrakāṇḍa,
are both genitive tatpuruṣa. The ā of their kāṇḍa is marked udāṭta by 6.2.134 saṭ ca kāṇḍādini.

The negative tatpuruṣa compunds (2.2.6 naṁ, i.e., abrahmāṇah, etc., illustrate accentual provisions for indeclinables (avayya). They are all marked udāṭta at the beginning (Phīṭṣūtra 79: nipātā ādyudāttah). The accusative (dvīṭīyā) tatpuruṣa of mūhūrtasukham, where mūhūrtā is marked udāṭta at the end (6.3.107 prṣodorādini . . .), is formed by 2.1.28 atyantamasmyoge ca. The sarvarātra of sarvarātrākalyāṇi ends in affix TaC (5.4.87 ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa . . .). It is marked udāṭta at the end in view of affixal accent.

The last two examples, bhogyoṣṇām and bhogyalavāṇam, contain bhogyā, a derivate of NyaT (3.1.124 rhalor nyat). It is marked svarita at the end by 6.1.182 tit svaritam.

These derivates are all exceptions to 6.1.120 samāsasya. Since our rule restores original accent of initial constituents, derivational details of only those constituents is offered. Refer to compound section of rules (vol. III) for further details.

6.2.3 वर्ण वर्णोपनेते

varna varṇeṣu anete
/varnaḥ 1/1 varṇeṣu 7/3 anete 7/1 = na etah = anetah (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)
varṇavācī pūrvapadam varṇavācīṣu evottarapadeṣu etasabdavarjiteṣu paratas
tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaranm bhavati

An initial constituent which, in a tatpuruṣa compound, signifies varṇa ‘color’ and combines with a following constituent signifying varṇa, though not constituted by eta, retains its original accent.

Examples:

kṛṣṇasāraṅgah ‘variegated black’
lohitāsāraṅgah ‘variegated red’
kṛṣṇakālmāṣah ‘spotted black’
lohitakālmāṣah ‘spotted red’

1. Note that kṛṣṇa is a derivate of affix naK (Uṇādī III:4: kṛṣer varṇe). Thus, it is marked with udāṭta at the end by affixal accent. The lohita of lohitāsāraṅgah is a derivate of affix taN (Uṇādī III:94: ruhe raś ca lo vā). Rule 6.1.194 nīmityādir nītyam will thus mark it udāṭta at the beginning. All these examples involve an initial constituent denoting ‘color’ (varṇa). Elsewhere, in paramakṛṣṇah ‘absolutely black’ and kṛṣṇatilāḥ ‘black sesame’, this rule does not apply. For, parama is not a word denoting ‘color’ in the first, and kṛṣṇa, with the signification of ‘color’ in the second, is not a following constituent. Finally, kṛṣṇaitah ‘variegated black’ is also excluded since etah ‘variegated’, a word denoting color, follows.
6.2.4 गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे

gādhalavaṇayaḥ pramāṇe
/gādha-lavaṇayaḥ 7/2 pramāṇe 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)
pramāṇavācini tatpuruse samāse ‘gādha, lavaṇa’ ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadam prakṛtisvarām bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusā compound retains its original accent when gādha and lavaṇa combine to follow and the signification is pramāṇa ‘standard of measure’.

Examples:

sambāgādham udakam ‘as deep as iron-head length of a pestle’
gritāgādham udakam ‘as deep as the length of an ore’
golāvānam ‘as much salt as can be given to a cow’
asvālavaṇam ‘as much salt as can be given to a horse’

1. Note that samba ‘iron-head of a pestle’ is a derivate of affix baN (Uṇādi IV.94: šamer ban) and hence, because of its N as an it, it is marked udāṭta at the beginning. The next example has aritra ‘an ore’, a derivate of itra (3.2.184 arttilūdhū . . .), as its initial constituent. It is marked udāṭta in the middle by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭtaś ca). The go of golāvānam is a derivate of Do (Uṇādi II.62: gamer ḍoh). This again is udāṭta by affixal accent. The aśva of aśvalavaṇam is a derivate of affix KvaN (Uṇādi I.151: aśupṛṣilaṭi . . .). It is marked udāṭta at the beginning in view of 6.1.194 ōṃnityādir nityam. The original accent of all preceding constituents is retained.

6.2.5 दायादेण दायदेः

dāyādyaṁ dāyade
/dāyādyam 1/1 dāyāde 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)
tatpuruse samāse dāyādaśabda uttarapade dāyādyavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvarām bhavati

An initial constituent of a tatpurusā compound with the signification of dāyāda ‘inheritance’ retains its original accent when dāyāda ‘inheritor’ follows.

Examples:

vidyādādaṁ ‘he who inherits knowledge’
dhanadādaṁ ‘he who inherits wealth’

1. Note that vidyā ‘knowledge’ is a derivate of KyaP (3.3.99 samjñāyāṁ samajam . . .), marked udāṭta at the end. Since it ends in TāP, it should be marked anudāṭta at the end (3.1.4 anudāṭtau suppītau). This, however, is
not accepted. The final ṛ of  vidyā remains udāṭta because it is a single replacement involving an udāṭta. The word dhana ‘wealth’ is a derivate of Kyu (Uṇādi II:81: kṛpṛṇi . . .), introduced after dhāṅ. The ṛ of dhāṅ is deleted (6.4.68 āto lopa . . .) and its yu is replaced with anā (7.1.1 yuvor anākau). Incidentally, the word dāyāda is explained as dātavya dāyah = bhāgah, dāyam ādatte dāyādaḥ ‘one who receives a share of inheritance’.

The genitive of the example compounds has been questioned. If one accepts it as introduced in consonance with rule 2.3.39 svāmiśvarādhipati . . ., the formation of these compounds will be blocked. For, a genitive introduced by enumerating individual bases (pratipadavidhāna) cannot be combined in a compound (cf. vt. ad 2.2.9 yājāhābhīṣ ca pratipadavidhāna ca saśthī na samasyate). It must then be accepted as a case of residual genitive (sesalakṣāṇaḥ) of 2.3.50 saśthī sēśe. That is, the genitive of these compounds will no longer be a genitive characterized with enumeration of individual bases (pratipadavidhāna). But why is the genitive offered in relation to dāyāda, etc., in 2.3.39 svāmiśvarādhipati . . .? Note that 2.3.39 offers genitive along with an optional locative (saptamī). If genitive was not specified in 2.3.39, then its locative, because of being a special provision, would have blocked the genitive of 2.3.50, as far as dāyāda, etc., were concerned. The genitive of 2.3.39 can still be accepted as residual genitive. This way, the compounds can be interpreted as genitive (saśthī) and locative (saptamī) tatpurūṣa, both.

6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धियितविरुक्कुःक्यः:

pratibandhī cirakrcchrayoh
/pratibandhi 1/1 cirakrcchrayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpurūṣe #2)
tatpurūṣe samāse cirakrcchrayor uttarapadayaḥ pratibandhivācipūrvapadaṁ
prakṛṣṭivaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurūṣa compound which signifies pratibandhi ‘obstacle’ retains its original accent when cira ‘long, protracted’ and krcchra ‘difficult’ combine to follow.

Examples:

gamānaciram ‘delayed departure’
gamānakrcchram ‘difficult departure’
vṛāharāṇaciram ‘delayed response’
vṛāharānakrcchram ‘difficult response’

1. This rule allows the initial constituent of a tatpurūṣa compound to retain its original accent provided it is used with the denotatum of pratibandhi ‘obstacle’. Thus, gamana ‘going’ and vṛāharaṇa ‘talking’, both derivates of LyuT → ana marked with udāṭta at the end (6.1.190 litī), retain their original accent. These karmadhāraya-tatpurūṣa compounds can be formed by 2.1.72
mayūravyāmsakādayaś ca. Their initial constituents, i.e., gamana and vyā-haraṇa, are viewed here as obstacles to realization of desired results.

6.2.7 पदेपदेशे

\[ pade' padeśe \]
\[ /pade 7/1 apadeśe 7/1/ \]
\[ (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2) \]
apadeśe vācini tatpuruse samāse padaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusa compound retains its original accent when pada ‘place, excuse’ combines to follow and apadeśa ‘pre-text’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

\[ mūtrāpadena prasthitah ‘... left on the pretext of urinating’ \]
\[ uccārāpadena prasthitah ‘... left on the pretext of defecating’ \]

1. Note that mūtra is a derivate of ŚṭraN (tra; Uṇādi IV:163: sivimucyo ...). It is marked udāṭta at the beginning because of its N as an i (6.1.194 ōṇityādir nityam). The word uccāra is a derivate of GHaN and is marked udāṭta at the end (6.2.144 thāthaghair ...). Incidentally, apadeśa and uccāra are explained as vyāja ‘pretext’ and purīṣakriyā ‘defecating’, respectively. That is why, viṣṇoh padam = viṣṇypadam ‘place of Viṣṇu’ does not qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.8 निवाते वातत्राणे

\[ nivāte vātatrāṇe \]
\[ /nivāte 7/1 vātatrāne 7/1 = vātāt trāṇam (pāñc. tat.), tasmin/ \]
\[ (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2) \]
nivātasabde uttarapade vātatrāṇavācini tatpuruse samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusa compound retains its original accent when nivāta combines to follow and vātatrāṇa ‘protection from wind’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:

\[ kuṇinīvātam ‘hut alone as a shelter from winds’ \]
\[ śaminīvātam ‘Śami tree alone as a shelter from winds’ \]
\[ kudvānīvātam ‘wall alone as a shelter from winds’ \]

1. Note that nivāta denotes ‘absence of wind’ (vātābhāva). It can be interpreted as an indeclinable (avayaibhāva) compound formed by 2.1.6 avayaṁvibhakti. ... One can also form a bahuvrīhi, paraphrased as niruddhaḥ
vātah asmin ‘that in which the wind is blocked out’. A constituent such as kuti, which may serve as a cause for blocking winds can be combined with nivāta, a coreferential (samānādhikarana) pada. The words kuti and samī both end in Niṣ and have been enumerated in the list headed by gaura, i.e., gaurādi (4.1.41 sid gaurādibhyas ca). These are all marked udātta at the end by affixal accent. The word kūḍya ‘wall’ ends in suffix dyak, or dyakī (Uṇādi VIII:20: kavater dyakī ca). It is thus marked udātta at the end. Some even consider it as a derivate of yaT, marked udātta at the beginning (ādyudātta; 6.1.210 yato nāvah).

Note that nivāta must denote vātātrāṇa ‘wind-protection’. For, elsewhere, in rājanivāte vasati ‘stays near the king’ and sukham mātrinivātam ‘happiness where the mother is’, this accentual provision will be blocked. The word nivāta is used here in the sense of ‘proximity, side’.

6.2.9 शारदेःनार्तवे

śāradeṁ nārtave

/śārade 7/1 anārtave 7/1 = ṛtau bhavam = ārtavam; na ārtavam (naṁ
	tat.)/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)

anārtavavācini śāradaṁśabdē uttarapade tatpuruse samāse pūrvapadam
prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusa compound retains its original accent when śārada ‘autumnal’ signifying something not pertaining to a season (anārtava) follows.

Examples:

rajjuśāradam udakam ‘rope-fetched fresh water’
drṣatśāradāḥ saktaṇaṁ ‘freshly stone-ground sakta (parched gram-flour)’

1. Note that ārtavam, of the negative anārtave, is explained as that which is found in its season (ṛtau bhavam). The word śāradeṁ is here used in the sense of pratyagāra ‘new, fresh’. Elsewhere, it can mean autumnal. The word raju is a derivate of affix u (Uṇādi I:15: srjer asum ca), introduced after verbal root sṛj ‘to ceate’. Augment asUM is also introduced here before the root-final consonant. Thus, sṛ + asUM + j + u → sṛ + as + j + u. The root-initial s of the string also goes through deletion, and r goes through a replacement in yaN. Thus, (s→ϕ)r + as + j + u → (r→r) + as + j + u. Rule 8.4.52 jhalāṁ jaś jhaśi then replaces s with d, which, by application of 8.4.50 stoś cunā ścuḥ, becomes j. Thus, r + a(s→d→j) + j + u = raju. This word is marked udātta at the beginning since u is qualified as nīt (6.1.194 蝼ityādir nityam). The word drṣad ‘pebble, rock’ is a derivate of adIK (Uṇādi I:131: dṛṣṭaṁ śug hrasvaṁ ca). It is thus marked udātta at the end. Verbal root dr ‘to tear, rip’ goes through shortening of its r, subsequently to which augment sUK is added.
The final \( d \) of \textit{dṛsad} is replaced with \( t \) (8.4.54 \textit{khari ca}). These compounds are both obligatory (\textit{niyā}). A paraphrase with their individual constituents (\textit{svapañavigraha}) is thus not possible.

6.2.10 अध्वर्यूक्षयोजाती

\textit{adhvaryukaśāyayor jātau}

\( / \text{adhvaryu-kaśāyayoh} \, 7/2 \) (\textit{itar. dv.}); \( jātau \, 7/1 \)

\( (\text{prakṛtyā pūrvapadam} \, #1 \, \text{tatpuruse} \, #2) \)

\textit{ādhvaryu. kaśāya} ity etayor jātivācini tatpuruse samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a \textit{tatpuruṣa} compound retains its original accent when \textit{adhvaryu} and \textit{kaśāya} combine to follow and \( jāti \) ‘class’ is signified.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{prācyādhvaryuh} ‘a priest from the east’

\textit{kathādhvaryuh} ‘a priest who is a Kathā’

\textit{kalāpādhvaryuh} ‘a priest who is a Kalāpā’

1. Note that compounds such as \textit{prācyādhvaryuh}, etc., are formed with coreferential constituents where their denotational scope (\textit{viṣaya}) is also fixed (\textit{niyata}) as \( jāti \) ‘class’. The word \textit{prācyā} is a derivate of \textit{yaT} (4.2.100 \textit{dyuprāgapāgu} . . . ), and hence, is marked \textit{udātta} at the beginning (6.1.210 \textit{yato} ‘nāvah’).

Note that \textit{kathā} is accepted as a derivate of \textit{aC} (3.1.134 \textit{nandigrahī} . . . ), introduced after verbal root \textit{kathā} ‘to live with difficulty’. Affix \textit{NīnI}, with the signification of \textit{kathena proktam} (3.4.101 \textit{tena proktam}), is then introduced after a syntactically related \textit{kathā} (3.4.104 \textit{kalāpivaisampā} . . . ). This affix is subsequently deleted by 3.4.107 \textit{kathacarakāl luk}. The word \textit{kalāpa} is derived with affix \textit{aN} (4.3.108 \textit{kalāpino} \( n \)). These derivate of \textit{NīnI} and \textit{aN} are both marked \textit{udātta} at the end (\textit{antodātta}). Refer to my notes under 4.3.107 \textit{kathacarakāl luk} and 4.3.108 \textit{kalāpino} \( n \) for additional details.

6.2.11 सदर्शप्रतिरुपयोः सादर्शे

\textit{sadrśapratirūpayaḥ sādrśye}

\( / \text{sadrśa-pratirūpayoh} \, 7/2 \) (\textit{itar. dv.}); \( sādrśye \, 7/1 \)

\( (\text{prakṛtyā pūrvapadam} \, #1 \, \text{tatpuruse} \, #2) \)

\textit{ādṛśa, pratirūpa} ity etayor uttarapadayaḥ sādṛśyavācini tatpuruse samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a \textit{tatpuruṣa} compound retains its original accent when \textit{sadrśa} ‘same, similar’ and \textit{pratirūpā} ‘identical’ combine to follow and \textit{sādṛśya} ‘similarity’ is signified.
EXAMPLES:

pitṛsādrśah ‘like (his) father’
mātrādṛśah ‘like (his) mother’

1. Note that mātr and pitṛ, both derivates of trC (Uñādi II:95: nap-trnēstavastr...), are marked udātta at the end via nipātana. Their compounds with sadrśa and pratirūpa are formed when the constituents end in saṣṭhī ‘genitive’ and trīyā ‘instrumental’, respectively.

Why mention sadrśa in this rule when an instrumental tatpuruṣa compound formed under 2.1.30 pūrvasadrśa... with mātr and pitṛ in the instrumental (2.3.72 tulyārtha...) can be accounted for by 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha... Recall that 2.3.72 tulyārtha... introduces instrumental, optionally, with the genitive. The word sadrśa is used here to indicate that our present rule applies only when the compound is a genitive tatpuruṣa. That is, even when no deletion of genitive (6.3.21 saṣṭhyāḥ ākrośe) takes place. It is important so that non-deletion of genitive, as in dāsyāḥsadrśaḥ, could further avail accentual provision of 6.1.171 udātta yāno halāpūrvāt.

Since as instrumental tatpuruṣa is expressly formed by 2.1.30 tulyārtha... , and also since there is no rule that allows a parallel genitive tatpuruṣa, a saṣṭhī interpretation characterized with sadrśa does not make sense. Nevertheless, a genitive tatpuruṣa is needed, as is indicated by non-deletion of genitive in compounds such as dāsyāḥsadrśaḥ ‘maid-like’. If a constituent ending in the genitive is accepted to form a compound with sadrśa, sadrśa should not be used in a rule which allows formation of instrumental tatpuruṣa (2.130 pūrvasadrśa...). That may be needed where a genitive tatpuruṣa could not be formed with sadrśa. Consider vidyāyā (hetunā) sadrśaḥ = vidyāsadrśaḥ ‘similar for reasons of scholarship’ as an example.

6.2.12 द्विगृज प्रमाणे

dvīgau prāmaṇe
/dvīgau 7/1 pramāne 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrva padam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)
dvīgau uttarapade pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrva padam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound termed dvīgau retains its original accent when the signification is pramāṇa ‘standard of measure’.

EXAMPLES:

prācyāsaptaśamah ‘seven year old easterner’
gāndhārisaptaśamah ‘seven year old Gandharan’

1. Note that saptaśama, a compound termed dvīgau (2.1.51 samkhyāpūrvo
\(dvigu\)) is combined after \(pr̥çya\) which, in turn, is marked \(udåta\) at the beginning (6.2.10 \(adhvaryu\)kas\(ā\)ya . . .). Incidentally, affix \(mātra\) has been deleted after \(sapta\)s\(a\)ma (5.2.37 \(pramåne\) dvayasa\(j\)daghnac . . .; ut.: \(pramåne\) lo vaktavyam; \(dvigor\) nityam). The word \(gåndhāri\), because of its enumeration in the \(kardamādi\) class, is marked \(udåta\) at the beginning, or at the middle (\(Paś\)s\(u\)tra 111:10).

Compounds such as \(brihi\)pr\(a\)sth\(a\)h and \(par\(a\)mas\(a\)pta\(s\)amah\) cannot qualify for this accentual provision since the first is not a \(dvigu\) and the second does not denote \(pramåna\).

6.2.13 गन्तव्यपण्य वाणिज्ये

\(gantavyapan\)yam \(våni\)je
/gantavya\-p\(a\)nyam 1/1 (\(itar.\ \(dv\)); \(våni\)je 7/1/
(prakṛty\)\(a\) p\(ü\)rvapad\(a\)m \#1 t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)e \#2)
\(våni\)ja\(s\)ab\(a\)da úttara\(p\)a\(p\)ade t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)e sam\(å\)se gantavyav\(ä\)ci p\(a\)nyav\(ä\)ci ca p\(ü\)rvapada\(m\) prakṛтивa\(m\) bhava\(t\)i

The initial constituent of a \(t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)a\) compound with the signification of \(gantavya\) 'road, destination' and \(panya\) 'that which is bartered' retains its original accent when \(våni\)ja 'trading' combines to follow.

**EXAMPLES:**

\(madravåni\)j\(a\)h 'a trader on way to Madra'
\(kåśm\(i\)ravåni\)j\(a\)h 'a trader on way to Kåśm\(i\)ra'
\(govåni\)j\(a\)h 'cow-trader'
\(aś\(u\)våni\)j\(a\)h 'horse-trader'

1. The initial constituent of these example compounds retain their original accent. Thus, \(madra\) ends in affix \(ra\)K (\(U\(n\)å\(d\)i II:13: \(s\)håyåti\(n\)ci . . .) and is marked \(udåta\) at the end by affixal accent (\(prat\)aya\(s\)vara; 3.1.3 ådyudåta\(s\) ca). The word \(kåśm\(i\)ra\) is marked \(udåta\) at the middle (6.3.109 \(pré\)\(s\)d\(a\)\(rå\)d\(a\)n\(i\) \(yå\)thropa\(d\)i\(s\)t\(a\)m). Refer to notes under 6.2.4 \(gå\)dhalava\(n\)a\(y\)oh \(pramåne\) for deriving \(go\) and \(a\(ś\)va\). They are marked \(udåta\) at the end and at the beginning, respectively.

6.2.14 मा\(ṭ\)्रोपजोप्रकर\(a\)मच्छाये नयुसके

\(må\(ṭ\)\(r\)\(a\)p\(a\)j\(i\)nop\(a\)krama\(c\)chåye na\(p\)u\(m\)sakåke
/m\(a\)\(ṭ\)\(r\)\(o\)p\(a\)j\(i\)nop\(a\)krama\(c\)chåye 7/1 (\(sam.\ \(dv\)); na\(p\)u\(m\)sakåke 7/1/
(prakṛty\)\(a\) p\(ü\)rvapad\(a\)m \#1 t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)e \#2)
\(må\(ṭ\)\(r\)å, \(u\)p\(a\)j\(n\)å, \(u\)pakrama, chåyå\) ete\(ś\)uttara\(p\)a\(d\)e\(s\)u na\(p\)u\(m\)sakåvå\(c\)cåni t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)e sam\(å\)se p\(ü\)rvapada\(m\) prakṛтивa\(m\) bhavati

The initial constituent of a neuter \(t\(a\)tpuru\(s\)a\) compound retains its original constituent when \(må\(ṭ\)\(r\)å 'measure', \(u\)p\(a\)j\(n\)å 'ingenuity', \(u\)pakrama 'initiative' and chåyå 'shade' combine to follow.
EXAMPLES:

bhikṣāmātraṃ na dadāti yācitaḥ 'when asked, he does not even give an appropriate measure of alms'
samudramātraṃ na saro' sti kīmcaṇa 'there is no pond equal to the size of an ocean'
pāṇinopājñāṃ akālakāṃ vyākaraṇaṃ 'a grammar with no notion of kāla 'time' is Pāṇini's ingenuity''
vyādyāpajñāṃ duṣkaraṇaṃ 'Vyādi's ingenuity is hard to match'
āḍhyōpakramam prāśādah 'a mansion begun by Āḍhya; ... begun by someone rich'
darśiniyōpakramam 'a beautiful start'
īśīcchāyam 'shadow of a mass of arrows'
dhanūśchāyam 'shadow of a bow'

1. The word mātrā is used here in the sense of pramāṇa 'measure', relative to the integration (vr̥tti) of nominals in a compound. Our compound bhikṣāpramaṇanam is a genitive tatpurusā compound paraphrased as: bhikṣāyās tulyapramaṇanam 'a measure equal to the measure of alms (desired)'. Recall that bhikṣa is derived with affix a introduced after bhikṣ (3.3.103 gurōś ca halah). It is marked udātta at the end (3.1.3 ādyudāttaś ca). Rule 4.1.4 ajādyataś ṭāp introduces ṬāP, subsequently. The word samudra is also marked udātta at the end (Pṛṣṭhātra I:2: pāṭalāpāla . . .).

The next four examples of upajñā and upakrama are genitive tatpurusā (2.4.24 upajñopakramam . . .) compounds. The word pānīna(Kāśikā does not use Pāṇīna here) is a derivate of aN signifying pānīnaḥ apatyam 'male offspring of Pāṇin'. It is marked udātta at the end by affixal accent.

The word āḍhya is a derivate of affix Ka, introduced after dhyā with the preverb ā. The initial dh of the root is replaced with dh, due mainly to its membership in the pṛṣodarādi group (6.3.109 pṛṣodarādhī . . .) of nominals. The ā of dhyā goes through deletion. The derivate itself is marked udātta at the end (6.2.144 thāthaghaṇ . . .). The word darśaniya 'worth seeing', a derivate of aniyaR, is marked udātta at nī (6.1.214 upottamam riti). The final of sukuṃārā 'tender' is similarly marked udātta (6.2.172 naṇsubhyām).

Examples with chāyā as a constituent are also interpreted as genitive tatpurusā compounds. Affix u (Uṇādi I:13), in iṣ + u → iṣu, is treated as marked with N as its it (Uṇādi I:9: dhānye nīt). We thus get its initial vowel marked with udātta (6.1.194 ṅiṇītyādir nītām). The initial of dhanuṣ 'bow' is also marked with udātta (Pṛṣṭhātra II:3: nabviṣayasyānisanstasa). Note that the neuter of these last two examples is in consonance with 2.4.22 chāyā bāhulye. Recall that this accentual provision will be blocked in kudyaṃchāyā 'hut's shade'. For, the compound is not a neuter.
6.2.15 सुखप्रिययोहिते

sukhapriyayor hite
/sukha-priyayoh 7/2 hite 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)
’sukha, priya’ ity etayor uttarapadayor hitavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrva-
padam prakṛtisvarāṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound retains its original accent when sukha ‘comfort’ and priya ‘dear’ combine to follow and the signification is hita ‘beneficial; source of pleasure’.

Examples:

gamānasukham ‘going will be a pleasure’
vacānasukham ‘talking will be a pleasure’
gamānapriyam ‘going will be dear’
vacānapriyam ‘speaking will be dear’

1. These examples all entail karmadāhāraya (1.2.42 tatpuruṣah . . . ). Their initial constituents are derivate of LyūT and hence, are marked udātta before the affix (6.1.190 liti).

Note that this accentual provision will be blocked outside the meaning of hita ‘benefic’. Consider paramasukham ‘best comfort’ and paramapriyam ‘most dear’ where sukha ‘comfort’ and priya ‘dear’ do not denote hita. They are used here with the denotatum of ‘excellence’ (utkṛṣṭa). The word sukha and priya of this rule are used with the signification of ‘beneficial (to happiness, etc.)’, where ‘happiness, etc., are seen as bhāvin ‘that which will happen in the future’.

6.2.16 प्रीति च

prītau ca
/prītau 7/1 ca φ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2 sukha-priyayoh #15)
prītau gamyamānāyāṃ ‘sukha, priya’ ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe
samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvarāṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound retains its original accent, also when sukha and priya combine as following constituents and priti ‘pleasure’ is signified.

Examples:

brāhmaṇasūkham pāyasam ‘a brāhmana finds extreme pleasure in eating rice-pudding’
chātrapriyo’ nadhyāyāh ‘a student finds extreme pleasure in non-study days’
kanyāpriyo mṛdaṅgaḥ 'a girl finds pleasure in playing the Mṛdaṅga drum'

1. Note that the signification of sukha and priya necessarily includes some sense of priti 'affection'. Why should we then state prītāu 'when affection is denoted'? It is used here to denote its excellence (atiśaya). The words brāhmaṇa and chātra are udātta at the end by affixal accent. They are derivate of aN (4.1.92 tasyāpatyam) and Na (4.4.62 chaṭrādibhyo nāḥ), respectively. The last, kanyā 'girl', is marked svarita at the end (Phītsūtra 76 tiṣyaśikya . . .).

6.2.17 svam śvāminī

svam svāminī
/svam 1/1 svāminī 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvaṇaṁ #1 tatpuruṣe #2)
svāmiṇiśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvaṇaṁ prakṛtisvarām bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound with the signification of sva 'one's own' retains its original accent when svāmin combines to follow.

Examples:

gosvāmi 'cow-owner'
āsvāsvāmi 'horse-owner'
dhanāsvāmi 'owner of wealth'

1. Refer to derivational details of go 'cow', aśva 'horse' and dhana 'wealth' which have already been discussed (6.2.4 gādhalavaṇṇayoh . . .; 6.2.5 dāyādyam . . .). The initial udātta of aśva and dhana, and the final udātta of go as well, is retained. This accentual provision will be blocked where sva 'one's own' is not denoted. Consider paramasvāmi, where parama denotes svāmin by way of being a qualifier (viśeṣāṇa).

6.2.18 patyāvairaye

patyāv aśvārye
/patyāv 7/1 aśvārye 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadaṁ #1 tatpuruṣe #2)
patiśabda uttarapade aśvāryavācini tatpuruṣe pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvarām bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound formed with the signification of aśvārya 'affluence' retains its original accent when pati 'lord, husband' combines to follow.

Examples:

gṛhapātiḥ 'householder'
senāpātiḥ 'commander'
narāpatiḥ 'king'
dhānyāpatiḥ 'master of wealth'

1. The senā ‘army’ of senāpatiḥ is a bahuvrīhi compound, paraphrased as saha inena vartate ‘that which exists with might’. It is marked udāṭta at the beginning (Pñīṣṭātra 80: nipātā ādyudāttāḥ). The word nara ‘man’ is a derivate of affix aP (3.3.57 ṣdot aP), introduced after nṛ. It is marked udāṭta at the beginning because of the root-accent (dhātu-svara; 6.1.159 dhātoḥ). The affix, of course, is marked with anudāṭta (3.1.4 anudāṭtau suppitau). The word dhānya, a derivate of NyāT, is marked with svarīta (6.1.182 titsvarītam) at the end.

6.2.19 न भूवाक्षिदिदिधिषु

na bhūvākṣiddidhiṣu
/ na ṣbhū-vaṅ-cid-didhiṣu 7/3 (sam. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2) patyāv aśvavye #18
patisābda uttarapade aśvavyavācini tatpuruse samāse bhū, vāk, cit, didhiṣu
ity etāni pūrvapadāni prakṛtisvarāṇi na bhavanti

The initial constituent of a tatpurūṣa compound formed with the significance of aśvavya ‘affluence’ does not retain its original accent when pati ‘husband, lord’ combines to follow bhū ‘earth’, vāk ‘speech’, cit ‘mind, consciousness’ and didhiṣu ‘a woman who remarried’.

EXAMPLES:

bhūpatiḥ ‘lord of the land’
vākpatiḥ ‘master of speech’
ciptaḥ ‘master of mind’
didhiṣupatiḥ ‘husband of a widowed woman’

1. This is an exception to the preceding rule. The preceding rule itself is an exception to 6.1.220 samāsasya. Thus, a negation of retention will reinstate final udāṭta of 6.1.220 samāsasya. The examples are all genitive tatpurūṣa compounds. The initial constituents of the first three compounds, i.e., bhū, vāk, cit, are derivate of KuIP (3.2.179 bhuvah samjñāntarayoh; 3.2.117 anyeṇbhṛo pi dṛṣyate; vt.: kiviṣvacipracchi . . .), respectively. The initial constituent of the last compound, i.e., didhiṣu, is derived with Kū (Uṇādi I:176: andūḍṛmbhūjambu . . .), via nipātana, and is marked anudāṭta. The compound is, of course, marked with udāṭta at the end (6.1.220 samāsasya).

6.2.20 वा भुवनम्

vä bhuvanam
/ vā ṣbhuvanam 1/1/ 
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2 patyāv aśvavye #18)
patisabda uttarapade aisivaryavacini tatpuruse samase bhuvanasabdah purnapadam va prakrtisvaram bhavati

An initial constituent, namely bhuvana, of a tatpurusa compound formed with the signification of aisivarya, optionally retains its original accent.

Examples:

bhuvanapatih 'lord of the universe'
bhuvanapatih

1. The word bhuvana 'universe' is a derivate of KyuN (Unadi II:80: bhuisudhubhurasj. . .). Thus, bhū + (yu→ana) = bh(u→v) + ana = bhuvana. It is marked udatta at the beginning because of N as an it in Kyun. This retention of the original accent of bhuvana is here made optional to the final udatta of 6.1.220 samasasya.

6.2.21 आशांकाबालिकायस्तु सम्भव्ये

āśankābādhanedyassu sambhāvane /āśanka-abādha-nedyassu 7/3 (itar. dv.); sambhāvane 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrpapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)
‘āśanka, abādha, nedyas’ity eteśuttarapadeṣu sambhāvanavacini tatpuruse samase pūrva-padam prakrtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusa compound formed with the signification of sambhāvana ‘assumption, supposition’ retains its original accent when āśanka ‘fear, apprehension’, abādha ‘impediment’ nedyas ‘proximate’ combine to follow.

Examples:

gamānāśaṅkam ‘apprehension about going’
vacānāśaṅkam ‘apprehension about speaking’
gamānābādhām ‘possible departure’
vacānābādhām ‘possible speaking’
gamānanēdiyāh ‘imminent departure’
vyaḥparānanēdiyāh ‘imminent speaking’

1. Note that āśanka and abādha are derivate of GHaN, introduced after saṅk and bādh conjoined with the preverb aN. They both are marked udatta at the beginning (6.1.194 nīnityādir nītyam). Their compounds with gamana and vacana are formed by 2.1.56 višeṣaṇaṃ višeṣyena . . . Since gamana and vacana are derivate of LyuT, their accent will be determined in view of 6.1.190 līti.

Commentators explain nedyas as atisayena antikaḥ ‘extremely closeby’, where antika is replaced with ned before iyasUN (5.3.63 antikabādhayor . . .).
6.2.22 पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे

\[\text{puɾve bhūtapūrve}\]

\[\text{/pūrve 7/1 bhūtapūrve 7/1 = pūrvaṃ bhūtaḥ, tasmin/}\]

\[\text{(prakṛtyā pūrvaṇḍam #1 tatpurūṣe #2)}\]

\[\text{pūrvaśabde uttarapade bhūtapūrvarvacīni tatpurūse samāse pūrvaṇḍam prakṛtisvarāṃ bhavati}\]

The initial constituent of a tatpurūṣa compound formed with the significance of bhūtapūrva ‘former; that which existed before’ retains its original accent when pūrva ‘prior, earlier’ combines to follow.

**Examples:**

ādhyapūrvah ‘formerly rich’
darśaniyapūrvah ‘formerly handsome’
sukumārapūrvah ‘formerly tender’

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.14 mātrapajnopakrama... where ādhyā ‘rich’,
sukumāra ‘tender’ and darśaniya ‘worth seeing’ are discussed. The example compounds can be formed by 2.1.56 viśesaṇam viṣesyaṇa... Or else, one can resort to 2.1.72 mahāraṁmahāśukādayaś ca. These compounds are formed with the sense of bhūtapūrva ‘that which existed before’. The word pūrva, insofar as integration (vṛtti) is concerned, is used in the sense of bhūtapūrva ‘existed before’.

Why do we have to state the condition of bhūtapūrve ‘when existed before’? Consider paramapūrvah ‘that which is best and is also prior’ and uttamapūrvah ‘ibidem’ where the compounds are paraphrased as paramas-cāsaupūrvaṣ ca and uttamaś cāsaupūrvaṣ ca, respectively. They are not formed with paraphrases such as paramo bhūtapūrvah ‘formerly excellent’ and uttamo bhūtapūrvah ‘formerly best’ (Kāś. atra paramaś cāsaupūrvaṣ ca iti samāso na tu paramo bhūtapūrvah iti).

6.2.23 सविधसनीडसमयान्दसवेशसदेशेषु सामीये

\[\text{savidhasanidaśamsaryādasaveśasadeśeṣu sāmīpye}\]

\[\text{/savidha-sanida-samaryāda-saveśa-sadeśeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); sāmīpye 7/1/}\]

\[\text{(prakṛtyā pūrvaṇḍam #1 tatpurūṣe #2)}\]

\[\text{‘savidha, sanida, samaryāda, saveśa, sadeśa’ ity etesūttaṇḍeṣeṣu sāmīpyavacīni tatpurūse samāse pūrvaṇḍam prakṛtisvarāṃ bhavati}\]

The initial constituent of a tatpurūṣa compound formed with the significance of sāmīpya ‘proximity’ retains its original accent when savidha, sanida, samaryāda, saveśa and sadeśa combine to follow.

**Examples:**

madrasāvidham ‘close to the country of the Madras’
kāśmirāsavidham ‘close to Kāsmīra’
madrasanidam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
kashmirasani dam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
madrasamaryadam 'close to . . .'
kashmirasamaryadam 'close to . . .'
madrasavesam 'close to . . .'
kashmirasavesam 'close to . . .'
madrasadesam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
kashmirasadesam 'in the vicinity of . . .'

1. Note that savidha, etc., are neuters and denote samaipya 'proximity'.
One should not here interpret vidhi, nida and veśa, etc., as used in the
instrumental governed by saha 'with, accompaniment' (2.2.23 tena saheti . . .).
The accent of initial constituents of these compounds has been discussed
under 6.1.13 gantavyapanyam. . . . Their original accent is thus retained.

6.2.24 vispanaadinin gnavacanevu

\[
\text{vispaśṭādini gūṇavacaneṣu} \\
/ \text{vispaśṭādini} 1/3 = \text{vispaśṭa ādir yeśām (bv.), tani; gūṇavacaneṣu} 7/3 = \text{gūṇan uktavantah (upa. tat.), tesi/} \\
\text{(prakṛtyā pūraṇapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)} \\
\text{vispaśṭādini pūraṇapadāni gūṇavacaneṣuṭtarapadesu prakṛtisvarāṇi bhavanti} \\
The initial constituents, namely vispaśṭa 'apparent', etc., of a tatpurusa
compound retain their original accent when a constituent with the
denotation of gūṇa 'quality' (gūṇavacana) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

vispaśṭakataukam 'evidently sour'
viśitrakaṭukam 'variously sour'
vyaṅktakataukam 'clearly sour'
vispaśṭalavanam 'evidently salty'
viśitrālavanam 'distinctly salty'
vyaṅktalavanam 'clearly salty'

1. Note that vispaśṭa is marked udātta at the beginning, where its vi
is also termed gati (1.4.60 gatiṣ ca; 6.2.49 gati r anantarāḥ). Rule 6.2.2
tatpuruse . . . also offers initial udātta to viṣcitra, where vi itself is marked udātta
(Phitṣṣṭra 80: nipatā adyudātthā). The word vyakta 'clear, manifest' ends in the
niśṭhā suffix Kta which, in turn, is introduced after antī used with the
preverb vi. It is marked udātta at the beginning (6.2.49 gati r anantarāḥ).
The a of vyā, in vyakta, is svarita (8.2.4 udāttasvaritayor . . .). For, given vi +
ak + ia, we get vi and ak marked with an udātta and anudātta respectively.
That is, before a replacement in yaṇ for i of vi is accomplished. The a of
vyā, an anudātta, which now occurs after y, a replacement for i of vi, is to be
replaced with a svarita.
Compounds such as vispaṭakatukam, etc., are formed under the condition of 2.1.4 saha supā, parallel to vispaṭam katukam. These compounds should not be formed by 2.1.56 visēsaṇam visēseya. . . . For, a karmadhāraya will require syntactic coordination between vispaṭa and katuka, where vispaṭa ‘evidently, obviously’ is a qualifier to katukatva ‘acidity’. This qualifier here constitutes the basis for usage (pravṛttinimittā) of katuka. The word katuka, in turn, denotes a ‘thing’ (dravya) so qualified. Syntactic coordination is thus impaired. As a result, we cannot form a karmadhāraya.

Among the other words which are cited here, sampanna ‘rich, prosperous’ is marked with udātta at the end by 6.2.144 thāthaghaṅktāj. . . . The words paṭu ‘clever’ and pāṇḍita ‘wise’ are marked with udātta at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭas ca). The word kuśala is a derivate of the kṛt affix Ka. Consequently, it is marked with udātta at the end by 6.2.139 gatikārakopadāt kṛt. Similar accentual provisions are made available for other words.

Note that, because of the condition of vispaṭādini, paramalavānam ‘excellent salt’ and utmalavānam ‘best salt’ fall outside the scope of this accentual provision. One must also exclude vispaṭabrahmanaḥ ‘clearly a brāhmaṇa by caste’ since vispaṭa here denotes a class (jāti) of brāhmaṇas. It does not denote quality (guṇavacana).

6.2.25 श्रुव्यायमकन्यावतस्तु भावे कर्मधारये

śrājyāvamakanpāpavatsu bhāve karmadhāraye
/sra jya avam kan pāpavatsu 7/3 = sraś ca jyaś ca avamaś ca pāpavāṃś ca (itar. du.), tesū; bhāve 7/1 karmadhāraye 7/1/
(praktṛtya pūrvapadam #1)
śra, jya, avam, kan’ ihy etesu pāpasyāsva cettarapade karmadhāraye samāse bhāvavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound termed karmadhāraya retains its original accent when it signifies bhāva ‘root-sense, state’ and śra, jya, avam, kan, and a constituent containing pāpa, combine to follow.

Examples:

gamānasreṣṭham ‘auspicious departure’
gamānaśreyah ‘ibidem’
vacānajyeṣṭham ‘auspicious talk’
vacānajyāyaḥ ‘ibidem’
gamānāvamam ‘final departure’
vacānāvamam ‘final words’
gamānakanistham ‘short departure’
gamānakanīyakah ‘shorter departure’
gamānapāpiṣṭhaḥ ‘a rather wicked departure’
gamānapāpiyāḥ ‘most wicked departure’
1. Recall that gamana and vacana which are used here as initial constituents are derivate of LyuT. They are marked udatta at the beginning, mainly because of L as an it (6.1.190 liti).

2. Note that śra, jya and kan specify compound constituents which follow. They are primarily replacements. Thus, śra and jya are replacements of praśasya when vowel-initial affixes isthaN and iyasUN follow (5.3.60 praśasya śraḥ; 5.3.61 jay ca). Rule 5.3.64 yuvālpayoh kan anyatarasyām introduces kan as an optional replacement after yuvan and alpa. A specification with these replacements obviously refers to forms which contain them. The following constituents, as examples of pāpavat, etc., are given as pāpiṣṭha and pāpiya. Their matUP is deleted (5.3.65 vinmator luku) before isthaN and iyasUN.

3. Since this accentual provision applies only when we find śra, etc., as replacements, gamanaśobhanam ‘nice going’ will be treated as a counter-example. The denotatum of gamana must also be bhāva ‘root-sense’. It is for this reason that gamanaśreyah ‘going is good fortune’, a karmadhāraya paraphrased as gamanam ca tat śreyas ca is a counter-example. The word gamana is here interpreted as denoting ‘means’ (karaṇa): gamyate anena ‘that by means of which one goes’. This counter-example can also be interpreted as a genitive tatpurusa compound, as against the karmadhāraya. Thus, gamanasya śreyah = gamanaśreyah ‘the best of going’.

6.2.26 कुमारश्र

kumāraś ca

(/kumāraḥ 1/1 ca φ/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 karmadhāraye #25)

kumārasabdāh pūrvapadam karmadhāraye sanāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial constituent, namely kumāra, of a compound termed karmadhāraya retains its original accent.

Examples:

kumārasrāmaṇā ‘young female ascetic’
kumārakulaṭā ‘young female mendicant’
kumāratāpasi ‘young female ascetic’

1. Note that kumāra, when paraphrased with vamana ‘ascetic’ and tāpasi ‘ascetic’, is construed as kumārī ‘girl’, its feminine counterpart. That is, kumārī is gotten via masculine transformation (pāmaddhāra) of kumārī (Panbhāsa (72): prātipadikagrahahe lingavāṅsavyāpi grahaṇam). The word kumāra is a derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrāhāpadādy ...) introduced after verbal root kumār ‘to play, sport’. Since affix aC is marked with Cas an it, its derivate, here kumāra, is supposed to be marked udātta at the end (6.1.160 citah).
6.2.27 आदि: प्रतेयनिसि

ādiḥ pratyenasī
/ādiḥ 1/1 pratyenasī 7/1 = pratigatam enaḥ
yasya (bu.), tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrva ṁpadam #1 karmadhāraye #25 kumāraḥ #26)
pratyenasī uttarapade karmadhāraye kumārasyādīr udātto bhavati
The initial constituent of a karmadhāraya compound, namely kumāra,
is marked udātta at the beginning when pratyenas combines to follow.

Examples:

kumārapratyenaḥ ‘an innocent prince’

1. Note that this section of rules deal with retention of original accents. A constituent such as kumāra is allowed to retain its final udātta in the earlier rule. Our present rule does not make any explicit provision of udātta at the beginning (ādiḥ). Its provision can at best be interpreted as retention of original accent of kumāra at its beginning. That is, ādiḥ has to be interpreted as kumārasya ādiḥ ‘the initial of kumāra’. Since the original accent of kumāra is udātta at the end, it will be retained. However, this retention, as is specified by ādiḥ, must take place at the beginning. Thus, the final udātta of kumāra is hereby restored to its initial position. The word udāttaḥ thus must be inferred here. For, otherwise, this sūtra would not make any sense. That is, this rule offers retention of original accent of an initial compound constituent, namely kumāra. This is based on interpreting ādiḥ as kumārasya ādiḥ ‘the initial of kumāra . . .’. We must supply udāttaḥ to complete the sense: udāttaḥ bhavati ‘becomes udātta’. What was udātta at the end thus becomes udātta at the beginning. The word ādi ‘beginning’ is used here to replace what, in the earlier context, was anta ‘end’.

6.2.28 पूर्णचतुष्टयस्याम्

pūgeṣu anyatarasyām
/pūgeṣu 7/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrva ṁpadam #1 karmadhāraye #25 kumāraḥ #26 ādiḥ #27)
pūgavācīny uttarapade karmadhāraye samāse kumārasyānyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of kumāra, in a tatpuruṣa compound termed karmadhāraya,
is optionally marked with udātta when a constituent denoting pūga
‘group’ combines to follow.

Examples:

kumāracātakāḥ ‘a group of youths whose leader is Cātaka’
kumāracātakāḥ ‘ibidem’
kumāralohadvajāḥ ‘a group of youths whose leader is Lohadvaja’
kumāralohadvajāḥ ‘ibidem’
kumārabalāhakāḥ ‘a group of youths whose leader is Balāhaka’
kumārabalāhakāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Refer to notes under 5.3.112 pūgān . . . for an explanation of pūga. An optional udātta at the beginning is offered against the option of udātta at the end. This, of course, is in accord with the pratipadokta ‘nominals specified via individual enumeration’ rule of interpretation (Paribhāṣā 114: laksanapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasya . . .). Recall that kumāra is being assigned accent by way of specific enumeration (pratipadokta). Outside of this pratipadokta consideration, a compound such as kumāracātaka can be either marked udātta at the end (of its initial constituent kumāra), or at the end of the compound (6.1.220 samāsasya) itself. Note that cātaka, etc., are derivate of affix Nya (5.3.112 pūgān . . .) where LUK causes affixal deletion (2.4.62 tadrajasya bahuṣu . . .).

6.2.29 इगतकालकपालभागालसारवेशु द्विगु

igantakālakapālalbhagālasāravesu dvigau
/iganta-kāla-kapāla-bhagāla-sāravesu 7/3 (itari dv.; igantah = ig ante yasya
(bv.)); dvigau 7/1/
(praktīyā pūrvapadam #1)
‘igantā uttarapade kālavācini kapāla bhagāla śārāva’ ity eteṣu dvigau samāse
pūrvapadam prakṛtisuvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusā compound termed dvigu retains its original accent when a constituent which either ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK, or denotes kāla ‘time’, or else, is constituted by kapāla ‘bowl’, bhagāla ‘skull’ and śārāva ‘tray, (clay) cups’, follows.

Examples:

pañcāratnīḥ ‘a measure of five cubits (7.05 feet)’
daśāratnīḥ ‘a measure of ten cubits (15 feet)’
pañcāmāsyaḥ ‘five months old’
daśāmāsyaḥ ‘ten months old’
pañcākapālaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls’
daśākapālaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’
pañcābhagālaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five skulls’
daśābhagālaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’
pañcāsarāvaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five cups’
daśāsarāvaḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten cups’

1. Note that pañca ‘five’ and daśa ‘ten’ are marked udātta at the be-
ginning (*Phītsūtra 28: nraḥ samkhyāyāh*). Refer to derivational details of *pañcakapālah* (appendix, 2.1.50 taddhitārtho . . .). Similar rules apply in deriving *pañcasārāvah* and *pañcabhagālah*. Their *dvigu* is formed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapaḍa* . . .). Their *aN* (4.2.17 *samkṛtam bhaksāḥ*) is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anāpateye*.

Examples of *iganta* ‘that which ends in an *iK*’ involve *aratni* ‘a measure of eighteen inches’ as a following constituent. We thus get the *dvigu* compound: *pañcāratnīḥ*, parallel to *pañcāratnayāḥ* pramāṇam asya. Affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasac* . . .) of these compounds has been deleted by a *vārttika* (ad 5.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe* pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam). Examples of *kāla* ‘time’, i.e., *pañcamāśyāḥ* and *daśamāśyāḥ*, involve deletion of *yaP* (5.1.81 *dvigor yat*). Finally, derivates with *vṛṣa* involve deletion of affix *thaN* (5.1.88 *vṛṣāl lūk*).

2. The condition of *iganta* is necessary so that *pañcāśvah* ‘purchased for five horses’ and *daśāsvah* ‘purchased for ten horses’, etc., can be excluded. It is observed that this condition of *iganta* is still met in compounds where *iK* goes through modification by *guna* and *yaN*. Thus, *pañcāratnayāḥ/daśāratnayāḥ* and *pañcāratnayāḥ* and *daśāratnayāḥ*. The first two involve *yaN* and the next two *guna*. Since these modifications take place with reference to nominal endings, they are externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). The assignment of accent is comparatively internal (*antaraṅga*). That is, externally conditioned modifications become suspended (*asiddha*) and the concerned bases remain *iganta* (*Kāś: pañcāratnyo daśāratnyā iti pañcāratnyo daśāratnayā iti ca yanguṇayor bahiraṅgalaksanayor asiddhatyāt sthānivadhāvād vā dvigusvara igantalaksanat pravartate*). One can even take recourse to *sthānivadhāvā* ‘treating x as what it replaced’ for getting these bases to end in *iK*.

6.2.30 बहुवर्तरस्याम्

*bahu* anyatarasyām

/ *bahu* 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadām #1 igantakālakapālābhagāla-śarañeva dvigau #29*)

*bahuśabādh pūrvapadām igantādisūttarapadeśu dvigau samāse* nyatarasyām *prakṛtisvarām bhavati*

The initial compound constituent, namely *bahu* ‘many’, of a *tattvūraśa* termed *dvigu*, retains its original accent optionally, when a constituent which ends in *iK*, or denotes *kāla* ‘time’, or else, is constituted by *kapāla*, *bhagāla* and *śaraṇa*, follows.

**Examples:**

*bahuvarṇānīḥ* ‘that of which many aratnis are a measure’

*bahuvarṇānīḥ* ‘ibidem’
bhūmāsyaḥ ‘he who is many months old’
bhūmāsyaḥ ‘ibidem’
bhūkāpālaḥ ‘that which is prepared in many bowls’
bhūkāpālaḥ ‘ibidem’
bhūbhāgālaḥ ‘that which is prepared in many skulls’
bhūbhāgālaḥ ‘ibidem’
bhūśāravah ‘that which is prepared in many cups’
bhūśāravah ‘ibidem’

1. An initial constituent, namely bahu, retains its original accent only optionally. Recall that bahu ends in Ku (Uṇādi: 1.29: lamghihahyor . . .) and is marked udātta at the end by affinal accent (pratyasvara). This accent, a svarita in view of 8.4.65 udāttasvaritayor . . ., will be retained by hva after u of bahu gets replaced with v. Rule 6.1.220 samāsasya will assign final udātta if an option to retain svarita is not accepted.

6.2.31 दिशितवितस्योर्च

diśitavitastyo ca
/diśi-vitastyoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca ı/ (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvigau #29 anyatarasyām #30) ‘diśi, vitasti’ ity etayor uttarapadayer dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a tatpurusa compound termed dvigu, optionally, retains its original accent when diśi and vitasti combine to follow.

Examples:

paṅcādiśiḥ ‘a length equal to five diśi’s’
paṅcadiśiḥ
paṅcāvītastih ‘a length equal to five vitasti’s’
paṅcavītastih

1. Note that diśi ‘a measure of length’ and vitasti ‘a measure of length’ denote pramāṇa ‘measure’. Their compounds also involve deletion of mātraC (see ut ad 5.2.12). Here again, we get the option of retention against final udātta (6.1.220 samāsasya).

6.2.32 सम्प्रभुक्तप्रकाश्यकलानां

saptamī siddhaśuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu akālāt
/saptamā 1/1 siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) akālāt 5/1 (na kālāt (naṅ. tat.))/ (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)
‘siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha’ ity etayor uttarapadayer dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which signifies something other than kāla ‘time’ and ends in saptami ‘seventh triplet’, retains its original accent when siddha ‘accomplished’, ṣuṣka ‘dried’, pakva ‘cooked, ripe’ and bandha ‘yoked, tied’ combine to follow.

**Examples:**

sāṅkāśyasiddhāḥ ‘made in Sāṅkāśya’
sāṅkāśyasiddhāḥ
ūkaśuṣkāḥ ‘sun-dried’
nidhanāśuṣkāḥ ‘dried in the eighth lunar month’
kymbhipākvaḥ ‘cooked in a clay pot’
kalaśpākvaḥ ‘cooked in a pitcher’
cakrabandhāḥ ‘tied with a wheel’
cārakabandhāḥ ‘caught in a wrestling move named cāraka’

1. Note that sāṅkāśya and kāmpīya are derivatives of Nya (4.2.79 vuṇchaṅkathā . . .). They are marked udātta at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādy udāttā ca). A phīṭūtra (65) considers sāṅkāśya and kāmpīya optionally udātta in the middle. This too can be accepted as optionally retained. The word āka is derived with kaK (Unādi III:40: sībhūsūsi . . .) introduced, variously (bahulam), after verbal root av ‘to protect, assist’. The root, when replaced with āTH (6.4.20 jvaratvarasrivai . . ., will produce (av→āTH) + ka(K) = āka. This too is udātta by affixal accent. The word nidhana is a derivative of Kyu (Unādi II:81: kṛṣṇa . . .), introduced after dhāN, where ā of dhā gets deleted (6.4.64 āto lopa . . .). The āu, of course, will get replaced with ana (7.1.1 yuvor anākau). The word itself is marked udātta in the middle by affixal accent. Derivatives such as kumbhi and kalaśi, because they end in Nāṣ (4.1.41 śidgaurādibhyās ca), are marked udātta at the end. The word bhraṣṭra, being a derivative of Śṛṇa (Unādi IV:160: bhraṣjīgami . . .), is marked udātta at the beginning (6.1.194 ṛṇyaḥdīr nityam). The word cakra is treated as marked udātta at the end. But, cāraka, as a derivate of NyuL, is marked udātta at the beginning (6.1.190 līti).

2. Why is this provision not applicable to pūrvāḥnasiddhāḥ ‘made in the morning’ and aparāḥnasiddhāḥ ‘made in the afternoon’? Because their initial constituent denotes ‘time’ (kāla). Note that these are locative tatpurusa compounds. The retention of their original accent, per 6.2.2 tatpurūṣa tulyārtha . . ., is, however, blocked by the final udātta of 6.2.144 thāthaghaḥ . . . . This rule blocks the final udātta of 6.2.144 and restores the accentual provision of 6.2.2 tatpurūṣa tulyārtha . . . .

6.2.33 परिप्रत्युपापा वर्यमानाहृत्रावयवेषु

paripratyupāpā varjyamānāhīhorātrāvayaveṣu
/paripratyupāpāḥ 1/3 (iter. dv.); varjyamānāhīhorātrāvayaveṣu 7/3 = ahaś
ca rātriś ca = ahorātrau; ahorātryor avayavāh (śaś. tat. with int. dv.)/ (prakṛtyā pūrvaṇaḥ #1)
‘pari, prati, upa, apa’ ity ete pūrvaṇaḥbhūtā varjyamānavācini ahara-
vayavavavācini rātryavayavavavācini cotāraṇaḥ prakṛtisvarā bhavanti
The initial compound constituents, namely pari, prati, upa and apa, retain their original accent when a constituent with the signification of varjyamāna ‘that which is to be excluded’, aharaṇavaya ‘part of day’, or rātryavaya ‘part of night’, combines to follow.

Examples:
paritrīgarttam vrṣto devaḥ ‘it rained around (but not in) Trigartta’
parisauvīrām . . . ‘it rained around (but not in) Sauvīra’
pratipūrvaḥnam ‘each forenoon’
pratyāparāhnam ‘each afternoon’
pratipūrvarātram ‘around the first quarter of every night’
pratyāpararātram ‘around the last quarter of every night’
upāpūrvaḥnam ‘close to forenoon’
upāpūrvarātram ‘around the first quarter of the night’
apātrīgarttam vrṣto devaḥ ‘it rained away from Trigarta’
apāsauvīrām ‘it rained away from Sauvīra’

1. Note that pari, prati, upa and apa are marked udātta at the beginning (Pṛtisūtra 80–81: nipātāḥ ādyudātāḥ; upasargās cābhīvarjam). Additionally, apa and pari are termed karmapravacanīya by 1.4.87 apa pari varjana. The indeclinable compounds are formed by 2.1.11 vibhāsa’ paparibahiraṇcavah. A following constituent with the signification of varjyamāna ‘that which is to be excluded’ is combined only with apa and pari as its initial constituents. For, these are the only two which are termed karmapravacanīya when varjana is the signification. Recall that prati and upa combine in an indeclinable compound in consonance with 2.1.13 lakṣaṇenābhītpraty ābhīmukhye and 2.1.6 avayam vibhaktiṣamipā . . ., respectively.

2. Note that retention of original accent in a tatpuruṣa (6.2.2 tatpuruṣe . . .) and bahuvrīhi (6.2.1 bahuvrīhaḥ prakṛtyā . . .) compound is already recommended. This rule offers retention of original accent in an avyayībhāva compound.

6.2.34 rājanya-bahuva-cana-duvandvo ndhakavṛṣṇisu
|rājanya-bahuva-cana-duvandvo 7/1 = rājanyāni ca etāni bahuvacanāni (karm.); rājanya-bahuva-cana-dvandvaḥ (śaś. tat. with int. karm.); andhaka-vṛṣṇisu 7/3 = andhakaś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca (itar. dv.), teṣu/ rājanya-
vācinaṁ bahuvacanāntāṁ yo dvandvo’ ndhakavṛṣṇisu varttate tatra pūrvadham prakṛtisvarām bhavati
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound, namely one which ends in plural with the signification of *rājanyā* 'kṣatriya', retains its original accent when the compound is formed with the denotatum of *andhaka* and *vrṣṇi*.

**Examples:**

śvāphalka cairtrakah ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Śvaphalka and Cairtra in the lineage of Andhaka’

caiṅtrakahrodhakah ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Cairtra and Rodhaka in the lineage of Andhaka’

śinivāsudevah ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Śini and Vasudeva in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi’

1. Note that śvāphalka and caitraka, as derivatives of *aṇī* (4.1.144 ṛṣyandhaka . . .), are marked *udāṭṭa* at the end. The next śini, a derivate of *ni* (Unādi IV:51: vaḥiśriśruyu . . .), requires the long *i* of *śiṇī* 'to recline' to be replaced with *i* (*hrasva*). The derivate, in turn, is marked *udāṭta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ni*.

2. Note that this accentual provision is not applicable to *samkarsana-vāsudevau* where the compound denotes dual based on the singular denotatum of its constituents. It can also not be made available to *vrṣṇikumarah* where the compound is a genitive *tātpurusa*. Similarly, we must exclude *kurupanāṣalāh* where compound constituency does not denote the lineage of Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

6.2.35 संख्या

samkhya

/ samkhya 1/1/

(prakṛtyā pūrva-padam #1 dvandve #34)

dvandvasamāsāe samkhya-vāci pūrva-padam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which denotes samkhya 'number' retains its original accent.

**Examples:**

ekādaśa 'eleven'

dvādaśa 'twelve'

trayodāśa 'thirteen'

trayodāśa 'ibidem'

1. Note that *eka* is a derivate of *kaṇī* (Unādi III:43: inbhikāpāśalya . . .). It is marked *udāṭta* at the beginning, mainly because of its affixal *N* as an *it*. The word *dvi* is marked *udāṭta* at the end in view of nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *traya* replacement of *tri* is marked *udāṭta* at the
end, via nipātana (6.3.47 tres trayāḥ). A replacement in long ā (ātva) for the short in ekādāsa and dvādāsa is accomplished by 6.3.46 ānmahataḥ . . . and 6.3.47 dvayaṣṭanāḥ smākhyāyām, respectively.

6.2.36 आचार्योपसर्जनस्वातंत्र्याः

ācāryopasjarjanā saṁtevāsi
/ācāryopasjarjanāḥ 1/3 = ācārya uпасjarjāmaḥ apradḥānaṃ yasmin (bx.);
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)
ācāryopasjarjanāntevasiṃ yo dvandvaḥ tatra pūrvapadam prakteṣvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a dvandva compound retains its original accent when constituents signify antevāsin 'student' and ācārya 'preceptor, teacher' is used as a qualifier.

Examples:

āpiśalapāniniyāḥ 'students of Āpiśali and Pāṇini'
pāniniyāraudhiyāḥ 'students of Pāṇini and Rađhi'

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of those initial constituents which may have antevāsin 'student' or ācārya as an upasjarjana 'secondary (qualifier)'. Note that āpiśala-pāniniyāḥ is a dvandva compound formed with āpiśalaś ca pāniniyāś ca, where āpiśala and pāniniyā could be derivates with the signification of tasyāpatyam 'male offspring' (with aN; iN after āpiśali), tena proktam 'enunciated by him' (4.3.101; aN; iN after āpiśali cf. 4.2.111 iṇaś ca) and 4.2.59 tad adhīte tad veda 'those who study or know' (4.2.59). The aN of 4.3.101 tena proktam is deleted by 4.2.64 proktāl luk. The aN-derivate of āpiśali, i.e., āpiśala, is marked udātta at the end by affixal accent. The word pāniniya, a derivate of cha, is udātta in the middle. Its final anudātta becomes svarita when the rest of it becomes anudātta. This same is also true of rauḍhiya.

6.2.37 कार्तकौजपादयश्च

kārtakaujapādayaś ca
/ kārtakaujapādayaḥ 1/3 = kārtakaujapa ādir
yesām (bx.); ca ḫ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)

kārtakaujapādayo ye dvandvāś teṣu pūrvapadam prakteṣvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a dvandva compound formed with kārta and kaujapa also retains its original accent.

Examples:

kārtakaǔjapau 'male descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa'
sāvārṇṇimāṇḍukeyau ‘male descendants of Savarna and Maṇḍūka’
avaṇṭyāsmakāh ‘many descendants of Avanti and Aśmaka’
pailaśāparneyāh ‘young male descendant of Paila, and young male descendant of Śyāparṇa’

1. Note that kārtakaujapa is a dvandva compound formed with kārta and kaujapa, where kārta and kaujapa are derivates of an(4.1.114 ṛṣyandhaka . . .), paraphrased as kṛtasvayāpatyam ‘male offspring of Kṛta’ and kujapasyāpatyam ‘male offspring of Kujapa’. The initial constituent kārta is marked udāṭṭa at the end by affixal accent (pratyayasa)[vara]. Incidentally, ca in the sūtra is used for carrying the anuvṛtti of dvandve.

The initial constituent of sāvārṇṇimāṇḍukeyau is a derivate of īṇ (4.1.94 āta iṁ). Consequently, it is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning (6.1.194 niṇtyādir nityam). It is marked svarita at the end (8.4.66 udāṭṭanadudātasya svaritaḥ), after its remainder has become anudāṭṭa (6.1.155 anudāṭṭam padam . . .). Incidentally, māṇḍukeya is a derivate of ḍhaK (4.1.119 ḍhaś ca mandukāḥ).

Affix NyāN(4.1.171 vrddhetkosalājādānīyati) is introduced after avanti + ān to derive avantrayaḥ, parallel to avanter apatyāni bahūni. This affix is deleted by 2.4.62 tadrājasya . . . Affix an(4.2.69 tasya nivāsah) is then introduced after avanti + āṁ, parallel to avantrinām nivāso janapadoḥ ‘a principality (janapada) which is the residence of Avantis’. This affix is also deleted, though by 4.2.81 janapade lūp. This same also applies to the derivation of aṃśakāḥ which combines as the following constituent with avantrayaḥ. Consequently, a final udāṭṭa (Phīśūtra 21: gṛhtādināṁ ca) is assigned to avanti.

The ya which results subsequent to y-replacement of i (of avanti) then becomes svarita (8.2.4 udāṭtasvaritayor . . .).

Note that pailaśāparneyāh is a dvandva compound with its constituents denoting yuvana ‘young descendant’. Thus, a son of pila will be paila (4.1.118 pilaśa vaḥ). His young son will also be called paila, since affix phiN (4.1.156 anō dvoyacah) will be deleted (2.4.59 pailādibhyas ca). The word śyāparṇi is a derivate of NīN (4.1.15 itiṇḍhānanāṁ . . .) introduced after śyāparṇa, itself a derivate of an(4.1.104 anṛṣyānanantye bidādibhyo’ niḥ), parallel to śyāparṇasyāpatyam ‘male offspring of Śyāparṇa’. A young descendant of śyāparṇi will be śyāparṇeya, a derivate of ḍhaK (4.1.120 striḥbhṛyṣ ḍhak; 7.1.2 āyaneṣyā . . .). A dvandva compound with śyāparṇeyas as a following constituent will have paila, under the provision of this rule, marked with affixal udāṭta at the end.

mahān brahiyaparāh ngṛstiśvāsavajābālahārabhratakahairilihilaraurava-
pravṛddhesu
/mahān1/1 brahi-apa-rahna-grsti-swāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhāra-ha-ili-
hihilaraurava-pravṛddhesu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)
'mahān' ity etat pūrvapatadāṃ vṛihi, aparāhna, grṣṭi, iṣvāsa, jābāla, bhāra, bhārata, hailihila, raurava, prabuddhā ity etesūttarapadesu prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely mahān 'great', retains its original accent when vṛihi 'rice', aparāhna 'afternoon', grṣṭi 'cow', iṣvāsa 'bow, archer', jābāla 'name of a sage', bhāra 'burden, load', bhārata 'Mahābhārata', hailihila 'sportsman', raurava 'hell' and pravṛddha 'very old' combine as following constituents.

Examples:

mghāvṛihīh 'long-grain rice'
mghāpārāhnaḥ 'late afternoon'
mghāgrṣṭih 'a pregnant cow'
mghēsvāsah 'great archer'
mghājābālah 'elder Jābāla'
mghābhārārah 'heavy load'
mghābhārataḥ 'the great epic'
mghāhailihilaḥ 'a great sportsman'
mghārāuvravaḥ 'most dreaded hell'
mghāpravṛddhaḥ 'excessively old'

1. Note that mahāt is marked udātta at the end (Uṇādi II:84: varmaṇe pṛsadbrhan...), via nipātana. It combines in a tatpurusā compound under provisions of 2.1.61 sanmahat... That is, this accentual provision applies only to compounds formed with specific bases enumerated (pratipadokta) by rule 2.1.61. Elsewhere, in mahādvṛihiḥ, a genitive tatpurusā compound paraphrased as mahato vṛihiḥ, this rule will not apply. The compound will be marked udātta at the end (6.1.220 samāsasya).

2. Why is mahāpravṛddha listed here when the compound, based upon pravṛddha being a derivate of Kau, can be covered by 6.2.46 karmadhāraye niṣṭhā. Rule 6.2.46 karmadhāraye niṣṭhā also covers compound-formation of similar bases which are enumerated in the list headed by śrenī 'guild'. Our present rule cites pravṛddha so that retention of the original accent of a compound with pravṛddha could be secured.

6.2.39 शुभकर्ष वैशवदेवे

क्षुल्लकाः सा वायवदेवे
/kśullakāḥ 1/1 ca φ vaiśvadeve 7/1/.
(prakṛtyā pūrvapatadāṃ #1 mahān #39)
'kṣullaka' ity etat pūrvapatadām mahāṁś ca vaiśvadeva uttarapade prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituents, namely kṣullaka ‘insignificant’ and mahān
'great, big', of a compound retain their original accent when vaiśvadeva 'an oblation to all gods' combines as the following constituent.

Examples:

ksullakavaiśvadevam 'a small ritual pot for all gods'
mahāvaiśvadevam 'a big ritual pot for all gods'

1. Note that ksullaka is a derivate of Ka (5.3.86 hrasve) with the signification of hrasva 'small, insignificant, short'. It is marked udātta at the end by affixal accent (pratyāyasvara; 3.1.3 ādyudāttā ca). The accent of mahat is already discussed. These two derivates both are names of ritual pots, sacrifices, or luminaries.

6.2.40 उष्ठः: सादिवायो:

usṭrah sādivāmyoh
/usṭrah 1/1 sādivāmyoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrva padam #1)
usṭraśabdah pūrva padam sādivāmyor uttarapadayoḥ prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely usṭra 'camel', retains its original accent when sādi 'rider' and vāmi 'rider' combine as following constituents.

Examples:

usṭrāsādi 'camel rider'
usṭrāvāmi 'rider of a female camel'

1. Recall that usṭra, as a derivate of ṭraN introduced after us 'be hot' (Unādi IV:125: usikhanibhyām . . . ), is marked udātta at the beginning (6.1.194 īnityādīr nītīyam). Note also that the two neuter derivates of iN, introduced after sad and vam (Unādi IV:125), i.e., sādi and vāmi, can be combined with usṭra to either form a genitive tatpuruṣa, or a karmadhāraya, compound. The words sādi and vāmi are used as general references to also include sādi and vāmi, both derivates of NinI.

6.4.41 गौ: सादसादिवायरथिन्यु

gauḥ sādāsādisthārathisu
/gauḥ 1/1 sāḍa-sārathisu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrva padam #1)
guṣabdhah pūrva padam saḍa, sādi, sārathī ity evyāuttarapadesu prakṛtisvarum bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely go 'cow', retains its original accent when sāda, sādi and sārathi combine as following constituents.
Examples:

gosādaḥ ‘one who drives the cows’
gosāḍiḥ ‘one who rides a bull’
gosārathīḥ ‘one who drives a cart pulled by bulls’

1. Recall that go (6.2.17 svamī svāminī) is udāttā by affixal accent (pra-
tyāyasvara).

2. Note that sāda could be interpreted as a derivate of GHaN introduced after sad. It can also be interpreted as a derivate of aN introduced after causal sādi, under the cooccurrence condition of go as object (karman). Affix NinI is then introduced after the derivate of aN to derive gosādin. The compound constituents sada and sādin constitute exceptions to accents assigned to derivate of kṛt. But a compound with sārathi constitutes an exception to accentual provisions of 6.1.219 samāsasya.

6.2.42 कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तार्कवसूतारत्याषिलाद्र्धरुपाः पारवादातातीलकाद्रुह  पायाकाम्बलो
दासीभाराणाः

kūrugārhapatariktagarvasūtabaratyaśīlādṛḍحارुपā pārevaḍavātaitilakā-
drūh panyakambalo dāsibhārāṇāṁ ca
/kūrugārhapata (1/1 deleted) riktaguru (1/1 deleted) asūtabaratī 1/1
śīlādṛḍحارुपā 1/1 pārevaḍavā 1/1 taitilakadrūh 1/1 panyakambalaḥ
1/1 dāsibhārāṇām 6/3 ca φ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)
‘kūrugārhapata, riktaguru, asūtabaratī, śīlādṛḍحارुपā, pārevaḍavā,
taitilakadrū, panyakambala’ ity ete samāsas teśāṁ dāsibhārādānāṁ ca
pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituents of compounds such as kūrugārhapata, riktaguru,
śūtajaratī, śīlādṛḍحارुपā, pārevaḍavā, taitilakadrū, panyakambala, and
also constituents of compounds headed by dāsibhāra ‘maid’s load’,
retain their original accent.

Examples:

kūrugārhapatam ‘headship of the clan of the Kurus’
riktaguruh ‘an unworthy teacher’
riktaguruḥ
asūtabaratī ‘a woman too old to bear a child’
śīlādṛḍحارुपā ‘an ugly woman with strong body’
pārevaḍavā ‘a mare on the other side of the river’
taitilakadrū ‘the soma vessel of the descendants of Titilin’
panyakambalaḥ ‘a blanket on sale’
dāsibhāraḥ ‘maid’s load’
devaḥūtiḥ ‘ invocation to gods’
1. Note that kuru, as a derivate of Ku (Unādi (24): kṛgror uc ca) is marked udāṭta at the end by affixal accent. The word rikta is marked udāṭta at the beginning, or at the end, optionally (6.1.205 nikte vibhāṣā). The naṅ of asūta and asīla will be marked udāṭta at the beginning (Pṛśīṣṭra (80): nipātā āḍyudāṭāh), as against what 6.2.2 tatpurūṣe tulyārtha . . . provides for. The compound-formation of pārebadavā, with no deletion (aluk) of its nominal endings, is accomplished via nipātana. The word pāra is a nominal of the gṛṛādī class (Pṛśīṣṭra 21: gṛṛādinām ca). It is thus marked udāṭta at the end.

A final udāṭta is also assigned to taitilah 'son of Titilin', a derivate of aN (4.1.92 tasyāpatyam) with the signification of āpatya 'offspring'. The panya of panyakambalā, as a derivate of yaT (3.1.101 avadyapanya . . .), is assigned udāṭta at the beginning (6.1.210 yato 'nāvah). The word dāsa is derived with affix Ṭa introduced after dans (Unādi V:10: damṣeṣṭaṭanau na ā ca), where the root-nasal also gets replaced with ā. This derivate is marked udāṭta at the end by affixal accent. Affix NāP (4.1.15 tiḍḍhāṇaṇ . . .) is then introduced to derive dāśī. Note that the ḍāśibhārādi nominals constitute a class of tatpuruṣa compounds whose first constituents are not covered for retention of original accent elsewhere (Kāś: yasya tatpuruṣasya pūrvaṇkṛtisvaratvatam isvate, na ca vihitam, sa sarvo dāśibhārādiṣu draṣṭavyah). A constituent such as deva, of devahūtā, etc., is, as a derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahipacādy . . .), marked udāṭta at the end.

6.2.43 चतुर्थी तदर्थे

caturthī tadarthe
/ caturthī 1/1 tadarthe 7/1 = tasmāi
idam (cat. tat.), tasmin;
(prakṛtyā pūrvaṇpadam #1)
caturthyaṃ pūrvaṇpadaṃ tadarthe uttarapade
 tadabhidheyaṁ ṛthaṃ yat tadvācinī uttarapade prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in caturthi 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of tadartha 'intended for that' follows.

EXAMPLES:

yūpādāruḥ 'wood intended for ritual post'
kundalahiranyam 'gold intended for ear-rings'

1. Refer to my discussion of yūpa under 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau . . . The word kundala 'ear-ring' is variously (bahulam) derived as a derivate of Kalac, marked with C as an it (Unādi I:106: vrṣādibhyas cit). It is marked udāṭta at the end (6.1.160 citah). The word ratha, as a derivate of KhaN (Unādi II:2: hanikuṣini . . .), is marked udāṭta at the beginning (6.1.194 nīnityādīr nityam).
The word vallī, a feminine ending in Nīś (4.1.41 śidgaurādibhyas ca), is marked udāṭta at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭtaś ca).

Commentators offer kuberabaliḥ 'ritual oblation offered to Kubera' as a counter-example to indicate that caturthī of these compounds must be interpreted within the context of prakṛti-vikṛtiḥbhāva 'material modification'. That is, this accentual retention is desired only where modification of a material cause is involved (Kāś: prakṛtivikārabhāve svaro' yam iṣyate).

6.2.44 अर्थे

arthe
/arthe 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43)
arthaśābda uttarapade caturthyantam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in caturthī retains its original accent when artha 'purpose' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

mātrārtham 'intended for mother'
pītrārtham 'intended for father'
āgvatārtham 'intended for gods'
atīthyartham 'intended for guests'

1. Refer to my discussion of mātṛ 'mother' and pītṛ 'father' under 6.2.11 sādṛśataprīrupayoḥ sādṛśye. The tra, resulting from r-replacement of r of mātṛ and pītṛ, becomes svarita (8.2.4 udātta-svaritayor . . .). The udāṭta in the middle of devatā, a derivate of taL with the āeminine affix ṭāP (5.4.27 devāt tab), has its source in the final udāṭta characterized with L as an it (6.1.190 līti). The word atīthi, as a derivate of itiN (Unādi IV:2: ṛtanyāṇi . . .) with N as an it, is marked udāṭta at the beginning (6.1.194 ṭīnītyādir nityam).

2. How is this accentual provision, especially as it relates to the use of tadarthe and arthe, different from the provision of the preceding rule? The preceding rule will apply only where prakṛtivikṛtiḥbhāva 'modification of a material cause' is involved.

6.2.45 कृत्वा

kṛte ca
/kṛte 7/1 ca φ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43)
kīte cottaśapade caturthyantam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in caturthī, also retains its original accent when a constituent ending in Kta follows.
Examples:

goḥitam 'beneficial to cows'
aśvāhitam 'beneficial to horses'
manuṣyāhitam 'beneficial to humans'
gorāksitam 'reserve for cows'
tāpasaṁraķṣitam 'reserved for ascetics'

1. Refer to notes of 6.2.13 gantavya . . . for details of aśva and go. Refer to notes under 6.2.1 bahūvṛihau . . . for details of manuṣya 'human'. The tāpasa 'ascetic' of the last example is a derivate of aNy (5.2.103 an ca). It is marked udāta at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.46 कर्मधारये निष्ठा

karmadhāraye niṣṭhā
/karmadhāraye 7/1 anīṣṭhā 1/1 (naṅ. tat.)/
(प्रक्र्ति pūrvapadām #1 kte #45)
karmadhāraye samāse ktānta uttarapade niṣṭhāntam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent which ends in an affix termed niṣṭhā in a karmadhāraya compound retains its original accent when a constituent ending in Kta follows.

Examples:

śreni kṛtāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a row are now so arranged'
ūkakṛtāḥ 'those which were not spread about are so done now'
pūgakṛtāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a group are now so arranged'
nidhanakṛtāḥ 'made poor which they were previously not'

1. Note that śreni, as a derivate of Ni (Uṇādi IV:51: vahiśiśruryudru . . .), is marked udāta at the beginning (6.1.194 niṇīyādir nityam). Refer to my discussion of ūka and nidhana under notes of 6.2.32 saptamā śūskapakva. . . . A final udāta is applicable to pūga.

6.2.47 अहीने द्वितीया

ahīne dvitiyā
/ahīne 7/1 (naṅ. tat.) dvitiyā 1/1/
(प्रक्र्ति pūrvapadām #1 kte #45)
ahīnavacīnī samāse ktānta uttarapade dvitiyāntam pūrvapadām prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent which ends in dvitiyā 'accusative' retains its
original accent when the compound is formed with the signification of ahina 'non-separable, unabandoned' and a constituent ending in affix Kta combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kastaritah 'fallen into grief'
trisakalapatitah 'that which has three pieces'
gramagatah 'gone to the village'

1. Note that kasta, a derivate of Kta where $\tilde{T}$ is blocked by 7.2.22 krccharagahanayoh kasah, is marked udatta at the end by affixal accent. The tri of triśakala, a bahuvrīhi paraphrased as: trīni śakalāni santi asya 'that of which there are three parts', is marked udatta by nominal stem accent. A derivate such as grāma 'village', derived with maN (Unādi I:143: graser à ca), is marked with udatta at the beginning (6.1.194 ānityādir nityam). All these compounds denote a meaning where initial constituents are semantically non-separable (ahina) from their following counterparts.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to block the provision of this rule where a participial constituent begins with a preverb. Thus, consider sukhaprāptaḥ 'he who has reached comfort' and sukhpāpannah 'he who has attained comfort'. The compound itself is here marked udatta at the end.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.143 antah and 6.2.144 thāthaghañ.

6.2.48 तृतीयाः कर्मणि

trīyā karmāni
\( /trīyā 1/1 karmāni 7/1/ \)
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 kte #45)
karmavācini ktānta uttarapade trīyāntam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies karmān 'object' and ends in trīyā 'third triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent ending in Kta combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

aghātah 'bitten by a snake'
vajrāgātah 'killed by the Vajra'
mahārajasahātah 'killed by the king'

1. Note that ahi 'snake' is marked udatta at the end by affixal accent. It is a derivate of iN, introduced after han used with the preverb āN (Unādi IV:138: āni śrīnimbhyām hrasvāsa ca). The ā of āhan is replaced with its short counterpart a and an is assigned the term ̣ti. This, in turn, gets deleted by the same rule. The word vajra, as a derivate of raK (Unādi II:28: ṛjendrā-
gravajra . . .) via nipātana, is also marked udātta at the end by affixal accent. This final udātta accent is also applicable to mahārāja ‘great king’, a derivate with TaC (5.4.91 rājāhasakhibhyām . . .). The word nakha ‘nail’, a bahuṣrhi paraphrased as nāsti kham asya ‘that which does not have life’, is marked udātta at the end by 6.2.171 naṃsubhyām. The word dātra ‘sickle’ is a derivate of Śṛṇa (3.2.182 dāṃnisasa . . .). Consequently, it is marked udātta at the beginning (6.1.194 ēṇityādir nityam).

6.2.49 गतिरान्तरः

\[\text{gatīr anantarāḥ}\
\text{/ gatīḥ 1/1 anantarāḥ 1/1 = avidyamānam antaram yasya (bv.)/}\
\text{(prakṛtyā pūrvapadām #1 kte #45 karman #48)}\
\text{karmavācini kānta uttarapade gatīr anantarāḥ pūrvapadāṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati}\

This initial constituent of a compound termed gati retains its original accent when a constituent which ends in Kta and signifies karman ‘object’ immediately follows.

**Examples:**

- prakṛtyā ‘made’
- prahṛtyā ‘thrown’

1. This rule allows an initial gati constituent to retain its original accent if it occurs immediately followed by Kta denoting karman. Thus pra, termed gati (1.4.49 gatiś ca), is marked with udātta (Phītsūtra 80: upasargās cābhi-varjama).

Note that a gati, when occurring interrupted by something else, does not qualify for this accentual provision. Thus, consider abhy-ud-dṛtuḥ and sam-ud-dṛtuḥ, where abhi and sam do not occur immediately before dṛtuḥ.

Commentators explain that this rule covers examples where Kta denotes karman ‘object’. Thus, prakṛta of prakṛtya kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta made a mat’ does not qualify. The Kta here denotes agent. Note that the parībhāṣā (29): kṛḍgrahaṇe gatikārakaṇopuṣvasyāpi grahanam ‘a specification made by an item ending in a kṛṇ also includes reference to that which begins with a gati and kāraṇa’ does not apply here. Consequently, an example such as dūrād āgataḥ ‘arrived from a distant place’ where dūrāt ‘from far’ denotes āpādāna cannot be covered here.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.144 thāthaghaṇ . . .

6.2.50 तादौँ च निति कृत्यते

\[\text{tādau ca niti kṛty atau}\
\text{/ tādau 7/1 = takāra ādir yasya (bv.), tasmin; ca ṣ niti 7/1 = nakāra it}\

yasya (bhv); kṛti 7/1 atau 7/1 = na tu (nāñ. tat.) tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatir anantarāh #49)
takārādau ca tuśabdavajrīte niti kṛti parato gatir anantarāh prakṛtisvarām bhavati

The initial constituent, termed gati, of a compound retains its original accent when a constituent which begins with t, with the exception of t of tu, and ends in a kṛt affix marked with N as its it, immediately follows in combination.

Examples:

prakārtā ‘producer, maker’
prakārtum ‘to begin to make’
pakṛtih ‘produced, brought about’

1. Note that pra retains its udātta before derivates of tṛN, tumUN and KtiN, as these cited examples illustrate. These affixes are all marked with N and begin with t. Consequently, their derivates are marked with udātta at the beginning (6.1.194 ṇṇityādir niśayam).

This accentual provision will not be applicable to prajalpāka ‘he who talks excessively’ since the affix, i.e., ŚākaN, does not begin with t. It can also not apply to prakārtā ‘doer’ where the affix is tṛC. Finally, a derivate such as āgantuḥ ‘desirous to come’ is also out because of exclusion specified by tu in the rule.

6.2.51 तै चान्तश्रयुगपत्

tavai cāntaś ca yugapat
/tavai (1/1 deleted) ca φ antah 1/1 ca φ yugapat 1/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatir anantarāh #49)
tavairayasyānta udātto bhavati gatiś ca anantarāh prakṛtisvara iti etad ubhayam yugapad bhavati

The final constituent of that which ends in affix tavai is marked udātta, with the additional provision that an immediately preceding gati simultaneously retain its original accent.

Examples:

anvētvai ‘to follow’
paristanīṭai ‘to enclose; strewn around’
paripāṭavai ‘to procure from all sides’

1. This rule offers two udātta accents simultaneously (yugapat). Thus, consider anvētvai where tavai is marked udātta, and the preceding anu is also marked udātta by way of retaining its original accent (also see 6.1.155 anudāttam padam . . .). All preverbs, except for abhi, are marked udātta at
the beginning (*Phītsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Thus, *abhicaritavai* cannot be marked *udāta* at the beginning. It is marked *udāta* at the end by nominal stem accent, instead.

6.2.52 अनिग्न्तोङ्क्ती वर्णत्यये

*aniganto* ńcatau *vaṇṛtyaye*

/ *anigantah* 1/1 = ig ante *yasya* (bv.); na igantah

(*nañ. tat.*); *ańcatau* 7/1 *vaṇṛtyaye* 7/1 = vakāra *pratyayo yasya* (bv.),

tasmin/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapādam #1 gati #49*)

*aniganto gatiḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavya ańcatau vaṇṛtyaye parataḥ*

A *gati*, which does not end in *iK*, retains its original accent when verbal root *ańcU*, followed by affix *va*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prāṇ* 'eastward; nominative singular of *prāṇe*'

*prāṇcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*prāṇcāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*prāṇ* 'nominative singular . . .'

*prāṇcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*prāṇcāḥ* 'nominative dual . . .'

*parāṇ* 'turned away; nom. sing. of *parāṇe*'

*parāńcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*parāńcaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *pra* and *parā* are termed *gati*, and obviously, do not end in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāḥāra* *iK* (Śs. 1–2). The examples are all derivates of *KuIN*, introduced after verbal root *ańcU*. This is how *ańc(U)*, when occurring immediately before (*K*) v(IN), can be accepted as ending in *v*. Refer to derivational details of *prāṇ* (vol. III:738) under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛtya* . . . Other examples can be similarly derived. Retention of original accent means initial *udāta* in these examples. Examples which involve single replacement may optionally have *svarita* by 8.2.6 *svarito va* ‘nudātte. This optional application of *svarita* may not be available to *parāṇ*, etc., because *parā* is *udāta* at the beginning. That is ā, which goes through single replacement, is not *udāta*.

2. Note that examples with *prati*, i.e., *pratyañ, pratyāñcau* and *pratyāñcaḥ*, will constitute counter-examples since *prati* ends in a sound denoted by *iK*.

3. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to let the accentual provision of this rule, as characterized with the qualification of non-*iK* (*aniganta*), block the accentual provision characterized with *cu* (6.1.219 *cau*), on the basis of *paratva*. Commentators explain that 6.1.219 *cau* has its independent scope where there is no *gati*. Thus, we get *dadhicaḥ* and *dadhicā*. An
accentual provision conditioned by a form not ending in an iK (aniganta) has its independent scope where aṅc does not lose its a and ŋ to deletion. Thus, we get parān and parāṅcau. But consider parācah and parācā where both of these rules become simultaneously applicable. The Mahābhāṣya here invokes 1.4.2 vipratīsedhe param kāryam and allows the accentual provision of the subsequent rule to win.

6.2.53 न्याद्धि का

nyadhī ca
/nyadhī 1/2 = niś ca adhiś ca (itar. dv.); ca ṣ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 aṅcatau vapratyaye #52)
‘ni, adhi’ ity etau rāṇiś ca vapratyaye parataḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavataḥ
ni and adhi also retain their original accent when verbal root aṅcU
ending in affix va follows.

Examples:

nyān ‘directed downwards; nom. sing. of nyaṅc’
nyāṅcau ‘nom. dual . . .’
nyāṅcah ‘nom. plural . . .’
adhyān ‘directed inwards; nom. sing. of adhy-aṅc’
adhyāṅcau ‘nom. dual . . .’
adhyāṅcah ‘nom. plural . . .’

1. Note that ni and adhi are here allowed retention because they, obviously, are exceptions to the preceding rule. Here again, ni is marked udāṭta. The ya, of nyaṅ, nyaṅcau and nyaṅcah, becomes svarita as usual (8.2.6 udāṭtasvaratayor . . ). The a of adhi is also udāṭta. Rule 6.1.219 cau was applicable to adhyāṅcah, adhīcah and adhīcā. Our present rule is an exception to that.

6.2.54 इशदन्यतरस्वाम्

iṣad anyatarasyām
/ iṣat ṣ anyatarasyām 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)
‘iṣat’ ity etat pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaroṁ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely iṣat ‘a little’, optionally retains its original accent.

Examples:

iṣatkāḍāraḥ ‘somewhat tawny’
iṣatkāḍāraḥ
iṣatpiṅgalah ‘somewhat yellowish-brown’
iṣatpiṅgalah
1. Note that īṣat is marked with udātta at the end by nominal stem accent. This optional retention allows compounds to be marked udātta at the end (6.1.220 samāsasya). These compounds are all formed by way of specific enumeration of bases (pratipadokta; 2.2.7 īṣad akṛtā). That is why, this accentual provision cannot apply to a derivate such as īṣadbheda 'slightly cracked'. For, accentual provision of compounds with a following constituent in a kṛt affix (kṛduttarapada; 6.2.139 gatikārakopadāt kṛt) will block it. Some do not accept specific enumeration of bases (pratipadokta) as basis for resolving possible conflicts between these accentual provisions. They accept conflict and invoke 1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam, whereby a subsequent accentual provision wins.

6.2.55 हिरण्यपरिमाणे धने
hiranyaparimāṇe dhane
/hiranyaparimāṇe7/1 = hiranyam ca tat parimāṇam ca (karm. tat.), tasmin; dhane 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)
hiranyaparimāṇaviśe pūrvapadam dhanaśabda uttarapade nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaran bhavati

An initial constituent which signifies a measure (parimāna) of 'gold' (hiranya) retains its original accent when dhana combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

dvisuvārṇadhanam ‘wealth consisting of two measures of gold’
dvisuvārṇadhanam

1. Not that dvisuvārṇa is a dvigu compound (2.1.51 taddhitārthottara...), where a subsequently introduced taddhita affix, i.e., thaṅ (5.1.18 prāg vates thaṅ), gets deleted (5.1.28 adhyardha...). This dvigu is assigned udātta at the end (2.1.220 samāsasya). When dhana is combined to form a karmadhāraya, paraphrased as dvisuvārṇam eva dhanam ‘wealth consisting of only two measures (sixteen ounces) of gold’, then the final a of dvisuvārṇa is allowed to retain its original accent. A bahuvrihi interpretation of dvisuvārṇadhana, paraphrased as dvisuvārṇam dhanam asya ‘he whose wealth is two sixteen ounce coins’, will also have the initial obligatory udātta (6.2.1 bahuvrīha prakṛtyā pūrvapadam) made optional. For, this rule is subsequent (para). Thus, dvisuvārṇadhanah and dvisuvārṇadhanah.

6.2.56 प्रथमोऽस्यसप्तमी
prathamo' ciropasampattau
/prathamaḥ 1/1 aciropasampattau 7/1 = na cirāt (naṅ. tat.); acirā upasampattiḥ (karm.), tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrūpadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)
prathamaśabrāhaḥ pūrūpadam aciropasampattau gamyāmānāyām anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtivaram bhavati
An initial constituent, namely prthama, retains its original accent, optionally, when a relatively recent (acira) connection is denoted.

Examples:

prthamavaiyākaraṇaḥ 'a novice student of grammar'
prthamavaiyākaraṇaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that prthama is a derivate of amaC (Uṇādi V:68: prather amac), marked with C as an it. It is thus marked udāṭta at the end (6.1.160 citah). The compound itself will be marked udāṭta at the end. That is, if the option of prthama is not accepted.

2. Note that this optional udāṭta is consequential for meaning. The compound would get final udāṭta, obligatorily (nitya), if the meaning is outside the scope of aciropasampatti. Thus, consider prthamavaiyākaraṇaḥ 'the first, or best, among grammarians'. Commentators explain aciropasampatti as aciropāślesaḥ, abhinavatvam 'relatively recent contact, newness'.

6.2.57 कतरकतमो कर्मधार्ये
katarakatamau karmadhāraye
/katarakatamau 1/2 (itar. dv.) karmadhāraye 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrūpadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)
katarasabdaḥ katamaśabdas ca pūrūpadam karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtivaram bhavati
The initial constituents, namely katara and katama, optionally retain their original accent in a tatpurusa compound termed karmadhāraya.

Examples:

katrakāthah ‘who among you two is a follower of the Katha school’
katrakāthah
katmakāthah ‘who among you is a follower of the Katha school’
katamakāthah

1. An optional udāṭta is also offered here to initial constituents of karmadhāraya with katara and katama. Note that katara and katama end in affixes DataraC and DatamaC (5.4.92 kimiyaṭado . . .; 5.4.93 vā bahunām . . .), respectively. They are both thus marked with udāṭta at the end (6.1.160 citah). The compound gets marked udāṭta at the end, if this option is not accepted.

2. Why use karmadhāraye when its purpose can be served automatically
by the compound-formation rule (2.1.63 katarakatamau jātiparipraśne), where katara and katama are specifically enumerated (pratipadokta)? An explicit use of karmadhāraye is intended for anuvṛtī in the following rule.

6.2.58 आयां ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः:

āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ
/āryah 1/1 brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyāṁ #54 karmadhāraye #57)
āryasabdah pūrvapadah brāhmaṇakumāraśabdahor uttarapadayoḥ karma-
dhāraye samāśe nyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaram bhavanti

An initial constituent, namely ārya, optionally retains its original accent in a tatpurusa compound termed karmadhāraya, when it combines with brāhmaṇa and kumāra as following constituents.

Examples:

āryabrāhmaṇah 'a noble brāhmaṇa'
āryabrāhmaṇah
āryakumārah 'a noble youth or prince'
āryakumārah

1. Note that ārya, as a derivate of NyaT (3.1.124 rhalor nyat), is marked with svartita at the end (6.1.182 tit svaritam). Not accepting this option will again lead to a final udātta of the compound.

2. Note that paramabrāhmaṇah and paramakumārah cannot qualify for this option because they do not have ārya as their initial constituent. Similar exclusion will also be applicable to compounds such as āryakṣatriyāḥ and āryabrāhmaṇah, where the first one lacks brāhmaṇa and kumāra as following constituents, and the second is a genitive tatpurusa compound.

6.2.59 राजा च

rājā ca
/rājā 1/1 ca φ/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyāṁ #54 karmadhāraye #57 brāhma-
ṇakumārayoḥ #58)
rājā ca pūrvapadah brāhmaṇakumārayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye
samāśe nyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely rājan 'king', also optionally retains its original accent when brāhmaṇa and kumāra combine as following constituents.

Examples:

rājabrāhmaṇah 'a brāhmaṇa king'
rājabrāhmānaḥ
rājakumāraḥ ‘a prince who is king’
rājakumāraḥ

1. Why was rājā not combined with ārya in the earlier rule? A separate mention is made for its anuvṛtti in the next rule. Besides, making it part of the earlier rule may have caused assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (yathāsaṅkhya; 1.3.10 yathāsaṅkhyam anudesāḥ samānām).

Incidentally, rājan is a derivate of KanIN (Uṇādi I: 56 yuvṛṣṭa . . .). Consequently, it is marked udātta at the beginning (6.1.194 ṇnītyādir niṣṭam). The option of this rule will not apply if rājabrāhmānaḥ is interpreted as a genitive tatpurṣa.

6.2.60 षष्ठि प्रत्येनसि

śāṣṭhi pratyenasī

/śāṣṭhi 1/1 pratyenasī 7/1 = pratigatam enaḥ yasya = pratyenāḥ (bv.), tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54 rājā #59)
śāṣṭhyanto rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaḥ pratyenasy uttarapadeḥ nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely rājan ending in śāṣṭhi ‘genitive’, optionally retains its original accent when pratyenas combines as following constituent.

Examples:

rājāpratyenāḥ ‘kings’ emissary’
rājāpratyenāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Note that there will be four examples: two, where genitive is deleted and the option of this rule is accepted; two, where, because of the signification of anger (6.3.21 śāṣṭhyā kroṣe), genitive is not deleted. This option will be blocked if the compound is interpreted as a karmaḥāraya signifying rājā cāsaḥ pratyenā ca ‘the king who is also his own emissary’.

6.2.61 के नित्यार्थे

kте nityārthe

/kте 7/1 nityārthe 7/1 = nityaḥ artho yasya (bv.), tasmin/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)
kānta uttarapade nityārthe samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of nitya ‘always’, optionally, retains its original accent when a constituent ending in Kте follows.
Examples:

nityáprahasitah ‘always laughing’
nityáprahasitah
satatapráhasitah ‘ibidem’
satatapráhasitah

1. The word nitya is used with arthe, so that an initial constituent synonymous with nitya can also be included. This explains why satata can also retain its original accent here. Of course, when it combines as an initial with a following derivate of Kta. The word nitya is a derivate of tyaP (cf. vt. ad 4.2.104 anyayāt tyap). Its ya is anudātta by affixal accent (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). But its ni is marked with udātta (Phitṣūtra 80: upasargā . . .). This accent then will be retained. The word satata can be interpreted as a derivate signifying bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’. It will be marked with udātta at the end (6.2.144 thāthaghaṅkta . . .) when the signification is bhāva. It will be marked udātta at the beginning when the signification is karman (6.2.49 gatir anantarah). These accusative tātpuruṣa compounds are formed by 2.1.27 kālāh. The compounds, optionally, may also be marked with udātta at the end.

6.2.62 ग्राम: शिल्पिनि

grāmāḥ śilpīni
/ grāmāḥ 1/1 śilpīni 7/1/
(prakṛtyā pūrvapaḍam #1 anyatarasyāṁ #54)
grāmasabdaḥ pūrvapadāṃ śilpavāciny uttarapade nyatarasyāṁ pra-kṛitisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely grāma ‘village’, optionally retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of śilpin ‘artisan’ combines to follow.

Examples:

grāmānāpitah ‘village barber’
grāmanāpitah ‘ibidem’
grāmākulālah ‘village potter’
grāmākulālah ‘ibidem’

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.47 ahīne dvitiyā for accentual details of grāma. These examples are all genitive tātpuruṣa compounds. They may also be marked with udātta at the end, optionally.

6.2.63 राजा च प्रासंसाययम्

rāja ca praśaṁsaśayām
/rājā 1/1 ca φ praśaṁsaśayām 7/1/
Adhyāya Six: Pāda Two

6.2.64 (prakṛtyā pūrva-padam 1/1 anyatarasyām #54 śilpini #62)
rājasabdah pūrva-padam śilpavāciny uttarāpade praśamsāyām gamya-
māṇāyām anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely rājan ‘king’, retains its original accent optionally when śilp in combines as a following constituent and praśamsā ‘praise’ is denoted.

Examples:

rājānāpitaḥ ‘royal barber’

rājanāpitaḥ ‘ibidem’

rājakulālah ‘royal potter’

rājakulālah ‘ibidem’

1. A compound such as rājanāpitaḥ can be interpreted both as a karmadhāraya and genitive taipuruṣa. A karmadhāraya interpretation will involve a figurative transfer of royal qualities to the barber. This is how the compound will denote ‘praise.’ A genitive will similarly denote ‘praise’ by attributing qualities of a royal barber to the barber. Refer to notes under 6.2.59 rājā ca for accentual details of rājan. The compounds are both given here as karmadhāraya.

Note that a simple statement of fact, as in rājanāpitaḥ ‘king’s barber’, will not qualify the compound for this accentual provision. It must also be limited to śilpini ‘when an artisan . . .’. Thus, an example such as rājaḥastī ‘king’s elephant’ will again be excluded.

6.2.64 आदिरुद्दत्तः:

ādir udāttah
/ādiḥ 1/1 udāttah 1/1/
(pūrva-padam #1)

ita uttarāṃ yad vaksyāmas tatra pūrva-padasyādir udātto bhavatīty evaṁ veditaryam

The initial constituent of a compound, from here onwards, will be marked with udātta at the beginning.

Examples:

Look under rules which follow.

1. This is an adhikāra, valid prior to rule 6.2.143 antah, insofar as ādiḥ is concerned. It carries prior to 6.2.137 prakṛtyā bhagālam, in connection with the assignment of the udātta accent. Examples covered by this rule will have their initial constituents marked with udātta at the beginning. Consider rule 6.2.25 saaptamihārṇāvau dharmye hārāṇe, whereby an initial compound constituent which ends in the locative and signifies hārin ‘he who accepts a share’ is marked udātta at the beginning. That is, when a constituent with
the signification of something other than dharmya ‘that which is given as part of established practice’ combines to follow. Look under individual rules for further details.

6.2.65 सम्मिहारिणी धर्म्यंहरणे

saptamihārīnau dharmyeḥ harāṇe
/saptamihārīnau 1/2 = saptamī ca hārī ca (itar. dv.); dharmyeḥ 7/1 aharāṇe 7/1 (naṁ. tat.)/
(pūrvaṇāmaḥ #1 ādir udāṭṭhaḥ #64)
saptamanyantam hārīvāci ca pūrvaṇāmaḥ dharmayavācini haraṇaśabdād
anuyāmānāṃ uttarapade ṛṣyudāttam bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely one which ends in saptamī ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ or one which is constituted by hārin, is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning, provided a constituent other than haraṇa combinations to follow with the signification of dharmya ‘a proper gift’.

Examples:

stūpeśāṇah ‘a gold coin traditionally offered to a king in commemorating the building of a Stūpa’
mukātekārīṣapānām ‘a Kārṣapaṇa (gold coin) traditionally offered to a king at his coronation’
halēdvipadikā ‘a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with two plows’
halētripadikā ‘a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with three plows’
yājñikāsvah ‘ritualist’s (gift of a) horse’
vaiyākaraṇahastā ‘grammarian’s (gift of an) elephant’

1. Note that dharmya and hārin are not interpreted here as referring to their forms (svaṛūpa). They are used here with reference to their meanings, instead. Thus, dharmya, a derivate of yaT (4.4.92 dharmyapathyartha . . .), is to be interpreted as ācāraniyatam deyam ‘that (a fixed amount) which ought to be given someone following some standard familial and social practice’. A person who accepts what is given him as dharmya is called hārin = deyam yaṁ svēkaroti ‘he who accepts what is given him’.

Note that all locative tatpurusa compounds involve non-deletion (aluk; 6.3.10 hārināmī ca prācām halādayau) of the locative (saptamī). They are formed by rule 2.1.44 samjñāyām. Examples of hārin are all genitive tatpurusa compounds. Both compound types constitute exceptions to 6.1.220 samāsasya.

2. Remember that the conditions of dharmya and hārin must be satisfied. Thus, consider the two counter-examples: stambharamah ‘an elephant’ and karmakargavarddhitakah, where the following constituent of these compounds denotes something different. Thus, ramah means ‘sportful’ and varddhitakah
means ‘a thick conical pile of cooked rice given as part of wages to labourers’. The restriction of something other than haraṇa which, in turn, may constitute the following constituent is also important. Thus consider vāḍavaharaṇam ‘rich food offered to a studhorse, particularly after impregnation of (bijaniṣeka) a mare’. The initial constituent, i.e., vāḍava ‘mare’s own; horse’, here denotes hārin, but the following constituent is haraṇa. This compound is also out. The specification of ahaṇe has yet another implication. That is, this rule, except where haraṇa is a following constituent, will allow retention of original accent of an initial constituent used with the signification of hārin. Since haraṇa is a derivate formed with kṛt, its exclusion also specifies derivatives ending in a kṛt. That is, a derivate of kṛt with the exception of haraṇa. . . . This rule then becomes an exception to 6.2.139 gatikāraṇaṇāpapadāt kṛt. Consider vāḍavahāryam, where vāḍava retains its original accent of initial udāṭta.

6.2.66 yuktē ca

/yuktē 7/1 ca φ/

(pūrvaṇadām #1 ādir udāṭtah #64)
yuktavācini ca samāse pūrvaṇadām ādyudāṭtam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of yukta ‘yoked, engaged’ is marked udāṭta at the beginning.

Examples:

gobālavaḥ ‘one whose duty is to tend cows’
gomānindah ‘ibidem’
asvābālavaḥ ‘one whose duty is to care of horses’
asvāmanindah ‘ibidem’

1. The word yukta is explained as samāhita ‘engrossed’, or kartavya tatparah ‘diligent; pursuing what is one’s duty’. These compounds all are formed with a following constituent which denotes: ‘those who take care of cows and horses as part of their duty’.

6.2.67 vibhāṣā aṣṭhyakṣe

/vibhāṣā 1/1 adhyakṣe 7/1/

(pūrvaṇadām #1 ādir udāṭtah #64)
adhyakṣasāśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā pūrvaṇadām ādyudāṭtam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound is optionally marked with udāṭta at the beginning when adhyakṣa ‘chief’ combines as a following constituent.
Examples:

*gavādhyakṣaḥ* 'chief among those who take care of cows'

*gavādhyakṣaḥ* 'ibidem'

*aśvādhyakṣaḥ* 'chief among those who take care of horses'

*aśvādhyakṣaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This optional initial *udātta* is offered against the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 samāsasya.

6.2.68 पापं च शिल्पिनि

\[ \text{pāpam ca śilpini} \]

\[ /\text{pāpam} \ 1/1 \ ca \ φ \ \text{śilpini} \ 7/1/ \]

(पूर्वपदम #1 ādir *udāttaḥ*, #64)

\[ \text{pāpāśadhaḥ śilpavācay uttarapade vibhāsa' dyudātto bhavati} \]

An initial compound constituent, namely *pāpa* 'despicable', is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *śilpini* combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

\[ \text{pāpānāpitaḥ} \ 'a \ bad \ barber'} \]

\[ \text{pāpānāpitaḥ} \ 'ibidem' \]

\[ \text{pāpākulaḥ} \ 'a \ bad \ potter' \]

\[ \text{pāpākulaḥ} \ 'ibidem' \]

1. Note that *pāpa* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpa*) and *śilpini* is interpreted as referring to its meaning. Here again we find an optional *udātta* at the end of a compound. A syntactic coordination (सामान्दिकरण) between constituents leads towards compound formation by 2.1.54 *pāpaṇake kutsitaiḥ*. A genitive *tatpurusa* compound, parallel to *pāpasya nāpitaḥ = pāpānāpitaḥ*, cannot qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.69 गोत्रान्तेवासिस्माणवाक्रांणोपेः

\[ \text{gotrāntevasimānavabrāhmanesu} \]

\[ /\text{gotra-antevasi-mānava-brāhmanesu} \ 7/3 \ (\text{itar. dv.}) \ kṣepe \ 7/1/ \]

(पूर्वपदम #1 ādir *udāttaḥ*, #64)

\[ \text{gotravāciny antevāsiny cottarapade mānavabrāhmanayoś ca kṣepavācini} \]

\[ \text{samāśe pūrvaṇam ādhyudātum bhavati} \]

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kṣeṣa* ‘censure’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided the constituent which follows signifies a *gotra* ‘descendant, grandson on,’ an *antevasin* ‘pupil, student’, or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa* and *mānava* ‘young initiate, boy’.
EXAMPLES:

janghāvātsyah 'a non-Vātsyya claiming to be a Vātsyya'
bhāryāsauśrutah 'a henpecked son of Suśruta'
vāśābrāhmakṛtyah 'a barren woman ...'
odānapāṇinīyāh 'students who study Pāṇini's grammar so that they can get rice to eat'
bhikṣāmāṇavah 'a young initiate who becomes a celibate boasting, 'I can survive on alms''
dāśbrāhmanah 'a brāhmaṇa who longs for his maid'
bhayābrāhmanah 'one who, for fear (of beating), claims to be a brāhmaṇa'

1. Note that gotra 'offspring' and antevāsin 'student' are used with reference to their popular meanings (artha). The other two, i.e., mānava and brāhmaṇa, are used with reference to their form (svaruṇa). The word gotra, since it is used outside the domain of the technical term gotra, here refers to its popular meaning of an offspring. Unless a particular specification is made otherwise, all these compounds will be formed by 2.1.4 saha supā.

6.2.70 अङ्गानि मैरये

aṅgāni maireye
/aṅgāni 1/3 maireye 7/1/
(pūrṇapadām #1 ādir udātta #64)
maireyasabda uttarapade tadaṅgavācāny pūrṇapadāny ādyudātāni bhavanti
An initial compound constituent which signifies an aṅga ‘major ingredient, source’ is marked with udātta at the beginning, when a constituent signifying maireya ‘liquor’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gudamaireyah ‘liquor, distilled from molasses’
madhumaireyah ‘liquor, distilled from honey’

1. Note that the compound derivate must denote maireya ‘liquor’ and the sense of its initial constituent must serve as the major ingredient for distilling liquor. Consider the following counter-examples: paramamaireyah and phalāsavyah 'fruit-juice', where parama ‘best’ does not denote an ingredient and āśava ‘juice’ does not denote liquor.

6.2.71 भक्ताख्यास्तदः

bhaktākhyās tadartheṣu
/bhaktākhyāh 1/3 tadartheṣu 7/1/
(pūrṇapadām #1 ādir udātta #64)
bhaktam annam tadākhyāḥ tadvācinaḥ śabdāḥ tadartheṣūttarapadesu ādyudāttā bhavanti

The initial constituent of a compound which names bhakta ‘grain, food’ is marked udātta at the beginning when a constituent signifying something intended for the food thus named (tadartha) combines to follow.

Examples:

bhiksākamsaḥ ‘a pot intended for begging food’
śrāṇākamsaḥ ‘a pot intended for making barley-gruel’

1. Note that bhakta is used here with the signification of anna ‘food’. The word ākhyā ‘naming’, in bhaktākhyā, is used so that synonyms of bhakta could also be included as constituents.

6.2.72 गोबिडालसिंहसाइंदहवेषुपमाने

gobidālasimhasaindhaveṣuṣūpamāne
/go-bidāla-simha-saindhaveṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); upamāne 7/1
(pūrṇapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)
gavādisuṣūpamānāvācīṣūttarapadesu pūrṇapadam ādyudāttam bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked udātta at the beginning, when a constituent with the signification of go ‘cow’, bidāla ‘cat’ and simha ‘lion’ combines to follow as a standard of comparison (upamāna).

Examples:

dhānyāgavah ‘grain arranged in the shape of a cow’
hirānyagavah ‘gold similar in shape to a cows limb’
bhiksābidālah ‘(very little) alms arranged in the shape of a cat’
trnāsimhah ‘grass arranged in the shape of a lion’
kāsthāsimhah ‘wood shaped like a lion’
saktusaindhabah ‘Saktu (barley meal) arranged in the shape of a horse’
pānāsaindhabah ‘a drinking vessel shaped like a horse’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.56 upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ, especially with paraphrases such as hirānyam gaur iva ‘gold (shaped) like a cow’, etc. The vyāghrādi group of nominals (2.1.56 upamitam . . .) is also considered open-ended (ākṛtigana). The idea of an upamāna ‘standard of comparison’ must follow established usage.

6.2.73 अके जीविकार्थे

ake jīvikārthe
/ake 7/1 jīvikārthe 7/1 = jīvikāyā arthah (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(pürvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)  
akaṇṭayānta uttarapade jivikārtha-vācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of jīvikā 'livelihood' is marked udāttā at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix aka follows.

**Examples:**

dantālekhaḥ ‘painter of teeth’
nakhālekhaḥ ‘manicurist; painter of nails’
ramāṇīyakārakah ‘beautician’

1. These compound are formed by 2.2.17 nityəm kṛdājīvikayoh.

6.2.74 प्रचातः क्रियायाम

pracām kṛdāyām
/pracām 6/3 kṛdāyām 7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 ake #73)
präg deśavartinā yā kṛdā tadvācini samāse' kaṇṭayānta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of a sport of the people in the east in marked udāttā at the beginning, when a constituent ending in affix aka combines to follow.

**Examples:**

uddālakapuṣṭapabhāṇjikā ‘a sport in which the uddālaka flowers were crushed’
virāṇapuṣṭaparacāṇyikā ‘a sport in which the virāṇa flowers were crushed’
sālābhāṇjikā ‘a doll, puppet’
tālābhāṇjikā

1. Refer to my notes under 2.2.17 nityam . . . for additional details.

6.2.75 अणि नियुक्ते

ani niyukte
/ani 7/1 niyukte 7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)
ananta uttarapade niyuktavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of niyukta ‘commissioned’ is marked udāttā at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix aṇya follows.

**Examples:**

chattrāḍhārah ‘bearer of the parasol’
tiṇiradhāraḥ 'bearer of the quiver'
kamāṇḍalugrāhah 'bearer of the kamāṇḍalu (water-pot)'
bhringaṁadhārah 'bearer of bhringāra (gold-pitcher)'

1. Note that the compound must denote the meaning of niyukta 'commissioned to perform specific duty'. Consider saralāvah 'reed-cutter' where agency (kārtvā) alone is denoted. That is, the compound does not indicate whether the person who is currently engaged in the action of cutting reeds is commissioned to do that.

6.2.76 शिल्पिनि चाकृष्ण:  
śilpini cākṛṇah
/silpini 7/1 ca φ akrṇah 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 aṇi #75)
śilpivācini samāse  nantā uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati, sa
ced an kṛṇo na bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of śilpin 'artisan' is also marked with udātta at the beginning, provided a constituent ending in aN with the exception of one introduced after kṛN 'to do' combines to follow.

Examples:
tantuvāyah 'a weaver'
tummāvāyah 'a tailor'
vālāvāyah 'a hair-dresser'

1. Refer to derivational details of tantuvāyah under 3.2.2 hvāvāmas ca. Note that the derivate must denote an artisan (śilpin). This is why kāṇḍalāvah 'reed-cutter' becomes an exception to this rule. The condition of akrṇah ensures that examples like kumbhakārah 'potter' and ayaskārah 'blacksmith' do not come under the scope of this rule. For, they have their aN introduced after kṛN.

6.2.77 संज्ञाय च  
samjñāyām ca
/samjñāyām 7/1 ca φ/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 aṇi 75 akrṇah #76)
samjñāyām visaye  nantā uttarapadē kṛṇah pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the derivational scope of a name (samjñā) is also marked with udātta, provided a constituent ending in aN with the exception of one introduced after kṛN combines to follow.
EXAMPLES:

tantúvā yo nāma kitāh ‘tanttuvāya is a worm which builds a cocoon; silk-
worm’
vālāvā yo nāma parvataḥ ‘vālavāya is a mountain’

1. Note that the condition of akrṇāḥ is still valid. Thus, rathakāro nāma
brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa named rathakāra (chariot-maker)’ will serve as a coun-
ter-example.

6.2.78 गोत्तियाय्यां पाले

gotantiyavam pāle
/ gotantiyavam 1/1 (sam. dv.); pāle 7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)
‘go, tanti, yava’ ity etāni pūrvapadāni pālasabda uttarapade ādyudāttāni
bhavanti

The initial constituents, namely go ‘cow’, tanti ‘cord, string’ and yava
‘barley’, are marked udātta at the beginning, provided pāla combines
as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gopālah ‘one who takes care of cows’
tantipālah ‘one who guards calves (tied to posts with ropes); a king’
yavāpālah ‘one who guards the barley field’

1. Note that gorakṣaḥ ‘protector of cows’ falls outside the scope of this
rule, simply because pāla ‘guard’ is not the final constituent.

6.2.79 गिनि

nini
/ nini 7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)
nināṇa uttarapade pūrvapadām ādyudāttān bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound is marked udātta at the begin-
nning when a constituent ending in affix NinI combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpāhārī ‘he who brings flowers over and over again’
phalāhārī ‘he who brings fruits over and over again’
parṇāhārī ‘he who brings leaves over and over again’

1. Note that NinI (3.2.80 vrate) is used in the derivate examples with the
signification of vrate ‘a ritual vow’. This signification is especially desired in
the context of verbal root ḫṛṇ ‘to carry, fetch’. Elsewhere, we can also get
the meaning of ābhikṣṇya ‘doing something over and over again’. 
6.2.80 उपमान शब्दार्थप्रकृतिवेच

upamānaṁ sabdārthaprakṛtāv eva
/ upamānam 1/1 sabdārthaprakṛtau 7/1 = sabda’ rthah yasyāḥ sā (bu);
sabdārtha prakṛtr yasya (bu. with int. bu.), tasmin; eva φ/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 ṅini #79)
upamānavācī pūrvapadam sabdārthaprakṛtāv eva ṅinanta uttarapada
ādyudāttaṁ bhavati

An initial compound constituent which denotes a standard of comparison (upamāna) is marked with udātta when a constituent ending in ṃlI, and carrying the base-meaning of sabda ‘noise’, combines to follow.

Examples:

uṣṭrākrośī ‘he who makes a noise like a camel’
dhvānksārāvī ‘he who caws like a crow’
kharāṇādi ‘he who brays like a donkey’

1. Note that the final compound constituent must signify sabda ‘noise’. That is why I translate, ‘carrying the base-meaning of sabda’. Consider vaṅga and prakṣa of vrkavaṅga ‘cunning as a wolf’ and vrkāprakṣa ‘observing like a wolf’ which must be excluded from the scope of this rule since vaṅca ‘to deceive’ and prakṣaA ‘to observe’ do not denote sabda. Additionally, this meaning of sabda should be considered independently of preverbs (Kāś: prakṛtr eva yatropasorganirapiksā sabdārtha bhavati tatraiva syāt . . .). Thus, gardabhocārī ‘he who makes noises like a donkey’ and kokilābhityāhārī ‘he who makes noises like a cuckoo’ must also be excluded since the meaning of sabda ‘noise’ is here complemented by the preverbs.

2. The word eva ‘only’ is used for exact specification of the scope of this rule by way of upamāna ‘standard of comparison’. Note that this initial udātta could have been made available by the preceding rule to compounds with their initial constituents denoting an upamāna, or something other than an upamāna, anyway. This use of eva is then restrictive in case of initial constituents used with the signification of upamāna. That is, an initial udātta under the condition of sabdārthaprakṛtau will be available only when upamāna is the initial constituent. Nyāsa correctly observes that if upamāna was not specified here, the scope of application of the preceding rule, as against this current, could not be known. A specification with upamāna makes the scope of the preceding rule general (sāmānca). This rule then specifies the particular scope relative to the preceding general, by way of upamāna (Nyāsa ad Kāś: yady upamānagrahaṇam na kriyeta tadā pūrvasya yogasyāya ca viśayavibhāgo na jñāyeta).

6.2.81 युक्तरोह्यादयास्च

yuktārohyādayaś ca
6.2.82 \textit{Adhyāya Six: Pāda Two} \hfill 249

/yuktāröhādayāh 1/3 yuktārohi ādir yeśām (bu.); ca φ/
( pérdrapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 nini #79)
yuktāröhādayāh samāsaḥ ādyudāttaḥ bhavanti
The initial constituents of compounds such as yuktārohi ‘a well equipped rider’, etc., are marked udātta at the beginning.

\textbf{Examples:}

yuktārohi ‘supervisor of horses’
āgātayodhi ‘one who fights a newly arrived’
ksirāhotā ‘sacrificer of rice-pudding’
bhāginībhartī ‘sister’s husband’

1. Note that nominals included within the list headed by yuktārohin are all derivates of affix \textit{NiN}. Consequently, they simply illustrate the provision of 6.2.79 nini. Some claim that since Pāñini offers this rule even though its purpose can be served by 6.2.79 nini, this rule must be accepted as restrictive. It offers restrictions applicable to both the preceding as well following constituents of example compounds. Thus, this rule applies only when the compounds are formed with yukta, etc., as initial constituents, and ārohin, etc., as final (Nyāsa ad Kāś: teśām iha pāṭhaṣya pravoyanāntaram darśayati. pérdvotarpadayon niyamo’ rito yeśām te tathoktiḥ. yatā yuktādīṇy eva pérdvapadāṇy ārohyādīṇy eva uttarapadāṇi tatraive yathā syād iti). Thus, we cannot find the provision of this rule applicable to dhvānkṣārohi, etc. These compounds get udātta at the end, instead.

The first two derivates of this rule end in \textit{NinI}. The next two compounds are both genitive tatpuruṣa, formed on the basis of constituency in the yājakādi group (2.2.9 yājakādibhiṣ ca) of nominals.

6.2.82 दीर्घकाशतुष्ट्वावत्त जे

/dīrghakāśaṭuṣṭābhraṣṭravatam je
( pérdvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)
‘dīrghāntam pérdvapadam, kāśa, tuṣa, bhrāṣṭra, vaṭa’ ity etāni ca je uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti
An initial compound constituent which ends in a long vowel, or one which is constituted by kāśa ‘reed’, tuṣa ‘chaff’, bhrāṣṭra ‘roasting place, oven’ and vaṭa ‘banyan’, is marked with udātta at the beginning when ja combines to follow.

\textbf{Examples:}

kuṭjāh ‘born in a hut’
samījah ‘found in a Śami tree’
kāṣājāh ‘found in grass’
tusājah ‘found in bran’
bhraṣṭrājah ‘found in a roasting place’
vatājah ‘found in a banyan tree’

1. Note that ja is derived by introducing affix Da after verbal root jan (3.2.97 saṣṭamatiṃ jaṇer ādah). This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 gatikārakopapadāt kṛt.

6.2.83 अन्त्यात्पूर्व बहवचः:

\[\text{antyāt pūrvam bahvacaḥ} \]
\[
\text{/ antyāt 5/1 pūrvam 1/1 bahvacaḥ 1/1} \\
\text{(pūrvaṇapadam #1 udāṭtah #64 je #82)} \\
\text{je uttarapade bahvacaḥ pūrvaṇapadasyantiḥ pūrvam udāṭtam bhavati} \]

The next to the last vowel of an initial compound constituent consisting of many vowels (bahvaca) is marked udāṭta when ja combines to follow.

Examples:

upasarājaḥ ‘born from first impregnation’
mandurājaḥ ‘born or found in a stable’
āmallakijāḥ ‘found in the Āmalaki fruit’
vaḍavājaḥ ‘stud-horse; . . . found in groups of mares’

1. Note that a of ra will be marked udāṭta, since it happens to be next to the last among vowels of the polysyllabic derivate upasarajah. The condition of bahvacaḥ will block initial udāṭta in examples such as dagdhajani triṇāni ‘grass growing at a place which was burned’ where the initial constituent, i.e., dagdhā, consists of two vowels only. This again is an exception to 6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt. . . .

6.2.84 ग्रामे निवसन्ति:

\[\text{grāme nivasantaḥ} \]
\[
\text{/ grame 7/1 anivasantaḥ 1/3 = na nivasantaḥ (nañ. tat.) /} \\
\text{(pūrvaṇapadam #1 ādir udāṭtah #64)} \\
\text{grāmasaḥda uttarapade pūrvaṇapadam ādyudāṭtam bhavati} \]

An initial compound constituent is marked udāṭta at the beginning when it does not signify a resident and when grāma combines with it as a following constituent.

Examples:

mallāgrāmah ‘group of wrestlers’
vaniṅgṛāmah ‘group of traders’
devāgrāmah ‘a village with divine lordship’
1. Note that grāma ‘village’ is here used with the signification of samūha ‘group’. The condition of anivasat ‘non-living’ is also important. Consider dāksigrahā ‘a village where descendants of Dakṣa, etc., live’ and māhakigrāham ‘a village where Māhaki, etc., live’ as counter-examples.

6.2.85 चौषदिनिष्ट च

ghoṣādiṣu ca
/ ghoṣādiṣu 7/2 = ghoṣa ādir yeṣām (bv.), teṣu; ca ṣa/
(pūrvaṇadām #1 ādir udāttah #64)
ghoṣādiṣu cottaraṇadāṣu pūrvaṇadām ādyudātram bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound is marked udātta at the beginning when a constituent enumerated in the list headed by ghoṣa ‘a settlement of herdsmen’ combines to follow.

Examples:

dāksighoṣah ‘a settlement where descendants of Dakṣa live’
dāksikatāh ‘a crematorium of the descendants of Dakṣa’
dāks siradāh ‘a pond of the descendants of Dakṣa’

1. The examples are all genitive taprūṣa compounds. Note that the ghoṣādi group also includes words which, when used as initial constituents, may qualify for initial udātta even against the condition of anivasat (cf. 6.2.84 grāme’ nivasantah). Some, therefore, do not carry the anuvṛtti of anivasat in this rule.

6.2.86 छात्रयादयः शालयाभुḥ

chātryādayah śalāyām
/ chātryādayah 1/3 = chāтриḥ ādir yeṣām; śalāyām 7/1/
(pūrvaṇadām #1 ādir udāttah #64)
śalāyām uttaraprade chātryādaya ādyudātā bhavanti

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by chātrin ‘student’ is marked udātta when śalā ‘hall’ combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

chātriśalā ‘home of Chātri’
paitīśalā ‘home of Paili’
 bhāṇḍāśalā ‘home of Bhāṇḍi’

1. Note that all the chatrādi nominals denote an apatyā ‘offspring’ and end in iṇ (4.1.95 ata iṇ). The first and third compounds can also be interpreted as a ‘barber’s shop’. The second also has a slightly different form:
pelisālā. Our second example also has a slightly different form and meaning: pelisāla 'stable'.

6.2.87 प्रस्थेः पवत्तमक्षयंदीनाम्

prasthe' vṛddham akarkyādinām
/prasthe' 7/1 avṛddham 1/1 (na vṛddham (nā.)); akarkyādinām 6/3 = karki ādir yeśām te karkyādayāh; na karkyādayāh (nā. with int. bu), teśām/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)
prasthaśabda uttarapade karkyādivarjitaṁ avṛddham pūrvapadam adyudāttam bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound with the exception of one enumerated in the list headed by karkin ‘born in the zodiacal sign Cancer’, or one which is termed vṛddha, is marked udātta at the beginning, provided prastha ‘plain, level country’ combines with it as a following constituent.

Examples:

indrāprasthaḥ ‘the city of Indraprastha’
kundāprasthaḥ ‘a place named Kunḍaprastha’
hradāprasthaḥ ‘a place named Hradaprascha’

1. Note that vṛddha refers to constituents termed vṛddha by 1.1.72 vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham. How come these exceptions are specified with the nominative and genitive, two different nominal endings. This just illustrates a variation in the Pāṇinian style.

6.2.88 मालादीनां च

mālādīnāṁ ca
/mālādīnām 6/3 = māla ādir yeśāṁ (bu.); ca φ/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 prasthe #87)
prastha uttarapade mālādīnām ādir udātto bhavati

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by mālā ‘garland’ is also marked udātta at the beginning.

Examples:

mālāprasthaḥ ‘name of a place’
sālāprasthaḥ ‘name of a place’

1. Note that the preceding rule does not allow a compound with its initial constituent termed vṛddha to be marked udātta at the beginning. Our present rule allows it. For, the mālādi group consists of nominals termed vṛddha.
6.2.89 अमहत्रवं नगरे 5 नृदिचाम्

amahannavam nagare' nudičām
/ amahannavam 1/1 = mahat ca navam ca = mahannavam (sam. dv.); na mahannavam (nañ. tat.); nagare 7/1 anudicām 6/3 = na udāncaka (nañ. tat.), teśām/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)
nagaraśabda uttarapade mahannavaśabdavarjitam pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

An initial compound constituent, with the exception of one constituted by mahat 'big' and nava 'new', is marked udātta at the beginning, provided nagara 'city' combines as a following constituent and the signification excludes a city of the northerners.

Examples:

sūhmanagaram 'name of a city'
pandrānagaram 'name of a city'

1. Why specify mahat and nava as part of exclusion? Consider mahānagaram 'a big city' and navanagaram 'a new city' where we find udātta at the end. The exclusion of anudicām is similarly important.

6.2.90 अर्मेचावर्ण द्वयच त्रयच
arne cāvarṇam dvyač tryac
/ arne' 7/1 ca φ avarnam 1/1 dvyač 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bu.); tryac 1/1 = tvayo' ca yasmin (bu.)/
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 c-mahannavam #89)
arnasaśabda uttarapade dvyač tryac pūrvapadam avaranāntam ādyudāttam bhavati

The initial compound constituent which, with the exception of mahat and nava, ends in a and contains two or three vowels is marked udātta at the beginning when arma 'ruins' combines to follow.

Examples:

dattāram 'name of a locality'
guptāram 'name of a locality'
kujjūtāram 'name of a locality'
vayāsāram 'name of a locality'

1. Note that the example derivates must end in a. Consider bṛhadārnam where bṛhat 'non-big' does not end in a. The conditions of dvyač 'that which consists of two vowels' and tryac 'that which consists of three vowels' will exclude examples such as kapinjalārnam, etc. Finally, mahārnam and navyārnam will also be excluded since mahat and nava are initial compound constituents.
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

6.2.91 न भूताधिकसन्निवामद्रास्मकः कुलम्

na bhūtādhikasannijvakramadrasmakajjalam
"na φ bhūta-adhika-sañjiva-madra-asma-kajjalam 1/1 (sam. dv.)/
(पूर्वपदम #1 adir udāttah #64 arme #89)
‘bhūta, adhika, sañjīva, madra-asman, kajjala’ ity etāni pūrvapadāni
armaśabda uttarapade nādyudāttāni bhavanti

The initial compound constituents, namely bhūta ‘past’, adhika ‘more’,
sañjīva ‘living together’, madra ‘name of a locality’, asman ‘rock’ and
kajjala ‘collyrium’, are not marked udātta at the beginning when arna
‘ruins’ combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

bhūtārnam ‘name of locality’
adhyārnam ‘name of a locality’
sañjīvārnam ‘name of a locality’
madhrārnam ‘name of a locality’
asmirnam ‘name of a locality’
madrāsmārnam ‘name of a locality’
kajjalārnam ‘name of a locality’

1. Note that a specification with madrasma is here made so that madra
and asman, individually, and madrasma as a combined base, can qualify for
this accentual provision (Kaś: madrasmagrahaṇam saṃghātavīgrhitārtham).
Thus, we get asmrnam, madhrānam and madrasmārnam. Most of these con-
stituents could have qualified for initial udātta, based on their specifications
with dvery ‘consisting of two vowels’ and tryac ‘consisting of three vowels’.
This rule negates such provisions of the preceding rule. That is, the final
udātta accent of the compound will prevail. All derivates name a locality and
are formed as genitive tatpurusā compounds.

2. A proposal for initial udātta is also made in the Vedic usage of
divodāsa. . . Thus, consider divodāsōya gōyata and vaddhryaśvāya dāśūṣe.

6.2.92 अन्तः

antah
"antah 1/1/
(पूर्वपदम #1 udāttaḥ #64)
‘antah’ ity adhikram; ita uttaram yad vakṣyamas tatra pūrvapadayanti
udātto bhavāty evaṃ veditavyam

An initial compound constituent, from here onwards, is marked udātta
at the end.

Examples:

sgraśvētah ‘all white’
sgraśvakaśnāh ‘all black’
1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.110 *nosthopasarga*. . . . It offers *udātta* at the end of an initial compound constituent.

6.2.93 सर्व गुणकालस्ये

`sarvam guṇakārtṣnye`

/`sarvam 1/1 guṇa-kārtṣnye 7/1 = guṇasya kārtṣnyam (śa. tat.), tasmin/
(pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92)

`sarvāsabdah pūrvapadah guṇakārtṣnye vartamānam antodāttam bhavati`

An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* ‘all’, when used with the signification of entirety of quality, is marked with *udātta* at the end.

**Examples:**

`sarvaśvētaḥ* ‘all white’`

`sarvakṣēṇāḥ ‘all black’`

`sarvamāhān ‘all great’`

1. The condition of *guṇakārtṣnyā* ‘entirety of quality’ must be met. Thus, we do not get final *udātta* in *sarvasaṃvarṇah* ‘a thing all gold’ and *sarvaśvētaḥ* ‘a thing all white’, parallel to *sarvesaṃ śvētaḥ* ‘whitest of all’, where *sarva* in the first two examples denotes entirety of a thing (*dravya*). The last example denotes quality, though not in its entirety. A statement of entirety cannot be accepted as one made with reference to a group within larger groups. It must be made relative to the entirety of groups.

6.2.94 संज्ञायं गिरिनिकाययोः

`samjñāyāṁ girinikāyayoh`

/`samjñāyām 7/1 girī-nikāyayoh 7/2 = girī ca nikāyaś ca (itar. du.) tayoh/
(pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92)

`samjñāyām viṣaye ‘giri, nikāya‘ ity etayor uttarapadayaḥ pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati`

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *giri* ‘mountain’ and *nikāya* ‘multitude, house’ combine to follow and derivates denote a name (*samjñā*).

**Examples:**

`gaṇjanāgirih ‘name of a mountain’`

`bhāganāgirih ‘ibidem’`

`sāpiṇḍinikāyāḥ ‘the clan of Śāpiṇḍis’`

`mauṇḍinikāyāḥ ‘the clan of Mauṇḍis’`

1. Note that *paramagirih* ‘highest mountain’ and *brahmaṇanikāyāḥ* ‘clan of brāhmaṇas’, both counter-examples to the condition of *samjñāyām*, are marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). Our first two examples are
both genitive *tātpuruṣa* compounds where the final *a* of *aṇjana* and *bhaṇjana* has gone through lengthening (6.3.115 *vanagīroḥ sanjñāyām*). The initial constituents of the last two examples are derivate of *iN* (4.1.95 *ata iN*).

6.2.95 *कुमाराः वयसि*

*kumārīṁ vayasi*  
/ *kumārīṁ 7/1 vayasi 7/1/*  
(*pūrvapadam #1 udāṭtaḥ #64 antaḥ #92*)

*kumārīṁ uttarapade vayasi gamyamāne pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udāṭta* at the end when *kumārī* combines as a following constituent and *vayasa* ‘age’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

*vrddhakumārī* ‘an old virgin woman’  
*jāratkumārī* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *kumārī* ‘girl’ is used in two senses of *prathamam vayah* ‘initial stage of life’ and *pumsāṁ sahāsamprayogah* ‘no sexual contact with a male’. A syntactic coordination of *kumārī*, with *vrddha* ‘old’ and *jaraṭi* ‘decaying’ signifying the final stage of life, is impaired. That is, if *kumārī* is used with the signification of the initial stage of life. There is no impairment of syntactic coordination if *kumārī* is used with the signification of a virgin.

2. The compound formation of *vrddhakumārī* is in consonance with 2.1.56 *viśesanaṁ viśeṣyena bahulan*am. The second example compound is formed in accord with 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaikasarvajarat*... The masculine transformation of *vrddhā*→*vrddha* and *jaraṭi*→*jarat* is accomplished by 6.3.40 *pumvat karmadhāraya*... The NiP of *kumārī* is introduced by 4.1.20 vayasi prathame.

6.2.96 *उदाकेः केवले*

*udake* ‘kevale’  
/ *udake 7/1 akevale 7/1 (naṁ. tat.)/*  
(*pūrvapadam #1 udāṭtaḥ #64 antaḥ #92*)

*akevalam = mīśram tadvācini samāse udakasabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *akevala* ‘not by itself; mixed, combined’ is marked *udāṭta* at the end when *udaka* ‘water’ combines to follow.

**Examples:**

*gyodākam* ‘water mixed with jaggery’  
*tīlodākam* ‘water with sesame seeds  
(offered as libation to ancestors)’
1. Note that this final udāta of an initial constituent may, in case of o as a single replacement for a and u, also qualify for an optional replacement with svarita (8.2.6 svarito vā' nuddatī padādau). Thus, we get guḍōdakam and tiḻodakam, both karmaḥāraya-taṭpuruṣa compounds, formed in view of a vr̥ttika (samānādikaranādikāre śākapārthivādīnāṁ siddhayē uttarapadalopaśyo-paśamkhyānām ad 2.1.60 kti nañviṣṣṭena . . .). The condition of akevale, if not satisfied, will produce sīḍodakam 'cold water' and uṣṇodakam 'hot water'.

6.2.97 द्विगु श्रेणी

dvīgau kratau
/ dvīgau 7/1 kratau 7/1/
(pūrṇapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92)
dvīgu uttarapade kratuvacini samāse pūrṇapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of kratu 'ritual sacrifice' is marked udātta at the end when a constituent termed dvīgu combines to follow.

Examples:

gargatirātraḥ 'the trirātra sacrifice of the Gargas'
caragatirātraḥ 'the trirātra sacrifice of the Carakas'

1. Note that trirātra is a dvīgu compound formed with aC (5.4.87 ahaṁsarvaikadesa . . .) introduced after trirātri, parallel to tisṛnāṁ rātrināṁ samāhāraḥ 'a grouping of three nights'. A genitive tātpuruṣa compound such as gargatirātraḥ, parallel to gargānāṁ trirātraḥ, thus has its initial constituent gargā marked with udāta at the end.

A compound such as atrirātraḥ, an avyayībhāva 'indeclinable' compound not meeting the condition of dvīgau 'when combined in a dvīgu compound', is marked with udātta at the end. The final udātta of an initial constituent, for example bilva, will be blocked in bijulapsaptātraḥ 'a group of seven nights when bilva 'a wild fruit' is offered as oblation to Agni'. This compound meets the condition of dvīgau but kratu 'ritual sacrifice' is not its signification.

6.2.98 सभायां नपुंसके

sabhāyaṁ napumṣake
/ sabhāyaṁ 7/1 napumṣake 7/1/
(pūrṇapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92)
sabhāsabda uttarapade napumṣakalinge samāse pūrṇapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound used in the neuter is marked with udātta at the end when sabhā 'assembly' combines as its following constituent.
EXAMPLES:

*gopālasābham* ‘a gathering of cowherds’
*paśupālasābham* ‘an assembly of those who tend cows’
*strijāsābham* ‘an assembly of women’
*dāsijāsābham* ‘an assembly of maids’

1. Note that *napumsake* here refers to usage in the neuter, as is clear from the enumeration of individual nominal bases (*pratipadokta*). Thus, consider the neuter of *gopālasābham* which has been specified by 2.4.24 *aśāla ca*. The *ramaṇīyasābham* ‘beautiful gathering’, of *ramaṇīyasābham* *brāhmaṇakulam* ‘the beautiful gathering of the clan of brāhmaṇas’, cannot qualify because the neuter of *sābhā* is accomplished by way of its qualification of *kulam* ‘clan’. It is not enumerated by a rule as an individual nominal stem. Compounds with *sābhā* as their final constituent are accepted as neuter when *rājā* ‘king’ and *manusya* ‘humans’ do not combine as their initial constituents (2.4.23 *sābhā rājā . . .*). Thus, *rājasābha* ‘royal assembly’ and *manusya-sābha* ‘assembly of humans’ will be excluded because of their non-neuter usage.

6.2.99 पूर्व प्राचार्य

*pūra prācām*

/pūra 7/1 prācām 6/3/

(पुर्वपादम #1 udāttah #64 antah #92)
*puraśābda uttarapade prācām desē pūrva padam antodattām bhavati*
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of an eastern place is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* ‘locality’ combines as its following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*lalātāpūrām* ‘name of an eastern locality’
*kāṇcīpūrām* ‘name of an eastern locality’
*śivadattāpūrām* ‘name of an eastern locality’

6.2.100 अरिष्टगादपुर्वे ಚ

*ariṣṭagauda-pūrve ca*

/ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve 7/1 = ariṣṭam ca gauḍaś ca = ariṣṭagaudau; tau pūrvau yasmin (bv. with int. dv.); ca φ/

(पुर्वपादम #1 udāttah #64 antah #92 pure #99)
‘ariṣṭa, gauḍa’ ity evam pūrve samāse purāṣābda uttarapade pūrva padam antodattām bhavati*
The initial constituent of a compound formed with *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa* at its beginning is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines to follow.
Examples:

\( \text{aristapûram} \) 'name of a locality'
\( \text{gauḍapûram} \) 'name of a locality'
\( \text{aristagauḍapûram} \) 'name of a locality'
\( \text{gauḍabhṛtyapûram} \) 'name of a locality'

1. The word \( \text{pûrve} \) is used so that \( \text{arīśa} \) and \( \text{gauḍa} \), even when combined with an intervening constituent before their final compound constituent, could be covered by this rule. Thus, consider \( \text{aristagauḍapûram} \) and \( \text{gauḍabhṛtyapûram} \). These example compounds were excluded from the scope of the preceding rule since they do not denote places in the east. This rule offers an exception.

6.2.101 न हासिंगफलकमादेयः:

\( \text{na hastinaphalakamārdeyāḥ} \)
\( \text{/na hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ} 1/3 \ (\text{itar. dv.}) /\)
\( \text{(pūrvapadām} \#1 \text{udāṭṭāḥ} \#64 \text{antāḥ} \#92 \text{pura} \#99) \)
\( \text{hāstina, phalaka, mārdeya} \) ity etāni pūrvapadāni purasābda uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti

The initial constituents of a compound, namely \( \text{hāstina}, \text{phalaka} \) and \( \text{mārdeya} \), are not marked with \( \text{udāṭṭa} \) at the end when \( \text{pura} \) combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

\( \text{hāstingapūram} \) 'name of a locality'
\( \text{phalakapūram} \) 'name of a locality'
\( \text{mārdeyapūram} \) 'name of a locality'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.99 \( \text{pura prācām} \). Since all these rules form an exception to the final \( \text{udāṭṭa} \) of a compound (6.1.220 samāsasya), a negation will only restore the said final \( \text{udāṭṭa} \). Incidentally, affix \( \text{dhaK} \) is introduced after \( \text{mārdeya} \) by 4.1.123 \( \text{sūbhrādibhyaś ca} \). A genitive \( \text{tatpuruṣa} \) compound is then formed with \( \text{pura} \).

6.2.102 कुसुलकुपकुभासालं बिले

\( \text{kusulakūpakaumbhaśālam bile} \)
\( \text{/kusula-kūpa-kumbha-śālam} 1/1 \ (\text{sam. dv.}); \text{ bile} 7/1/\)
\( \text{(pūrvapadām} \#1 \text{udāṭṭāḥ} \#1 \text{antāḥ} \#92) \)
\( \text{kusula, kūpa, kumbha, śālā} \) ity etāni pūrvapadāni bilsābde uttarapade nītadāttāni bhavanti

The initial compound constituents, namely \( \text{kusula}, \text{kūpa}, \text{kumbha} \) and \( \text{śālā} \), are marked \( \text{udāṭṭa} \) at the end when \( \text{bila} \) 'hole' combines as a following constituent.
EXAMPLES:

kṣūlabilam ‘top of a granary’
kūpabilam ‘top of a well’
kumbhabilam ‘mouth of a jar’
sālabilam ‘entry to a hall’

1. These are all genitive tatpurusa compounds. Note that the condition of kusula, etc., must be met. For, a compound such as sarpabilam ‘snake-pit’ will serve as a counter-example. The condition of bile must also be met. For, a compound such as kusulasvāmi ‘owner of a granary’ will then also serve as a counter-example.

6.2.103 दिक्षाब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानारातेषु

dikṣabḍā grāmajanapadākhyānačānarāṭeṣu
/dikṣabḍaḥ 1/3 = diśi drṣṭāḥ sabḍāḥ (sapt. tat. with deletion of middle pada); grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-cānarāṭeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(pūrva-padam #1 udātaḥ #64 antah #92)
dikṣabḍā pūrva-padāṇi antodāṭāṇi bhavanti grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-vāciśūtta-padeṣu cānarāṭ sabde ca
An initial compound constituent having the signification of a directional name (diś) is marked with udātaḥ at the end, when a word which is either used with the signification of a grāma ‘village’, janapada ‘principality’ and ākhyāna ‘story, episode’, or is constituted by cānarāṭ ‘name of a locality’, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvesūkāmaśami ‘the eastern village of Iṣukāmaśami’
apaśūkāmaśami ‘the lower or little village of Iṣukāmaśami’
pūrvakṛṣṇamṛttikā ‘the eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā’
apaṛkṛṣṇamṛttikā ‘the lower eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā’
pūrva-paṇcālaḥ ‘the principally of the Paṇcāla warriors’
apaṛa-paṇcālaḥ ‘ibidem’
pūrvayāyātam ‘a narrative with Yayāti as its focus’
apaṛayāyātam ‘ibidem’
pūrvacānarāṭam ‘name of a place’
aparacānarāṭam ‘ibidem’

1. Note that, except for cānarāṭa which is specified here as referring to its form, all other specifications are denotational in nature. Compounds, such as pūrvesuksūmasami, etc., are formed by 2.1.49 dikṣamkhye. . . Refer to their derivational details in the appendix. The signification of the word cānarāṭa is doubtful. The word sabda is used with diś so that directional words, such as pūrva, etc., which may also denote kāla ‘time’, can be covered.
6.2.104 आचार्योपसर्जनःचाचानेवासिनि

ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsini
/ācāryopasarjanaḥ 1/1 = ācārya upasarjanam yasya antevāsinaḥ (bv.); ca φ antevāsini 7/1/
(pūrvapadāṃ #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92 dikṣabdāḥ #103)
ācāryopasarjanāntevasivācany uttarapade dikṣabdā antodāttā bhavanti

An initial compound constituent with the signification of a directional name is marked with udātta at the end when a word denoting a pupil derived from a secondary (upasarjana) word signifying a preceptor combines to follow.

Examples:

pūrvapānīnīyāḥ ‘earlier students of Pāṇini’
aparapānīnīyāḥ ‘subsequent students of Pāṇini’
pūrvakāśakṛtsnāḥ ‘earlier students of Kāśakṛtsna’
aparakāśakṛtsnāḥ ‘subsequent students of Kāśakṛtsna’

1. Note that pūrvapānīnīyāḥ is derived parallel to pūrve ca te pānīnīyaḥ ca ‘those who are former and are students of Pāṇini’. The word pānīnīya refers to a student (antevasin), a principal (pradhāna), qualified with a corresponding non-principal (upasarjana), i.e., pānini, the teacher (ācārya). All these compounds are formed by 2.1.57 pūrvāpara. . . .

6.2.105 उत्तरपदव्रद्धसर्वः

uttarapadavṛddhaḥ sarvaṃ ca
/uttara-pada-vṛddhau 7/1 = uttarapadasya adhikṛtya yā vṛddhir
vihīṇā = uttarapadavṛddhiḥ (bv.), tasyām; sarvaṃ 1/1 ca φ /
(pūrvapadāṃ #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92 dikṣabdāḥ #103)
‘uttarapadasya’ ity evam adhikṛtya yā vihīṇā vṛddhis tadvaty uttarapade sarvasabdo dikṣabdāś cāntodāttā bhavanti

An initial compound constituent, namely sarva and also that which denotes a directional name, is marked with udātta at the end, provided a constituent with a vṛddhi-replacement under the scope of uttarapade (7.3.10 uttarapadasya) combines to follow.

Examples:

sūrvapāncālakaḥ ‘found all over the country of the Paṇcālas’
pūrvapāncālakaḥ ‘found in the eastern country of the Paṇcālas’
uttarapāncālakaḥ ‘found in the northern country of the Paṇcālas’

1. Note that uttarapadavṛddhi is here interpreted as ‘a replacement in vṛddhi accomplished within the domain of 7.3.10 uttarapadasya’. The rules of this domain accomplish vṛddhi of a vowel which occurs as initial in the
following constituent of a compound, provided an affix marked with \( \dot{N}, N \) and \( K \) follows. How do we know that \( \text{uttarapada} \) here refers to an \( \text{adhikāra} \) ‘domain of rules’? By knowing that \( \text{uttarapada} \) is marked with \( \text{svārta} \) (1.3.11 \( \text{svaṁtenādhiḥkāraḥ} \)). This yields the interpretation: ‘a \( \text{vṛddhi} \) which is accomplished with reference to rules of the domain of \( \text{uttarapadasya} \). Besides, what was the purpose of qualifying \( \text{vṛddhau} \) with \( \text{uttarapada} \) when \( \text{vṛddhau} \) itself would have served the purpose.

Note that affix \( \text{vnuN} \) of the example derivates, which subsequently yields \( \text{aka} \), is introduced by 4.2.125 \( \text{avṛddhād api} \). The \( \text{vṛddhi} \) in \( \text{pañcālaka} \) is accomplished by 7.3.12 \( \text{susarvārdhā} \). Elsewhere, it is accomplished by 7.3.13 \( \text{diśo} \) ‘madṛānām’. A compound such as \( \text{sarvapāncaḷaka} \) is formed by 2.1.57 \( \text{visēṣaṇaṁ viśēṣyena bahuḷam} \). Other example compounds are formed by rule 2.1.51 \( \text{taddhiārthottarapade} \).

If the word \( \text{uttarapada} \) was not used, this \( \text{sūtra} \) would have simply read: \( \text{vṛddhau sarvaṁ cā} \). This would have qualified the application of this rule also to \( \text{sarvabhāṣaḥ} \) ‘that which illuminates everything’ and \( \text{sarvakāraḥ} \) ‘he who does everything’. Recall that \( \text{bhāsa} \) and \( \text{kāra} \) are words with initial \( \text{vṛddhi} \), though this \( \text{vṛddhi} \) has not been accomplished by any rule of the domain of 7.3.10 \( \text{uttarapadasya} \).

6.2.106 बहुव्रीही विशवं सम्भायाम्

\( \text{bahuvrīhau viśvam samjñāyām} \)
\( / \text{bahuvrīhau} 7/1 \text{ viśvam} 1/1 \text{ samjñāyām} 7/1/ \)
\( (\text{pūrvaḥ} \#1 \text{ udāttāḥ} \#64 \text{ antāḥ} \#92) \)
\( \text{bahuvrīhau samāśe viśvāśabdhā pūrvaḥpadaṁ samjñāyāṁ viśaye n todāttāṁ bhavati} \)

An initial constituent, namely \( \text{viśva} \) ‘all’, in a \( \text{bahuvṛhi} \) compound, is marked \( \text{udātta} \) at the end when the derivate signifies a name \( \text{(samjñā)} \).

**Examples:**

\( \text{vīśvādevaḥ} \) ‘all divinities’
\( \text{vīśvāyāśaḥ} \) ‘he who is universally splendorous’
\( \text{vīśvamāhaṇ} \) ‘he who is universally great’

1. Note that \( \text{viśva} \) ‘all’, as a derivate of affix \( \text{KvaN} \), is introduced after \( \text{viś} \) ‘to enter, pervade’ and is marked with \( \text{udātta} \) at the beginning. This is accomplished in view of an accentual provision made with \( \text{N} \) as an \( \text{it} \) (nītisvara). Rule 6.2.1 \( \text{bahuvṛihau prakṛtyā} \) . . . would have allowed retention of this initial \( \text{udātta} \) had it not been for the present rule. Thus, \( \text{viśva} \) as an initial constituent of a \( \text{bahuvṛhi} \) compound used with the signification of a name, is marked with \( \text{udātta} \) at the end. The examples cited here are all names. A \( \text{karmadārāya} \) compound such as \( \text{vīśvādevaḥ} \), parallel to \( \text{viśve ca te devāḥ} \) ‘all gods’, is marked \( \text{udātta} \) at the end.
1. Commentators state that this rule finds its independent scope of application in viśvadēvah and viśvayasāḥ. Rule 6.2.165 saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinaṇah finds its independent scope of application by marking the following constituent of kulamitraḥ ‘friendly to the clan’/kulājinaḥ ‘deer-skin of the clan’ as udāṭta at the end. But now observe examples such as viśvāmitraḥ ‘friendly to all’ and viśvājinaḥ where both rules become applicable. It is rule 6.2.165 saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinaṇah which, based on 1.4.2 viṇprātṣedhe paraṃ kāryam, wins this conflict of equal strength (viṇprātṣedha).

2. This domain of bahuvrihāu gets canceled by avyāyībhāve of 6.2.121 kulatīratūla. . . .

6.2.107 iva rāṣeṣṭhau

udarāśveṣusu
/udarāśveṣusu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(pūrvapadāṁ #1 udāṭṭah #64 antah #92 bahuvrihau saṃjñāyāṁ #106)
‘udara, aśva, īṣu’ ity etsūttapadēṣu bahuvrihau samāse saṃjñāyāṁ viṣaye pūrvapadāṁ antodāṭṭaṁ bhavati
The initial constituent of a bahuvrīhi compound is marked with udāṭta at the end when udara ‘belly’, aśva ‘horse’ and īṣu ‘arrow, archer’ combine as following constituents and the derive signifies a name (saṃjñā).

Examples:

vrkodārah ‘he whose belly is wolf-like; Bhīma’
dāmodārah ‘he on whose belly there are lines; Kṛṣṇa’
harayāsvāḥ ‘he whose horses are of gold color; Indra’
yayuvānāsvāḥ ‘he who is youthful as his horse’
suvrnapuṃkhesūḥ ‘that, an arrow, the feathers on whose tail-end are golden (beautiful) in color’
mahēsūh ‘he whose arrows are great’

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.1 bahuvrihau prakṛtyā. . . . Note that vrka ‘wolf’ is marked udāṭta at the beginning (Phīt II:7: pṛāṇīnāṁ ca . . .). The word dāma ‘rope’ is a derivate of maniṇ (Uṇādi IV:145), and hence, udāṭta at the beginning. The hari of harayaśva, a derivate of in (Uṇādi IV:118), is also marked udāṭta at the beginning. The word yauvāna ‘youth’ is considered as underived (avṛtyupannya), and is marked udāṭta at the beginning (Phīt II:19). If accepted as derived with affix aY, it will be marked udāṭta at the end. This accent can then be retained in view of 6.2.1 bahuvriha. . . . Note that suvarnapuṃkhesu is a bahuvṛīhi compound with two internal bahuvṛīhi compounds, i.e., suvarṇaḥ and suvarṇapuṃkhaḥ. The first compound, parallel to śobhanavaramyesām 'those whose color is beautiful', is marked udāṭta at the end by 6.2.172 nāṃsubhyām. The second, paraphrased as suvarṇaḥ puṃkha
yesām ‘those whose feathers have beautiful colors’, is marked with udātta on the a of varna ‘color’ in suvarṇa (6.2.1 bahuvrīhau ...). Our final derivate suvarṇatapumkhesu, the third compound, is marked with udātta on kha. Note that ya, in haryāsah, is marked with suvarīa in view of 8.2.4 udāttaśvarītayo ... 

2. Why is mahat ‘great’, of maheśuḥ, included as an example under this śūtra when it can already avail udātta at the end by 6.2.38 mahānvrīhya ... Rule 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau ... can then allow retention. Well, mahat is then used here for some other purpose. That is, this rule alone, because of being an exception to 6.2.1, must allow the final udātta of mahat.

6.2.108 क्षेपे

kṣape
/kṣape7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92 bahuvrīhau samjñāyām #106 udarāśvesu #107)
kṣape gamyamāne udarādiśūttaśpadesu bahuvrīhau samāse samjñāyām viśaye pūrvapadam antodāttaḥ bhavati

The initial constituent in a bahuvṛhi compound formed with the signification of a name is marked udātta when udara, aśvā and iśu combine as following constituents, and kṣepa ‘contempt’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṇḍōdarāḥ ‘he who has a pit-belly’
ghāṭādaraḥ ‘he who has a pot-belly’
katu<kaks>āśvaḥ ‘he whose horse has a wild temper’
spandājāśvaḥ ‘he whose horse is slow’
anighāṭesūḥ ‘he whose arrow cannot pierce its target’
calācalesūḥ ‘an archer whose hands are not steady’

1. Here again we find this rule as an exception to 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau ... The word ghāṭa ‘pitcher’, because of being a derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrāhāpācādy ...), is marked with udātta at the end. It can easily retain this accent in view of 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau ... It has been made part of an example here because this śūtra alone must assign the final udātta in this context. The word katu<kaka> ‘sour’, a derivate of kaN (5.3.75 samjñāyām kan), is marked with udātta at the beginning. But spandāt ‘vibrating’, a derivate of Kta, is marked udātta at the end in view of affixal accent (pratyayasvara). The word anighāta, an arvayībhāva paraphrased as na nighāṭah ‘absence of piercing’ where nighāṭa is a derivate of GHaN (3.3.121 hala ca), is marked udātta at the beginning. The word calāca is also marked udātta at then end.

2. Commentators also find a conflict of the nature of tulyabalavirodha ‘opposition of equal strength’ between rules 6.2.108 kṣepa and 6.2.172 naṁ-subhyām. Thus, an independent scope of application of 6.2.108 kṣepa can be
found in examples such as kunḍodarāh and ghaṭodarāh. An independent scope of 6.1.172 naṁsubhyām can be similarly found in examples such as ayaśāh and suyaśāh. These two rules apply equally in examples such as anudarāh and sūdarāh. Rule 6.2.172 naṁsubhyām blocks 6.2.108 kṣepe on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 vipratīṣedhe param kāryam).

3. Note that the Mahābhāṣya presents this sūtra jointly with the preceding. This should not give one the impression that these constitute a single sūtra. A joint reading is made to indicate the anuvṛtti of udārāśveṣu in kṣepe. For, the bhāṣya does not explain this sūtra by resorting to split-interpretation (yogavibhāga).

6.2.109 नदी बन्धुनि

nādi bandhuni
/nādi 1/1 bandhuni 7/1/
(pūrvapadam #1 udātta #64 antah #92 bahuvrihau #106)
bahuvrihau samāse bandhuni uttarapade nadyantam pūrvapadam antodattam bhavati

The initial constituent in a bahuvrihi, namely one ending in an item termed nādi, is marked udātta at the end when bandhu ‘friend, clansman’ combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

gārgiḥbandhuḥ ‘he whose friend is Gārgi’
vaṭṣībāndhuḥ ‘he whose friend is Vaṭṣī’

1. Note that gārgi ‘female’ descendant of Garga’ and vaṭṣī ‘female descendant of Vatsa’ are derivates of affix NīP, introduced after derivates of yaN, i.e., gārgya and vaṭṣya. They are termed nādi by 1.4.4 yūstryākhyau nādi and are marked udātta at the beginning because of their affixal N as an it (6.1.194 śnityādir nityam).

2. A specification with neuter, in bandhuni, is made so that bandhu is interpreted as denoting its form only. That is, no synonym of bandhu could be used in the application of this rule.

6.2.110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वम्

nīṣṭhopasargapūrvam anyatarasyām
/niṣṭā 1/1 upasargapūrvam 1/1 = upasargah pūrva yasya pūrvapadasya (bv.); anyatarasyām 7/1/\n(pūrvapadam #1 udātta #64 antah #92 bahuvrihau #106)
bahuvrihau samāse niṣṭhāntam upasargapūrvam pūrvapadam anyatarasyām antodāttam bhavati

An initial bahuvrihi constituent, which terminates in an affix termed
niṣṭhā and contains a preverb (upasarga) at its beginning, is optionally marked with udāṭta at the end.

Examples:

pradhautamūkhaḥ 'he who has washed his face'
praksāliapatāh 'he who has washed his feet'

1. This rule allows optional udāṭta at the end of an initial bahuvrīhi constituent which begins with a preverb and ends in an affix termed niṣṭhā. This udāṭta is made optional against retention of the original accent of 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau.

2. Note that mukha ‘face, mouth’, when used with the signification of one’s own limb (svāṅgam), gets optional udāṭta at the end (6.2.167 mukham svāṅgam). The optional provision of our present rule is made against the provision of that rule. If mukha does not signify svāṅga, this option will apply against the retention proposal of original accent by 6.2.49 gatir anantarāḥ. We will thus get three accents: pradhautamūkhaḥ/ pradhautamūkhaḥ pradhautamukhaḥ.

Note that the condition of both niṣṭhā and upasarga must be met. Thus, this rule will not apply to prasacakamukhaḥ ‘face of a sprinkler’ and śuṣka-mukhaḥ ‘dry face’, where the first does not have a niṣṭhā suffix at the end of its initial constituent and the second does not have a preverb at the beginning of its initial constituent.

6.2.111 uttarapadādhi:

uttarapadādhi
/ uttarapadādhi 1/1 = uttarapadasya ādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.)/
(udāṭtaḥ #63)
‘uttarapadādhi’ ity etad adhikṛtam, yad ita ārdhvaṃ anukramisyāma uttarapadasyādīr udāṭto bhavati

The final constituent of a compound, from here onwards, is to be marked with udāṭta at the beginning.

Examples:

śuklakarmāḥ ‘white-eared’
krṣṇakarmāḥ ‘an animal branded with mark of a sickle on its ear(s)’

1. This rule introduces uttarapadādhi as a heading (adhikāra), valid through the end of this quarter. Note, however, that ādir udāṭtaḥ ‘initial is marked udāṭta’ is valid prior to 6.2.127 prakṛtyā bhagālam only. The word uttarapada ‘following constituent pada’, in this grammar, generally refers to the final constituent of a compound.

Now observe śuklakarmāḥ ‘he whose ears are white’ and krṣṇakarmāḥ ‘he whose ears are black’ where karna occurs combined after śukla ‘white’ and
The word *kṣṇa* 'black', both used with the signification of color. Consequently, *karna* 'ear', as a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.112 *karna varṇalakṣanāt*).

6.2.112 कर्णाः वर्णलक्षणात्

*karna varṇalakṣanāt*

/karnaḥ 1/1 varṇa-lakṣanāt 5/1 = varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt/

(udāttaḥ #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādiḥ #111)

bahuvrīhau samāse varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca karnaśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttram bhavati

A following constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *karna*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when it combines to follow a constituent signifying *varṇa* 'color' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

Examples:

śukla-karnaḥ 'white-eared'

kṛṣṇa-karnaḥ 'black-eared'

dātra-karnaḥ 'an animal branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'

śaṅku-karnaḥ 'an animal branded with the mark of a dagger on its ear(s)'

1. The word *varṇa* here signifies 'color'. The word *lakṣaṇa* refers to *pāśūnām vibhāgajñāpanārtham dātraśaṅkupratīrūpakaṁ karnādiśu cihnam 'mark of a sickle or dagger made on ears, etc., of animals for proper classification and identification'. It is this meaning of *lakṣaṇa* which blocks the application of this rule on *sthūla-karnaḥ* 'he who has large ears'. For, *sthūla*, though it serves as a characteristic mark of reference, it is not a particular (*viśīṣta*) mark intended for classifying or identifying an animal. Examples such as *śvetapādāḥ* 'one whose feet are white' and *kūtaśīṅgah* 'one whose horns are knotty' are also excluded. The first has a constituent denoting *varṇa* but does not have *karna* as its following constituent. The second example has *kūta as lakṣaṇa* but also lacks *karna*. An example such as *śobhanakārnāḥ* is also out since *śobhana* 'beautiful' is a general characteristic. All these excluded examples will be allowed to retain the original accent of their initial constituents.

Incidentally, specific denotata of *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' is gotten here on the basis of *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned'.

6.2.113 सन्तीपमययोर्च

-sanjñāpaṁmayayoś ca

/sanjñāpaṁmayayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.) ca φ/

(udāttaḥ #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādiḥ #111 karnaḥ #112)
samjñāyām auṃpamyे ca yo bahuvrīhīr vartate tatra karṇa śabda uttarapadaṃ ādyudāttam bhavati

A following constituent, namely karṇa, in a bahuvrīhi compound formed with the signification of samjñā ‘name’ and auṃpamyā ‘comparison’ is marked udāttā at the beginning.

Examples:

kuṇḍikārṇāḥ ‘a name; he whose ears resemble a fist’
maṇikārṇāḥ ‘a name; he whose ears resemble a pearl’
ghokārṇāḥ ‘one whose ears resemble cow’s ears’
khagakārṇāḥ ‘one whose ears resemble a donkey’s’

1. Here again, retention of original accent of the preceding constituent was intended (6.2.1 bahuvrīham . . .). This rule offers udāttā to the initial syllable of the following constituent. The remaining syllables are marked with anudāttā (6.2.158 anudāttam padam . . .), with the understanding that an anudāttā occurring after an udāttā will be replaced with svarita (8.4.66 udāttād anudāttasya svaritah).

6.2.114 कन्तपुप्पुग्रीवाजांक्ष्य स

kaṇṭhaprsthagṛvājaṅgam ca
/kaṇṭha-prsthagṛvājaṅgam 1/1 (sam. dv.); ca φ/
(udāttah #64 bahuvrīham #106 uttarapadādiḥ #111 samjñāuṃpamyayoh #113)
‘kaṇṭha, prsthā, gṛvā, jaṅghā’ ity etāni uttarapadāni bahuvrīham samāse samjñāuṃpamyayor ādyudāttāni bhavanti

A following bahuvrīhi constituent, namely kaṇṭha ‘throat’, prsthā ‘back’, gṛvā ‘neck’ and jaṅghā ‘thigh’, is also marked udāttā at the beginning when the compound is formed with the signification of samjñā ‘name’ and auṃpamyā ‘comparison’.

Examples:

śīkapraṃṭhāḥ ‘name of Śiva’
nīlkaraṃṭhāḥ ‘bidem; he who has blue on his throat’
usṭrakaṃṭhāḥ ‘one whose throat resembles the throat of a camel’
kāndaprsthāḥ ‘a name’
gopprsthāḥ ‘one whose back resembles a cow’s back’
sugṛvāḥ ‘a name; one whose neck is beautiful’
dāṣagṛvāḥ ‘Rāvana; he who has ten necks’
gṣvagṛvāḥ ‘one whose neck resembles a horse’s neck’
nāṝjaṅghāḥ ‘a name; a man whose thighs are similar to a woman’s thighs’
gṣvajaṅghāḥ ‘one whose thighs resemble a horse’s thighs’
1. Here again, the initial constituent of a *bahuṃvṛhi* compound is blocked from retaining its original accent.

6.2.115 सुक्ष्मवस्थायां च

śrṇgaṁ avasthāyāṁ ca
/śrṇgaṁ 1/1 avasthāyāṁ 7/1 ca $\phi$

(udāṭṭhaḥ #64 bahuṃvṛhau #106 uttarapadādīh #111 samjñauṃpamyayoḥ #113)
śrṇgaśabda uttarapadam avasthāyāṁ samjñauṃpamyayoś ca bahuṃvṛhau ādyudāṭṭaṁ bhavati

A following constituent, namely śrṇga ‘horn’, in a *bahuṃvṛhi* compound, is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning when the derivate denotes avasthā ‘age’, samjñā ‘name’ and auṃpamyā ‘comparison’.

**Examples:**

udgataśrṇgāḥ ‘an animal whose horns have just jutted out’
dvṛṇγūlaśrṇgāḥ ‘an animal whose horns are two-finger-width long’
rṣyaśrṇgāḥ ‘a sage named Rṣyaśrṇga’
gṛśrṇgāḥ ‘cow-like horns’
mṛṣaśrṇgāḥ ‘ram-like horns’

1. Note that śrṇga is also used here as a mark to indicate the age of an animal (avasthā). It is marked with udāṭṭa at the beginning. The remainder of the compound is marked anudāṭṭa with the understanding that an anudāṭṭa becomes svarita after an udāṭṭa.

2. Examples such as udgataśrṇgāḥ ‘that whose horns have come out’ and dvṛṇγūlaśrṇgāḥ ‘that whose horns are two-finger-width long’ indicate the age of an animal. The first example goes through deletion of the samāśanta affix mātra (5.2.37 pramāṇe dvṛṇγūla; ...; vt. pramāṇe lo ...).

6.2.116 नानो जरमनिर्मित्रपुत्रः:

naṇo jaraṃmamitramṛtāḥ

/nāṇah 5/1 jara-mara-mitramṛtāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/

(udāṭṭhaḥ #64 bahuṃvṛhau #106 uttarapadādīh #111)
naṇ utare jaramaramitramṛtā bahuṃvṛhau samāse ādyudāṭṭaḥ bhavanti

A constituent, namely jara ‘aging’, mara ‘dying’, mitra ‘friend’ or mṛtā ‘dead’ which combines to follow naṇ ‘not’ in a bahuṃvṛhi compound, is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning.

**Examples:**

gaṉārāḥ ‘not aging’
gmarāḥ ‘immortal’
gmṛtrāḥ ‘non-friendly’
gmṛtāḥ ‘non-dying; immortal; ambrosia’
6.2.117 Sormanasī alomoṣasi

sor manasi alomoṣasi
/s ordeal. 1/1 manasi 1/2 = man ca as ca (itar. dv.); alomoṣasi 1/2 = loma ca uṣas ca = lomoṣasi, na lomoṣasi (nañ. tāt. with int. dv.)/
(udāṭṭhā #64 bahuvrihau #106 uttarapādaṅī #111)
sor uttaram anantam asantaṁ ca bahuvrihau samāse ādyudāttam bhavati lomoṣasi varjayitvā

A constituent of the bahuvrīhi compound which combines after su and terminates in man (maninN; 3.2.74 ātmanah manin...) and as (Unādi affix asUN), with the exception of loman ‘hair’ and uṣas ‘glow, dawn’, is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning.

Examples:

sukarmā ‘virtuous; one who performs good deeds’
sudharmā ‘righteous’
suyasādā ‘renowned’
suprathimā ‘great expanse’
susrotāḥ ‘with beautiful flow of water’

1. Note that loman and uṣas which end in man and as, respectively, are made exceptions. This rule is an exception to 6.2.171 nāṁsubhīyām which, in turn, assigns udāṭṭa at the end of a constituent used in combination after naN and su. A pariḥāṣa of Vyādi (PŚ 17: aninasangrahanāṁ arthanātāṁ nartakena) allows tādantavidhi ‘treating x as also that which ends in x’, even where an, in, as and man do not carry any meaning of their own (anarthaka). That is, an and as of this rule will also include an and as with no meaning of their own. This is intended so that tādantavidhi with reference to man and as can be accomplished in srotas and prathimā, etc., where man and as do not carry any meaning of their own.

The initial of all following constituents is marked udāṭṭa. The remaining syllables of the compound are marked anudāṭṭa. However, note that an anudāṭṭa which occurs after an udāṭṭa is replaced with svarita.

Derivatives which do not meet conditions of su and man will retain the original accent of their initial constituents (pūrvapadapraṅtisvarā). This same is also true of derivatives with following constituents such as loman and uṣas. Thus, consider kṛtakarmā ‘he who has finished his work’/surājā ‘good king’ and suloṁa ‘he who has good body-hair’ and sūṣā ‘mother’.

2. What happens when a constituent ending in an and as, for example karman and srotas, occur before KaP. Such derivatives are covered by 6.2.173 kapi pūrvān on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 vipratīṣedhe param kāryam). But rules in conflict (vipratīṣedha) must have their independent scope of application elsewhere. It is explained that 6.2.117 sormanasi... finds its independent scope of application in examples such as sukarmā ‘he who has earned mer-
its' and suvayāḥ ‘he who is at a good stage of his life’. Rule 6.2.173 kapi pūrvāt finds its independent scope in examples such as ayavakaḥ ‘place without barley’ and suyavakaḥ ‘place with good barley’. These two rules both find their simultaneous application in sukarmakāh and susrotaskāh. Rule 6.2.173 
kapi pūrvāt blocks the application of 6.2.117 sormanasi . . . because of being subsequent in order of enumeration.

6.2.118 क्रत्वादयस्च

kṛtvādayaś ca
/kṛtvādayaḥ 1/3 = kratur ādir yeśāṃ (bv.); ca φ/
(udātthā #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadaññā #111 soh #117)
kṛtvādayaḥ sor uttare bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāṭṭā bhavanti

A constituent enumerated in the list headed by kṛatu ‘ritual sacrifice’ is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning when it combines in a bahuvrīhi compound after su as a following constituent.

Examples:

suṣkratūḥ ‘intelligent; name of Agni’
suṣdrīkāh ‘handsome; he who has beautiful eyes’

1. This also is an exception to 6.2.172 naṇsubhyām.

6.2.119 आहुदातान् द्रवच्छचन्दसि

ādyudāṭṭam dvyacaś chandasi
/ādyudāṭṭam 1/1 dvyacaḥ 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bv.); chandasi 7/1/
(udātthā #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadaññā #111 soh #117)
yad ādyudāṭṭam dvyac uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse sor uttaram tad ādyudāṭṭam eva bhavati chandasi viṣaye

The final constituent of a bahuvrīhi compound which is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning, contains two vowels (dvyac) and combines after su, retains its udāṭṭa at the beginning provided the usage is Vedic.

Examples:

svaśvāstvā surathā marjayema

1. Note that asva and ratha of svāśva ‘he who owns beautiful horses’ and suratha ‘he who owns beautiful chariots’ are derivates of unāḍī affixes KvaN (Un. I:151) and KhaN (Un. II:2), respectively. They are obligatorily marked udāṭṭa at the beginning, because of affixal Na as an it (6.1.197 ṃnityādir nityam). This rule allows retention of the initial udāṭṭa. That is, it is again an exception to 6.2.172 naṇsubhyām.

A counter-example is subāhuḥ ‘he who has beautiful arms’ is offered to the condition of ādyudāṭṭa. Note that bāhu ‘arm’ derives with affix Ku, and
hence, is marked udāṭṭa at the end in consonance with affixal accent (pratyayasyaṇa; 3.1.3 ādyudāṭṭaś ca). Now consider hiranya of suhiranyah 'beautiful gold' as a counter-example to the condition of dvycañah 'consisting of two vowels'. Obviously, hiranya contains three vowels.

6.2.120 वीरवीरयौँ ्च

vīraśvīraṇau ca
/ vīraśvīraṇau 1/2 (itar. dv.); ca φ/
(udāṭṭah#64 bahuvrihaḥ#106 uttarapadādiḥ#111 soḥ#117 chandasi#119)
'vīra, vīra' ity etau ca śabdau sor uttarau bahuvrihaḥ samāse chandasi viṣaye ādyudāṭṭau bhavataḥ

The constituents vīra 'heroic' and vīraṣa 'valor' are also marked with udāṭṭa at the beginning when they combine after su in a bahuvrihi compound and the scope of the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

suvirēṇa 'by one who has great valor'
suvirāṣya 'of one who has great prowess'

1. Note that vīra, in the Vedic, is marked with svarita at the end, following the specification of Phitaśūtra (77): bhuvabhaksyavirāṇi . . .). As a derivate of yaT (3.1.97 aco yat) in the classical language, it will be marked udāṭṭa at the beginning (6.1.210 yato' nāvah). Recall that vīra, as a derivate of yaT in the Vedic, would qualify for initial udāṭṭa of 6.2.119 ādyudāṭṭam dvycañas chandasi. Thus, there was no point in including vīra in this rule. This inclusion then indicates that vīra is marked svarita at the end. Our present rule is, again, an exception to 6.2.172 naṃsubhyāṃ.

6.2.121 कुलतीर्थतूलमूलशालाक्षसममच्छीभे

kūlaṭiratūlaśalamūlaśalākṣasamam avyayibhāve
/ kūla-tīra-tūla-mūla-sālā-akṣa-samam 1/1 (sam. dv.); avyayibhāve 7/1/
(udāṭṭah#64 uttarapadādiḥ#111)
'kūla, tīra, tūla, mūla, sālā, akṣa, sama' ity etāni uttarapadāni avyayibhāvasamāsa ādyudāṭṭāni bhavati

A constituent, namely kūla 'river-bank', tīra 'ibidem', tūla 'shoots of reeds or grass; cotton', mūla 'root', sālā 'hall', akṣa 'axle, dice' or sama 'equal', which combines as final in an avyayibhāva compound is marked udāṭṭa at the beginning.

Examples:

parikūlām 'around the bank'
upakūlām 'near the bank'
parirām 'around the bank'
upātirām ‘near the bank’
pariṭūlām ‘around the grass’
upāṭīlām ‘near the grass’
parimūlām ‘around the root’
upamūlām ‘near the root’
parīśālām ‘around the hall’
upāśālām ‘near the hall’
paryākṣam ‘around the axle’
upākṣām ‘near the axle’
suṣamām ‘well leveled; evenly’
viṣamām ‘not so well leveled; unevenly’
niḥsamām ‘unreasonably’
duḥsamām ‘wickedly’

1. Note that suṣama, viṣama and niḥsama are listed as part of the tiṣṭhadgu group of nominals. Their compounds are thus formed by 2.1.17 tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtini ca. The s of sama is replaced with ṣ of 8.3.88 suvinirdurbhyaḥ. . . . The avyayibhāva compounds with upa are formed by 2.1.6 avayām vibhakti-
sāmāpa. . . . Since pari is termed karmaprabacanīya by 1.4.87 apaṇarī varjane, the avyayibhāva compounds with pari will be formed by 2.1.12 apaṇaparibhair. . . . The paṇcami ‘fifth triplet, ablative’, as conditioned by karmaprabacanīya, will be introduced after kūla, etc., by 2.3.10 paṇcamy apaṇparibhiḥ. Compounds with upa and pari are formed in the sense of sāmipyā ‘proximity’ and varjana ‘exclusion’, respectively. These compounds are marked udatta at the beginning.

2. The condition of avyayibhāve is imposed so that bahuvrihi and tatpuruṣa compounds can be excluded. Thus, a bahuvrihi, for example paramakūlam ‘. . . whose bank is best’, parallel to paramāṃ kūlam asya, will retain the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 bahuvrīhay . . .). A karmadhāraya-
tatpuruṣa, for example paramakūlam ‘best bank’, will be excluded because this is the domain of bahuvrihi compounds. This necessitates inclusion of avyayibhāve in the rule.

3. It is stated that the initial udatta of kūla, etc., after pari, etc., is accomplished via vipratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength’ (Kāś: pariḍhibhyāḥ kūlādīnām ādyudāttatvām vipratisedhena). That is, we witness a conflict of equal strength between 6.2.33 pariṇapatyupāpā . . . and the present rule. Rule 6.2.33 pariṇapatyupāpā . . . finds its independent scope in avyayibhāva compounds where kūla, etc., for example in paritrīgattam ‘around the country of Trigartta’, are not combined. The independent scope of the initial udatta of kūla, etc., can be established where pari, etc., for example in avakūlam ‘around the bank’/atikūlam ‘beyond the bank’, are not combined. Since these rules both find their simultaneous application, for example in apakūlam ‘below the bank’ and parikūlam ‘around the bank’, 1.4.2 vipratisedhe paraṃ kāryam must rule in favor of application of our present rule.
4. This rule constitutes an exception to the accentuation rules of compounds (samāsasvarāpavādāh). Rules prior to 6.3.133 nācāryarāja . . . are similar in nature.

6.2.122 कंसमन्थशूरपापळकाण्डे हियी

kamsamanthaśūrpāpāyakāndam dvigau
/kamsa-mantha-śūrpa-pāyya-kāndam 1/1 (sam. dv.); dvigau 7/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādi #111)
‘kamsa, mantha, śūrpa-pāyya-kānda’ ity etāny uttarapadāni dvigau samāsa
dyudattāni bhavantī

A constituent, namely kamsa ‘name of a measure, vase’, mantha ‘churning stick’, śūrpa ‘winnowing basket’, pāyya ‘name of a measure’ and kānda ‘measuring stick, piece’, is marked udātta at the beginning when the same combines as final in a compound termed dvigu.

EXAMPLES:

dvikamsāh ‘purchased with two Kamsas’
dvimanthāh ‘purchased with two churning sticks’
dvisūrpāh ‘purchased with two winnowing baskets filled with grains’
dvipāyyāh ‘two measures of a drink’
dvikāndāh ‘two measures of a stick’

1. Note that dvikamsah, dvimanthah and dvisurpaḥ are formed in anticipation of the sense of a taddhita (taddhitārtha; 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada . . .), where affixes TiThaN (2.1.25 kamsāt tiThan), thaK (5.1.19 arhād agopuccha . . .) and aN (5.1.26 śūrpa aN . . .), respectively, are introduced to denote the sense of krita ‘purchased with’. These affixes, however, are deleted by 5.1.28 adhyarthaupūrva . . . A similar deletion of thaN (5.1.18 prāg vateṣ thaṇ) and mātraC (5.2.37 pramāṇe dvīyasaj . . .; vt. pramāṇo lo dvīgor nityam), denoting parimāṇa and pramāṇa ‘measure’, is also found in deriving dvipāyya and dvikānda, respectively.

That this provision of initial udātta is limited to dvigu compounds is illustrated by paramakamsah ‘best kamsa’ and uttamakamsah ‘ibidem’, which are both karmadhāraya.

6.2.123 तत्पृष्ठे शालायां नपुसके

tatpuruse śālāyāṁ napumṣake
/tatpuruse 7/1 śālāyām 7/1 napumṣake 7/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādi #111)
śālāsabdānte tatpuruse samāse napumṣakalingam uttarapadām ādyudattam bhavati

A following constituent, in a tatpurusa compound, is marked udātta at
the beginning when the compound ends in sālā ‘hall’ and is termed neuter.

Examples:

brāhmaṇaśālām ‘a hall of brāhmaṇas’
kṣatriyaśālām ‘a hall of kṣatriyas’

1. Note that genitive tatpuruṣa compounds can optionally be used as napumṣaka ‘neuter’ (2.4.25 vibhāṣa senāsuracchāyāsālāniśānām). A compound such as drāhasālam brāhmaṇakulam ‘a strong house of the brāhmaṇas’ cannot avail this accentual provision because it is a bahuvrīhi, parallel to drīhā sālā yasya tat ‘a clan whose hall is solidly built’. A compound such as brāhmaṇasenam ‘army of brāhmaṇas’ constitutes a counter-example to the condition of sālā.

6.2.124 कथा च

kanthā ca
/kanthā 1/1 ca φ/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe napumṣake #123)
tatpuruṣe samāse napumṣakalīṇe kanthāśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttam bhavati

A following constituent is also marked with udātta at the beginning when a tatpuruṣa compound termed neuter ends in kanthā ‘city, patched garment’.

Examples:

sayūṁikanthām ‘name of a city’
āhvakanthām ‘ibidem’
cappakanthām ‘ibidem’

1. These genitive compounds are used in the neuter in view of 2.4.20 sāmjñāyāḥ kanthośīnareṣu. This accentual provision will be blocked in case of dākṣikanthā ‘a city named after Dākṣi’, which is not used as neuter.

6.2.125 आदिभर्णादीनाम्

ādiś cihaṇādīnām
/ādiḥ 1/1 cihaṇādīnām 6/3 = cihaṇa ādir yeṣam (bu.)/
(udāttah #64 tatpuruṣe napumṣake #123 kanthā #124)
kanthānte tatpuruṣe samāse napumṣakalīṅge cihaṇādīnām ādir udātto bhavati

Constituents enumerated in the group headed by cihaṇa are marked with udātta at the beginning when they combine in a tatpuruṣa compound ending in kanthā used in the neuter.
EXAMPIES:

ciñakantanham 'name of a place'
mañarakantham 'ibidem'

1. Why is ādi used again in this rule when the same is available from the anuvṛtti? This ādi is used to indicate initial udātta of the initial constituent (pürvapada; PM ad Kāś: pūrvapadānām ciñāṇādinām ādyudāttatvam iṣyate, atas tadartham punar ādigrāḥanām kṛtam).

6.2.126 चेलखेतकुटककाण्ड गरहयाम्

celakheṭakatukāṇḍam garhaēyām
/ cela-khetaka-tukaka-kāṇḍam 1/1 (sam. dv.); garhaēyām 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādhiḥ #111 tatpurūṣe #123)
' cela, khetā, katuṣka, kāṇḍa' ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpurūse saṁsāte garhaēyāṁ
gamayamānāyāṁ ādyudāttānī bhavanti

The following constituents in a tatpurūṣa compound, namely cela 'cloth',
kheta 'straw', katuṣka 'bitter, stale' and kāṇḍa 'arrow', are marked udātta
at the beginning when garhā 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

putracelām 'an unworthy son'
bhāryacelām 'a bad wife'
upāṇakhētām 'cheap shoe'
nagarakhētām 'an inhospitable city'
dādhiṣatkāṭukām 'stale yoghurt'
udaṣvāṭikāṭukām 'bitter buttermilk'
bhūtakāṇḍām 'an offspring who is source of pain'
prajākāṇḍām 'ibidem'

1. Note that censure is denoted via similarity (sāḍrīya) between cela and
putra, etc. The compounds are formed by 2.1.56 upamitaṁ vyāghrādibhiḥ
sāmāṇyāprayoge. That is, vyāghrādi has to be accepted as an open-ended group
with cela, etc., as members. The compounds can thus be paraphrased as:
putrah celam iva, etc. The following constituent in all these compounds is
marked udātta at the beginning. That is, the compounds are not marked
udātta at the end.

Note that paramacelām 'best cloth', a karmaḥāraya compound with the
denotatum of pṛaśāmsā 'praise', will be marked udātta at the end. It can be
thus accepted as a counter-example to the condition of garhā 'censure'.

6.2.127 चीरमुपमानम्

cāram upamaṇām
/ cāram 1/1 upamaṇām 1/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tātpuruṣe #123)
ciram uttarapadam upamānavāci tātpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttam bhavati
A following constituent, namely cirā ‘a particular piece of clothing’,
used in a tātpuruṣa compound with the signification of a standard of
comparison (upamāna), is marked udātta at the beginning.

Examples:

vastraçirām ‘tattered cloth’
palaçirām ‘rag-like cloth’
kambalacaçirām ‘tattered blanket’

1. Here again the compounds are formed by 2.1.56 upamitam vyāghrā-
dibhiḥ. A comparison between vastra, a general (sāmānya), and cirā, a par-
ticular (vिशेषा), is made possible because of bheda ‘difference’. The condition
of upamāna is important so that paramaçirām, a karmadhāraya, can be ex-
cluded from availing this accentual provision. Of course, cirā of example
compounds will be marked udātta at the beginning.

6.2.128 पञ्चलसूण्यांक मिश्रे

palalasūpaśākam miśre
/palala-sūpa-śākam 11/1 (sam. dv.); miśre 7/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tātpuruṣe #123)
‘palala, sūpa, śāka’ ity etāny uttarapadāni mīsāvācīni tātpuruṣe samāse
ādyudāttāni bhavanti

The following constituents, namely palala ‘meat’, sūpa ‘soup’ and śāka
‘leafy vegetable’ are marked udātta at the beginning when they com-
bine in a tātpuruṣa compound denoting miśra ‘mixture’

Examples:

gudapalālam ‘meat cooked with jaggery’
ghṛtapalālam ‘meat cooked with ghee’
ghṛtasūpāh ‘soup cooked with ghee’
mulakasūpāh ‘soup cooked with radish’
ghṛtasākām ‘leafy vegetable cooked with ghee’
mudgasaśākām ‘leafy vegetable cooked with Mung beans’

1. The example compounds are all formed by 2.1.35 bhakṣyena miśrī-
karaṇam. Here again the following constituents are marked udātta at the
beginning. A karmadhāraya compound, for example pṛgamapalālam ‘best
meat’, which does not denote mixing will be excluded from availing the
accentual provision of this rule. It will thus be marked udātta at the end.

6.2.129 कृतलमुद्गस्थलकर्षः संज्ञायाम्

kulasūdasthalakarsāḥ samjñāyām
/kūla-sūda-sthala-karsāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); samjñāyām 7/1/
(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruse #123)
‘kūla, sūda, sthala, karsā’ ity etāny uttarapadāṇi tatpuruse samāse samjñāyām
vṣaye ādyudāttāṇi bhavanti
The following constituents, namely kūla ‘bank’, sūda ‘cook’, sthala ‘dry
land’, and karsā ‘drag, pull’ in a tatpuruṣa compound, are marked udāṭta
at the beginning when samjñā ‘name’ is denoted.

Examples:

dāksjkūlām ‘name of a village’
māhjkākūlām ‘ibidem’
devasūdām ‘ibidem’
bhājisudām ‘ibidem’
dāndāyagnasthali ‘ibidem’
māhjkisthali ‘ibidem’
dāksjkarsāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Why is sthali offered as a following constituent when the rule already
specifies sthala? The word sthala can also refer to sthali, its feminine coun-
terpart, in consonance with the paribhāṣā (72): prātipadikagrahaṇe ligavisṭasyāpi
grahanam ‘a specification made by a nominal stem also includes reference to
its counterparts in particular genders’. Feminine affix Niṣ in introduced
after sthala by 4.1.42 jānapadakunda . . .

6.2.130 अकर्मधारये राज्यम्

akarmadhāraye rājya
/akarmadhāraye7/1 = na karmadhārayaḥ (nañ.); rājya 1/1/
(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruse #123)
karmadhārayavarjite tatpuruṣe samāse ‘rājyaṁ’ ity etad uttarapadam
ādyudāttam bhavati
The word rājya, when combined as a following constituent in a tatpuruṣa
compound other than karmadhāraya, is marked udāṭta at the begin-
ning.

Examples:

brāhmanarājyaṁ ‘kingdom of brāhmaṇas’
ksatriyarājyaṁ ‘kingdom of ksatriyas’

1. The word rājya ‘kingdom’ is a derivate of Ṣyañ (5.1.124 guṇavacana . . .). Consequently, it remains marked with udāṭta in a genitive tatpuruṣa com-
pound. That is, the compound is not marked udāṭta at the end. But consider a karmadhāraya compound, namely paramarājyaṁ ‘best kingdom’, which must
remain marked with udāṭta at the end.
2. The Mahābhāṣya states (cēḷēṟṟ̥yādisvarād avyayasvaro bhavati pūrva-vipraṇīsedhena) that kućēḷam and kurājyam retain their indeclinable accent (avyayasvarā; 6.2.2 tatpuruse turyārtha . . .), via pūrva-vipraṇīsedha 'application of a prior (pūrva) rule in conflict (vipraṇīsedha) with a subsequent (para)'. Thus ku, as against cela and rājya of this section, receives udātta at the beginning.

6.2.131 वर्गादयः

vargyādayaś ca
/vargyādayah 1/3 = vargya ādir yeśam (bv.); ca/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruse #123 akarmadhāraye #130)
‘vargya’ ity evam ādiny uttarapadāny akarmadhāraye tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti

The words vargya, etc., are marked udātta at the beginning when they combine as a following constituent in a tatpuruṣa compound other than karmadhāraya.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevavargyāḥ ‘on Vāsudeva’s side’
vāsudevapakṣyāḥ ‘ibidem’
ārjunavargyāḥ ‘on Arjuna’s side’
ārjunapakṣyāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Note that there is no listing of nominals known as vargyādi. Consequently, vargyādi refers to four nominals, i.e., varga ‘partisan’, pūga ‘heaped, gathered’, gāṇa ‘group’ and pāksa ‘side’ of the digādi ‘direction (diś), etc.’ nominals derived with affix yaT (4.3.54 digādibhyo yat). Recall that a derivate of yaT is marked with varita at the end (varitaṁ; 6.1.182 titsvaritam). It is marked udātta at the beginning in a tatpuruṣa compound.

6.2.132 पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः

putraḥ pumbhyah
/putraḥ 1/1 pumbhiyah 5/3
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123)
putrāsabadhah pumāśabdebhiya uttaras tatpuruṣe ādyudātto bhavati

The word putra is marked udātta at the beginning when it combines in a tatpuruṣa compound to follow a constituent denoting masculine.

EXAMPLES:

kauṇatiputrāḥ ‘son of Kaunaṭi’
dāmākaputrāḥ ‘son of Dāmaka’
māhiṣakaputrāḥ ‘son of Māhiṣaka’
6.2.133 नाचार्यराजिवसंयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येयः:

नाचार्यराजिवसंयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येयः

\( \text{naça}\text{rājayārajārvikṣaṃyukta}-jñātī-ākhyabhyāḥ} \)

/ na φ ācārya-rājā-ṛtvik-samyukta-jñātī-ākhyabhyāḥ 5/3 = ācāryaś ca rājā caṛtvik ca samyuktaś ca jñātīś ca (dv.); etāḥ ākhyāḥ yeṣām (bo. with int. dv.)/

(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādhiḥ #111 tatpurusā #123 putraḥ #132)

ācāryadyākhyabhyāḥ parah putraśabdo nādyudātto bhavati

The word putra is not marked udātta at the beginning when it combines in a tatpurusā compound to follow constituents with the signification of ācārya ‘teacher’, rājā ‘lord’, ṛtvij ‘presiding ritualist’, samyukta ‘relative on wife’s side’ and jñātī ‘relatives on parent’s side’.

Examples:

ācāryaputraḥ ‘son of a teacher’
upādhyāyaputraḥ ‘ibidem’
rājaputraḥ ‘king’s son’
īśvaraputraḥ ‘ibidem’
nandaputraḥ ‘son of Nanda’
ṛtvikputraḥ ‘son of a priest’
yājakaputraḥ ‘son of a ritualist’
bhrātusputraḥ ‘brother’s son’
samyukta-putraḥ ‘a son of wife’s side of the family’
syālaputraḥ ‘wife’s brother’s son’
jñātīputraḥ ‘a son of the clan’

1. A specification with ākhyā also includes references to nominals which may be synonymous with those listed in the rule. It also includes references to particulars (vīśeṣa) within the general (sāmāṇya) categories of specified nominals. Of course, they also represent themselves based on their specification by form (svaṛīpā). Thus, consider rājaputraḥ ‘prince’, īśvaraputraḥ ‘son of the king’ and nandaputraḥ ‘son of Nanda’, which are examples representing their form (svaṛīpa), synonym (paryāya) and particular (vīśeṣa).

2. A negation (pratisedhā) of initial udātta of putraḥ ‘son’ clears the way for compounds to be marked with udātta at the end (6.1.220 samāsaya). The non-deletion of saṣṭhī ‘genitive’ in hotukputraḥ ‘son of the priest’ and bhrātusputraḥ ‘brother’s son’ is accomplished by 6.3.21 rto vidyāyoni. . . A replacement in ś, for the s of bhrātusputraḥ, is in consonance with the inclusion of bhrāṭr ‘brother’ in the kaskādi group of nominals (8.3.48 kaskādiṣu ca).

6.2.134 चूर्णादियाःप्राणिनिष्ठाः:

cūrṇādīnī aprāṇīṣaṣṭhyāḥ

/ cūrṇādīnī 1/3 = cūrna ādir yeṣām (bo.); aprāṇīṣaṣṭhyāḥ 5/1 = na prāṇi = aprāṇi (nañ. tat.); aprāṇināh saṣṭhī (saṣ. tat.), tasyāḥ/
(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123)
cūrṇādyān uttarapadānany aprāṇivācinaḥ saṣṭhyantāt parāṇi tatpuruṣe samāse
dyuyāttāni bhavanti

The word cūrṇa, etc., when combined in a tatpuruṣa compound to follow a constituent ending in the genitive (saṣṭhī) with the signification of a non-living (aprāṇin), is marked udāttā at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

mudgacūrṇam ‘Mung-bean flour’
masūracyūrnam ‘lentil flour’

1. The condition of aprāṇin ‘non-sentient’ will exclude examples such as matsyacūrṇam ‘fish powder’, because matsya is prāṇin ‘sentient’. An example such as paramacūrṇam ‘best powder’, where para ‘best’ ends in the nominative, will also be excluded.

2. A different reading of this sūtra is found in the form of cūrṇādyān aprāṇyupagrahāt where upaghraha, following the usage of earlier grammarians, is interpreted as ‘that which ends in the genitive (saṣṭhī)’.

6.2.135 चर्च काण्डादीनि

sat ca kāṇḍādīni
/ sat 1/1 ca φ kāṇḍādīni 1/3 = kāṇḍa ādir yeśām, tāni/
(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123 aprāṇisaṣṭhyāḥ #134)
sat purvoktāni kāṇḍādyān uttarapadānī aprāniṣṭhyā ādyudāttāni bhavanti

The six words enumerated in the list headed by kāṇḍa are also marked udāttā at the beginning when they combine in a tatpuruṣa compound to follow a constituent ending in saṣṭhī, with the signification of a non-living (aprāṇin).

EXAMPLES:

darbhakāṇḍām ‘stalk of Kuśa grass’
sarvakāṇḍām ‘stalk of reed’
darbhcārām ‘rag made of Kuśa grass’
kuṣacārām ‘ibidem’
tilapalām ‘meat with sesame seeds’
mulakāsakām ‘radish-leaf vegetable’
nāṭikulām ‘river-bank’
samudrakulām ‘ocean-shore’

1. The word sat here refers to nominals specified in four rules beginning with 6.2.126 celakheṭa . . . (Nvāsa ad Kās: celakheṭakaṭkaṇḍam ityādiśu catuṛṣu
yogesu sannvishṭām sat grhyante). Why offer their initial udātta here when it is already available from those rules? So that initial udātta can also be availed in contexts not covered by those rules. This rule, however, will exclude ini-
tial udātta in constituents occurring after a genitive in relation to prānin ‘living beings’. Thus, this accentual provision will not be constrained by conditions of garhāyām ‘censure’ (6.2.126), upāmān ‘comparison’, miśre ‘mixing’ and samjñāyām ‘name’.

2. These compounds are all genitive tatpuruṣa. Kāśīkā offers rājasūdah ‘king’s cook’ and devadattakāndah ‘Devadatta’s arrow’ as counter-examples, where sūda falls outside the list of specified saṭ ‘six’ and devadatta is a prānin ‘living being’. These counter-example compounds will be thus marked udātta at the end.

3. A question is raised about the nominal ending used after tīla in deriving tilapalalam ‘meat cooked with sesame seeds’. Should one consider it as a tatpuruṣa with its middle constituent deleted (madhyapadadalopa). That is, should we derive it parallel to tilasahitam palalam ‘meat mixed with sesamum’. Should we then accept tīla as ending in the instrumental?

6.2.136 कुण्डे वनम्

kunḍam vanam
/kunḍam 1/1 vanam 1/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123)
'kunḍam' ity etad uttarapadām vanavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttam bhavati

The word kunḍa ‘bowl’ is marked udātta at the beginning when it combines as a following constituent in a tatpuruṣa compound, formed with the signification of vana ‘forest’.

Examples:

darbhakunḍam ‘forest of Kuṣa grass’
sarvakunḍam ‘forest of reeds’

1. The word kunḍa is here used in the sense of vana ‘forest’, due mainly to its similarity (sādṛśya) in serving as locus for darbha, etc. A compound such as mṛtkunḍam ‘earthen bowl’ will be excluded because kunḍa here does not denote vana. The compound will be marked with udātta at the end.

6.2.137 प्रकृत्या भगालम्

prakṛtyāḥ bhagālam
/prakṛtyā 3/1 bhagālam 1/1 /
(uttarapadām #111 tatpuruṣe #123)
bhagālāvacy uttarapadām tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The word bhagāla ‘bowl, skull’ retains its original accent when it combines as a following constituent in a tatpuruṣa compound.

Examples:

kumbhībhagālam ‘half of a small earthen pitcher used as a bowl’
kumbhikapālām 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows compound constituents with the signification of bhagāla to retain their original accent. Of course, when they occur as following constituents in a tatpurusa compound. Recall that bhagāla and kapāla 'bowl, skull' are marked udātta in the middle, in consonance with the Phītsūtra (42: laghāv ante . . .).

2. That bhagāla also refers to its synonyms is only known from vyākhyāna 'interpretation of the learned'.

3. Note that prakṛtyā 'as it originally was' is carried through rule 6.2.143 antaḥ.

6.2.138 शिरेःनैत्याबहुन्यहुरीवाभवभस्त

śiter nityābahvaj bahuvihāv abhasat
/siteh 5/1 nityābahvac 1/1 = bahavo aco yasmin (bv.); na bahvac (nañ. with int. bv.); nityam abahvac (dv. tat.); bahuvihau 7/1 abhasat 1/1 = na bhasat (nañ. tat.)/
(uttaraṇpadam #111 prakṛtyā #137)
śiter uttarapadam nityam yad abahvaj bhasac chabdavarjitaṁ bahuvihau samāse tat prakṛtisvaram bhavati

A constituent which combines in a bahuvihi compound to follow śiti 'white' and which, with the exception of bhasad 'genitals', does not necessarily consist of more than two vowels, retains its original accent.

Examples:

śitipādah ‘white-footed’
śityamsah ‘white-shouldered’
śityośthah ‘white-lipped’

1. Note that pāda is marked udātta at the beginning because of its membership in the vṛṣādi group of nominals (6.1.203 vṛṣādīnām ca). The Unādi derivateś amsa and oṣṭha are obligatorily marked udātta at the beginning, because affixes saN (Unādi V:21: ameḥ san) and thaN (Unādi II:4: uṣikusigati-bhyas than), respectively, are marked with N as an it (6.1.194 ṇityādir nityam). The example compounds, because of their bahuvihi formation, qualify for retention of original accent of their initial constituents. Our present rule offers retention of original accent of their following constituents.

Kāśikā offers darśaniyapādaḥ 'beautiful feet' as counter-example to condition of śiteh, where, since pāda does not occur after śiti, and darśaniya, a derivate of aniyar, is marked udātta in the middle (madhyodātta; 6.1.214 upottāmanām riti).

2. Note that a form of bhasad with more than two vowels is never used. This is why śitibhasat 'white genitals' is made an exception. The condition of
nityam will exclude *sitikakut* 'white hump' from availing this accentual provision since *kakuda* is not always used as consisting of more than two vowels. For, when used with the signification of *avasthā* (5.4.146 *kakudasyāvasthāyāṃ lopah*), its final ā is deleted. Thus, consider *sitikakudah* 'white-hump' which does not go through deletion of its final a. Now consider *lalāta* 'forehead' of *śītalalātaḥ* 'white-forehead' which is obligatorily used as *bāhvac* 'consisting of more than two vowels'.

Finally, this accentual provision is applicable only to a compound termed *bāhuvrīhi*. That is, this rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bāhuvṛihau* *prakṛtyā- pūrṇapadam*. Thus, *śītē pādah* = *śītpādah* 'the white one's foot', a *tātprūṣa*, will constitute a counter-example.

6.2.139 गतिकारकोषपदात् कृत्

gatikārakopadāt kṛt

/gati-kāraka-upapadāt 5/1 (sam. dv.), tasmā; kṛt 1/1/
(uttarapadam #111 tātprūṣe #123 prakṛtyā #137)

gateḥ kārakād upapadāc ca kṛdantam uttarapadām tātprūṣe samāse prakṛtisvaranm bhavatī
The constituent of a *tātprūṣa* compound which ends in an affix termed *kṛt* and combines to follow a constituent termed *gati*, *kāraka* and *upapada*, retains its original accent.

Examples:

*prakārākah* 'he who does things well'
*prakarānam* 'explanation, topic'
*prahārākah* 'attacker'
*praharānam* 'stick, weapon'
*iddhmāpravacīganah* 'that by means of which one cuts; axe'
*palaśāśātānah* 'that by means of which a *palaśa* tree is cut'
*śmgārulkśānah* 'grooming of a beard'
*īṣatkarāh* 'slightly beneficial'
*dūṣkarāh* 'hard to do'
*tyskarāh* 'easy to do'

1. Note that *tātprūṣa*, and not *bāhuvṛihau*, is carried over here. All example compounds have a following constituent marked with *L* as an *it*. That is, their syllable which precedes the affix is marked *udātta* (6.1.190 *liti*). Thus, *prakārakah* and *prahārakah* are derivatives of *Nvul* (3.1.133 *nvulīrcau*) combined with *pra* (2.2.18 *kugatipraydayah*), a *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Affix *LyuT* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaranayoś ca*), under the signification condition of a *kāraka* termed *karana* 'instrument', is introduced in deriving *pravārcana* 'chopping' and *sātana* 'cutting', where a *pada* with the signification of a *kāraka*, i.e., *karman* 'object', follows. The *ṣaṣṭhi*, which is introduced after *idhma* 'firewood'
and \textit{palāśa} ‘a tree’ to denote \textit{karman}, is combined in consonance with a \textit{vārtika} proposal (ad 2.2.8 \textit{saṣṭhī}; \textit{kṛdyogā ca saṣṭhī saamasyate} ‘a genitive used in connection with that which ends in a \textit{kṛ} is combined’). Refer to derivational details of these compounds under the appendices and notes of rules 2.2.18 \textit{kugatiprādayāḥ} and 3.3.117 \textit{karaṇādhikaraṇaṇayā ca}. Finally, consider \textit{iṣātkaraḥ}, \textit{duṣṭkaraḥ} and \textit{ṣukaraḥ} where \textit{iṣad} ‘a little, slight’, \textit{duḥ ‘bad’} and \textit{ṣu} ‘good’ constitute cooccurring \textit{padas} (\textit{upapada}). Affix \textit{KhaL}, with the signification of \textit{kṛcchra} ‘difficult’, etc. (3.4.70 \textit{tayor eva kṛtyaktahkālarthāh}), is here introduced (3.3.126 \textit{iṣadduḥsusu} . . .) to derive \textit{kara}. These compounds are formed by 2.2.19 \textit{upapadamaṃ atinī}.

These examples all constitute an exception to the final \textit{udāṭta} of 6.1.220 \textit{samāsasya}.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using the word \textit{kṛ} in this rule. For, \textit{pra}, etc., are termed \textit{gati} and \textit{upasarga} only when they are used in construction with a word denoting action (\textit{kriyā; yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas tam praty eva gatypasargasamjñā bhavante}). A constituent with the denotatum of a \textit{kāraka} is also directly related to an action. There are two types of suffixes, i.e., \textit{kṛ} (3.1.93 \textit{kṛd atīnī}) and \textit{tiN} (3.4.78 \textit{tiptasji} . . .), which are introduced after a root. The compounds are formed with constituents which end in a \textit{kṛ} affix. It is for this reason that \textit{kṛ} need not be stated in this rule. Commentators explain that \textit{kṛ} is used in the rule for clarity (\textit{vispaṭārtha}). Some, however, do not agree with this position. They argue that \textit{kṛ} is used here for blocking \textit{gati} accent from applying to compounds such as \textit{prapacatidesyāḥ}. Refer to \textit{PM} ad \textit{Kāśikā} for further details.

6.2.140 \textbf{उभे वनस्पत्यादिसू युगपत्}

\textit{ubhe vanaspatyādiṣu yugapat}

\textit{ubhe 1/2 vanaspatyādiṣu 7/3 = vanaspatir ādir yeśām (bu.), teṣām; yugapat 1/1/}

\textit{(prakṛtyā #137)}

\textit{vanaspatyādiṣu samāsēṣu ubhe pūrvottarapadē yugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ}

The two constituents of compounds enumerated in the list headed by \textit{vanaspati} ‘vegetation’, both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{vāngspatih} ‘lord of forests; vegetation’
  \item \textit{brhāspatih} ‘a divinity; teacher of gods’
  \item \textit{śaśāpāthih} ‘Indra’
  \item \textit{ngrāśamsāh} ‘name of a king’
  \item \textit{ṣunahślepāh} ‘name of a sage’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of both compound constituents, simultaneously. This simultaneous \textit{udāṭta} was not available to
example compounds because of 6.1.152 anudāttam padam. . . Note that vana is marked udātta at the beginning in consonance with Phīṣṭūtra 26: nabārivāyā. . . The word pati ‘lord’ master’, as a derivate of Ḍati (Unādi IV:57: pāter dathih), is also marked udātta at the beginning by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāttās ca). The ā, of pā in pati, goes through ti-deletion (6.4.143 teh). Augment sUT, of 6.1.151 pāraskaraprabhrāṇi ca, is then introduced to derive vanaspati ‘vegetation’. This sUT, however, is introduced by a vārttika (ad 6.1.154: tad bṛhatoh karapatyoh . . . ) which also deletes the t of bṛhat. It is stated that bṛhat is marked udātta at the end, via nipātana, in consonance with Unādi II:84: vartamāne pratibrhan. . . Some, however, consider this nipātana accent to be initial udātta. Similar differences of opinion is also witnessed in case of saci ‘Indra’s wife’, considered as marked udātta at the beginning, only by way of ending in NīN through its membership in the sāṅgaravādi group of nominals (4.1.73 sāṅgaravādyāno nīn). It will receive final udātta as a derivate of NīS.

6.2.141 देवताद्वंद्वे च

devatādvandve ca
/adevatādvandve 7/1 = devatānāṃ dvandvāḥ
(śaṣ. tat.), tasmin; ca φ/
(prakṛtyā #137 ubhe ugapat #140)
devatāvācināṃ yo dvandvas tatra yugapad ubhe pūrvottarapade prakṛtisvare bhavāt

The two constituents of a dvandva compound formed with the signification of devatā ‘divinity’, both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

Examples:

indrāgītā ‘Indra and Soma’
indrāvarūṇau ‘Indra and Varuṇa’
indrābhṛhospati ‘Indra and Bṛhaspatti’

1. Note that augment ānAN is introduced in these compounds by 6.3.24 devatādvandve ca. The words indra, soma and varuṇa are derivate of raN (Unādi II:28: ṛṇḍrāgra . . . ), maN (Unādi I:140: arttistusu . . . ) and unaN(Unādi III:53: kruḍḍāribhyā . . . ), respectively. They are marked udātta at the beginning because of their Nas an it (6.1.194 ṇmītyādir nityam). Recall that bṛhaspatti already has two of its vowels marked with udātta. The compound indrābhṛhospati will, with one udātta of indra, carry three udātatas.

6.2.142 नूत्तरपदेःनूददातदान्यपृथिवीरुप्रपुष्पमन्दिर्यायविधि

nuttarapade’ nudāttādāv aprthiviruddrapusamanthiṣu
/n a φ uttarapade 7/1 anudāttādau 7/1 = anudātta ādir yasya (bv.), tasmin,
aprthiviurudrapusamanthinsu 7/3 prthivi ca rudrã ca pûsã ca manthi ca = prthiviurudrapusamanthinah; na prthivi . . . (nañ. tat. with int. dv.), teṣu/ (prakrti #137 ubhe yugapat #140 devatadvandve #141) uttarapade' nudattadau prthiviurudrapusamanthivarjite devatadvandve nobhe ugaapat prakrtisvare bhavatãh

The two constituents of a dvandva compound formed with the signification of devatã ‘divinity’, both, do not retain their original accent when one of the constituents marked udattã at the beginning with the exception of prthivi, rudra, pûsan, and manthin, follows.

Examples:

indragni 'Indra and Agni'

indrogvgyu 'Indra and Vayu'

1. Here again we find ânãñ introduced as an augment (6.3.24 devatadvandve ca). Note that agni and vayu are derivates of ni (Unädi I:20: ager nir nalopaça ca) and uñ (Unädi I:86: krvapajími . . ., respectively. They are both marked udattã at the end by way of affixal accent (pratyeyasvára). That is, they are marked anudattã at the beginning. The compounds, because of negation of our present rule, cannot retain the original accent of their constituents, simultaneously. Rule 6.1.220 samãsasya thus allows retention of the final udattã.

The prthivyâdi nominals which are here made exceptions to this negation all carry an udattã at the end. Because of being exceptions, they will retain the original accent of their two constituents, simultaneously.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using uttarapade in this rule. That is, why use uttarapade when the locative (saptami) of anudattädau itself can provide the desired context of application. It is stated that this rule is a negation (pratisêdha). The context of this negation, especially as it relates to its application (vidhi), cannot be understood clearly if uttarapade is not included in the wording of this rule. That is, in the absence of uttarapade, anudattädau will modify devatadvandve. This rule will then be interpreted as meaning: the provision of this rule does not apply in a devatadvandva compound marked with udattã at the beginning (anudattädau dvandve svaro' yam na bhavati). This interpretation will then negate retention of constituent accents in candrasûryau ‘moon and sun’. For, candra is marked anudattã at the beginning because of its udattã at the end. The locative anudattädau is used here as a qualifier to dvandve in this interpretation. If, however, uttarapade is used, anudattädau will become a qualifier to uttarapade. Consequently, this negation will apply only when a following constituent marked with anudattã at the beginning follows.

The preceding discussion shows how, in a devatadvandva compound, negation (pratisêdha) and application (vidhi) both may obtain. In the absence
of a clear indication as to where negation applies and where it does not, their application will become optional (vikalpa). Note that dvandva, and not uttarapada, is specified in this section with saptami. This being the case, anudātādaiv in saptami will qualify dvandva. It will qualify uttarapade, instead, when uttarapade is used in the rule. Consequently, negation will apply only when a following constituent with initial anudātta is involved. Elsewhere, we will get application (viddhi). Thus, the use of uttarapade clearly specifies scopes of negation and application.

6.2.143 अन्तः:

\[\text{antah} \]
\[\text{/ antah 1/1} \]
\[\text{(udātathā #64 uttarapadasya #111)} \]
\[\text{yad ita urchvam anukramisyāmas tatra samāsasyottarapadasyānta udātto bhavitvī evam tad veditavāṃ} \]

A constituent which follows in a compound is, here onwards, marked with udātta at the end.

**Examples:**

Refer to following rules for relevant examples:

1. Note that 6.1.220 samāsasya offers udātta at the end of a compound. Rules governed by antah of this rule will, again, offer final udātta as an exception to various other rules.

6.2.144 धातुप्रत्याजातिविनिमृत्युपायम्

\[\text{thātha}\text{ghaṅktājābitrakānām} \]
\[\text{/ th-atha-ghaṅ-kt-a-aj-ab-itra-kānām 6/3 (itar. du.), teśām/} \]
\[\text{(udātathā #64 uttarapadasya #111 gatikārakopadāt #139 antah #143)} \]
\[\text{‘tha, atha, ghaṅ, kta, ac, ap, itra, ka’ ity evam antānām uttarapadānām gatikārakopadāt paresām anta udātto bhavati} \]

A constituent which ends in tha, atha, ghaṅ, Kta, ac, ap, itra and ka, and combines in a compound to follow a constituent termed gati, kāraka and upapada, is marked udātta at the end.

**Examples:**

\[\text{suvijthah} \text{‘he who guides well’} \]
\[\text{avabhrthah} \text{‘ritual bathing’} \]
\[\text{āvāsathah} \text{‘dwelling’} \]
\[\text{upavāsathah} \text{‘day of fasting’} \]
\[\text{prabhedaḥ} \text{‘a subdivision’} \]
\[\text{kāsthabhedaḥ} \text{‘splitting of wood’} \]
dūrādāgataḥ ‘arrived from afar’
ātapaśuṣkāḥ ‘sun-dried’
prakṣayāḥ ‘excellent place’
prajāyāḥ ‘excellent means of conquest?’
pralayāḥ ‘fragment, split’
prasavāḥ ‘begetting’
prasavitrāṃ ‘sickle’
prasavitrāṃ ‘begetting, generating’
govrṣaḥ ‘bull’
khariṃṛṣaḥ ‘impetuous bull’
pravrṣaḥ ‘excellent bull’
prahrṣaḥ ‘happy’

1. Note that nīthā and bhrthā, of sunīthāḥ and avabhṛthāḥ, are derivatives of affix KthaN (Unādi II:2: hanikuṣṭiḥra . . . Unādi II:3: ave bhṛṇāḥ). They are both marked with udāṭa at the beginning because of N as an it (6.1.194 ōṇityādir nityam). Rule 6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt kṛt would thus have allowed retention of the original accent of nīthā and bhrthā. Our present rule offers final udāṭta, instead. This same also applies to derivatives of atha (Unādi III:116: uпасarge vaseh), i.e., āvasathāḥ/ upavasathāḥ, and GHaN, i.e., kāṣṭhabhedah/ rajjuvedeha.

The pañcami of dūrādāgataḥ goes through non-deletion (6.3.2 pañcamyāḥ . . .) after 2.1.39 stokāntikadūrārtha . . . allows compound-formation. Recall that āgata is a derive of the niṣṭhā suffix Kta (1.1.26 ktaṇṭatavatū niṣṭhā). The two derivatives of Kta in both compounds are marked udāṭta at the end. Their initial udāṭta, made available by 6.2.49 gatir anantarāḥ and 6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt . . ., is thus not retained. The ta of Kta, however, is replaced with ka in ātapaśuṣka (8.2.51 śuṣaḥ kah). If one accepts ātapaśuṣka as formed with 2.1.41 siddhasuṣkaṇapakvabandhaiś ca, rule 6.2.32 saṣṭami siddhasuṣka . . . would require retention of original accent of the first constituent.

The words ksaya and jaya are derivatives of aC (3.3.56 er ac). They are marked udāṭta at the beginning by 6.1.198 ksayo nivāse and 6.1.199 jayaḥ karanam, read subsequently to 6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt . . . Our present rule offers final udāṭta as an exception. This exception against 6.2.139 also applies to prasavaḥ, pralavah and pralavitrāṃ. Affixes aP (3.3.57 ṛdor ap) and iTRA (3.2.184 artiiḥdhūsi . . .) are introduced in deriving prasavaḥ/pralavah and pralavitrāṃ, respectively. Now consider govṛṣaḥ and kharviṃṛṣaḥ where affix Ka is introduced after vrṣ in consonance with the vārttika (ad 3.2.5 tundaśoka . . .; kaṭrakaraṇe mūravībhujādibhyā upasamkhīyānam). The Ka of vrṣa in pravrṣaḥ and prahrṣaḥ is introduced by 3.1.135 igupadhajānā . . . The initial udāṭta in vrṣa, etc., is available from 6.1.200 vrṣādīnām ca. Our present rule offers final udāṭta as an exception to retention of original accent of 6.1.139 gatikārakopapadāt . . .
6.2.145 सूपमानात् कः

सूपमानात् कः
/sūpamānāt ktaḥ/
5/1 = suś ca upamānaṁ ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; ktaḥ 1/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143)
'su' ity etasmad upamānāca ca param ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati

A following compound constituent which ends in Kta is marked with udātta at the end, when the same combines to follow su, or a word denoting standard of comparison (upamāna).

Examples:

suṣṭam 'well done'
sūbhuktam 'good food'
sūpītam 'good drink'
vṛkṣavāluptam 'disappearing like a wolf'
śaśapītum 'leaping like a rabbit'
sīṃhavīnīrddītum 'roaring like a lion'

1. The following constituents of example compounds are all marked udātta at the end. This rule is an exception to the retention of original accent of 6.2.49 ghatirūpantaraḥ, in examples with su. It is an exception to that of 6.4.48 tritīyā karmanī, in examples of upamāna. These compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 kārtikarane kṛtā bahulam.

Kāśikā offers sustutam bhavatā 'you sir! praised well' as a counter-example to the condition of gatikārakopapadāt. Recall that su can be termed a karmapravacaniya by 1.4.94 suḥ puṣjāyām. Our compound sustutam will have the indeclinable accent (avayavasvara), i.e., initial udātta, retained.

6.2.146 संज्ञयामनास्तित्वादिनाम्

sāṃjñāyāṁ anācitādīnāṁ
/sāṃjñāyām 7/1 anācitādīnāṁ 6/3 = ācita ādiryesāṁ (bv.), te, na ācitādayaḥ
(naṁ with int. bv.)/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 gatikārakopapadāt #139 antaḥ #143 ktaḥ #145)
sāṃjñāyāṁ viṣaye gatikārakopapadāt ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati ācitaṁ dīn varjajitvā
da compound constituent which ends in Kta, but is not enumerated in the list headed ācita, is marked udātta at the end when it combines to follow a gati, kāraka, and upapada 'conjoined pada', and the derivate denotes a name (sāṃjñā).

Examples:

sambhūtām raṃāyaṇaḥ 'a Rāmāyaṇa named Sambhūta'
upāhūtaḥ sākalyaḥ ‘Sākalya, who was invited’
pardījagdhaḥ kauṇḍinyāḥ ‘Kauṇḍinya, who was fed well’
dhanuskhāṭā nadi ‘name of a river’
kuddālakhaṭaḥ naganī ‘name of a city’

1. These compounds are all marked udāṭṭa at the end. The Kṣa of sambhūtaḥ, etc., denotes karmam. Consequently, they were subject to application of 6.2.49 gaitṛ anantarāḥ. This rule constitutes an exception to that. Compounds such as dhanuṣkhaṭā, etc., where khan has gone through a replacement in ā (ātu; 6.4.42 janasanakhanāṁ . . .), are formed by 2.1.31 kṛtykarane kṛtā bahulam. They thus had 6.2.48 triyā karnāṁ available to them. The final udāṭṭa of our present rule is also an exception to that.

2. A ganasūtra (samhitā gavi) blocks samhitā from being marked with udāṭṭa at the end if the derivate names something other than go ‘cow’.

6.2.147 प्रवृद्धादीनां च

pravṛddhādinām ca
/pravṛddhādinām 6/3 = pravṛddha ādir yesām (bv.), tesām; ca ṣa/
(udāṭṭah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 ktaḥ #145)
pravṛddhādinām ca kūntam uttarapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati

That which ends in Kṣa and combines as a following constituent in compounds enumerated in the list headed by pravṛddha is also marked with udāṭṭa at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pravṛddham yānam ‘an old carriage’
pravṛtyyakā saktavah ‘used up Saktu’
agahito bhogesu ‘engrossed in pursuing pleasures’

1. This rule is formulated for final udāṭta outside the denotatum of samjñā ‘name’. Note, however, that yānam, etc., are not used in these examples to restrict this provision in their context alone. They just illustrate general usages. For, pravṛddha, etc., receive final udāṭta also when used outside the context of yāna, etc.

A proposal is also made to accept pravṛddhādi as an open-ended (ākṛti) group (gana). The ca thus can be accepted as used for attracting examples not covered (anuktasamuccayārtha). Consider punarutsyutam ‘freshly woven’ and punarniṣktartha ‘rebuild’ of punarutsyutam vāsaṁ deyam and punarniṣktartha rathah, where final udāṭṭa is availed.

6.2.148 कारकाद् दत्ताश्रुतयोरवाषिषि

kārakād dattaśrutayor evaśiṣi
/kārakāt 5/1 dattaśrutayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); eva ṣa aśiṣi 7/1/
(udāṭṭaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 ktaḥ #145 samjñā #146)
samjñāyāṁ viṣaye āśiṣi gamyamānāyāṁ kārakād uttarayor dattaśrutayor eva
ktāntayor anta udāṭtō bhavati
The two constituents, namely datta and śruta, which end in Kta and
occur after a constituent with the signification of kāraka, alone, are
marked with udāṭta at the end when name and benediction are
denoted.

Examples:

deva enam deyāsur devadattah ‘Devadatta, who was given by gods as a
blessing’
viṣnur enam śṛuyād viṣṇuśrutah ‘Viṣṇuśruta, who was given by Viṣṇu after
hearing prayers’

1. This rule allows final udāṭta for datta and śruta when they are used in
combination after a constituent with the denotatum of a kāraka. Additionally,
derivatives must denote benediction (āśiṣi) within the context of a samjñā
‘name’. Recall that derivatives which ended in Kta and denoted a name were
all, with the exception of those with ācita, etc., qualified to receive final
udāṭta (6.2.145 samjñāyāṁ . . .). This rule makes a restrictive proposal. That
is, if used after a kāraka, datta and śruta alone receive final udāṭta. The original
accent will be retained outside the context of datta and śruta. Thus, consider
devapālītaḥ ‘protected by god’ where application of 6.2.145 samjñānām . . . is
blocked in favor of 6.2.48 tṛīyā karmāṇi. The word kārakā is used in the rule
because, in its absence, the restriction would have also applied after gati.
For, this is the domain of gatikārakopapadāt. With kārakāt in place, the final
udāṭta of 6.2.145 samjñāyāṁ . . . applies after gati in sambhūṭaḥ.

The word eva is used to restrict final udāṭta, only when datta and śruta are
used in combination after that which denotes a kāraka. Elsewhere, 6.2.48
trīyā karmāṇi will apply to retain the base accent of the preceding pada
(pūrva-pada-prakṛtisvara).

6.2.149 इत्यम्भूतेन कृतमिति च

ithambhuṭena kṛtam iti ca
/ ithambhuṭena 3/1 = imam prakāram āpannah; kṛtam 1/1 iti ṣa ca ṣa/
(udāṭṭaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 ktaḥ #145 kārakāt #148)
‘ithambhuṭena kṛtam’ ity etasmīṁ arthe yaḥ samāso vartate tatra ktāntam
uttarapadam antodāṭtām bhavati
A constituent which ends in Kta and is combined after that which
denotes a kāraka in a compound formed with the signification of ‘made
or done by one thus characterized’ is also marked with udāṭta at the
end.
EXAMPLES:

suptapralapitam ‘babbling of a person while asleep’
unnatapralapitam ‘babbling of a crazy person’
pramattagitam ‘singing of a drunk or crazy person’

1. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāṇa . . . for an explanation of itthambhūta. This rule constitutes an exception to 6.2.48 trīyā karmaṇi.

2. The word kṛtam is used here in the general sense of karoṭi ‘makes’. It is thus not used in the sense of ‘bringing about something which was previously not’ (nābhūtaprādurbhāva). This is how pralāpita, etc., become kṛta with the denotation of karmāṇi ‘object’. A final udāṭta is already available to them from 6.2.144 thāthādi . . . , when their Kta is used with the denotatum of bhāva ‘root-sense’.

6.2.150 अन्य भावकर्मचन्दः:

ano bhāvakarmavacanāḥ
/anaḥ 1/1 bhāvakarmavacanāḥ 1/1 = bhāvaś ca karma ca = bhāvakarmaṇi
(itār. dv.), tayor vacanāḥ (śās. tat.)/
(udāṭṭhaḥ #64 uttarāpadasya #111 antah #143 ktaḥ #145 kārakāt #148)
anapratyayāntam uttarāpadam bhāvakarmavacanaṁ karmavacanan ca kārakāt
param antodāttam bhavati
A constituent which ends in affix ano, signifies bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karmana ‘object’, and combines in a compound after a word denoting a kāraka, is marked udāṭta at the end.

EXAMPLES:

odanabhūshanāḥ sukhām ‘it is a pleasure to eat rice’
payaḥpānam sukhām ‘it is a pleasure to drink milk’
rājabhūjanāh sālayāh ‘rice fit for a king’s meal’
rājācchāḍaganāni vāsāmsi ‘clothes fit for a king’

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 gatikārakopapadāt . . . The words bhūjanā ‘food’ and pāṇa ‘drink’ are derivatives of LyuṬ with the denotatum of bhāva (3.3.116 karmaṇi ca yena . . .). The yu of LyuṬ is subsequently replaced with ano (7.1.1 yuvaḥ anākau). The compounds, i.e., odanabhūjana ‘eating of rice’ and payaḥpāna ‘drinking of milk’, are formed by 2.2.19 upapadam atin. Compounds such as rājabhūjana and rājācchāḍana are genitive tatpurusā, where LyuṬ denoted karman.

2. This denotation of bhāva and karman by LyuṬ shows two interpretations of rule 3.3.116 karmaṇi ca yena . . .

(i) karmaṇi upapade bhāve lyuṭ bhavati ‘LyuṬ is introduced after a verbal root when a pada with the denotatum of karman cooccurs’.
(ii) karmanyakabhidheyeluvabhavati‘affixLyuToccurs after a verbal root
when karman‘object’is denoted’.

3. Kāśikā offers hastahāryāmudāsvit‘buttermilk prepared with hands’as a
counter-example to the condition of ana. A counter-example to bhāva-karman
‘root-sense object’is offered in dgn̥tadāhvānam‘that by means of which teeth
are cleaned’where LyuTin dhāvāna‘cleansing’denotes karana‘instrument’.
Of course, the condition of kārakātis also valid. Thus, consider niśdarśānam
‘illustrating’and avgalekhānam‘scrapping’where anaoccurs after gati. All these
counter-examples retain their original accents.

6.2.151 मन्त्रव्याख्यानवाचायानांस्मान्यध्यायांजकादिकृति:

manktinvyākhyānasayanānasasthānāvyākhyākādikṛtāḥ
/manktin-vyākhyāna-sayanānasasthāna-vyākhyā- kādikṛtāḥ 1/3 = yājakā ādir
yesām te = ṣājākādayah; manktin . . . kṛtāḥ (itar. dv.)/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 kārakāt #148)
‘mannaṁtām, ktiṁntām, vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana, sthāna’ ity etāni,
yājakādayah, kṛtaśabās cottaraṇpadam antdāttam bhavati
The final syllable of the last constituent of a compound which ends in
man and KtiN, or is constituted by vyākhyāna‘exposition’, śayana‘re-
clining’, āsana‘seat’, sthāna‘place’, or else, is listed in the group headed
by yājaka‘sacrificer’, or is constituted by kṛta‘purchased’, is marked
udātta at the end when the same combines after a constituent with the
signification of a kāraka.

Examples:

rathavarta ‘road for chariots’
śakaravarta ‘road for carts’
pāninekrtiḥ ‘creation of Pāṇini’
dipśakrtih ‘creation of Āpiśali’
rghavanavyākhyānam ‘a commentary of Rgavana’
chandavvyākhyānam ‘a commentary on Chandas’
rājasyānam ‘king’s bed’
brāhmaṇasyānam ‘a brāhmaṇa’s bed’
rājāsanam ‘a king’s seat’
brāhmaṇāṣānam ‘a brāhmaṇa’s seat’
gosthānam ‘cow-pen’
gśvasthānam ‘stable’
brāhmaṇayājakah ‘a priest of brāhmaṇas’
ksatriyayājakah ‘a priest of ksatriyas’
gokṛiṭah ‘purchased with a cow’
gśvakṛiṭah ‘purchased with a horse’

1. These examples are all genitive tatpurusa compounds. Their accentual
provision constitutes an exception to 6.2.138 gatikārakopapadāt. . . . Compounds with krītā constitute exception to 6.2.48 tṛtiyā karmanī. Note that vyākhyaṇa, satya, āsana and sthāna are all derivates of LyuT. The first, i.e., vyākhyaṇa, is a derivate of LyuT with the denotatum of karana ‘instrument’. The rest have LyuT with the signification of adhikarana ‘locus’ (3.3.117 karanādhiśkaranyos ca). Recall that derivates of LyuT with the denotatum of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karman ‘object’ are already covered by 6.2.150 ano bhavakarmavacanah. Affix NvUL in yājaka and pūjaka ‘worshiper’ denotes kartṛ ‘agent’. A yājakādi reference is here made to stems listed for genitive compounds under 2.2.9 yājakādibhiṣ ca.

2. The condition of kārakāt is still valid. Thus, prakṛtiḥ ‘nature, base’ and prakṛtiḥ ‘attack’, because of pra termed gati, will be covered by 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. . . .

6.2.152 समस्या: पूण्यम्

saptamāh punyam
/saptamāh 5/1 punyam 1/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)
saptamāntā param punyam ity etad uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati

A last compound constituent, namely punya ‘merit’, is marked udātta at the end when it combines after a constituent ending in saptamī ‘seventh triplet of nominal ending’.

EXAMPLES:

adyayanapurīyam ‘merits in studying’
vedapurīyam ‘merits in the study of the Vedas’

1. This is an exception to retention provision of 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. . . . A split interpretation of saptamī (2.1.40 saptamī saundaih) facilitates the compound formation. A compound with tṛtiyā ‘third triplet; instrumental’ (2.1.32 kartṛkarane . . . ; by split interpretation of tṛtiyā), i.e., vedena purīyam = vedapurīyam ‘merit accrued from studying the Veda’, will require punya, a derivate of kṛt, to be marked with initial udātta.

6.2.153 उनार्थकलाहं तृतीयायाः

unārthakalahaṁ tṛtiyāyāḥ
/unārtha-kalahaṁ 1/1 = ūno rtho yasya (bv.); ūnārthas ca kalahas ca (sam. dv. with int. bv.); tṛtiyāyāḥ 5/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)
unārthāṇy uttarapadāni kalahaśabdaś ca tṛtiyāntāt parāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti

A final compound constituent which signifies the sense of affix ūna ‘less than . . . ’, or is constituted by kalaha ‘quarrel’, is marked udātta at
the end when this same combines after a padre ending in \textit{tr̥i}yā 'third
triplet of nominal ending'.

\textbf{Examples:}

- \textit{māsonam} 'less than a Māsa'
- \textit{kārsapānam} 'less than a Kārśāpana'
- \textit{māsavikālam} 'less than a Māsa'
- \textit{kārsapānavikālam} 'less than a Kārśāpana'
- \textit{aśikalghah} 'fight with swords'
- \textit{vākkalghah} 'quarrel'

1. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 \textit{pūrvasadṛśasamono}
\textit{nārtha}. Here again we find an exception to retention proposal of 6.2.2
tatpuruse tulyārtha. Some believe that \textit{artha} specifies the word-form
(svarūpa). They can, thus, account for \textit{dhānyena arthah = dhānyārthah} 'pros-
perity by grains'. Note that \textit{una}, a specification made via meaning (\textit{artha-
 nirdeśa}), can itself account for forms synonymous with it. Consequently,
formation of a \textit{tr̥i}yā-tatpurīṣa with specifically enumerated bases (\textit{pratipadokta})
becomes obvious. Why use \textit{tr̥i}yāyāḥ when specified compounds are formed
with \textit{tr̥i}yā, anyway? The rule uses \textit{tr̥i}yāyāḥ for clarity (\textit{viśpaśārtham}).

6.2.154 \textbf{पिन्ने चानुपस्वर्तमस्य}

\textit{miśraṃ cānupasargam asandhau}
\textit{/ miśram 1/1 caḥ anupasargam 1/1 (naṅ. tat.); asandhau 7/1 = na sandhau
(naṅ. tat.)/}

(\textit{udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 tr̥i}yāyāḥ #153)

\textit{‘miśra’ ity etad uttarapadam anupasargaṃ tr̥i}yāntīḥ \textit{param antodāttaṃ
bhavaty asandhau ganyamāne}

A final compound constituent, namely \textit{miśra} not used with a preverb,
is marked with \textit{udātta} at the end, when it combines to follow a constituent ending in \textit{tr̥i}yā, provided something other than sandhi 'verbal agree-
ment, treaty' is denoted.

\textbf{Examples:}

- \textit{gudamīśrāḥ} 'mixed with jaggery'
- \textit{tīlāmīśrāḥ} 'mixed with sesame'
- \textit{sarpīmīśrāḥ} 'mixed with ghee'

1. This rule again is an exception to 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. The ex-
ample compounds are formed by 3.1.31 \textit{pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha}.

2. The condition of \textit{miśra} is imposed so that compounds such as
\textit{guddhānāḥ} 'parched rice mixed with jaggery' can be excluded. The condi-
tion of \textit{anupasarga} 'not used with a preverb' similarly excludes \textit{gud}asammiśrāḥ
‘properly mixed with jaggery’, etc. Note that a specification of *miśra* qualified with *anupasarga* also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that, elsewhere, a specification made by *miśra* includes reference to its use with a preverb. The *miśra* of 2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasmenārtha* . . . *miśrasatērthah*, thus enables formation of compounds with *miśra* used with a preverb. We have already cited *guḍasammiśrāh* where this rule will not find its scope of application.

Now consider *asandhau* ‘not in agreement’ where *sandhi*, characterized as *aikya* ‘unity’, is explained as *paṇabandhah* ‘verbal agreement’. Thus, *yadi me bhavān idam kuryāt tato* ham api bhavata idam karisyāmi ‘if you will do this for me, then I will also do this for you’. An example, of *asandhi* is offered as *brāhmaṇamisrāh rājā* ‘a mixing with brahmaṇas’. This ‘mixing’ is here explained as ‘proximity’ (*pratyāsatti*), a ‘mixing’ where individual identities are distinct. An example such as *guḍamisrāh dhānāh* makes it difficult to perceive individual identities.

6.2.155 नजो गुप्तिप्रियेषे सम्पाद्यांह्यितालम्बर्थासद्वितिकः

naño guṇapratīṣṭedhe sampādyarthīḥīlamarthāḥ taddhistāḥ/
nañah 1/1 guṇapratīṣṭedhe 7/1 (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; sampādy-arha-hita-alam-
arthāḥ 1/3 = sampādi . . . alam ity etāny arthāni yeṣām (bv. with int. dv.);
taddhistāḥ 1/3/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)
’sampādi, arha, hita, alam* ity evam arthā ye taddhistās tadantāny uttarapadāni
naño guṇapratīṣṭedhe vartamanāt parāny antidāttāni bhavanti

The last syllable of final compound constituent which ends in a *taddhita*
affix with the signification of *sampādi* ‘properly bringing about’, *arha*
‘deserving’, *hita* ‘beneficial’ and *alam* ‘enough, capable’, and occurs
after a *naN* ‘not’ constituent negating quality (guṇapratīṣṭeda) is marked
with *udāttā*.

Examples:

*akārṇavestikam mukham* ‘a face not needing any ear-ornament’
*acchaidikah* ‘that which does not deserve cutting’
*avēśīyah* ‘that which is not beneficial to calves’
*asāntāpikah* ‘he who is not capable of hurting anyone’

1. The *naN* of *akārṇavestikam* negates the quality of *kārṇavestikatva* ‘ear-
adornment’. Affix *ṭhaN* (5.1.18 prāg vates ṭhaN) is here introduced after
*kārṇavestā* under provisions of 5.1.99 sampādini. This dereivate goes through
(ṭha→tka), initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* in consonance with the term *bha*
(bhasamjñā). A negative *tatpurusa* compound is formed subsequently. Other
compounds involve *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* (acchaidikik; 5.1.64 chedādibhyo
nityam), *cha* (5.1.1 prāk kritāc chaḥ) and *ṭhaN* (5.1.101 tasmai prabhavat . . .),
introduced with the signification of sampādi, arha, hita and alam, respectively. The naN of example compounds thus negates these qualities. Consequently, their following constituents are marked with udāta at the end. The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to that of 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. . .

2. A condition of naN is imposed so that vigārdabharathikah ‘a charioteer who does not deserve a chariot pulled by donkeys’ can be excluded. Now consider agārdabharathikah ‘a charioteer other than one who deserves a chariot pulled by donkeys’. It is offered as a counter-example to the condition of gunapratisedha ‘negation of quality’. What is negated here is not the quality but the person thus qualified (gunin). This compound will retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent. A counter-example to conditions of sampādi, arha, hita and alam is offered in apāniniyāh ‘one who does not study what Pāṇini taught’, paraphrased as pāniniyam adhile = pāniniyāh; na pāniniyāh = apāniniyāh. Obviously, none of these meanings are involved in apāniniyam. Finally, the derivate must entail a taddhita affix. Consider avodhā, paraphrased as na kanyām vodhum arhati ‘one who is not deserving of marrying the girl’, as a counter-example. The vodhā of avodhā is a derivate of the kṛt affix trC.

6.2.156 ययतोत्साहातमें

yayatos cātadarthe
yayatoḥ 6/2 = yaś ca yat ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ atadarthe 7/1 = tasmai
idam = tadartham (cat. tat.); na tadartham (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(udātaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 nañah gunapratisedhe
taddhītah #155)
‘ya, yat’ ity etau taddhitāv atadarthe vartete tadantasyottarapadasya naño
gunapratisedhaviṣayād anta udāto bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a constituent negating quality (gunapratisedhe), and ends in the taddhita affixes ya (5.4.24 devatāntāt . . .) and yaT (5.4.25 pādārghābhyyām ca) introduced with the signification of something other than tadartha ‘intended for that’, is marked with udāta.

Examples:
apāśyā ‘not belonging to a group of snares’
atṛṇyā ‘not belonging to heaps of grass’
agṛntyam ‘non-dental’
akṛntyam ‘not found in ears’

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. . . The example compounds still negate quality (guna). Affixes ya (4.2.48 pāśādibhyo yah; in the first two examples) and yaT (4.3.55 śārīravayaṇvac ca; the next two) are used with the signification of tadartha ‘intended for that’. It is for this reason
that a compound, such as *apādyam*, paraphrased as *na pādārtham udakam* ‘water not intended for wiping feet’, will be excluded. Its *yaT* is used with the signification of *tadartha* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhāhyām ca*).

The conditions of *taddhīta* and *guṇapratiṣādha* will exclude examples such as *ādeyam* ‘not fit for giving’ and *dantyād anyat = adantyam* ‘something other than teeth’. The *yaT* of *deyam* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.97 *aco yat*). The negation in *adantyam* relates again to ‘something thus qualified’ (*gūṇīn*).

2. It is stated that *ya* here refers to an affix with no *it* (*nirunubandhaka*). A specification with *yaT* is made for an affix with only one *it* (*ekānubandhaka*). It is for this reason that *avāmadevyaṃ* ‘āśāṃ hymn revealed to Vāmadeva’, where *vāmadevyaṃ* is a derivate of *Da* and *DyaT* (4.2.9 *vākmedevādyadyau*), will be excluded.

6.2.158 अच्छात्यायांति

*akāv aṣaktau*

/ aakāv 1/2 = ac ca kaś ca (itar. dv.); aṣaktau 1/2 = na ṣaktiḥ (nañ. tat.),

tasyām/

(urdāṭaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 naṇaḥ #156)

‘ac, ka’ ity evam antam aṣaktau gamyamānīyaṃ uttarapadam naṇaḥ param
antodāttam bhavati

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative (*naN*), and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka*, is marked *udāṭta* at the end, provided the derivate denotes incapability (*aṣakti*).

**Examples:**

*apacaḥ* ‘he who cannot cook’

*aśuyaḥ* ‘he who cannot win’

*aśvikṣipaḥ* ‘he who cannot throw’

*aśvijhakaḥ* ‘he who cannot write’

1. These first two example compounds involve derivate with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrāhipacādibhyo . . .*). The next two involve derivate of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhaṇā . . .*). These examples again are exceptions to accentual provisions of 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tulyārtha* . . .

2. Note that *apacaḥ* of *apacaḥ dikṣitaḥ* ‘an initiate who is someone other than a cook’ and *apacaḥ parivrajakaḥ* ‘a wandering ascetic who is someone other than a cook’ will be excluded because ‘incapability’ (*aṣakti*) is not denoted.

6.2.158 अक्रोशे च

*aṅkroṣe ca*

/ akroṣe 7/1 ca φ/
(udāṭṭhā #64 uttarapadosya #111 antah #143 nañah #156 ackau #157)
ākroṣe ca gamyamāne nañah uttaram ackāntam antodāttam bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines to follow a negative (naÑ) and ends in affixes aC and ka is also marked udāṭṭa when the derivate denotes anger (ākroṣa).

Examples:

apaco' yaṁ jālmah 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not cook'
apaṭho' yaṁ jālmah 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not recite'
aujksīpah 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not throw'
aujīkhah 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not write'

6.2.159 संज्ञायम्

samjñāyām
samjñāyām 7/1/
(udāṭṭhā #64 uttarapadosya #111 antah #143 nañah #156 ākroṣe #185)
ākroṣe gamyamāne nañah param uttarapadam samjñāyām vartamānam antodāttam bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after naÑ and signifies a name (samjñā) is marked udāṭṭa when the derivate denotes ākroṣa 'anger'.

Examples:

agṛṣvadattah 'he is no Devadatta!
agṛṣvadattah 'he is no Yajñadatta!
agṛṣvumītraḥ 'he is no Viṣṇumitra!'

1. Note that anger is denoted against some unbecoming behavior of persons so named. That is, how could a person be called devadatta 'gods gave him' when his conduct is unbecoming of a person born as a result of blessings of gods'.

6.2.160 कृत्योक्षुण्यचार्यदशः

kṛtyokesṇucaśārvādayaś ca
/kṛtyokesṇucaśārvādayaṁ 1/3 = cāru ādir yeśāṁ (bv.); kṛtyaś ca ukaś ca iṣṇuc ca cārvādayaś ca (itar. dv.); ca φ/
(udāṭṭhā #64 uttarapadosya #111 antah #143 nañah #156)
'kṛtya, uka, iṣṇuc ity evam antaś cārvādayaś ca nañañ uttarāti ntidāttā bhavanti
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative word (naÑ), and ends either in affixes kṛtya (3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ),
ukaś (3.2.154 lasapatapadasthā . . .) and ṵṛṣnu (3.2.136 alāṃkṛṭinirākrṇa-prajanotpaca . . .), or is constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by cāru ‘beautiful’, is marked udāta.

Examples:

akartavyam ‘not to be done’
agaranīyam ‘ibidem’
agāgāmyam ‘that which is not about to come’
agapalasyam ‘. . . is free of desires’
agalanakariśnuḥ ‘one whose nature is not to decorate’
agnirākariśnuḥ ‘one whose nature is not to repudiate’
agādhyambhaviśnuḥ ‘one whose nature is not to become rich’
agārūḥ ‘that which is not beautiful’
agādhuḥ ‘one who is not good’

1. Affixes taṇya and anīyaR (3.1.96 taṇyattarvaṇiyaraḥ) are introduced within the domain of 3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ. Affixes ṵṛṣnu and ukaś have been introduced by rules 3.2.136 alāṃkṛṭinirākrṇa . . . and 3.2.154 lasapatapada . . ., respectively. Note that ṵṛṣnu also includes a reference to Kṛṣṇu (3.2.57 kartari bhuvah . . .), as we find in anādhyambhaviśnuḥ.

2. The following gaṇasūtras also offer final udāta as follows.

(i) vartamāṇa ‘current’, vardhamāṇa ‘growing’, tvaramāṇa ‘hurrying’, dhriyamāṇa ‘steady, steadfast’, rocamāṇa ‘pleasing’ and śobhamāṇa ‘beautiful’ should be accepted as marked udāta at the end when the denotatum is a name (saṃjñāyām).

(ii) viṅkāra ‘modification, product’ and sadṛśa ‘similar’, whether used in combination or not, are also marked udāta at the end. Thus, avikīrāh/ asadṛśaḥ, avikārasadṛśaḥ.

(iii) rājā ‘king’ and ahan ‘day’ are marked udāta at the end in the Vedic. Thus, arājā ‘non-king’ and anahāḥ ‘non-day’. The initial udāta of the indeclinable will, of course, apply to examples of the classical language (bhāṣā).

6.2.161 विभाषा तृतीयांस्तिक्षणाशिचियु

vibhāṣā tṛṇannatāksṇaśucisu
/vibhāṣā 1/1 tṛṇ-anna-śikṣṇa-śucisu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 naṅah #156)
‘tṛṇanta, anna, śikṣṇa, śucı’ ity etesu naṅa uttareṣu vibhāṣā’ nta udātta bhavati

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative constituent, and ends in affix tṛN, anna ‘food’, śikṣṇa ‘sharp’, and śucı ‘pure’, is optionally marked with udātta.
Examples:

akartā 'one whose nature it is to not do'
akártā 'ibidem'
agnannam 'inedible'
anánnam 'ibidem'
aṅkṣnam 'not sharp'
atāṅkṣnam 'ibidem'
āśucih 'impure'
asucih 'ibidem'

1. The tṛṇ of kartā, in akartā, is introduced by 3.2.135 tṛṇ with the signification of tācchilya 'characteristic nature'. The optional provision of this rule is made against the initial udatta (Phīṣṭutra 80: nipātā ādyudāttāḥ) of 6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha. . .

6.2.162 भावुर्विहित: विदमेत्तस्वध्य: प्रथमपूर्णायोः क्रियागाणने

bāhuṃvrvihau idametattadbhyah prathamapūrnānyoh kriyāganane
/bahuvṛihau 7/1 idam-etat-tadbhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.); prathamapūrnānyoh
6/2 (itar. dv.); kriyāganane 7/1 = kriyāyāh gaṇanam (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)
bahuvṛihau samāse 'idam, etad, tad' ity etebhyā uttarasya prathamasaśabdasya
pūrṇapratyayāntasya ca kriyāgananave vartamānasya anta udātto bhavati
The final constituent of a bahuvṛhi compound, namely prathama 'first',
or one ending in a pūrṇa suffix, is marked udatta at the end, when the
same combines after idam 'this', etad 'this one' and tad 'that' and the
derivate signifies kriyāgānana 'counting number of times of action'.

Examples:

idampṛatamaha gaṇamanaḥ bhojanam vā 'this is his first (meal, or trip)'
jugdndvityāh 'this is his second . . .'
etatpratamaha 'this is his first . . .'
etatdvdvityāh 'this is his second . . .'
katpratamaha 'that is his first . . .'
tatdvdvityāh 'that is his second . . .'

1. The word prathamasa is specified here by its form (svarūpa). The word pūrṇa refers to forms ending in the pūrṇa suffixes introduced by 5.2.54 dvestiyah and 5.2.55 treḥ samprasāraṇam ca. This rule is an exception to the retention proposal of 6.2.1 bahuvṛihau prakṛtyā pūrṇapadam. Actually, since the anuvrtti of bahuvṛihau is valid prior to 6.2.178 vanam samāse, all accentual provisions made in this section can be treated as exceptions to 6.2.1 bahuvṛihau prakṛtyā pūrṇapadam.

2. The conditions of prathama, and of forms ending in pūrṇa, are im-
posed so that forms such as *tadbahuḥ* 'those many are his' which do not have *prathama* or *pirana* could retain their original accent. Such compounds will retain the *udāṭta* of their initial constituent.

The condition of *kriyāgaṇaṇa* will similarly exclude examples such as *idamprathamah*, paraphrased as *ayaṁ prathamah yeṣāṁ te* 'those among whom this one is the first'. Here, what we find is the counting of a thing (*dravya*), and not action (*kriyā*). Note that *prathamah* can also be used in the sense of *pradhānāḥ* 'principal, best': *idamprathamah pradhānāḥ yeṣāṁ* 'this one who is the best among...'. This then is a counter-example since *prathamah* does not denote a number (*saṁkhyā*).

6.2.163 संख्यायः स्तनः:

*saṁkhyāyaḥ stanaḥ
\(saṁkhyāyaḥ 6/1 \text{ stanaḥ } 1/1\)
(udāṭtaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrihau #162)
*saṁkhyāyaḥ parah stanaśabdo bahuvrihau samāse ntidāṭto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udāṭta* when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṁkhyā*).

**Examples:**

*dvīstanā* 'possessing two breasts, or udders'
*tristāṇā* 'possessing three udders'
*catuhṣāṭanā* 'possessing four udders'

1. Note that *darsanīyastanā* 'she whose breasts are beautiful' and *dvīśīrā* 'possessing two heads' are offered as counter-examples to conditions of *stana* and *saṁkhyā*, respectively.

6.2.164 विभाषा छन्दसिः

*vibhāṣā chandasi
\(vibhāṣā 1/1 \text{ chandasi } 7/1\)
(udāṭtah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrihau #162 saṁkhyāyaḥ stanaḥ #163)
*chandasi viṣaye bahuvrihau samāse saṁkhyāyaḥ parah stanaśabdo vibhāṣā ntidāṭto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udāṭta* in the Vedic only optionally, when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṁkhyā*).

**Examples:**

*dvīstanāṁ karoti vāmadevaḥ* 'Vāmadeva makes them possess two udders'
catuhstanam karoti pasunam dohaya 'makes cattle to possess four udders for milking'

6.2.165 संज्ञायं मित्राजिनयोः:

samjñâyam mitrājinayoḥ
/ samjñâyam 7/1 mitrājinayoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.)
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 bahuvrīhau #162)
samjñāyāṁ viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse' mitra, ajīna' ity etayor uttarapadayor
anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of the final constituents mitra 'friend' and ajīna 'deer-skin', in a bahuvrīhi compound, are marked udātta when the derivate denotes a name.

Examples:

dvagmitrah 'a name'
brāhmamitrah 'ibidem'
vṛkajinaḥ 'ibidem'
krṣṇājinaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A vārttika (ṛṣipratisedho mitre) blocks this accentual provision in a bahuvrīhi compound where mitra 'friend' follows and the derivate signifies a sage (ṛṣi).

6.2.166 व्यवायिनो स्तरम्

vyavāyinoḥ ntaram
/vyavāyinaḥ 5/3 antaram 1/1
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 bahuvrīhau #162)
vyaavadhātvācinah paramantaram uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse' ntonḍatoto
bhavati

The final syllable of antara 'intervening', when combining in a bahuvrīhi compound to follow a constituent denoting vyavāya 'intervention, obstacle', is marked udātta.

Examples:

vastraṇtargraḥ 'that which is intervened by clothing'
paṭasāntargraḥ 'ibidem'

1. Consider ātmāntaraḥ = ātmā svabhāvo ntarāḥ yasyāsau saḥ 'he whose nature is different' as a counter-example where antara 'different' does not mean vyavāya 'intervention'.

6.2.167 मुखः स्वाङ्गम्

mukham svāṅgam
6.2.168

Adhyāya Six: Pāda Two

/mukham 1/1 svāṅgam 1/1/
/(udāṭtha #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvriha u #162)
mukham uttarapadām svāṅgavāci bahuvrihau samāse nītoḍattām bhavati

The last syllable of a final constituent, namely mukha ‘face’, when combined in a bahuvrihi compound signifying svāṅga ‘one’s own limb’, is marked udāṭta.

EXAMPLES:

gayūramukhah ‘one whose face is fair’
bhadramukhah ‘one whose face is auspicious’

1. Refer to my notes under 5.1.54 svāṅgac copasarjanāt for svāṅga. This accentual provision will not apply to dirghamukhā of dirghamukhā sālā ‘house with a large door’ because mukha does not denote svāṅga.

6.2.168

नाभ्यविद्यायकागममहत्त्वमुष्टिप्रसत्तेभूः:

nāyayadiksādhamahatsthūlamuṣṭipṛthuvatsetbhayah
/na φ avaryadiksādha-gomahatsthūla-muṣṭipṛthu-vatsetbhayah 5/3 = avaryā . . . vatsah (itar. dv.), tebhayah/
(udāṭtha #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvriha u #162 mukham svāṅgam #167)
‘avaryā, diksādha, go, mahat, sthūla, muṣṭi, pṛthu, vatsā’ ity etebhayaḥ param
mukhaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrihau samāse nāntodattām bhavati


EXAMPLES:

uccaîrmaukhah ‘he whose face is high’
nīcārmaukhah ‘he whose face is low’
prāṃmukhah ‘he who is facing east’
pratyānmaukhah ‘he who is facing west’
gomukhah ‘he whose face is like that of a cow’
mahāmukhah ‘he whose face is big’
sthūlamukhah ‘he whose face is thick’
muṣṭīmukhah ‘he whose face resemble a fist’
pṛthumukhah ‘he whose face is wide’
vātsamukhah ‘he whose face is like that of a calf’

1. This negation is made against positive provision of the preceding rule. Consequently, 6.2.1 bahuvriha prakṛtyā . . . allows initial constituents to retain their original accent. Recall that uccaîh and nīcāiḥ are listed in the svarādi
(1.1.37 svarādi nipātam anyāyam) group and are marked udātta at the end. Refer to derivational details of prāṇ under the appendix of 3.2.59 rtvang-dadhrk. . . Refer also to 6.2.52 anigantoñcato . . ., whereby pra is offered retention of its original accent. Rule 6.2.38 gatikārakopapadhāt . . . offers kri-accent to pratyān. Refer to notes under 6.2.4 gādhalavanayoh . . . and 6.2.38 mahān bhiyaparāhna . . . for derivational details of examples with go and mahat, respectively. The word sthūla is a derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahipacādy . . .). It is marked udātta at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāttas ca). The word muṣṭi 'fist', derived with Kūṭi introduced after muṣ 'to steal', is also marked udātta at the end (6.1.1637 citah). Similar final udātta is also found in prthu and vatsa, derived with affixes Ku (Unādi I:28: prathimradi . . .) and sa (Unādi III:62: vrtrvacivasi . . .), respectively.

6.2.169 निष्ठोपमानाद्यततरस्याम्

nīṣṭhopamānād anyatarasyām
/niṣṭhopamānāt 5/1 = nīṣṭhā ca upamānāna ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; anyatarasyām 7/1/
(udāttāh #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrihau #162 mukham svāṅgam #167)

nīṣṭhāntād upamānānavācina ca mukham svāṅgam uttarapadam bahuvrihau samāse nyatarasyām udātto bhavati

The last syllable of mukha 'face', in a bahuvrihi compound formed with the signification of svāṅga, is optionally marked with udātta when it combines after a constituent ending in a nīṣṭhā suffix, or denoting an upamāna 'standard of comparison'.

Examples:

praksālitamukhah 'he who has washed his face'
praksālitamukhah 'ibidem'
praksālitamukhah 'ibidem'
simhamukhah 'he whose face is like that of a lion's'
simhamukhah 'ibidem'
vigrahmukhah 'he whose face is like that of a tiger's'
vigrahamukhah 'ibidem'

1. Note that we find three accential provisions for praksālitamukham. Our present rule offers the option of final udātta. We will get an udātta at the end of the preceding constituent by 6.2.110 nīṣṭhopasarga . . . if this option is not accepted. But since 6.2.110 nīṣṭhopasarga . . . is also made optional to 6.2.49 gatiranantaraṇah we will get the original accent of initial constituents retained.

The word sīnha is a derivate of aC, introduced after hims (3.1.134 nandigrahipacādy . . .). The h and s of hims are switched in view of 6.3.107 prṣodarādini . . . The word vigraha is a derivate of Kā, introduced after ghrā
‘to smell’ used with the preverb vi (3.1.136 ātaś copasarge). These words both are marked with udātta at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.170 जातिकालसुखादिभयोऽन्नातिचादनात् क्षरक्रुतमितप्रतितिपत्र:

jāṭikālasukhādibhyo’ nācchādananāt kto’ kṛtamitapratispannāḥ
/jāṭi-kāla-sukhādibhyah 5/3 = sukhā ādīr yeśām (bu.); jāṭiś ca kālaś ca
sukhādayaśa ca (it. dv. with int. bu.); an-ācchādananāt 5/1 = na ācchādanam
(nā.); tasmāt, ktaḥ 1/1 a-kṛta-mita-pratipannāḥ 1/3 = kṛtaś ca mītaś ca
pratipannaś ca (it. dv.); na kṛtamita-pratipannāḥ (nā. with int. dv.)/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahunāhau #162)

The last syllable in the final constituent of a bahunāhi, namely one which ends in Kta but is not kṛta ‘done’, mīta ‘measured’ and pratipanna
‘promised’, is marked with udātta when it combines after a constituent
denoting jāṭi ‘class’, though not used with the signification of ācchādana
‘covering’ and kāla ‘time’, or, enumerated in the list headed by sukhā
‘comfort, pleasure’.

Examples:

śāṟingagathāh ‘he who has eaten onions’
palāṇḍubhaksitāh ‘ibidem’
māṣajātah ‘born a month ago’
samātasarajātah ‘born a year ago’
sukhajātah ‘he whose happiness has appeared’
dukhajātah ‘he whose misery has appeared’

1. Note that sukhādi refers to the listing of nominals under 3.1.18 sukhā-
dibhyah. . . . This rule is again an exception to 6.2.1 bahunāhau. . . . A bahunāhi
compound with kṛta, mīta and pratipanna as its final constituent will avail
accentual provisions of 6.2.1 bahunāhau. . . . Thus, consider kūṇḍakrtaḥ ‘he
by who a kūṇḍa is made’, kūṇḍamitāḥ ‘he by who a kūṇḍa was measured’ and
kūṇḍapratispannāḥ ‘he by who a kūṇḍa was promised’. Recall that a niṣṭhā
constituent is placed first in a bahunāhi compound (2.2.36 niṣṭhā). This rule
serves as a jñāpaka for their postplacement (paraniṣṭā).

6.2.171 बा जाते

vā jāte
/vā ṃ jāte 7/1/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahunāhau #162 jāṭi-
kālasukhādibhyah #170)

jāṭasābdau uttarapade vā’ nta udātto havati bahunāhau samāse jāṭi-
kālasukhādibhyah
The final syllable of a following constituent, namely jāta ‘born’ in a bahuvrihi compound, is optionally marked with udāta when jāta combines after a constituent denoting jāti ‘class’, though not used with the signification of ācchādana and kāla, or, enumerated in the list headed by suṣṭha.

Examples:

*dantajātah* ‘he whose teeth have appeared’  
dantajātah ‘ibidem’  
*stanajātah* ‘a man whose breasts have appeared?’  
stanajātah ‘ibidem’  
māṣajātah ‘one month old’  
māṣajātah ‘ibidem’  
samvatsarajātah ‘one year old’  
samvatsarajātah ‘ibidem’  
sukhajātah ‘he whose happiness has appeared’  
sukhajātah ‘ibidem’  
duḥkhajātah ‘he whose misery has appeared’  
duḥkhajātah ‘ibidem’

1. This option is offered in favor of retention proposal of 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau. . . The word danta, as a derivate of dam ‘to crush down’ with taN (Uṇādi III:86: hasimṛgrīnvāmi . . .), is marked udāta at the beginning. Similar accent is available to stana ‘breat’ as a derivate of ghāN, where a of verbal root stana is deleted by 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ. Both danta and stana receive their accent from 6.1.194 ṅnityādir nityam. The word māsa ‘month’, as a derivate of GHaN, is also marked udāta at the beginning. But sɑmvaṣtara ‘year’, a derivate of saraN (Uṇādi III:72: sampūrvāc cit), is marked with udāta at the end (6.1.160 citah). The words sukkha and duḥkhaha are derivates of Da (3.2.101 anyesv ap . . .), introduced after khan used with su and dus. They are thus marked with udāta at the end by affixal accent. They also go through ti-deletion of an (6.4.143 teḥ).

6.2.172 नन्दुष्यायाः

naṃsubhyām  
/naṃsubhyām 5/2 (itar. dv.)/  
(udātah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)  
nasubhyām param uttaram bahuvrīhau samāse ‘nṭoḍāṭṭam bhavati  
The final constituent of a bahuvrīhi compound which combines after naN and su is marked with udāta at the end.

Examples:

*aṅgaṇo deśaḥ* ‘a place where barley is not produced’
avṛñiḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
agnāsah 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
suvyavah 'a place where good barley is produced'
suvṛñiḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'

1. Note that the final udātta applies to samāsa 'compound', even when uttaraṇaṇa 'final constituent pada' and samāṣa are both specified in this rule. This is what is desired (samāsasyaitadantodāttam isyate). This is how anṛcaḥ 'without ṛk' and bahvṛcaḥ 'with many ṛk', which end in the samāsānta affix a (5.4.74 ṛkpurabdhiḥ...), will be marked udātta at the end. The samāsānta affix has to be accepted as part of the compound. That a reference with samāsa also includes its samāsānta affix, and also that this accentual provision is made with reference to samāsa, is made clear by the next rule. That is, there was no need to formulate 6.2.173 kapi pūrvam if this rule had to apply only with reference to uttaraṇaṇa. An example such as sukumārīko desaḥ 'a place with beautiful girls' could have been accounted for by this rule. Affix KaP could have been thus excluded. Obviously, there was no need to specify kapi pūrvam. It also establishes that a samāsānta affix is considered part of samāsa, and not uttaraṇaṇa (samāsāntāḥ samāsasyaivaivyayavā nottarapadasya).

6.2.173 कपि पूर्वम्

kapi pūrvam
kapi 1/1 pūrvam 1/1/
(udātthaḥ #64 uttaraṇapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 bahuvṛihau #162 naṃsubhyāṃ
#172)
naṃsubhyāṃ kapi parataḥ pūrvam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A syllable which precedes the samāsānta affix kaP of a bahuvṛhi compound is marked with udātta when its final constituent combines after naN and su, and affix kaP follows.

Examples:

akumārīkō desaḥ 'a place where there are no virgins'
avṛṣalīkāḥ 'a place with no bad vrśalas (śūdras)'
abhṛgmabhṛdhiḥkāḥ 'a place with no unworthy brāhmaṇas'
sukumārīkāḥ 'a place with virgins in abundance'
svṛṣalīkāḥ 'a place with good vrśalas'
subhrīmhṛdhiḥkāḥ 'a place where good brāhmaṇas live'

1. Affix KaP is introduced by 5.4.153 nadyrtas ca. This final udātta was available to KaP from the preceding rule. That is, by accepting KaP as final of the compound. Our present rule offers final udātta to the vowel which precedes KaP.
6.2.174 हस्तांते न्यायात्पूर्वम्

hrasvāntē ntyāt pūrvam
/hrasvāntē 7/1 = hrasvo' ntah yasya (bv.); antyāt 5/1 pūvam 1/1
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162 naṁsubhyām #172 kapi #173)
hrasvo' anto yasya tad idam hrasvāntam uttarapadam samāso vā, tatrāntyāt pūvam udāttam bhavati kapi parato naṁsubhyām param bahuvrīhau samāse

The next to the last syllable of a final bahuvrīhi constituent which ends in a short vowel (hrasvo), and combines after naN and su, is marked udātta when kaP follows.

Examples:

gyavāko deśaḥ 'a place where barley is not produced'
gvṛhihikāḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
gmāśākāḥ 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
syavākāh 'a place where good barley is produced'
syvṛhihikāḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'
symāśākāḥ 'a place where good Mung beans are produced'

1. Our preceding rule offers udātta to the final vowel of the final compound constituent under the condition of the samāsānta affix KaP. This rule offers udātta to next to the last vowel of a following constituent. Again, when the samāsānta affix KaP followed and the final compound constituent ended in a short (hrasvo) vowel. Affix KaP in ayavakah, etc., is optionally introduced by 5.4.154 ṣeṣād vibhāṣā.

6.2.175 बहोरन्त्युत्तरायपदभूमि

bahor naṁvad uttarapadbhūmni
/bahoh 5/1 naṁvat ṣ uttarapadbhūmni 7/1 = uttarapadasya bhūmā (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)
uttarapārthabahute vyo bahuṣabdo varttate tasmān naṁ iva svaro bhavati

The final constituent of a bahuvrīhi compound is accented like naN when it occurs after bahu 'many' used with the signification of its own multiplicity (bahutva).

Examples:

bahuyavo deśaḥ 'a place rich in barley'
bahuvṛhih 'a place rich in rice'
bahujñāḥ 'a place rich in sesame'
bahukuṇmārīkāh (desaḥ) 'a place with beautiful girls in abundance'
bahuyavāko deśaḥ 'a place with barley in abundance'
**6.2.177 Adhyāya Six: Pāda Two**

*bahuṣvārahīkāh* ‘a place with rice in abundance’
*bahuṣjarārah* ‘a place full of old people’
*bahuṣmarārah* ‘a place full of dying people’

1. The accentual provision of 6.2.172 *naṁsubhyām*, under special meaning conditions, is here extended also after *bahu*. An absence of multiplicity of meaning, as in *bahuṣu maṇah asya saḥ ayam = bahuṃānā* ‘he whose mind is into many things’, cannot avail this extensional provision. The compound will retain the original accent of its initial constituent.

**6.2.176 न गुणादयोः वयवा:**

na guṇādiyō vavavāḥ
/na ṣ guṇādiyāḥ 1/3 = guṇa ādir yeṣām (bv.); avayavāḥ 1/3
(udāṭṭah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuṃvīrāhau #162 bahoh #175)
guṇādiyō vavavācino bahor uttare bahuṃvīrāhau nāntodāttā bhavanti

The final constituents which, in a *bahuṃvīhi* compound, combine after *bahu*, and are enumerated in the list headed by *guṇa*, are not marked *udāṭṭa* at the end.

**Examples:**

*bahuṃvini raujjuḥ* ‘a rope with many strands’
*bahuṃvāksaram padam* ‘a polysyllabic word’
*bahuṃusktaḥ* ‘a text with many hymns’
*bahuṃvādhyāyāḥ* ‘a text with many chapters’

1. This rule blocks the extensional provision of the preceding rule under specified membership of a following constituent. Note that *bahu*, as a derivative of *Ku* (*Unādi I.29 laṃghibamhyor ...*), is marked *udāṭṭa* at the end by affixal accent. The *anudāṭṭa* *a* of *aksaram* ‘imperishable’, occurring after the *v* replacement of *u*, will be marked *svaṇita* (8.2.4 *udāṭṭasvarītayor ...*).

The condition of *avayava* ‘part of a whole’, relative to the meaning of a following constituent, is important. Thus, *bahuṃvino brāhmaṇāḥ* ‘a brāhmaṇa with many qualities’ will serve as a counter-example since *guṇa* here denotes ‘quality’, and not any ‘part (of a whole)’. This compound will avail the accentual provision of the earlier rule.

2. Note that *guṇādi* ‘guṇa, etc.’ is not a listing of *guṇa*, per se. It is accepted as an open-ended group (*ākṛtīgaṇa*).

**6.2.177 उपसर्गात् स्वाणम् ध्रुवम् अपरेषः:**

*upasargāt svāṇgam dhruvam aparśuh*
/ *upasargāt 5/1 svāṇgam 1/1 dhruvam 1/1 aparśuh 1/1 (naṁ.)/*
(udāṭṭah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuṃvīrāhau #162)
*upasargāt svāṇgam dhruvam parśur varjita antodātām bhavati*
The final constituent of a bahuvrihi compound which signifies svāṅga ‘one’s limb’ qualified with dhruva ‘remaining in the same form’, but is not constituted by parśuḥ ‘ribs’ though occurs in combination after a preverb (upasarga), is marked with udāta at the end.

**Examples:**

praprṣṭhaḥ ‘a man with a protuberant back’
pradaraḥ ‘a man with a pot-belly’
pralalāṭaḥ ‘a man with a high forehead’

1. The word dhruva is explained as ekarūpam ‘that which stays in a fixed form’. Kāśikā offers udāṭhuh (krośati) ‘curse with his hands raised’ as a counter-example to dhruva. Obviously, since hands are raised when cursing. Note that parśu ‘ribs’ is made an exception because it denotes svāṅga. Thus upaparśuḥ and viparśuḥ will not avail the retention proposal of 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau. . . . Finally, a compound such as darśaniyalalāṭaḥ ‘he whose forehead is beautiful’ will also form a counter-example since lalāṭa does not occur after a preverb (upasarga).

2. The word upasargāḥ ‘after a preverb’ is carried through 6.2.195 sar avakṣepane.

### 6.2.178 वनं समासे

/vanam samāse
/vanam/1 samāse7/1/
(udāṭtah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāḥ #177)
samāsamātre ‘vanam’ ity etad uttarapadam upasargāḥ param antodāttam bhavati

A final compound constituent, namely vana ‘forest’ which combines after a preverb (upasarga), is marked udāta at the end.

**Examples:**

pravane ‘in a beautiful forest; at a sloping place’
nirvane ‘in the clearing of a forest; at a level place’

1. The words pravāna and nirvāna, in a ritual context, refer to a ground which is ‘low on one side’ and ‘level on the other’, respectively. The compounds can be interpreted as bahuvrihi and tatpurūṣa both. Thus, prakṛṣṭam vanam asya ‘he whose forest is beautiful’ and prakṛṣṭam vanam ‘beautiful forest’. The n of vana is replaced with n, of 8.4.5 pranirantaḥ āre. . . . The word samāsa is used here to impair the restrictive condition of bahuvrīhau. The accentual provision then applies to compounds in general.

### 6.2.179 अन्तः

antah
/ antah 1/1/  
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 vanam #178) 
antaś śabdād uttaram vanam antodāttam bhavati  
A final compound constituent, namely vanam, which combines after antar ‘within’ is marked udātta at the end.

Examples:

antaṛuṇo deśaḥ ‘a place with a forest within’

1. This rule is formulated for examples where vanam may not be used after an upasarga ‘preverb’ (anupasargārtha ārambhak). Our compound example is a bahuvrīhi. The n of vanam is again replaced with n, as explained under the preceding rule. Recall that antar is an indeclinable (avayya), listed as part of the svarādi group of nominals (1.1.37 svarādinipātam avayam).

6.2.180 अन्तरः

antaś ca  
/ antah 1/ ca φ/  
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)  
antaś śabdāś cottaśpadam upasargād atodāttam bhavati  
A final compound constituent, namely antah ‘end’ which occurs in combination after a preverb (upasarga), is also marked with udātta at the end.

Examples:

prāntah ‘edge, extremity’

prāгранtah ‘extremity, circumference’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as prādi (prakṛṣṭam antah) and bahuvrīhi (prakṛṣṭam antah yasya), both. The word anta is thus marked udātta at the end.

6.2.181 न निविभ्याम्

na nivibhyām  
/na φ nivibhyyām 5/2 (itar. dv.)/  
(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177 antah #180)  
A final compound constituent, namely antah ‘end’ which occurs in combination after the preverbs ni and vi, is not marked with udātta at the end.

Examples:

nyāntah ‘proximity’

vyāntah ‘separated, distant’
1. This negation applies against the positive provision of final udātta of our preceding rule. That is, anta combines after the two preverbs (upasargāt): ni and vi. These preverbs are both marked with udātta at the beginning (Phitśūtra 80: upasargās . . .). The negation of this rule will make 6.2.1 bahu-vrihau prakṛtyā . . . apply. Recall, however, that a replacement in y (yanādesa) for i of ni and vi will cause the following a to be marked with svarita (8.2.4 udāttasvaritarayor . . .). A tatpuruṣa interpretation of compounds will still accomplish the same accentuation. The retention proposal will then be in consonance with 6.2.2 tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . .

6.2.182 परेर्भितोभाविक मण्डलम्
parer abhitobhāvi mandalam
/pareḥ 5/1 abhitobhāvī 1/1 = abhito bhavanam asyāsti (a derivate of inI denoting the sense of matUP) mandalam1/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)
parer uttaram abhitobhāvavācinam mandalam cāntodāttam bhavati
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb pari and which either denotes the sense of abhitobhāvin ‘that which, by nature, is found on both sides’, or is constituted by maṇḍala ‘circle’, is not marked with udātta at the end.

Examples:

parikūlam ‘found on both sides of a river’
pariśram ‘ibidem’
parimandalam ‘all around . . .’

1. The word abhitobhāvin, specified as neuter (napumsaka), is explained as ‘that which is naturally found on both sides’. Thus, kūla ‘(river) bank’ and śīra ‘edge’. A separate specification of maṇḍala ‘circle’ is made since it cannot qualify as having the signification of two sides only. A tatpuruṣa or bahu-vrihi interpretation of these compounds will yield accentuation similar to one explained under the previous rule. An avyayībhāva interpretation will make this final udātta provision go against the retention proposal of 6.2.33 pariṣṭhyupāpā varjyamānā. . .

6.2.183 प्रदस्तवांसंज्ञायाम्
prād asvāṅgam samjñāyām
/prāt 5/1 asvāṅgam 1/1 = na svāṅgam (nañ.); samjñāyām 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)
prād uttarapadam asvāṅgavāci samjñāyām viṣayā ntodāttam bhavati
A final compound constituent which does not denote svāṅga and combines after the preverb pra is marked with udātta at the end, provided the derivate signifies a name (samjñā).
EXAMPLES:

*prakāstham* ‘enclosure, courtyard’
*pragṛham* ‘a beautiful house’
*pravṝram* ‘space in front of an entrance’

1. Note that *prahastam* ‘hand-print’, *prapadam* ‘foot-print’ and *prapīham* ‘pretuberant back’ are offered as counter-examples to condition of *asvāṅga* ‘not one’s own limb’ and *asamjñā* ‘non-name’, respectively.

6.2.184 निरुदकादीनि च

*nirudakādīni ca*

\[ \text{nirudakādīni } 1/3 = \text{nirudakam ādi yeśām (bv.)} ; \text{ ca } \phi / \]

(udāṭṭhaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143)
*nirudakādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy antodāṭātāni bhavanti*

The final compound constituents enumerated in the list headed by *nirudaka* ‘arid; without water’ are also marked *udāṭṭa* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*nirudakam* ‘a place with no water’
*nirmakṣikam* ‘a place with no flies’
*nirmaśakam* ‘a place with no mosquitoes’
*nīśkaḷakah* ‘timeless’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi-tatpuruṣa*, or *bahuṣrīhi*, both. A *bahuṣrīhi*, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam asmāt* ‘that from which water has disappeared’, will be marked *udāṭṭa* at the end, against provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuṣrīhau*. . . . A *prādi-tatpuruṣa* interpretation, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam* ‘flowed-out water’ or *nirgatam udakāt* ‘gone out from water’ will receive this accentual provision against 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tūyārtha*. . . . An *avyayībhāva* interpretation is not intended. For, an *avyayībhāva* compound can avail final *udāṭṭa* by 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Note that *nirudakādī* is also accepted as an open-ended listing (*ākṛtīgana*). This will facilitate final *udāṭṭa* for a compound formed with *hasta* ‘hand’, *pāda* ‘foot’, *keṣa* ‘hair’ and *kaṛṣa* ‘pull’, used in combination after *pari*.

6.2.185 अभेनुखम्

*abhe mukham*

\[ / \text{abhe } 5/1 \text{ mukham } 1/1/ \]

(udāṭṭhaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)
*abher uttaram mukham antodāṭātāṃ bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* ‘face’ which combines after the preverb *abhi*, is marked *udāṭṭa* at the end.
EXAMPLES:

abhîmyukhaḥ 'facing'

1. This rule is formulated for non-bhûvrahi compounds. Even within a bhûvrahi interpretation, it is formulated for compounds where conditions of dhruva 'fixed' and svānga ‘one’s own limb’ are not met (6.2.177 upasargāt svāngam dhruvam aparsuḥ). Thus, consider abhîmyukhaḥ sāla ‘a house in front’, where mukha does not denote svānga ‘one’s limb’. This rule thus assigns final udātta. The examples can be interpreted both as prādi and avayyībhāva, paraphrased as abhīgatam mukhaḥ ‘beautiful face’ and abhīgatam mukham asya ‘he whose face is beautiful’, respectively. Here again the example cannot be interpreted as an avayyībhāva.

6.2.186 अपाचत

apāca
/apāt 5/1 ca φ/
(udāṭṭaḥ #64 uttarapadya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177 mukham #185)
apāc cottaraṇ mukham antodāttam bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely mukha which combines after the preverb apa, is also marked with udātta at the end.

EXAMPLES:
apamukhaḥ 'he who has a bad face'
apamukham 'bad face'

1. These examples can be interpreted three ways: bhûvrahi = apagatam mukham asmaḥ ‘... he whose face is crooked’, prādi = apagatam mukham ‘crooked face’ and avayyībhāva = apa mukhāt ‘excluding the face’ (2.1.11 apaparibahir...). An avayyībhāva compound will receive final udātta against retention proposal of 6.2.33 pariṇātupāpā... .

2. A yogavibhāga 'split formulation' of this rule is intended for the anuvṛtti of apa in the following rule.

6.2.187 रस्फनपूर्वीपाणास्वकृष्णसीरनानाम च

sphīgapatvaṁañjo dhvakukśisāranāmanāma ca
/sphīga-pūta-vinā-aṇjas-adhvan-kukśisāranāmanāma 1/1 = śirasya nāma (saṣ. tat.); sphīga... nāma (sam dv.); ca φ/
(udāṭṭaḥ #64 uttarapadya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177 apāt #186)
'sphīga, pūta, vinā, aṇjas, adhvan, kukṣi' ity etānī uttarapadāni sāranāmāni ca nāmasabdaḥ ca apāt uttarānīyāntodāttānī bhavanti
The final compound constituents, namely sphīga ‘hip, buttock’, pūta
‘ibidem’, viṇā ‘Indian lute’, aṅjas ‘unguent’, adhvan ‘road’, kuksi ‘stomach, lap’ and nāma ‘name’, or those which may have names of plows as their denotatum, are marked with udātta at the end when they occur in combination after the preverb apa.

**Examples:**

*apasphigam* ‘malformed buttocks’
*apapūtam* ‘ibidem’
*apaviṇam* ‘without a Viṇa; bad Viṇa’
*apāṇjāh* ‘dishonest’
*apādāhvā* ‘bad road’
*apakukṣih* ‘bad belly’
*apasīrāh* ‘bad plough’
*apahalam* ‘ibidem’
*apanāma* ‘someone with a bad reputation; bad name’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as prādi, bahuvrihi and karma-dhāraya-tatpurusa. A bahuvrihi interpretation, i.e., with sphiga, ṗūta and kukṣi, must be made outside the context of 6.2.177 uapāsargāt svāṅgam. . . . The final udātta provision of this rule applies only when the samāsānta affix aC, for example in apādāhvā ‘badpath’, is not introduced by 5.4.85 upasargād adhvanaḥ. A compound with a samāsānta affix marked with C as an it could have received the final udātta of 6.1.160 citāḥ, anyway. This also indicates that samāsānta affixes are non-obligatory (aniyā), i.e., optional. If they were obligatory, adhvān ‘road’ would not have been listed here.

6.2.188 अधेकपरिस्थाम्

adher uparistham
/adheḥ 5/1 uparistham 1/1 = upari tiṣṭhaṁti/
(uudāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)
adher uttaram uparisthavāci antodāttaṁ bhavati
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb adhi and denotes the sense of uparistha ‘sitting on top’ is marked udātta at the end.

**Examples:**

*adhidantah* ‘a tooth on top of another’
*adhiśamantah* ‘an ear on top of another’
*adhiśamsah* ‘a hair with its root shared by another’

1. The word uparisthah is explained as ‘one sitting on top of another’. Thus, adhyāriṇḍho dantah ‘a tooth on top of another’, a prādi compound (vt: prādayo gatadvartthe prathamāyād 1.4.79 ṛvīkopaniśadād . . .). This compound
can also be interpreted as a vyadhikarana 'appositional' bahuvrihi with āruḍhah 'sitting on', with its following constituent (uttarapada) gone through deletion (lopa).

A counter-example to the condition of uparisthah is offered in adhikarāṇam 'substratum, locus'.

6.2.189 अनोरप्रधानकनियसी

anor apradhānakanīyasī
/anoh 5/1 apradhāna-kanīyasī 1/2 (itar. dv.)/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 anīah #143 upasargāt #177)
anor uttaram apradhānavāci kanīyas cāntodāttāṁ bhavati
A final compound constituent which occurs in combination after the preverb anu is marked with udātta at the end, when the same denotes the sense of apradhāna 'non-principal', or is constituted by kanīyas 'younger'.

Examples:

anujyēsthaḥ 'one who follows the eldest'
anumadhyamah 'one who follows the middle one'
anukaniyān 'a young who follows his elders'

1. Note that, as indicated by paraphrases of these compounds, jyēstha 'eldest' and madhyama 'middle, intermediate' are non-principal (apradhāna).

Thus, anugataḥ jyēstham = anujyēsthaḥ 'one who followed the eldest' and anugataḥ madhyamam = anumadhyamah 'one who followed the middle one'.

A separate specification of kanīyas is needed because it is principal. Thus, anugataḥ kaniyān 'the young followed the elders'. There was no need for a separate specification of kanīyas if it was intended to be non-principal. For, the apradhāna 'non-principal' specification of this rule could account for it. Thus, anugataḥ kaniyāmsam = anukaniyān 'one who followed the young ones'.

A counter-example for the condition of apradhāna will have anujyēsthaḥ, paraphrased as anugataḥ jyēsthaḥ 'the eldest followed the younger one'. The udātta of anu, an indeclinable, will be retained here.

6.2.190 पुरुषास्चान्वादिषः

puruṣasāṅvādiṣṭaḥ
/puruṣaḥ 1/1 ca φ anvādiṣṭaḥ 1/1 = pascād adiṣṭah/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 anīah #143 upasargāt #177 anoh #189)
A final compound constituent, namely puruṣa 'man', which occurs in combination after anu with the signification of anvādiṣṭa 'secondary mention' is also marked with udātta at the end.
**Examples:**

anvādiṣṭah puruṣah = anu-puruṣah 'one who was asked subsequently . . .

a man who was asked to do something after something (or someone) else'

1. The word anvādiṣṭa is explained as apradhānaṇiṣṭa 'not specified as principal' and kathitānuṇakahita 'specified subsequently to something else'. Thus, consider bhikṣām aṭa gāṇ cānaya 'go beg for alms, also fetch the cow'. Note that 'begging for alms' is here accepted as 'principal'. Fetching the cow is secondary. A counter-example to the condition of anvādiṣṭa will be anugataḥ jyeṣṭhah = anu-jyeṣṭhah 'one who follows . . .'. The indeclinable will retain its original accent.

6.2.191 अतेरकृत्यदे

ater akṛtpade

/ aṭeh 5/1 akṛtpade 1/2 = na kṛt (nañ); akṛt ca padam ca (itar. dv.), tasmin/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargat #177)

ater param akṛdantam padaśabdaś cāntodāttaḥ bhavati

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb ati, does not end in a kṛt affix (akṛte), or else, is constituted by pada 'foot', is marked udāttat at the end.

**Examples:**

atyāṅkyo nāgah 'an elephant gone beyond the control of the hook'

atikāsāv śvah 'a horse gone beyond the control of the whip'

1. These compounds are formed by a vārttika (nirādayo krāntādyarthe . . .; ad 1.4.79 jīvikopaniṣadāv . . .). A counter-example to the condition of akṛte is offered as atikārakah 'one who does things beautifully'. A vārttika proposes that this final udātta should apply after ati when deletion of a root is involved. Thus, atikrāntah kāракāt = atikrāntah 'one who has gone beyond a doer'. This statement is necessary so that sōbhaṇah gārgyaḥ = á티gārgyaḥ 'handsome Gārgya' can be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule.

6.2.192 नेरनिधाने

ner anidhāne

/ neñ 5/1 anidhāne 7/1 (nañ)/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargat #177)

ner param uttaram antodāttaṃ bhavaty anidhāne

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb ni is marked with udātta at the end, when the derivate signifies something other than nidhāna 'not making manifest'.
Examples:

nimūlam ‘uprooted; down to the roots’
nyaksam ‘down to the axle; lowly’
ṇiṭṭham ‘down to the blade of grass’

1. Note that ni is a prādi (1.4.58 prādayah). It denotes an action qualified
with means (sādhanaṇaśīṣṭakriya). Actually, in integration (vrūti), this is the
nature of prādis in general (Nyāsa ad Kāś: prādayo hi svabhāvenaiva vṛttivikṣaye
sasādhanāṃ kriyāṃ āhuḥ).

The word nidhāna is here used in the sense of aprakāśata ‘non-manifest-
ness’. The condition of anidhāne can thus be interpreted as ‘manifest’. The
example compound nimūlam would thus literally mean ‘down to the root’. A
counter-example with a ‘non-manifest’ meaning will be nidandah ‘with no
(use of) stick (force)’.

These compounds can be interpreted as both prādi-tatpurṣa and bahuvrihi.
Thus, nimūlam = nigatam mūlam ‘down to the root’ and nimūlam = nigatam
mūlam asya tath ‘that of whose root is out; uprooted’. As usual, it cannot be
interpreted as an avyayibhava. For, it would then have final udāṭṭa already
available to it (6.1.220 samāsaya).

6.2.193 प्रतेरंत्रवादयस्तत्तपः

prater amśvādayas tatpurṣa
/prateh 5/1 amśvādayah 1/3 = amśur ādir yesām (bv.); tatpurṣa 7/1/
(udātaḥ #64 uttarapadaśya #111 antah #143 upasargai #177)
prater amśvādayas tatpurṣa samāṣe nhodāṭṭa bhavanti

The final compound constituents which are enumerated in the list
headed by amśu ‘ray’, and combine after the preverb prati, are marked
udāṭṭa in a tatpurṣa compound.

Examples:

pratyaṃṣuh ‘refracted ray’
pratijñah ‘an adversary’
pratirājā ‘king of an enemy’

1. Here again, in examples such as pratirājā, this accent is made available
in the absence of the samāṣaṇa affix TaC. Refer to my notes under 6.2.172
naiṣubhyaṃ for additional details. The condition of tatpurṣa is imposed so
that a bahuvrihi, for example pratigatā amśavo sya = pratyaṃṣur ayam uṣṭraḥ
‘this camel (is one who) has lost his speed (energy)’, could not avail this
accental provision.

6.2.194 उपाद त्वज्जितिनमगौरादयः

upād diyaṣajinam agaurādayah
/upāt 5/1 dvrayajinam 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bv.); dvraya ca ajinam ca (sam. dv. with int. dv.); agaurādayah 1/3 = gaura ādir yeṣam (bv.); na gaurādayah (nañ. with int. bv.)/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177 tatpuruse #193)

**upād uttaram dvrayajinam ca cāntodāttaṁ bhavati**

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after the preverb *upa* and whether contains two vowels though is not one enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* ‘fair’, or is constituted by *ajina* ‘antelope-skin’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

**Examples:**

* upadṛṣṭaḥ ‘a little god’
* upasomah ‘one who has Soma’
* upendrāh ‘younger to Indra; Viṣṇu’
* upajinam ‘near the antelope skin’

1. Note that the *gaurādi* nominals are excluded because they all consist of two vowels (*dvrayac*). The example compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*.

6.2.195 सोरवःक्षेपणे

sor avakṣepane

/soh 5/1 avakṣepane 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177 tatpuruṣe #193)

**susabdataḥ param uttarapadam tatpuruse samāse' ntodāttaṁ bhavati avakṣepane gamyamāne**

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after *su* is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate denotes *avakṣepana* ‘to look down upon, contempt’.

**Examples:**

* iha khalo idānīṁ susthāndile susphigābhyāṁ
  * supratyayavaitah ‘now, here in this beautiful place, he indeed, is back with his fattened buttocks’

1. Note that *su*, of *supratyayavaitah*, is here used with the sense of *pūjā* ‘praise’. But the sentence does indicate *avakṣepana* ‘contempt’. Examples countering the conditions of *su* and *avakṣepana* are offered, respectively, as *kubrāhmanah* ‘a bad brāhmaṇa’ and *sutrnesu* ‘in beautiful grass’. These compounds will retain the accent of their indeclinable constituents. Incidentally, the compound with *su* denoting *pūjā* is formed in consonance with a statement (svatī pūjāyāṁ ad 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*).
6.2.196 विभाषोत्पुच्छे

vibhaṣotpucche
/ vibhāsā 1/1 utpucche 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177 tatpuruṣe
#193)

utpucchaśabde tatpuruṣe vibhāsā nta udānto bhavati

A final constituent which, in a tatpuruṣa compound, is constituted by
utpuccha ‘raised-tail’, is optionally marked udātta at the end.

Examples:

utpucchaḥ ‘gone beyond the tail’
utpucchaḥ ‘with raised tail’

1. Note that utpucchaḥ is interpreted in two ways: utpucchaḥ = utkṛṇantah
pucchaḥ ‘gone beyond the tail’ and pucham udāsayati ‘raises (its tail)’,
where in this latter, affix aC (3.3.56 er ac) is introduced. The first interpretation
will make the accentual provision of 6.2.2 tatpuruṣa tulyārtha . . . available.
Our present rule offers final udātta against what was not made available
(aprāpta). If the second interpretation, where aC is introduced after a root
ending in NiN (3.1.20 puchabhāṇḍa . . .), is accepted, an obligatory final
udātta will be available (from 6.2.143 thāthagaṁ . . .). This rule will then
make its offer of final udātta against what is available (prāpta). This rule,
since it makes an optional provision against what was not made available
(aprāpta), and what was made available (prāpta), is interpreted as ubhayatra-
vibhāsā.

6.2.197 द्वितीर्यां पाहन्यूर्णसु बहुव्रीहि

dvi-trībhyāṁ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvṛihau
/ dvitrībhyāṁ 5/2 (itar. dv.); pāddanmūrdhasu 7/3 = pād ca dat ca mūrdhā
cā = pāddanmūrdhānaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu; bahuvṛihau 7/1/
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 vibhāsā #196)
‘dvi, tri’ ity etābhyaṁ uttareṣu ‘pād, dat, mūrdhan’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yo
bahuvṛihis tatra vibhāsā anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a bahuvṛhi compound is optionally marked with
udātta, when pād ‘foot’, dat ‘tooth’ and mūrdhan ‘head’ combine to follow
dvi ‘two’ and tri ‘three’.

Examples:

dvipāṭi ‘biped’
dvipāṭi ‘ibidem’
trīpāṭi ‘three-footed’
trīpāṭi ‘ibidem’
dvijan `possessing two teeth`
dviján `ibidem`
trijan `possessing three teeth`
triján `ibidem`
dvimūrdhā `two-headed`
trimūrdhā `three-headed`

1. This rule specifies pād with deletion of its compound final a (5.4.138 pādasya lopa . . .). A similar specification is made with dat in 5.4.141 vayasi . . . Since mūrdhan is specified here with no deletion of terminal element of the compound (akṛtasamāśāntalopa), it will refer to both kinds of forms. Thus, dvimūrdhā where there is no samāśānta affix, and dvimūrdhā, where the samāśānta affix Sa has been introduced (5.4.115 dvitribhyām . . .). These examples will get the final udāṭta of this rule. The retention proposal of 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau . . . will be offered as another option. The words dvi and tri are marked with udāṭta at the end (Phīṣūtra 1: phīso’ntodāṭtaḥ).

2. Kāśikā offers kalyānāmūrdhā and dvihāstam as counter-examples to conditions of dvitribhyām and pāddan . . ., etc., respectively.

6.2.198 सवथ्च चात्रातात्

saktham cākrāntāt
/saktham 1/1 ca φ akrāntāt 5/1 = krasabdo’nto yasya (bū.); na krāntaḥ (naṁ), tasmāt/
(udāṭtaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 vibhāśā #196 bahuvrīhau #197)
saktham iti kṛtasamāśāntaḥ sakthiṣabdo’tra grhyate, so’krāntaḥ paro vibhāśa’ntodāṭto bhavati

The final constituent, namely saktha, which, in a bahuvrīhi compound, combines to follow a constituent not having kra at its end is also optionally marked udāṭta at the end.

Examples:

gaurasakthah ‘having white thighs’
gaurasākthah ‘ibidem’
ślakṣnasakthah ‘having smooth thighs’
ślakṣnasākthah ‘ibidem’

1. The word saktha is here specified with its samāśānta affix SaC (5.4.113 bahuvrīhau . . .). Consequently, example compounds are interpreted as used with a samāśānta affix. The word ślaksña, as a derivate of ksna (Uṇādi III:19: śiṣer . . .), is marked udāṭta at the end. This option of final udāṭta is again made against 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau . . .

2. A counter-example with kra will be cakraśakthah ‘bow-legged’.
6.2.199 परादिःंचन्दसि बहुलम्

parādiś chandasi bahulam
/parādihi 1/1 = parasya ādih (ṣaś. tat.); chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/
(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 sakhtham #198)
chandasi viṣaye parādir udātto bhavati bahulam

The initial syllable of a following constituent, namely saktha, etc., is variously marked udātta in the Vedic.

Examples:

aṇjīṣakthām ālabheta 'one should offer an animal with anointed thighs'
gṛjūbhūḥ 'straight-armed'
vākpatīḥ 'master of speech'

1. The word para 'subsequent' here refers to saktha of the preceding rule. A specification by bahulam 'variously' also enables this rule to apply elsewhere. Thus, gṛjūbhūḥ 'straight-armed', where saktha is not used. This provision is offered with reference to a bahuvrīhi compound. But bahulam will allow it elsewhere also. Thus, consider vākpatīḥ. A ślokavārttika explains that bāhulaka makes this accentual proposal available to parādi ‘initial of a constituent which follows’, parānta ‘final element of a constituent which follows’, pūrvānta ‘the end of the initial constituent’ and pūrvādī ‘the initial of the constituent’:

parādiś ca parāntaś ca pūrvāntaś cāpi drśyate/
pūrvādayaś ca drśyante vṛyatayo bahulam tatah//

Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for additional details.

Pāda Three

6.3.1 अलुगुत्तरपदे
alug uttarapade
/ aluk 1/1 = na luk (nañ.); uttarapade 7/1/
alug iti ca uttarapade iti ca etad adhikṛtam veditavyam
aluk ‘non-deletion of nominal endings by means of LUK’ and uttarapade ‘when a constituent word follows in combination’ should both be carried over.

Examples:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that aluk ‘non-deletion by LUK’ and uttarapade ‘before a following (final) constituent’ are both accepted as adhikāra ‘governing headings’. That is, they both must be carried over to subsequent rules, via anuvṛtti. It is
stated that *aluk* carries over prior to rule 6.2.25 *ānaṁ ṛto dvandvate* which introduces *ānAṁ*. The *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapade* is valid through the end of this quarter.

Consider now the next rule: *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyāḥ ‘a pañcamī which occurs after *stoka* ‘a little’, etc., does not go through deletion by *LUK*, provided a constituent used in combination follows*. The condition of a following constituent limits the scope of this non-deletion to compound bases only. Additionally, the endings in focus for non-deletion must occur after stems specified as initial constituents of such compounds. Recall that, generally, a constituent termed *upasārjana* ‘secondary constituent’ is placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasārjanaṁ pūrvam*). This term is assigned to a compound constituent specified with the *prathamā* ‘nominative’ in a rule of compound formation (1.2.43 *prathamānirdhiṣṭam samāsa upasārjanaṁ*). Finally, we also find that 2.4.71 *supo dhāturāṭtipadikayoḥ* deletes a nominal ending (*sUP*) contained within a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’ and *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛtaddhitasamāsāḥ ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to bases termed compounds. Our present rule is thus: (a) an exception to 2.4.71 *supo dhāturāṭtipadikayoḥ*; (b) it is limited to compound bases, mostly because it blocks deletion of a nominal ending occurring after an initial compound constituent; (c) since the nominal endings which come under the scope of this non-deletion are specified to compound constituents as specified by rules of compound formation, this non-deletion cannot apply to a nominal ending found elsewhere; and (d) this non-deletion cannot apply if the initial compound constituent is not used with a following (final) constituent (*uttarapade*). The word *uttarapade*, in this grammar, is generally used in the sense of a final compound constituent.

Let us now consider *stokānmuktah* ‘barley freed’, an example where deletion by *LUK* of *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ after *stoka*, is blocked. This *pañcamī* is introduced by rules 2.3.33 *karaṇe ca stokālpa...* and 2.3.35 *dūrāntikā...*. A compound formation of *stoka + Nasi* with *mukta* ‘freed’, a derivate of *Kta*, follows specifications of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha...*. Note that *stokāntika...* is here specified with the *prathamā* ‘nominative’. This qualifies *stoka*, etc., to be termed an *upasārjana* ‘secondary’ and be placed first in the compound. Rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ...* can now block rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu...* which requires *LUK*-deletion of *Nasi* of *stoka + Nasi + mukta*. Thus, we get the compound base as *stokā* (*t→n*) *mukta*.

Since this non-deletion applies to endings occurring after particular constituents enumerated by rules allowing compound-formation, a specification made with a generalized ablative (*pañcamī, sāmānya-lakṣanā*) should not come under the scope of this rule. We may run into problems if this view is not accepted. For, we may then get non-deletion in *stokād āpetaḥ*, as against the desired form *stokāpetaḥ* ‘barely missing’. The *pañcamī* of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntika...* refers to the *pañcamī* specific to bases enumerated under 2.3.33 *karaṇe ca stokālpa...*. Any other *pañcamī* must then be disregarded. This will
also be in consonance with paribhāṣā (PŚ 114): lakṣanapratiṣṭipadoktyah pratiṣṭipadoktasyāivā grahaṇam ‘forms specified by enumeration under a given rule are preferred over those derived via application of others’.

Finally, this non-deletion must also meet the condition of uttarapade. Thus, given nistokah, parallel to niskrāntah stokā, the paṅcamī after stoka must go through deletion. Obviously, stokā is not used here in combination before any other constituent. But this deletion will go against the paribhāṣā (PŚ 114) just cited. For, the paṅcamī of stokā, deleted in the formation of nistokah, is not a paṅcamī introduced specifically with reference to an enumerated base. It is here characterized as one introduced by a general rule. Well, the paribhāṣā should then not be accepted here. This strengthens the case for accepting uttarapade as a condition, even for this section dealing with non-deletion (aluk). This, however, not denying that uttarapade is needed more, elsewhere, than here in this section of non-deletion.

### 6.3.2 प्रज्ञया: स्तोकादिश्य:

paṅcamyāḥ stokādibhyāḥ
tā/ paṅcamyāḥ 6/1 stokādibhyāḥ 1/3 = stoka ādir yeṣām (bv.)/
(ālug uttarapade #1)
stokāntikadurārthakṛchraṇi stokādīni tebhhyāḥ parasyāḥ paṅcamyā uttarapade ālug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to the fifth triplet of nominal endings (paṅcamyāḥ) which occur after stoka, etc., when a constituent in combination follows.

**Examples:**

stokānmuktaḥ ‘hardly freed’
alpānmuktaḥ ‘ibidem’
antikādāgataḥ ‘arrived from a nearby place’
abhṛyādāgataḥ ‘ibidem’
durādāgataḥ ‘arrived from a far out place’
viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ ‘ibidem’
kṛchraṇmuktaḥ ‘freed with difficulty’

1. Blocking the deletion of a nominal ending contained within a compound base termed prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ still allows combining two compound constituents together. This facilitates the compound to be used as a single pada (aikapadya) and to carry a single accent (aikasvarya). Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule.

2. Note that a compound formation with ablative dual, or plural, after stoka, etc., is not found in usage (anabhidhānāt). Thus, the paṅcamī which goes through non-deletion of this rule has to be singular (ekavacana). A paṅcamī with the denotata of dual and plural will not only block compound
formation (aikapadaya) but will also block accentuation (aikasvarya). Consequently, we will get stokābhyaḥ muktāḥ and stokebhyāḥ muktāḥ, two separate words with separate accenual provisions.

3. A vārttika proposal in made for non-deletion in brāhmaṇācchamś, paraphrased as brāhmaṇāni sāmsatī ‘... recites a brāhmaṇa text’. Why should we accept this negative provision of non-deletion when no positive provision for such a deletion of pañcamī is made. That is, there is no rule which introduces this pañcamī in the sense of dvitiyā ‘accusative’. This vārttika proposal will then have to accomplish both the introduction as well as non-deletion of pañcamī.

6.3.3 ओजः:सहोधभूतसतमस्तूतीयायाः:

ojāḥsahombhastamasas tṛṭiyāyāḥ
/ojāḥsaha-ambhas-tamasāḥ 1/1 = ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca tamaś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt, tṛṭiyāḥ 6/1/
(alug uttarapade #1)
‘ojas, sahas, ambhas, tamas’ ity etebhya uttarasya tṛṭiyāyā alug bhavaty uttarapade

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a tṛṭiyā ‘third triplet; instrumental’ which occurs after ojas ‘vigor’, sahas ‘strength’, ambhas ‘water, strength, success’ and tamas ‘strength, darkness’, provided when a constituent in combination follows.

Examples:

ojasākṛtam ‘performed with vigor’
sahasākṛtam ‘performed all of a sudden’
ambhasākṛtam ‘performed with success, splendidous’
tamasākṛtam ‘done with power’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.32 kartākaraṇe kṛtā bahulam. How come this non-deletion does not apply to tamas of satatanaisatamāvṛtām ‘... constantly covered with night-like darkness’. Because we have the condition of uttarapade which, in turn, anticipates tamas as an initial constituent. Obviously, tamas is not an initial constituent of this example. A non-deletion desired after a constituent preceded by another should be made with qualifications. This indeed makes possible, for a form to be interpreted also as one ending in that (tadantavidhi). Consider thus, iṣṭakacitam and pakvesṭakacitam, where iṣṭaka ‘brick’ can be interpreted as referring to both iṣṭaka and pakvesṭaka ‘fired brick’. In some cases, though, an operation specified in relation to what follows is performed on what constitutes the initial. It is not performed on what precedes or on what may end in that. A case in point is 6.3.23 ānāṁ rto dvandve. Given the specification as hotṛpṛṣṭestodgārāḥ, nesṛ, or for that matter potṛnestṛ, cannot be accepted as
initial for what follows. The operation must then be performed with reference to what follows *hotṛ* alone (*PM* ad Kāśi: *yatrat tadantavidhīr isyate tatropāttenāksiptam pūrvapadad visēṣyate tena tasya tadantasya ca bhavati- iṣṭakacitam, pakvesṭakacitam iti. kvacit tu yad-evopāttaṁ tasyaivottarapadeḥ nantare tatkhāryaṁ bhavati, na tūpaṭatasya tadantasya va pūrvapadatvam apeksyate, yathā ‘ānaṁ rto dvandve’, ‘hotṛpotneṣṭodgatārāḥ’ iti, atra neṣṭrśabdāḥ ca na pūrvapadam, nāpi tadantam pūrvapadam, kim tarhi? hotṛśabdāḥ, na tasyottarapadam anantaram).

2. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made for non-deletion of *trīyā* in *aṇjasākṛtam* ‘performed well’; and *pumsānujah* ‘born after a male; younger brother’ and *jānuśāndhah* ‘blind from birth’.

6.3.4 यनस: संजायाम

*manasah* samjñāyām

/manasah 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1/

(alug uttarapade #1 trīyāyāh #3)

manasa uttarasyās trīyāyā alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *trīyā* which occurs after *manas* ‘mind’ when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes a name (*samjñā*).

**Examples:**

*manasādattā* ‘a female name’

*manasāguptā* ‘a female name’

*manasāsangatā* ‘a female name’

1. Kāśikā offers *manodattā* ‘mentally given’ and *manoguptā* ‘thought-preserved’ as counter-examples where derivatives do not denote a name (*samjñā*). These non-names must go through deletion of their instrumental (*trīyā*).

6.3.5 आजायिनि च

*ājñāyini ca*

/ājñāyini 7/1 / ca φ/

(alug uttarapade #1 trīyāyāḥ #3 manasaḥ #4)

*ājñāyiny uttarapade manasa uttarasyās trīyāyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* also applies to a *trīyā* which occurs after *manas*, provided *ājñāyin* ‘knower’ combines to follow.

**Examples:**

*manasājñāyī* ‘he whose nature is to know things intuitively’

1. This rule is intended for derivates which do not signify a name (*asam-jñārtham*). Note that *ājñāyin*, of which *ājñāyi* is the nominative singular, is a
derivate of \textit{NinI} (3.2.78 \textit{supy ajātau} \ldots) augmented with \textit{yUK} (7.3.33 \textit{āto yuk} \ldots). It is paraphrased as: \textit{ājñātum śilam asya} 'he whose nature it is to know properly'.

\section*{6.3.6 \textit{Āttmanah}}
\textit{ātmanāś ca}
\(/\text{ātmanah 5/1 ca 1/1/}
(\text{alug uttarapade #1 trīyāyāḥ #3})
\textit{ātmana uttarsya trīyāyā uttarapade' lug bhavati}
Non-deletion by means of \textit{LUK} applies to a \textit{trīyā} which also occurs after \textit{ātman} 'self, soul', provided a constituent in combination follows.

\textbf{Examples:}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ātmanāpañcamah} 'fifth including one's own self'
\item \textit{ātmanāsaśṭaḥ} 'sixth including one's own self'
\end{itemize}

1. Note that \textit{ātmanāś ca pūrane} is read by the \textit{Mahābhāsya} as a \textit{vārтика} (see \textit{PM ad Kāśi: vārtikam evedam sūtrarūpena paśhitam}). The \textit{SK} accepts \textit{ātmanāś ca} as a \textit{sūtra}, especially since its \textit{anuvṛtti} is needed in 6.3.7 \textit{vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām caturthyāḥ}. But this could hardly justify accepting \textit{ātmanāś ca} as a \textit{sūtra}. For, the \textit{SK}, though it needs the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{kāmye} (\textit{vt: rerova kāmye nānyasyeti nīyamārtham vaktavyam}; ad 8.3.38 so' padādau), does not accept it as a \textit{sūtra}. The \textit{Kāśikāvṛtti} reads the \textit{sūtra} as: \textit{ātmanāś ca pūrane}, following perhaps the traditional belief that the \textit{vārтикаkāra} 'author of the \textit{vārтикas}' also deserves status as the \textit{sūtrakāra}. Note that the \textit{SK} reads \textit{pūrana} as a \textit{vārтика}. I have excluded \textit{pūrane} from the reading of this rule. Since a non-deletion of \textit{trīyā} after \textit{ātman} is available only when a constituent with the signification of a \textit{pūrana} suffix follows, accepting the \textit{sūtra} as \textit{ātmanāś ca} alone makes sense.

Haradatta observes that \textit{pūrana} is interpreted as referring to forms ending in the suffix \textit{pūrana}. That is, it should not be interpreted as the word-form \textit{pūrana} (\textit{svarūpa}). He also points out that \textit{tadantavidhi} 'treating x as also ending in x', as will be indicated under 6.3.50 \textit{ḥrdayasya ḥṛleka} \ldots, is not to be permitted in the section governed by \textit{uttarapade}. This will create problems in accomplishing non-deletion of \textit{trīyā} in \textit{ātmanāpañcamah} 'fifth including one's self'. For, it is impossible to find affix \textit{pūrana} used after \textit{ātman}. A \textit{tadantavidhi} interpretation in case of \textit{ātman} must then be accepted as an exception. This all is an expatiation of proposals made via \textit{vārтикas}.

How are the example compounds, i.e., \textit{ātmanāpañcamah} and \textit{ātmanāsāṣṭhaḥ}, formed? It is stated that \textit{trīyā} after \textit{ātman} is introduced by a \textit{vārтика} proposal (ad 2.3.18 \textit{kartṛ-karaṇayos trīyā; trīyāvidhāne prakṛtyādibhyā upasamkhyaṇam}). A split-interpretation (\textit{yogāvibhāga}) of \textit{trīyā} of 2.1.30 \textit{trīyā tatkārtṛthena guṇavacanena} then allows the formation of these compounds. One can even accept \textit{trīyā} ruled with the signification of \textit{karaṇa} (2.3.18
karti\'kara\'nyayos . . .). But then this karana, a k\"araka, must be determined in relation to verbal root kr ‘to do, make’, parallel to the paraphrase: atman\"a k\"r\"a\'h pa\'n\'cama\'h ‘fifth made by one’s own self’.

Deriving pa\'n\'cama ‘fifth’ and sa\'stha ‘sixth’ requires introducing affix Da\'T (5.2.48 tasya p\'i\'ra\'n\'e da\'j) after pa\'n\'can ‘five’ and sa\'s\'as ‘six’. Augment m\'AT (5.2.48 n\'a\'nt\'\'d . . .) and thUK (5.2.51 sa\'tka\'ti\'kap\'a\'ya . . .), respectively, are then introduced to derive pa\'n\'can + m\'AT + Da\'T = pa\'n\'can + ma and sa\'s\'as + Da\'T = sa\'s\'as + th + a. The first example goes through deletion of n. The second requires replacing th with th (\'s\'t\'ut\'va; 8.2.41 \'s\'t\'un\'a \'s\'t\'uk).

Why do we not get non-deletion in deriving atmacaturth\'ah of jan\'ardanas tv atmacaturth\'a eva ‘Jan\'ardana, indeed, is the fourth himself’. The compound is a bahuvr\'i\'hi, and not an instrumental (\'ti\'r\'y\'a) tatpu\'ru\'sa.

6.3.7 \'va\'yakara\'n\'akhy\'yay\'a\'m caturthy\'a\'h

/vai\'yakara\'n\'akhy\'yay\'a\'m 7/1 = vai\'yakara\'n\'a\'n\'a\'m \'akhy\'a (sa\'s. tat.), tasy\'a\';
caturthy\'a\' 6/1/

(alug uttar\'apade #1 atmanah #6)

yay\'a samji\'nyay\'a vai\'yakara\'n\'a\' eva vyavaha\'rant\'i tasy\'a\'m atmana uttara\'sya\'s
caturthy\'a\' alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a caturthi ‘fourth triplet of nominal endings; dative’ which occurs after atman, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name assigned by grammarians.

Examples:

atmanepadam ‘the second set of nine replacements of LA plus suffixes containing \'a\'na’
atmanepadabh\'a\'s\'a ‘a term used by earlier grammarians for \'Pan\'ini’s atmanepadam’

1. Note that atmanah is carried from the preceding rule. The caturthi which goes through non-deletion denotes tadartha ‘intended for that’ and is introduced by a v\'ar\'tti\'ka (t\'adartha\'yey caturthi v\'a\'cy\'a; ad 1.4.44 parikrayane sampra\'d\'a\'n\'a\'m anyatarasya\'y\'a\’). The compounds are formed by caturthi, a split interpretation of 2.1.36 caturthi tadarth\'a\’rtha. . . .

6.3.8 \'parasya \'cha

/parasya 6/1 ca \f/

(alug uttar\'apade #1 vai\'yakara\'n\'asya\'khy\'yay\'a\'m caturthy\'a\'h #7)

parasya ca y\'a caturthi tasy\'a vai\'yakara\'n\'asya\'khy\'yay\'a\'m alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, also to a caturthi which occurs
in combination after para 'another, subsequent', provided a constituent in combination follows and the derivate signifies a name assigned by grammarians.

Examples:

*parasmaipadam* 'replacements of LA, with the exception of those termed ātmanepadam'
*parasmaipadabhāsā* ' Ibidem; an earlier term for 'voice' in grammar

1. Why is this rule stated? The intended non-deletion can still be accomplished by the earlier rule. No. The word ātmanah is carried there. Well, we can drop ātmanah. But it may cause non-deletion in taddhitāh, parallel to tebhāyo hitāh, which is not desired. Consequently, parasya ca must be stated.

It is argued that vaiyākaranākhyā can be derived parallel to vaiyākaranem bhavā = vaiyākaraṇī 'that which is found in grammar', a feminine derivate with an (4.3.73 an ṛgayanādibhyāh). A karmadhāraya can then be formed, parallel to vaiyākaraṇī cāsāv ākhyā ca 'that which is found in grammar and is also a name'. A masculine transformation of vaiyākaraṇī (6.3.42 pūrvat karma dhāraya) can then derive vaiyākaraṇi (i→a) + ākhyā→vaiyākaranakhyā. Since this derivation will exclude ātmanaḥbāsah and parasmaiḥbāsah, terms which are not used in the Aṣṭādhya, vaiyākaraṇa must be derived parallel to vyākaraṇam adhiyate vidantī vā 'those who study or know grammar'. Incidentally, ātmanaḥbāsah and parasmaiḥbāsah, are terms used by earlier grammarians.

2. A compound such as ātmanepadam is derived with caturthi signifying tādarthya 'intended for that', parallel to ātmanārtham padam 'word for one's own self'. The compound is formed with aplit interpretation of caturthi. Why can 2.1.36 caturthi tadarthārtha... itself, not allow the compound formation? Compounds formed with this rule are desired where modification of a material cause (prakṛti-vikāra) is involved.

6.3.9 हलदनात समया: संज्ञायम्

haladantāt saptāmyāh samjñāyām
haladantāt 5/1 = haḷ ca at ca (sam. dv.); halad ante yasya (bv. with int. dv.), tasmāt, saptāmyāh 6/1 samjñāyām 7/1
(alug uttarapade #1)
halaniḍ adantāc cottarasyāḥ saptāmyāḥ samjñāyām alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a saptamī 'seventh triplet of a nominal ending' which occurs after a nominal ending in a consonant (haḷ), or in a, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name (samjñā).

Examples:

yudhiṣṭhirāḥ 'the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers'
1. This rule allows non-deletion of *saptamā* after a constituent base which ends in a consonant (*halantāt*), or in a (*aT*). Of course, the compound is formed with the signification of a name (2.1.34 *saṃjñāyām*). Note that *yudh* and *tvac* in *yudhiṣṭhira* and *tvacīsāra* both end in a consonant. A *saptamā* before *sthira* and *sāra* is thus retained. But what about *gaviṣṭhirah*, where *go* does not end in a consonant, or in *a*? This should pose no problem. For, given *go + (N)ī + sthira + sU*, one will replace the *o* of *go* by *av* (6.1.78 *eco* *yavāyāvah*), prior to non-deletion. But this will go against *paribhāsā* (*PŚ* 53: *antarāṅga* *api vidhin bahirāṅgo lug bādhate*) which facilitates blocking of internally conditioned operations (*antarāṅga*) by externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) deletion (*LUK*). Note that accepting this *paribhāsā* will also cause non-deletion in *nadyām kukkuṭikā = nadiśukkuṭikā* ‘hen in river’ and *bhūmyām pāsāh = bhūmipāsāh* ‘snare on ground’, where one can get *nādi* ‘river’ and *bhūmi* ‘ground’ to end in *y*, through *yanādeśa* ‘replacement in *yan*’ (6.1.77 *iko yan aci*). Incidentally, these two constitute counter-examples for the twin conditions of *halantāt* ‘after that which ends in a consonant’ and *adantāt* ‘after that which ends in *a*’.

2. Replacement in *s* and *th*, for *s* and *th* of *sthiraḥ*, for example in *gaviṣṭhirah* and *yudhiṣṭhirah*, is accomplished by 8.3.96 *gaviyudhiphyām sthirah*.

3. Note that *akṣaṣaunḍah* ‘skilled in the game of dice’ is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *saṃjñā*. A vārttika proposal (*hrddyuddhyām neḥ*) is also made for non-deletion of *Ni after *hṛd* ‘heart’ and *div* ‘day, heaven’ in *hrdiśprk* ‘heart-touching’ and *diviśprk* ‘ghee-touching’.

4. Why do we need *saṃjñāyām* ‘when name is denoted’ when *ākhyāyām* ‘naming . . . ’ is already made available from the preceding rule? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.3.10 कार्याधि च प्राचा हलादी

कारनाम्नी च प्रचाम हलादाव
/कारनाम्नी 7/1 = कारस्या नामा (शास. तत्र), tasmin; ca 2 प्रचाम 6/3 हलादाव
7/1/
(alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptamāh #9)

प्रचाम दे यत कारनामा तत्र हलादाव uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamāḥ alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamā* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a consonant, or in *a*, when a constituent beginning with a consonant follows in combination and the derivate denotes the name of a tax imposed on eastern people.
EXAMPLES:

kūpeśānam ‘a tax levied in the east’
dṛṣadimāṣakaḥ ‘ibidem’
haledvipadikā ‘ibidem’
haletripadikā ‘ibidem’

1. The word kāranāma is explained as vanīgbiḥ kṛṣakaiḥ paśupālaiṣ ca rājñe
deyo bhāgah rakṣāni bandhanaiḥ ‘a tax paid to the king by traders, farmers and
cattle ranchers in return for guaranteed protection’. The word kāra ‘tax’ is a
derivative of alNy (5.4.38 praṇādibhyas ca), used with the signification of the
base (svārthika), namely kara ‘tax’ (karam eva kārah).

2. Why is this sūtra formulated when its derivatives can avail aluk ‘non-
deletion by LUK’ within the scope of the earlier rule? A separate formulation
is needed for restrictive purposes (niyamārtham). Thus, derivatives of this
rule will be limited to three conditions: (a) non-deletion applies only when
the derivate names a tax (kāranāṃmi); (b) it has to be limited to usage in the
east (prācām); and (c) it must apply before a constituent beginning with a
consonant (halādau).

Kāśikā offers abhyarhitapaśuḥ ‘an animal offered to the presiding priest as
a gift’; yūthapaśuḥ ‘a group of twelve cattles’ and avikataraṇaḥ ‘a group of
rams (uraṇa)’, respectively. The conditions of halantā ‘after that which ends
in a consonant’ and adantā ‘after that which ends in a’ are also valid. Thus,
we get nadyāṃ dohanī = nadidohani ‘a tax levied on milk transported across a
river’.

6.3.11 मध्याद गुरुः

madhyād guruḥ
/madhyāt 5/1 guruḥ 7/1/
(alug uttarapade #1 saaptamyāh #9)

madhyād uttarasyāḥ saaptamyā guruṇ uttarapade’ lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a saaptam which occurs after
madhya ‘middle’ followed by guru ‘teacher, heavy’ in combination.

EXAMPLES:

madhyeguruḥ ‘heavy in the middle’

1. A vārttika proposal is also made for non-deletion after anta ‘end’ in
anteguruḥ ‘heavy at the end’.

6.3.12 अमृद्रहमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गान् रक्षाकामे

amūrdhamastakāt svāṅgād akāme
/amūrdha-mastakāt 5/1 = mūrdhā ca mastakaṃ ca (sam. dv.); na mūrdha-
mastakam (nañ. tat.), tasmāt; svāṅgā 5/1 akāme 7/1 = na kāmā (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptāmyāḥ #9)
mūrdha-mastaka-varjītāt svāṅgād uttarasyāḥ saptāmyā akāma uttarapade' lug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a saptāmi occurring after a nominal which ends in a consonant or in a, and signifies svāṅga ‘one’s limb’ with the exclusion of mūrdhan ‘head’ and mastaka ‘forehead’, when a constituent other than one constituted by kāma ‘desire’ follows.

Examples:

kaṇṭhekālah ‘he on whose throat there is black’
urasilomā ‘he on whose chest there is hair’
udaremaṇiḥ ‘he on whose belly there are lines forming the shape of a jewel; belly-lump’

1. The word svāṅga is here used in its technical sense characterized as adravādi ‘non-liquid, etc.’ The bahuvrihi of our examples is called vyadhikarana ‘non-appositional’. Normally, one would expect them to be a bahuvrihi with its constituents in syntactic coordination (sāmāṇādhikaranya). These compounds are formed with reference to a vārttika proposal (ad 2.2.24 anekam anyāpadarthe, saptāmy upamānapūrvapada . . .).

Kāśikā offers akṣesu saisāṇḍah = aksāṇḍasāṇḍah ‘skilled in the game of dice’ as a counter-example to svāṅgāt. Compounds such as mūrdhaśikhaḥ and mastakaśikhaḥ are offered as counter-examples to the enumerated exclusion of mūrdhan and mastaka. Finally, mukhe kāmāḥ yasya = mukhakāmāḥ ‘face-loving’ is offered to illustrate the exclusion specified by akāme ‘when non-desire’. The condition of halantāt and adantāt are still valid. Thus, we get aṅgulitānāḥ ‘that which protects fingers; thimble’ and jaṅghāvaliḥ ‘he on whose thighs there is a fold’ as counter-examples.

6.3.13 बन्धे च विभाषा

bandhe ca vibhāsa
/ bandhe 7/1 ca φ vibhāsa 1/1
(alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptāmyāḥ #9)
bandhaśābda uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptāmyā vibhāsa’lug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, optionally, to a saptāmi which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in a consonant, or in a, provided bandha ‘tie, knot’ combines as a following constituent.

Examples:

hastebandhaḥ ‘he on whose hands there is a chain; handcuffed’
hastabandhaḥ 'ibidem'
cakrebandhaḥ 'caught in a circular formation'
cakrabandhaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that svāṅgāt is no longer carried. The provisions of this rule thus become generalized (sāmānyenāyāṁ vidhiḥ). The word bandha is here accepted as a derivate of GHaN with the denotatum of bhāva 'root-sense'. Recall that non-deletion of saaptami in a bahvurhi compound is offered obligatorily by the preceding rule. But 6.3.19 nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca negates it in case of a tatpuruṣa compound, whether the initial constituent denotes svāṅga, or otherwise. The bahvurhi non-deletion, in case of svāṅga, is thus already made available (prāpta). A non-deletion in tatpuruṣa is blocked (aprāpta). The option (vibhāṣā) of our present rule, since it offers both these options, can be aptly called ubhayatra or prāptāprāpta 'made available and not made available'.

Recall that the twin conditions of halantāt and adantāt are still valid. Thus, consider guptibandhaḥ 'confinement in a secured place; incarceration' and kārikābandhaḥ 'bondage (rebirth) caused by unpaid interest' as counterexamples.

6.3.14 तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्

tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam
/_/tatpuruṣe 7/1 kṛti 7/1 bahulam 1/1/
(alug uttarapade #1 saaptamyāḥ #9)
tatpuruṣe samāse kṛdaṇta uttarapade saaptamyā bahulam alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUKapplies, variously (bahulam), to a saaptami which occurs in combination after the constituent of a tatpuruṣa compound, provided a constituent ending in a kṛt affix follows.

Examples:

stambaramah ‘one who plays with the pile of grass; an elephant’
karnejapah ‘he who whispers in the ear; fault-finder’
kurucarah ‘he who wanders in the country of the Kurus’
madracarah ‘he who wanders in the country of the Madras’

1. This rule offers non-deletion via bāhulaka ‘variously’. Thus, observe stambaramah and karnejapah where an upapada compound termed tatpuruṣa (2.2.19 upapadam atiṇ) is formed with non-deletion of saaptami. Affix aC is introduced after verbal roots ram ‘to sport’ and jāb ‘to mutter’ chant’ by 3.2.13 stambakarṇa. . . . Affix Ta (3.2.16 careṣ taḥ) is similarly introduced in deriving kurucarah and madracaraha. It is at the strength of bahulam that deletion and non-deletion can both be found. Thus, observe: sarasijam and sarojam ‘lotus’. Now consider brāhmaṇācchansin ‘assistant priest’ where non-
deletion applies to a pañcamī, and not to a saptamī. Finally, consider apsu bhavah = apsaryah 'found in water', where non-deletion is accomplished before a taddhita-derivate, as against a derivate of krt. These examples illustrate how, as is the nature of specification by bahu lam, non-deletion applies (pravṛttī), does not apply (apravṛttī), applies only optionally (vibhāṣā), or applies differently (anyad eva).

2. The word kṛti specifies a right condition constituted by derivate of a kṛt affix. It does not refer to a kṛt affix by itself. For, it is impossible to find a kṛt affix used in combination after a nominal ending in the locative (PM ad Kāśi: atrāpi kṛḍantasya grahaṇam na kṛṇmātrasya, tatra parataḥ saptamyā asambhavāt).

6.3.15 प्रावर्ष्टसरत्कालदिवां जे

pravṛṣṭsaraktāladi formally je
/pravṛṣṭ-sarata-kāla-dīvām 6/3 (itar. dv.); je 7/1/
(alug uttaraṇade #1 saptamyāḥ #9)
‘pravṛṣṭ, sarat, kāla, dīvā'ity eteṣām ja uttaraṇade saptamyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a saptamī which occurs in combination after pravṛṣṭ 'rainy season', sarat 'autumn', kāla 'time' and dīv 'day, heaven', provided ja follows in combination.

Examples:

pravṛṣijāḥ 'born in the rainy season'
saradijāḥ 'born in autumn'
kālejāḥ 'born at an appropriate time'
divijāḥ 'born in heaven'

1. This again is an expatiation (prapañca) of the bāhulaka provision of the preceding rule. Note that pravṛṣ and sarad are specified separately; kāla 'time' is interpreted as referring to its word-form (svarūpa) only. These examples are all uttaraṇa compounds where affix Da is introduced after jan. Thus, we get pravṛṣ + Ni + jan + Da, where an of jan goes through ti-deletion (1.1.64 aco'ntyādi ti; 6.4.143 teh). Incidentally, pravṛṣ is specified here with the application of jaśṭva (pravṛṣ (s→d); 8.2.39 jhalām jaśo'nte) and cartva (pravṛṣ (d→t); 8.4.55 khari ca; 8.4.56 vāvasāne).

6.3.16 विभासावर्ष्टसरत्कालदिवादी जे

vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśararvarāt
/vibhāṣā 1/1 varṣakṣaraśararvarāt 5/1 (sam. dv.)/
(alug uttaraṇade #1 saptamyāḥ #9 je #15)
‘varṣa, kṣara, sarā, varā'ity etebya uttarasyāḥ saptamyā ja uttaraṇade vibhāṣa alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a saptamī which occurs in combination after varṣa ‘rainy season’, kṣara ‘cloud’, śara ‘reed, arrow’ and vara ‘enclosure’, provided ja follows in combination.

Examples:

varṣejah ‘born in the rainy season’
varaśajah ‘ibidem’
kṣarejah ‘cloud-born’
kṣaraśajah ‘ibidem’
śarejah ‘born in (a bed of) reeds’
śaraśajah ‘ibidem’
varejah ‘born in an enclosure’
varaśajah ‘ibidem’

1. Here again we find upapada compounds with optional non-deletion of saptamī.

6.3.17 चकालतनेषु कालनामः:

ghakālatanesu kālanāmnāḥ
/ghakālatanesu 7/3 kālanāmnāḥ 5/1/
(alug uttarapade #1 saptamāṃ #9 vibhāṣā #16)
ghasamjñāke pratyaye tanapratyaye ca parataḥ kālanāmnā uttarasyāḥ
saptamāṃ vibhāṣā alug bhavatī

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a saptamī which occurs after a nominal used with the signification of a temporal name, provided a constituent ending in an affix termed gha, or one constituted by the word kāla, or else, one ending in affix tana, combines to follow.

Examples:

pūrvāhnetare ‘a little later in the morning’
pūrvāhnatare ‘ibidem’
pūrvāhnetame ‘extremely late in the morning’
pūrvāhnatame ‘ibidem’
pūrvāhnekāle ‘in the morning’
pūrvāhnakāle ‘ibidem’
pūrvāhnetane ‘ibidem’
pūrvāhnetane ‘ibidem’

1. The word gha refers here to affixes taraP and tamaP (1.1.22 taraptamapau ghaḥ). The word kāla is interpreted as referring to its form (svarūpagrahaṇa). Of course, kālanāmnāḥ specifies bases signifying kāla ‘time’. The word tana
refers to affixes Ṭu and ṬuL (4.3.23 sāyaṅciram . . . tuṭ ca), augmented with tUṬ and replaced with ana (7.1.1 yuvar anākau).

Note that pūrvāhna is a tatpurusha compound formed by 2.2.1 pūrvāparā . . . , where 5.4.91 rājāhaḥ . . . introduces affix TaC and 5.4.88 ahno’ hna etebhyaḥ replaces ahan with ahna. Rule 8.4.7 ahno’ dantāt finally replaces the n of ahna with ṇ. Affixes taraP and tamaP are then introduced with the signification of comparative excellence (ātiśāyana). A specification of taraP and tamaP, which denotes meanings of their bases (svārtha), is made to indicate the locative meaning of bases. The locative specification of kāla is made to show syntactic coordination. Finally, the locative specification of tana is made because of its association (sāhacarya) with gha and kāla.

Kāśikā offers śuklatare ‘the two comparatively whiter’ and śklatame ‘the two comparatively whitest’ as counter-examples to show how saptamī cannot go through non-deletion. That is, śukla does not denote kāla ‘time’. The deletion is thus obligatory (nitya). The conditions of halantat and adantat are still valid. Thus, we get deletion after rātri ‘night’ in rātritarāyām ‘comparatively late in the night’. Recall that tadantavidhi ‘treating x as that which ends in x’, as will be indicated by 6.3.50 hṛdayasya hṛṭlekha . . . , is not desired in this section of uttarapade.

6.3.18 शयवासवासिष्यकालात्

śayavāsavāsīṣv akālāt
/sayavāsavāsīṣv 7/3 = saya ca vāsa ca vāsi ca (itar. dv.), teṣu; akālāt 5/1 (nañ.)/
(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9 vibhāṣā #16)
śaya, vāsa, vāsin’ ity etesūttratarapadeṣv akālavācina uttarasyāḥ saptamī vibhāṣā’ lug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a saptamī used with the signification of something other than kāla ‘time’, when saya ‘reclining’, vāsa ‘dwelling’ and vāsin ‘inhabitant’ combine to follow.

Examples:

kheśayaha ‘reclining in the sky; floating in the air’
khaśayaha ‘ibidem’
grāmavāsah ‘living in the village’
grāmavāsah ‘ibidem’
grāmevasā ‘resident of a village’
grāmevasi ‘ibidem’

1. Note that affix aC (3.2.15 adhikarane śeteḥ) is introduced in deriving kheśaya. Examples with vāsa and vāsin entail introduction of affixes GHaN and NinI (3.2.78 supy ajātau νiνiς . . . ), respectively. Kāśikā offers pūrvāhnaśayaha
'reclining in the morning' as a counter-example to condition of akālāt. Similar counter-example in bhūmiṣṭayat is offered to conditions of halantāt and adantāt.

2. A vārttika proposal is made for non-deletion of saptamī when yoni 'birth', or affixes yaT and matUP, follow ap 'water'. Thus, we get apsuṇyī, apsvayāh (4.3.54 digātibhyo yat), apsumantau. These compounds will be formed by split interpretation of saptamī (2.1.40 saptamī saunḍaiḥ).

6.3.19  नेनसिद्धबद्धतिसु च

nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca
/ naḥ in-siddha-badhnātiṣu 7/3 = in ca siddhaś ca badhnātiṣ ca (itar. dv.),
tesu/
(alug uttarapade #1 saptamāyaḥ #9)
innanta uttarapade siddhaśabde badhnātau ca parataḥ saptamyāḥ alug na bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK does not apply to a saptamī when a constituent ending in affix in (3.2.78 supy ajātau . . ., etc.), or one constituted by siddha 'made, established', or else, a derivate of bandh 'tie', combines to follow.

Examples:

sthāṇḍilaśāyi 'he who sleeps on bare grounds'
sthāṇḍilavarttī 'ibidem'
sāṅkṣāyasiddhaḥ 'made in Sāṅkṣāya'
kāmpilyasiddhaḥ 'made in Kāmpilya'
cakrabaddhaḥ 'tied to a wheel'

1. This rule negates non-deletion of saptamī under the condition of specific right contexts. Thus, we get sthāṇḍilavarttin 'he who has taken a vow to sleep on bare grounds', an upapada compound with Nīnī (3.2.80 vratel, 2.2.19 upapadān atin). This rule negates what is made available by 6.3.14 taṭpurusē kṛti bahulam.

It has already been indicated that, in this section of uttarapade, a tadantavidhi 'treating x as that which ends in x' interpretation is not desired. Why are we then accepting this interpretation with reference to in? It is stated that there are two types of in affixes: kṛt and taddhita. The first occurs only after a verbal root. The question of its occurrence after a nominal ending in saptamī thus does not arise. We do not find any in after saptamī in the taddhita derivate, either. Accepting a tadantavidhi interpretation is thus appropriate (Nyāsa ad Kāś: namu cattarapadādhikāra pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir neyata iti jñāpitam etat. saptamāya parasyenpratyayasyāsambhavāt . . . tasmād innam eva gṛhyata iti yuktam etal).

The compound formation of sāṅkṣāyasiddhaḥ and kāmpilyasiddhaḥ is ac-
complished by 2.1.41 siddhaśuṣka-pakvabandhais ca. The word baddha, in cakrabaddhah, is a derivate of niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktakvatā niṣṭhā), where n of bandh is deleted (6.4.24 aniditām hal...). The compound is formed with the split interpretation of saptaṃi (2.1.40 saptaṃi śaunḍaiḥ). How come the compound cannot be accepted as formed with bandhah? Because that will be a derivate of GHaN where 6.3.13 bandhe ca vibhāṣā offers optional non-deletion.

6.3.20 स्थे च भाष्यायम्

sthe ca bhāṣāyām
\[\text{s7e / \text{7e} 7/1 ca \phi \text{bhs}āyām 7/1/}\]
(alug uttarapade #1 saptaṃyāḥ #16 na \phi)

sthe cottarapade bhāṣāyāṃ saptaṃyā alug na bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK does not apply to a saptaṃi when stha, in the classical language, occurs in combination to follow.

Examples:

\begin{itemize}
\item samasthah 'standing on even grounds; happy'
\item viṣamasthah 'standing on uneven grounds; unhappy'
\item kūṭasthah 'standing still'
\item parvasthah 'standing on top of a mountain'
\end{itemize}

1. This again is a negation of non-deletion offered by 6.3.14 tatpurūse... Rule 3.2.4 supi sthaḥ introduces affix Ka in deriving samasthah, viṣamasthah, kūṭastheh and parvasthah. The a of sthā is deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa...  
2. The condition of bhāṣāyām will rule out negation of non-deletion in the Vedic, for example, ākhare tiṣṭhāti = ākhareṣṭhāḥ 'stays in a hole'. The s of sthā will be replaced with ṣ of 8.3.106 pūrvapadāt.

6.3.21 पढ़ा आत्मोरे

ṣaṣṭhīḥ ākrośe
\[\text{ṣ}aṣṭhīḥ 6/1 ākrośe 7/1/\]
(alug uttarapade #1)

ākrośe gamyamāne uttarapade parataḥ ṣaṣṭhīya alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a ṣaṣṭhī when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes ākrośa 'anger, insult'.

Examples:

\begin{itemize}
\item caurasyakulam 'some family of a thief!'
\item vrṣalasyakulam 'some family of a Vṛṣalā!'
\end{itemize}

1. Note that ṣaṣṭhī in these examples denotes ākrośa 'anger', and not sambandha 'relation'. A compound such as brāhmaṇakulam 'brāhmaṇa-clan',
where *sambandha* is denoted, will go through deletion of its *saṣṭhī*.

Some *vārttiṅa* proposals for non-deletion have also been made under this rule:

(i) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should also be stated where *yukti, daṇḍa* and *hara* are used in combination after *vāk, dik* and *paśyat*, respectively (*saṣṭhīprakaraṇe vāgdikpaśyadhīyo yuktidaṇḍaḥahāreṣu yathāsāmkhyaṃ alug vaktaḥvyah*). Thus, we get *vācayuktiḥ* ‘art of speaking’, *diśodaṇḍah* ‘formation of stars in the shape of a stick’ and *paśyatoḥaraḥ* ‘he who robs right in front of your eyes; a thief; goldsmith’.

(ii) Non-deletion by *LUK* should also be stated in *āmusyāyaṇa* ‘an illustrious descendant’, *āmusyaputrikā* ‘sense of (duty) of an illustrious son’ and *āmusyakulikā* ‘sense of (duty) of an illustrious clan’ (*āmusyāyaṇāmusyaputrikāmusyakuliketi ca vaktaḥvyah*).

(iii) A non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* in *devānāṃpriyaḥ* ‘slow-wit’ should also be stated (*devānāṃpriya ity atra ca saṣṭhīyā alug vaktaḥvyah*).

(iv) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should also be stated where *ṣepa* ‘penis, testicles’, *puccha* ‘tail’ and *lāṅgula* ‘tail’ are used in combination after *śvan* ‘dog’ and the derivate denotes a name (*ṣepapuchalāṅgulaṃ śunah samjñāyāṃ saṣṭhīyā alug vaktaḥvyah*). Thus, *śunahṣepaḥ, śunah-pucchaḥ* and *śunolāṅgulaḥ*, all bahuvrihi compounds with the denotatulum of proper names.

(v) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should be stated when *dāsa* ‘slave’ follows *diva* in combination (*divaḥ ca dāse saṣṭhīyā alug vaktaḥvyah*). Thus, *divodāsāya gāyati* ‘sings for Divodāsa, the illustrious king of Kāśi’.

6.3.22 पुत्रेन्यतरस्यामः

*putre nyatarasyāṃ*

/*/putre7/1 anyatarasyāṃ7/1/

(alug uttarapade #1 saṣṭhīyā ākrośe #21)

*putrasabda uttarapade ākrośe gamyamāne nyatarasyāṃ saṣṭhīyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saṣṭhī* when *putra* combines as a following constituent and derivate denote *ākrośa* ‘anger’.

**Examples:**

*dāsyāḥ putrah* ‘son of a maid (bastard)’

dāśīputrah ‘maid’s son’

*vṛṣalyāḥ putrah* ‘son of a śūdra woman’

*vṛśalīputrah* ‘ibidem’

1. Kāśikā offers *brāhmaṇīputrah* ‘son of a brāhmaṇa woman’ as a counter-example to non-deletion, where *ākrośa* is not denoted. The example is thus a general statement (*sāmānyakathana*).
6.3.23 त्रतो विद्यायोनिसांबंधेयः:

\[ rto \text{ vidyāyonyisambandhehyaḥ} \]
\[ 5/1 \text{ vidyā-yoni-sambandhehyaḥ} 5/3 = \text{vidyā ca yoniś ca = vidyāyoni} \]
\[ (\text{it.tr. dv.), vidyāyonyikṛtaḥ sambandahāḥ yeṣām, tebhyaḥ (bv.)} \]
\[ (\text{alug uttarapade #1 saṣṭhyāḥ #21}) \]
\[ r̥kārāntebhya vidyāsambandhayacibhiyo yonisambandhayacibhyaś cottaṛasyaḥ saṣṭhyāḥ alug bhavati \]

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a saṣṭhi which occurs after a nominal stem ending in \( r \) and signifying a relationship established by means of vidyā ‘knowledge, study’ and yoni ‘birth’, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

- hoturantevāsī ‘student of a priest (hotṛ)’
- hotuhputrah ‘son of a priest’
- piturantevāsī ‘father’s student’
- pituhputrah ‘son of (his) father’

1. Note that non-deletion cannot be blocked in examples such as ācārya-putrah ‘teacher’s son’ and mātulaputraḥ ‘maternal uncle’s son’ because ācārya ‘teacher’ and mātula ‘mother’s brother’ do not end in \( r \). Non-deletion will similarly be blocked in hotṛdhanam ‘wealth of the hotṛ’, pitṛdhanam ‘father’s wealth’, hotṛgrham ‘home of the hotṛ’ and pitṛgrham ‘father’s house’, where hotṛ and pitṛ end in \( r \) but dhana ‘wealth’ and grha ‘home’ are not relatable via vidyā ‘knowledge’ and yoni ‘birth’.

2. Note that the pañcamī ‘ablative’ specification of vidyāyonyisambandhehyaḥ could only establish the intended relationship of initial constituents. A specification by saptamī should have been made if such a relationship was intended for the following constituents. But that would have excluded such a relationship of initial constituents. It is, therefore, concluded that both constituents must be relatable via vidyāyonyisambandha. It is for this reason that sometimes we also find examples where constituents relatable via vidyā and yoni are juxtaposed. Thus, observe hotuhputrah ‘priest’s son’ and piturantevāsī ‘father’s student’ (see PM ad Kāśikā).

Jinendrabuddhi (Nṭṣaṣa ad Kāṣikā) thinks that a rather long formulation of this sūtra, especially with the inclusion of sambandha, carries special meaning. That is, Pāṇini intended non-deletion only where the following constituent denoted vidyāyonyisambandha (Nyāsa ad Kās: tad etasmān mahatah sūtraprabandhad vidyāyonyisambandhavāciny uttarapade ācāryasyāyaṃ alug abhiṣṭa iti lakṣyata iti).

6.3.24 विभाषस्वस्पतयोः:

vibhāsā svasṛpatyoḥ
/ vībhāṣā 1/1 svāsṛpatyoh 7/2 = svāsā ca patiś ca (itar. dv.) /
(alug uttarapade #1 ṣaṣṭhyā #21 rto vidyāyonisanbandhebhyyah #23)
svāsṛ, patiś ity etayor uttarayor ṭkārāṇtebhyo vidyāyonisanbandhavācibhyo
vībhāṣā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a ṣaṣṭhyā which
occurs in combination after a nominal ending in ṭr and denoting a
relationship established by means of vidyā and yoni, provided svāsṛ ‘sis-
ter’ and patiś ‘husband’ combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

mātṛhsvasā ‘mother’s sister’
mātrsvasā ‘ibidem’
pitṛhsvasā ‘father’s sister’
pitṛsvasā ‘ibidem’
duhituhpatiḥ ‘daughter’s husband.
duhitrpatiḥ ‘ibidem’
nanānduhpatiḥ ‘husband’s sister’s husband’
nanāndṛpatiḥ ‘ibidem’

1. Note that s of svāsṛ is obligatorily replaced with ś when deletion of
ṣaṣṭhyā is applied (8.3.84 mātrpitṛbhyyām svasā). Such a replacement becomes
optional when non-deletion of ṣaṣṭhyā applies (3.3.85 māturpitṛbhyyām anya-
tarasyām).

6.3.25 आनान ब्रह्मतो हन्दे

ānān rto dvandve

/ānān 1/1 ṭah 6/1 dvandve 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 vidyāyonisanbandhebhyyah #22)
ṛkārāntānāṃ vidyāyonisanbandhavācīnāṃ yo dvandvas tatrotitarapade
pārvaapadasyānāṃ ādesō bhavati
Augment ānAN is introduced to the initial constituent of a dvandva
compound which is formed with constituents ending in ṭr and signifying
a relationship established by means of vidyā and yoni.

EXAMPLES:

hotāpotārau ‘hotṛ and potṛ, the two ritual priests’
neṣṭodgātārau ‘priest and reciter priest’
mātāpitārau ‘parents’
yātānanāndarau ‘husband’s brothers’ wife and husband’s sister’

1. Note that ānAN is marked with N as an it. Consequently, it is intro-
duced in place of the final sound segment of a compound constituent which
precedes (1.1.53 nic ca). Since n of ān in ānAN does not serve any purpose,
and thus invariably gets deleted by 8.2.7 nalopah prātipadikāntasya, why was
ānAN not specified simply as āN or ā? So that its n could block the following r which is required to follow a replacement of r (1.1.51 ur an raparah). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.53 nic ca for derivational details of hotāpotārau and mātāpitarau.

2. The condition of rT blocks ānAN in pitṛpitāmahau ‘father and grandfather’ where pitāmaha does not end in r. How come ānAN is allowed in pitāputrau and mātāputrau? The word putra is here carried from 6.3.21 putre nyatarasyām. But if putra is carried over here, it should also be carried over in 6.2.23 vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoh. This would occasion an optional derivate, i.e., bhrātusputrah, even when ākrośa is not denoted (6.3.22 putre nyatarasyām). Well, putre will be carried over only here, via maṇḍūkapluti ‘frog’s leap’. It will not be carried over to 6.2.23 vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoh. But there is still a problem. Augment ānAN is to be introduced when the constituents end in r. Obviously, putra of mātāputrau and pitāputrau does not end in r. Well, a dvandva compound qualified with rT is different from one where putra will constitute the following constituent. I omit discussion of additional arguments offered by commentators relative to rtaḥ as a qualifier to kāryin ‘operand’. I also omit any discussion of saptamī in putre. Refer to Nyāsa and PM ad Kāśikā for details.

6.3.26 देवताद्वंद्वः च
devatādvandve ca
/devatā-dvandve 7/1 = devatānāṃ dvandvah
(śaś. tal.), tasmin; ca φ/
devatāvacināṃ yo dvandvas tatottarapade pūrvapadasyānān ādeśo bhavati
Augment ānANs is introduced to the preceding constituent of a dvandva compound when the same is used in combination before a following constituent, provided the compound constituency denotes a divinity (devatā).

EXAMPLES:

indrāvaruṇau ‘Indra and Varuṇa’
indrāsomau ‘Indra and Soma’
indrāḥraspatī ‘Indra and Brhaspatī’

1. Why is dvandva used again in this rule when it is already available from anuvrtti? So that ānAN could be restricted to only those compounds where constituent combinations are most famous (prasiddhasāhacaryārtham), both in the classical usage as well as in the Vedic. Usages of the Vedic generally relate to compounds where divinities denoted by individual constituents are jointly referred to as recipients of ritual oblation (sahavāpanirdistāḥ). Thus, we cannot get ānAN in examples such as brahmaḥprajāpatī ‘Brahman-Prajāpatī’ and śivavaiśravānau ‘Śiva-Vaiśravana’.
2. A vārttika proposal blocks introduction of ānAṇ to vāyu, irrespective of whether it is combined as an initial or following constituent (ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyah). Thus, we get āgnīvāyu ‘Agni and Vāyu’ and vāyuvaṇī ‘Vāyu and Agni’.

6.3.27 ईदेशे: सोपवयुणयोः:

idagneh somavarunayoh
/it 1/1 agneh 6/1 soma-varunayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26)
‘soma, varuṇa’ ity etayor devatādvandve’ gner ikārādeśo bhavati
A long i comes in place of the final of agni when the same occurs in a dvandva compound formed with constituents signifying divinity, provided soma and varuṇa combine to follow.

Examples:

agnisomau ‘Agni and Soma’
agnivarunau ‘Agni and Varuṇa’

1. Here again, i comes in place of i of agni. The s of soma is replaced with š by 8.3.82 agneh stutstomasomāḥ.

6.3.28 ॠद वृद्धै

id vyṛddhau
/it 1/1 vyṛddhau 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26 agneh #27)
kritavyṛddhāu uttarapade devatādvandve’ gner ikāra ādeśo bhavati
A short i comes as a replacement for the final of agni when, in a dvandva compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, a constituent containing a replacement in vyṛddhi follows.

Examples:

āgnīvāruṇīm ‘... a ritual oblation whose deities are Agni and Varuṇa’
āgnimārutam ‘a ritual sacrifice whose deities are Agni and Marut’

1. This rule offers iT to block ānAṇ and iT. Our derivates āgnīvāruṇi and āgnimārata are derived by introducing aN (4.2.23 sa’ sya devatā), parallel to āgnīvarunau devate asya ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa’ and āgnimāratau devate asya ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Marut’. The first example constitutes an exception to the iT of 6.3.27 id agneh. ... The second is an exception to ānAṇ of 6.3.26 devatādvandve ca. The vyṛddhi of both constituents is accomplished by 7.3.26 devatādvandve ca. The NīP of these examples is introduced by 4.1.15 tiḍḍhāṇāṁ. ...

2. The condition of vyṛddhi in the following constituent blocks iT in exam-
amples such as āgnendraḥ, where 7.3.24 nendraṣya parṣya negates it. A Mahābhāṣya proposal negates it when viṣṇu constitutes the following constituent (id vṛddhau viṣṇoh praṭiṣedho vaktavyah). Thus, there is no it for the ā of āgni-vaśnavam.

6.3.29 दिवो द्रावा

dīvo dyāvā
/divah 6/1 dyāvā 1/1/
(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26)
‘div’ ity etasya ‘dyāvā’ ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade
The form dyāvā comes as a replacement for div ‘day, heaven’ in a dvandva compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

dyāvāksāme ‘heaven and earth’
dyāvābhūmi ‘ibidem’

1. Note that dyāvā replaces div in toto (1.1.54 anekālṣit sarvasya).

6.3.30 दिवसरङ्ग पृथिव्याम्

divasaṣ ca prthivyām
/divasaḥ1/1 ca prthivyām 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26 dīvo dyāvā #29)
prthivyām uttarapade devatādvandve divah ‘divas’ ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati
cakārād ‘dyāvā’ ca
The form divasa, and dyāvā as well, come as replacements for div of a dvandva compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided prthiṃ ‘earth’ is used in combination to follow.

Examples:

divasprthivyau ‘heaven and earth’
dyāvāprthivyau ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the actual replacement is divas. However, it has been specified in the rule as divasa. It is done to indicate that s of divas does not go through any modification (vikāra). That is, no s→r→ṛ, etc. (rutvādīni). How would one explain dyāvā which replaces div in the non-dvandva context of dyāvā cid asmai prthiṃ nameśya? This usage is Vedic, and hence, efforts must be made to explain it (Kāś: kartavyo tra yatnāḥ). One can accept it as a rare exception seen in the Vedic (drṣṭānuvidhiṣ ca chandasi), or else, one may take recourse to the bāḥulaka provision of chandasi bahulan ‘usages occur variously in the Vedic’.
6.3.31 उषासोसहः

उषासोसह
/उषासा 1/1 उषासह 6/1/
(उत्तरापादे #1 देवात्दवंद्वे #26)
उषासह 'उषासा' इत्य अयाम अदेसो भवति देवात्दवंद्वे उत्तरापादे

The form उषासा comes as a replacement for उषास 'dawn', in a compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

उषासासुर्यम 'dawn and sun'
उषासानक्ता 'dawn and night'

1. This rule offers उषासा as an exception fo अनि of 6.3.25 देवात्दवंद्वेना. This same is also true of examples of next two rules.

6.3.32 मातरपितारावुदीचाम्

मातरपिताराव उदिचाम
/मातरपिताराव 1/2 उदिचाम 6/3/
मातरपिताराव 'इत्य उदिचाम अचार्यान्त्म मात्रारानादेसो भवति

The word मातरपिताराव, in the opinion of eastern grammarians (उदिचाम), is derived (with अरि of निपदा) via निपदा.

Examples:

मातरपिताराव 'mother and father'

1. This rule derives मातरपिताराव, via निपदा. That is, the final र (1.152 निःका) of मट्र 'mother' is replaced with अरि. In the opinion of others, we will get मात्रपितारा with अनि.

6.3.33 पितरामात्तरा च चक्ष्यसि

पितरामात्तरासा च चंदसी
/पितरामात्तरासा 1/2 सा चंदसी 7/1/
पितरामात्तरासा इति चंदसी निपत्यायते

The word पितरामात्तरासा is also derived, via निपदा, in the Vedic.

Examples:

पितरामात्तरासा 'mother and father'

1. This निपदा employs अरि replacing the final र of पित्र 'father'. The au 'nominative dual' after मट्र is replaced with अ (7.1.39 सुपम सुलक). The र of मट्र then goes through a replacement in गुणा (7.3.110 यो निसारनामास्थानयोहि).
6.3.34 स्थिया: पुंवदातिपुंकादनूह समानाधिकरण स्थियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु

strīyaḥ puṇvadābhāsitapumśkādanūḥ samānādhi karāṇe strīyaḥ apūraṇipriyādiṣu

/striyaḥ 6/1 puṇvadābhāsitapumśkādanūḥ (6/1 deleted); = na un = anū (nañ.); bhāṣitaḥ puṃān yasin arthe sa = bhāṣita puṃśkā (bu.), tasmāt; bhāṣita puṃśkād anūn yasmin strīśabde sa bhāṣita puṃśkādanūn strīśabdaḥ (bu.); samānādhi karāṇe 7/1 strīyaḥ 7/1 apūraṇipriyādiṣu 7/3 = pūraṇi ca priyādayaḥ ca (star. dv.); na pūraṇipriyādayaḥ (nañ.)/

(uttarapade #1)

bhāṣita puṃśkādanūnāḥ strīśabdaṣya puṃśabdayeṣva rūpaṃ bhavati samānādhi karāṇe uttarapade strīlinge pūraṇipriyādīvārjite

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix un, treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a pūraṇa suffix, and not belonging to the list headed by priyaḥ, follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine.

EXAMPLES:

darśaniyaḥ abhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is beautiful'
ślakṣṇacūḍaḥ 'he whose hairdo is beautiful'
drīgha jāṅghaḥ 'he whose thighs are strong'

1. The characteristic denotatum of a form is spoken of as the conditioning cause for its usage (prāvyttinimitta). Thus, 'worth seeing, beautiful' can be accepted as the conditioning cause for usage of darśaniya 'beautiful'. The word bhāṣita puṃśkā is explained as 'a form whose denotatum conditions the denotation of its corresponding masculine'. Thus, darśaniya can be accepted as bhāṣita puṃśkā, because it denotes its masculine counterpart with the same sense which conditions its own usage. The cause for usage of both is the same. For reasons of identical denotatum (āyama) conditioning their usage, such forms are accepted as having identical bases (saṃnākṛti). The word bhāṣita puṃśkā thus refers to a form which shares the same denotatum in both masculine and feminine. The word darśaniya is accepted as bhāṣita puṃśkā since it denotes its masculine counterpart darśaniya with the same characteristic meaning as its own.

The word strī of strīyaḥ can be interpreted with three meanings:

(i) strī denotes affixes (TāP, etc.) used with the denotatum of feminine (strīpratīya);

(ii) strī denotes a thing qualified with the sense (artha) of a female (strītavasiṣṭadravya);

(iii) strī denotes a form (śabda) with the denotatum of feminine.
Accepting the first interpretation, i.e., pratyayapakṣa ‘affixal interpretation of stū’, will result in deletion of feminine affixes. That is, the form after which the feminine affix was introduced will be retained. But accepting this interpretation will create problems. Thus, consider pātubhāryaḥ, paraphrased as pātī bhāryāḥ sya ‘he whose wife is clever’. Rule 1.1.58 acaḥ parasmin pūrvaavadhau will offer sthānivadbhāva, once the feminine affix is removed from pātī. The result will be an undesired v coming as a replacement in yaN for u of pātu, especially when i of the affix is restored through sthānivadbhāva. Similarly, in deriving gargavandārīkā, the second interpretation will make the qualified word with the meaning of a female to go through operations similar to a word qualified with the sense of masculine. The third view, since it would change the feminine form to that of its masculine, is accepted.

6.3.35 तसीलादिष्याकृत्वसूचः:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (previous)</th>
<th>Rule (current)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ tasīlādīṣu</td>
<td>/ tasīlādīṣu 7/3 = tasīl ādīr yesām (b.v.); ā kṛtvasucaḥ 5/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(strīyatḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumśkādāniūn #33)</td>
<td>(strīyatḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumśkādāniūn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘paṅcamyās tasīl ity atāḥ prabhrītī’ samkhya-yāḥ kriyābhāvyāvṛttigānane kṛtvasuca’ iti prāg etasmād ye pratavyās tesu bhāṣitapumśkādāniūnstrīyatḥ pumvad bhavati. The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix uN, treated as that of its masculine counterpart, provided affixes enumerated beginning with tasīl through kṛtvasuca follow.

Examples:

tasyāḥ śālāyāḥ = tataḥ ‘from that (house)’
tasyāṁ . . . = tatra ‘in that (house)’
yasyāḥ . . . = yataḥ ‘from (the house) which’
yasyāṁ . . . = yatra ‘in (the house) which’

1. Note that our earlier rule had the condition of uttarapade. This rule is formulated for contexts where uttarapade is not required. The tasīlādī affixes have been enumerated by rules 5.3.7 paṅcamyās tasīl through 5.4.17 samkhya-yāḥ kriyābhāvyāvṛttigānane kṛtvasuca. Since these are enumerated within the domain of 5.3.1 prāg diśo vibhaktīḥ they are termed vibhaktī:

2. Note that tyād and yād, which are used in sā and yā, are used with the same meaning also in their masculine counterparts saḥ and yaḥ. It is for this reason that they can be accepted as bhāṣitapumśka. A masculine transformation on tad + TāP + Naś + tra and tad + TāP + Ni + tra, will, subsequent to deletion of TāP and Ni, yield tad + tas and tad + tra. Rule 7.2.102 tyadādānām aḥ will replace d of tad with a. Thus, ta(d→a) + tra = ta + a + tra and ya(d→a) + tra = ya + a + tra. An application of 6.1.97 ato guṇe will yield t(a + a→a) + tra = tatra and y(a + a→a) + tra = yatra. Similar rules apply in deriving tad + tas =
tatas and yad + tas = yatas which, after rutva-visarga produce tatah and yatah, respectively. Refer to derivational details of tatra and other relevant derivates under the appendix of rules 1.1.37 svārādīnipātām avayam, 2.4.71 supoddhātu-prātipadikhayoh and 2.4.82 avayād āpsupaḥ.

3. The taisilädi listing includes ceratin affixes before which pumvadbhāva ‘masculine transformation’ is not desired (nesyate). There are certain affixes which are not contained within the taisilädi group, but before which pumvadbhāva is desired (isyate). It is, therefore, recommended that these affixes be clearly specified. Kāśikā enumerates them: tra (5.3.10 tratasau) and tas (5.3.57 paṇcamyās tasil); taraP (5.3.57 dvīvacana . . .) and tamaP (5.3.55 atiśāyane . . .); caraT (5.3.53 bhūtapūrve caraT) and jātiyaR (5.3.69 prakāravacane . . .); kalpaP, deśya and deśiyaR (5.3.67 iṣad asamāptau . . .); rūpyaP (5.3.66 prāṣamsāyam rūpap) and pāṣaP (5.3.47 yāpye pāṣap); thamU (5.3.24 idamas . . .) and thāL (5.3.23 prakāravacane thāL); dā and rhil (5.3.15 sarvaikānya–5.3.16 idamo rhil); tiL and tātiL (5.4.41 vṛkṣajñēsthābhīyam . . .).

4. The Mahābhāsya proposes some additional pumvadbhāva proposals as follows:

(i) A statement should be made about pumvadbhāva of nominals used with the signification of bahu ‘many, much’ and alpa ‘little, less’ when Śas ‘accusative plural’ follows (śasi bahvālpārthasya pumvadbhāvo vaktavayah). Thus, bahuśo dehi and alpaśo dehi.

(ii) A statement of pumvadbhāva should be made when a nominal used with the signification of quality (guṇavacana) is used before affixes tua and traL. Thus, paṭuyā bhāvah = paṭutvam and paṭutā ‘cleverness’.

(iii) A statement of pumvadbhāva should be made for that which is termed bha when a taddhita affix other than dha follows (bhasyāḥdhe taddhite pumvadbhāvo vaktavayah). Thus, hastinīnām samūhah = hāstikham ‘group of (female) elephants’. How can one derive āgniyaḥ, paraphrased as āgniyo devatā ‘sy a ‘that whose divinity is āgniya’. That is, when pumvadbhāva is blocked before dha? The form should be āgniyaṉaḥ if dha is introduced after āgni. Efforts must be made to derive it with pumvadbhāva (kartavyo’ tra yatnah). It is stated that this provision of pumvadbhāva should be restricted where the signification is not an apatya ‘offspring’. This masculine transformation will then restore agni, and there will not be any problem in deriving āgniyaḥ.

(iv) This pumvadbhāva must also be stated before affixes thaK and chaS. Thus, consider bhavatyaḥ chātrāḥ = bhāvatkāḥ and bhavadiyāḥ ‘your students’.

6.3.36 क्यामानिनोश्च

kyaṃmāninoś ca
/kyaṁ-māninoḥ 7/2 = kyaṁ ca mānīn ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca ṣa/
(uttarapade #1 sṛtyāḥ pumvad bhāṣita-pumskādanāṁ #33)

kyaṁi parato mānīnī ca sṛtyā bhāṣita-pumskādanāṁ pumvad bhavati

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix ūN, treated as that of its masculine, provided a word ending in affix KyaN and mānīn follows.

EXAMPLES:

etāyate 'acts like a hind'
śyetāyate 'acts like a hawk'

darśanīyamāṇī ayam asyāḥ 'this (husband) of hers considers himself handsome'
darśanīyamāṇinīyam asyāḥ 'she considers herself beautiful'

1. The words enī and śyenī are dérivates of ṇīP introduced after eta and śyeta, with an additional provision of n replacing their t (4.1.39 varṇād anudattā . . .). Forms such as etāyate and śyetāyate, paraphrased as enī iva ṛcaraṇi and śyenī iva ṛcaraṇi, respectively, are derived with the introduction of affix KyaN after enī + sU and śyenī + sU. An application of pumvadbhāva on enī + sU + (K)ya(Ṇ) and śyenī + sU + (K)ya(Ṇ), subsequent to the removal of ṇīP and deletion of sU, will produce eṇa + ya and śyeta + ya. A removal of ṇīP will also result in the removal of n which replaced t of eta and śyeta of enī and śyenī. For, ṇīP and (n→t) were introduced concurrently (sanniyogaśiṣṭa). Recall that 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhbhātu . . . will here cause a before ya to be replaced with ā. Thus, etāya and śyetāya will be roots after which LAT can be introduced to subsequently derive etāyate and śyetāyate.

Similar steps are involved in deriving darśanīyamāṇī and darśanīyamāṇinī from (darśanīya + ṇīP) + am + (man + ṇinīI) = darśanīyā + mānīn and (darśanīyā + am) + (man + ṇinīI + ṇīP)) = darśanīyā + mānīnī, respectively. Our final dérivates, subsequent to the application of pumvadbhāva, will be: darśanīyamāṇī and darśanīyamāṇinī, respectively.

2. Note that mānīn is used here to cover dérivates lacking syntactic coordination (sāmānakārāya). That is, when the object of ḍṛś and the agent of mānīn are not the same. For, in situations where they are both in syntactic coordination, pumvadbhāva can be accomplished by 6.3.34 sṛtyāḥ bhāṣita-pumskād. . . . Consider darśanīyamāṇī which is paraphrased as darśanīyām ātmānām manyate devadattā iyam ‘this daughter of Devadatta considers herself beautiful’. Now consider the example where syntactic coordination between the object of ḍṛś and agent of man is lacking: darśanīyām imāṁ yajñadattām manyate devadattā ‘Devadatta’s daughter considers this daughter of Yajñadatta beautiful’.
6.3.37 न कोषधया:

\[\text{na kopadhāyāḥ} \]
\[\text{na φ kopadhāyāḥ 6/1 = kakāra upadhā yasyāḥ sā (bu.), tasyāḥ/} \]
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumskādānun #33)
\[\text{kopadhāyāḥ striyāḥ pumvadbhāvo na bhavati} \]
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and contains \( k \) in its \( upadhā \) 'penultimate position', is, when not ending in affix \( uN \), not treated as that of its masculine.

Examples:

\[\text{pācikabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is a cook’} \]
\[\text{kārikabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is a doer’} \]
\[\text{madrikabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is from Madra’} \]
\[\text{vṛjikabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is from Vṛjī’} \]
\[\text{madrikāyate ‘acts like one from Madra’} \]
\[\text{vṛjikāyate ‘acts like one from Vṛjī’} \]
\[\text{madrikāmānini ‘considers herself from Madra’} \]
\[\text{vṛjikāmānini ‘considers herself from Vṛjī’} \]

1. This rule blocks \( pumvadbhāva \) in examples where a feminine contains \( k \) in its penultimate position (kakāropadha). This negative provision is made against positive provision of the earlier rule. Thus, consider \( pācikā \) and \( kārikā \) which are both derivates of \( NuvL \) terminating in the feminine affix \( TāP \). Their \( iT \) has been introduced by 7.3.44 \( pratyayasthāt \). . . . These derivates are both \( bhāṣitapumskā. \) Consequently, \( pumvadbhāva \) is available to them from 6.3.34 striyāḥ bhāṣitapumskād. . . . This rule negates it. Examples such as \( madrikabhāryaḥ \) and \( vṛjikabhāryaḥ \) also had \( pumvadbhāva \) of \( madrikā \) and \( vṛjikā \) available to them from 6.3.35 \( tasilādī. \) . . . Recall that the bases after which the feminine affix is introduced to derive \( madrikā \) and \( vṛjikā \) are derivates of \( kaN \) (4.2.131 madravṛyōh . . . ). Derivates of \( KyaN \), for example \( madrikāyate \) and \( vṛjikāyate \), had \( pumvadbhāva \) available from 6.3.36 kyaṁmāninoś ca. Our present rule negates it here.

2. This negation of \( pumvadbhāva \), specified with \( kakāropadha \) ‘having \( k \) in its penultimate position’, should negate \( vu \), i.e., \( aka \), when related to a \( taddhita \). Thus, \( pumvadbhāva \) should apply to \( pākā \) ‘young female’, a derivate of \( TāP \) introduced after \( pākā \) ending in \( kaN \). An example is: \( pākabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is young’.

6.3.38 संज्ञापूर्णोक्ति

\[\text{samjñāpūranyoś ca} \]
\[\text{/samjñāpūranyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); ca φ/} \]
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumskād anūn #33 na #37)
samjñāyāh pūranyāś ca striyāh pumvadbhāvo na bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (samjñā) or ends in a pūrāṇa suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

dattābhāryāh ‘he whose wife is Dattā’
guptābhāryāh ‘he whose wife is Guptā’
dattāpāśā ‘Dattā who deserves censure’
guptāpāśā ‘Guptā who deserves censure’
dattāyate ‘someone who acts as if she was Dattā’
guptāyate ‘someone who acts as if she was Guptā’
dattāmāṇinī ‘she who considers herself Dattā’
guptāmāṇinī ‘she who considers herself Guptā’
paṇcamībhumāryāh ‘he whose wife is the fifth’
dasamībhumāryāh ‘he whose wife is the tenth’
paṇcamīpāśā ‘the fifth who deserves censure’
dasamīpāśā ‘the tenth who deserves censure’
paṇcamiyate ‘she acts as if she was the fifth’
dasamiyate ‘she acts as if she was the tenth’
paṇcamimāṇinī ‘she considers herself the fifth’
dasamimāṇinī ‘she considers herself the tenth’

1. This rule negates pumvadbhāva of female names and forms which end in a pūrāṇa suffix. Note that dāna ‘giving’ and gopana ‘preserving’ condition the usage of both datta/dattā and gupta/guptā, respectively. Consequently, dattā and guptā, both derivates of TāP, are accepted as bhāsitaṃpūnska. Incidentally, datta and gupta, their masculine counterparts, end in Ṛta introduced after dā and gu (3.3.174 kīktau ca samjñāyām). The sense of paṇcamatva ‘fifthness’ and dasamatva ‘tenthness’ can constitute the condition for usage of paṇcama/paṇcamī and daśama/daśami. That is, paṇcamī ‘fifth’ and daśami ‘tenth’ are also bhāsitaṃpūnska.

Why list derivates of Kyan as examples when they do not differ in form? That is, whether pumvadbhāva applies or not. These examples are offered to specify the scope of negation.

6.3.39 वृद्धिनिविष्ठस्य च तद्वित्तयारक्तविकरे

vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasyāraktavikāre
/vṛddhinimittasya 6/1 = vṛddher nimittam yasmin (bv.), tasya; ca φ/
taddhitasya 6/1 araktavikāre = raktaṃ ca vikāraś ca = raktavikāram (dv.);
na raktavikāram (nañ.), tasmin/
(uttarapade #1 striyāh pumvadbhāṣitaṃpūnskādanūn #33 na #37)
vrddhinimittas taddhitah yadi rakte' rthe vikāre ca na vihitah, tadantasya striśabdasya na pumvad bhavati

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine and ends in a taddhita affix conditioning vrddhi, is not treated as that of its masculine, provided this taddhita affix was introduced with the signification of something other than rakta ‘colored by means of ... (4.2.1 tena raktam ...)’ and vikāra ‘a modification of ... (4.3.134 tasya vikārah)’.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnībhirāyah ‘he whose wife is from Srughna’
māthurībhirāyah ‘he whose wife is from Mathurā’
sraughnīpāsā ‘the one from Srughna deserves censure’
sraughnīyate ‘acts as one from Srughna’
māthurīyate ‘acts as one from Mathurā’
sraughnīmānīni ‘she who considers herself as one from Srughna’
māthurīmānīni ‘she who considers herself as one from Mathurā’

1. Note that the taddhita affixes which are accepted as conditioning vrddhi are marked with N, N (7.2.115 aco niśiti) and K as an it (7.2.118 kiti ca). Our example constituents, i.e., sraughnī and māthurī, are derivatives of aN (4.3.53 tatra bhavah), used in the feminine with affix NiP (4.1.15 tiśdhānañ ...). This aN is obviously not introduced with the signification of rakta and vikāra. The negation of pumvadbhāva thus becomes applicable.

2. Kāśikā offers madhyamabhāryah ‘he whose wife was born as a middle child’ as a counter-example to the condition of vrddhinimitta ‘cause of vrddhi’. Recall that madhyama is a taddhita derive with affix ma (4.3.8 madhyān mah). But this affix does not have any N, N or K which may cause vrddhi. The negation of pumvadbhāva is thus blocked. Now consider kāṇḍalāvabhāryah ‘he whose wife chops wood’ which is offered as a counter-example to the condition of taddhita. Since kāṇḍalāvā, a derive of aN (3.2.1 karmay an) used in the feminine, has an affix other than a taddhita, pumvadbhāva still cannot be blocked. Finally, counter-examples relative to the condition of araktavikāre ‘when not denoting rakta and vikāra’, are offered as: kāsāyabrhatikah ‘he who wears a robe colored with a red dye’ and lauheaḥ ‘he whose cart-rails are made of iron’. The feminine affixes in kāsāyī and lauhi are introduced after taddhita derivatives conditioned with the signification of rakta and vikāra. Here again pumvadbhāva cannot be negated.

3. Note that vrddhinimitta, a qualifier to taddhita, is interpreted here as a bahuvrihi, paraphrased as: vrddher nimittam yasmin ‘that in which there is the cause of vrddhi’. A tatpurusa interpretation will block pumvadbhāva of tāvati and yāvati in tāvadbhāryah and yāvadbhāryah. The ā of tāvati and yāvati is termed vrddhi, but it is not conditioned here by a taddhita affix containing N, N and K. The ā intāvati and yāvati is introduced to tad + vatUP and yad +...
vatUP by rule 6.3.91 ā sarvanāmnaḥ. The ÑīP in tāvatī and yāvatī is introduced by 4.1.6 ugtasa ca.

6.3.40 स्वाङ्गाचेत:  
svāṅgāc cetaḥ  
/svāṅgāt 5/1 ca φ itah 6/1/  
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapumskādanun #33 na #37)  
svāṅgād uttaro ya ikāras tadalāyāḥ striyā na puṃvad bhavati amānini parataḥ  
The form of a nominal which, ending in ī used after a constituent signifying one’s own limb (svāṅga), denotes feminine and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than mānin follows.  

Examples:  
dīrghakesībhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife has long hairs’  
slaksnakēsībhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife has shiny hairs’  
dīrghakesīpāṣā ‘she, the one with long hairs, deserves to be censured’  
slaksnakēsīpāṣa ‘she, the one with shiny hairs, deserves to be censured’  
dīrghakesīyate ‘she acts like someone with long hairs’  
slaksnakēsīyate ‘she acts like someone with shiny hairs’  

1. This rule negates puṃvadbhāva of feminine derivates used with the signification of svāṅga ‘one’s own limb’. The feminine affix NīŚ of dīrghakesī ‘she who has long hairs’ is introduced by 4.1.54 svāṅgāc copasarjanād. . . .  

2. A counter-example to the condition of svāṅga is offered as paṭuṁbhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is clever’ where paṭu ‘clever’ denotes quality (guṇa). The condition of īT is imposed so that akeśā bhāryā yasya = akeśabhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife does not have any hair’, where akeśa, ending in ā of TāP, can avail puṃvadbhāva. Affix NīŚ, in this derive, is blocked by 4.1.57 sahānaṁvidyaṁana. . . .  

3. A vārttika proposal allows this negation when māninī does not follow. Kāśikā reads amānini at the end as part of this sūtra. Thus, kāṭhī of kathamānini ‘she who considers herself a Kāṭha’ goes through puṃvadbhāva.  

6.3.41 जातेच  
jāteś ca  
/jāteś 5/1 ca φ/  
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapumskād anūn #33 na #37)  
jāteś ca striyā na puṃvad bhavati amānini parataḥ  
The form of a nominal which denotes jāte ‘class’ in the feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not
treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than mānin follows.

Examples:

kaṭhībhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is a Kaṭha’
baḥveśībhāryaḥ ‘he whose wife is a Baḥveśī’
kaṭhīpāśā ‘this Kaṭha woman deserves censure’
baḥveśīpāśā ‘this Baḥveśī woman deserves censure’
kaṭhiyate ‘acts like a Kaṭha woman’
baḥveśīyate ‘acts like a Baḥveśī woman’

1. Recall that prefix NaŚ is introduced in kaṭhī and baḥveśī by 4.1.63 jāter astriviṣayā. . . . The condition of amānini still applies.

2. A proposal not to negate pumvadbhāva specified by enumeration (aupasamkhyānīka) is also made. This mainly concerns pumvadbhāva proposal of a vārttika, ad 5.3.35 tasilādisu . . . (cf. bhasyādhe taddhite).

6.3.42 पुंवकर्मधारयाजातीयादेशियेषु

pumvat karmadhārayājātiyadeśīyeṣu
/pumvat/ karmadhāraya-jātiya-deśīyeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
uttarapade #1 striyāḥ bhāṣita-pumvadānūn #33
karmadhāraye samāse ‘jātiya, deśīya’ ity etayos ca pratayayor bhāṣita-pumvadānān
anūn striyāḥ pumvad bhavati

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix -ūN and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is treated as that of the masculine when this same combines in a karmadhāraya compound, and affixes jātiyaR and deśīyaR follow.

Examples:

pācakavaṃdārikā ‘a female cook’
pācakajātiyā ‘like a cook’
pācakadeśīyā ‘almost a cook’
dattavṃdārikā ‘a cook named Dattā’
dattajātiyā ‘like Dattā’
dattadeśīyā ‘almost like Dattā’
paṇcamaṃvṃdārikā ‘the fifth cook’
paṇcamajātiyā ‘like the fifth cook’
paṇcamadeśīyā ‘almost like the fifth cook’
sraughnabhāryā ‘a wife born in Srughna’
sraughnajātiyā ‘a wife like someone born in Srughna’
sraughnadeśīyā ‘almost like one born in Srughna’
ślakṣṇamukhaṃvṃdārikā ‘a cook with a shining face’
ślakṣṇamukhajātiyā ‘like one with a shining face’
ślaksṇamukhadeśiyā ‘almost like someone with a shining face’
kathavṛṇḍārikā ‘a Kāthi who is a cook’
kathajātiyā ‘like a Kāthi’
kathadeśiyā ‘almost like a Kāthi’

1. This rule is formulated so that pumvadbhāva can apply where it has been denied. Thus, consider the following:
   (a) pācakavṛṇḍārikā and pācakajātiyā, where the negation of 6.1.37 na kopadhāyāḥ does not apply;
   (b) dattavṛṇḍārikā and paṅcamavṛṇḍārikā, where the negation of 6.3.38 samjñāpūrṇayōṣ ca does not apply;
   (c) sraughnajātiyā and sraughnadesiyā, where the negation of 6.3.39 vṛddhimimittasya ca . . . does not apply;
   (d) ślaksṇamukhavṛṇḍārikā, ślaksṇamukhajātiyā and ślaksṇamukhadesiyā, where the negation of 6.3.40 svāṅgāc cetaḥ does not apply;
   (e) kathavṛṇḍārikā, kathajātiyā and kathadesiyā, where the negation of 6.3.41 jātēṣ ca does not apply.

Note, however, that this rule is not formulated so that pumvadbhāva can apply, even where the two conditions of bhāṣitatpumskat and anīn are not satisfied. Thus, khaṭvābhāryah and brahmabandhuvṛṇḍārikā, where khaṭvā, of the first compound, is obligatorily feminine, and brahmabandhu, of the second, ends in ā.ū.

2. Rules 5.3.69 prakāravacane jātiyar and 5.3.67 īṣad asamāptau introduce affixes jātiyar and deśiyar, respectively.

3. There are some additional proposals made in the Mahābhāṣya:
   (i) kukkuti ‘hen’, etc., avail pumvadbhāva when anḍa ‘egg’, etc., are used in combination after them. Thus, kukkutyā anḍam = kuk-
kuktyāṇḍam ‘hen’s-egg’ and mrgyāḥ padam = mrgapadam ‘foot of a female deer’. It has also been suggested that such a provision is not to be made. For, since the initial constituents of these compounds denote their class in general, and not the feminine within that class, pumvadbhāva is not needed.

   (ii) Shortening (hrasva), as against pumvadbhāva, should be applied where an affix marked with KH as an it, or an affix termed gha (1.1.22 taraṅgamaḥau ghaḥ), follows. Thus, kālimanyāḥ/hariṇim-
manyā (3.2.83 ātmamāne khaṣ ca) and paṭvitarā/paṭvitaṃ.

6.3.43 गरुपकल्पचेदलबुवगोत्रतमानहेतुस नियोजनेकाचो हरस्व:
gharīrūpakaḷpacedaḷbruvagotramatahatesu niyō nekāco hrasvah
/gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaḷ-bruva-gotra-mata-hatesu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu; niyāḥ 6/
1 anekācaḥ 1/1 = anekāḥ ac yasmin (dv.); na anekāc (naṅ.); hrasvah 1/1/
‘gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaḷ-bruva-gotra-mata-hata’ ity etesu pariṣṭhā bhāṣitatpumskat
paro yo nīpratayayas tadantasyānekāco hrasvo bhavati
A Nī at the end of a poisyllabic (anekāc) nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix ūNī, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when gha, rūpa, kalpa, celaT, bruva, gotra, mata, and hata follow.

Examples:

brāhmaṇitorā ‘a better brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇitamā ‘the best brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇirūpā ‘an excellent brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇikalpā ‘kind of a brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇicēḷi ‘not quite a brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇibrūvā ‘a brāhmaṇa woman by name only’
brāhmaṇigotrā ‘a brāhmaṇa woman by gotra only’
brāhmaṇimata ‘a brāhmaṇa woman deserving of censure’
brāhmaṇihatā ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers shortening (hrasva) against pumvadbhāva. The word gha here refers to forms ending in affixes taraP and tamaP (1.1.21 tarapta-mābou ghaḥ). Similar references are made by affixes rūpaP (5.3.66 praśams-sāyām . . .) and kalpaP (5.3.67 iṣad asamāptau . . .). A reference with celaT, bruva, gotra, mata and hata is made to words used with the signification of kutsā ‘censure’. These are not affixes.

The first two, i.e., cela and bruva, are derivatives of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahipacādy . . .). A specification of cela, with T as an it, is made so that NīP could be introduced by 4.1.15 ṭīḍhāṇāñ. . . Note that brū ‘to speak’ gets aC and no replacement in vac, via nīpātana. A compound formation with cela, etc., is allowed by 2.1.52 kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ. A compound with mata and hata is allowed by 2.1.56 viśeṣaṇām viśeṣyaṇa. . .

The word brāhmaṇi is a derivate of NīS. The shortening of this rule applies to its final ī. This shortening, however, still maintains the condition of bhāṣītapumska. Thus, no shortening is allowed in āmalakitarā and kuvalitarā, where āmalakī and kuvalī are obligatorily feminine.

6.3.44 नधाः: शेषस्याण्यतारस्याम्

nadyāḥ śeṣasyānyatarasyām
/ nadyāḥ 5/1 śeṣasya 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(uttaraṇade #1 gharūpaceladhruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ #43)
nadyāḥ śeṣasya ghādiṣu parataḥ hrasvo bhavati

The final vowel of remaining nominals, namely those which are termed nadi, is replaced with its corresponding short only optionally, when gha, rūpa, kalpa, celaT, bruva, gotra, mata, and hata follow.

Examples:

brahmabandhutarā ‘a better brahmabandhu’
6.3.45 Adhyāya Six: Pāda Three

brahmabandhūtārā ‘ibidem’
brahmabandhutamā ‘the best brahmabandhū’
brahmabandhūtamā ‘ibidem’
virabandhutarā ‘a better virabandhū’
virābandhūtarā ‘ibidem’
strītarā ‘better woman’
strītarā ‘ibidem’
strītamā ‘best woman’
strītamā ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional shortening to nādi words, not covered by the preceding rule. That is, nādi words which do not end in Ni, and also those which end in Ni but are constituted by a single vowel (ekāc). Recall that 1.4.3 yūstrīkkhyau nādi assigns the term nādi to feminine forms ending in ī and ū.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to negate this shortening when a nādi word happens to be a derivate of affix kṛt (vt: kṛnnadyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyah). Thus, consider lakṣmītarā and tantrītarā, where lakṣmī and tantrī are derivates of kṛt (III:158–9: avitīs . . ./lakṣmer muṭ ca).

6.3.45 उगितःच

ugītaś ca

/ugītaḥ 5/1 = uk it yasya = ugit (bu.), tasmāt; ca ṣ/
(uttarapade #1 gharūpakalpaceladvravagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ #43 anayatartasyām nadyāḥ #44)
ugītaś ca parasyā nadyā ghādiṣu anyatarasyām hrasvo bhavati

The final sound segment of a nominal termed nādi when occurring in combination after a form with uKī, i.e., u, ī, ī, as an i, is also replaced with its short counterpart, provided gha, rūpa, kalpa, celaT, brūva, gotra, mata, and hata follow.

Examples:

śreyasītarā ‘comparatively more superior’
śreyasītarā ‘ibidem’
śreyastīrā ‘ibidem’
viduṣītarā ‘comparatively more learned’
viduṣītarā ‘ibidem’
vidvattārā ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows optional shortening in case of a nādi word derived with a taddhita affix marked with U and R as an i. Of course, the right context of gha, etc., is still valid. Thus, śreyasītarā, śreyasītarā. Recall that śreyasī is derived with NiP (4.1.6 ugītaś ca) introduced after śreyas. The word śreyas itself is a derivate of iyasUN (5.3.57 dvivacana . . .), where praśasya ‘excellent’, of praśasya + iyasUN, is replaced with śra (5.3.60 praśasyasa śraḥ).
Note that viduṣītarā is a derivate of tāraP introduced after viduṣī ‘learned female’. Affix ṇiP is introduced here after viduvas ‘knowledgeable’ which, in turn, is a derivate of ŚatR (3.2.124 laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .) replacing LAṬ. A further replacement in vas for ŚatR is then ordered by 7.1.36 videḥ śatur vasuḥ. Deriving viduṣī from viduvas + ṇiP involves samprasāraṇa of vas (6.4.131 vasaḥ . . .), followed by a single replacement similar to the preceding (pūrvarūpa) u of the sequence u + a.

Note that Kāśikā also desires pumvaḍbhava ‘masculine transformation’ as an alternate to shortening. Bīṣṭoṭi (ad SK) states that 6.3.35 tasilādiṣu . . . could itself account for masculine transformation. Besides, it cannot be blocked in the absence of shortening. This renders forms with long vowels, i.e., śreyasitarā, a suspect.

6.3.46 आमहतः समानाधिकरणाजातीयोऽः:

ān mahataḥ samānādhikaranajātīyoh
/āt 5/1 mahataḥ 5/1 samānādhikarana-jātīyoh 7/2 (itar. dū:), tayoh/
(uttarapade #1)
samānādhikarana uttarapade jātīye ca pratyaye parato mahata ākārādeso bhavati

The final t of mahat ‘great’ is replaced with ā when a syntactically coreferential pada, or affix jātīyaR, follows.

Examples:

mahādevaḥ ‘the great god; Śiva’
mahābrāhmaṇaḥ ‘a great brāhmaṇa’
mahābhāhuḥ ‘he whose arms are long’
mahābalaḥ ‘he who has great strength’
mahājātiyaḥ ‘moderately large’

1. This rule introduces āT (ā; 1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) as a replacement for the final t (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasa) of mahat when the same is followed, either by a pada in syntactic coordination or by jātīyaR. Thus we get mahādevaḥ and mahājātiyaḥ, etc. But consider mahāputraḥ, paraphrased as mahataḥ putraḥ ‘son of a great man’, where this replacement does not apply. For, mahat is used in the genitive with putraḥ in the nominative. Obviously, they are not in syntactic coordination.

A specification by samānādhikaranah is made so that mahat could not be limited to refer to the enumeration of 2.1.51 sanmahat. . . This interpretation is in consonance with paribhāṣā (114): lakṣaṇa-pratipaddoktayoh pratipadok-tasyaiva graham ‘a specification made by specific enumeration alone is accepted when the same comes into conflict with one made by a generalized specification of a given rule’. This would limit the application of this rule to tatpuruṣa compounds only. But since its application is also desired in case of
bahuśrihi compounds, for example mahābāhu, samānādhi karāṇaḥ ‘coreferential’ must be stated in this rule. Why is this replacement in ā not applied to mahat of mahaccandramāḥ ‘big moon’, paraphrased as amahān mahān sampanno mahadhūtaś candramāḥ ‘a previously not so big moon has become big’. Because the meaning of mahat here is secondary (gauna; Kāś: gaunātvān mahadarthasya na bhavaty ātvaṃ).

2. The tīn āt of this rule is used for clarity (vispaśārtham). It could not be accepted as used for indicating ā, via taparakarana (1.1.70 taparas takālasya). For, ā alone could accomplish that.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to also allow ā, and puṃvadbhāva as well, where ghāṣa ‘grass, food’, kara ‘hand’ and viśīṣṭa ‘distinguished’ occur as following constituents, and a meaning with no syntactic coordination is involved. Thus, mahatyā ghāṣaḥ = mahāghāṣaḥ, mahākaraḥ and mahāviśīṣṭaḥ.

A second vārttika proposal is made for ā with reference to aṣṭan ‘eight’ when the same combines with kapāla ‘bowl’ as a following constituent, and the derivate denotes havīṣ ‘ritual oblation of food’. Thus, consider aṣṭasu kapāleṣu samśkṛtam = aṣṭākapālam of aṣṭākapāle carun nirvapet ‘should offer ritual oblation of caru in aṣṭākapāla’. We will get aṣṭākapālam in contexts outside the meaning of havīṣ.

An additional proposal for ā is made, again with reference to aṣṭan ‘eight’, when go follows and the derivate denotes the sense of yuktā ‘equipped, associated’. Thus, aṣṭāgavāva śakataṇaḥ ‘by a cart pulled by eight bulls’. But consider aṣṭagavam brāhmaṇasya ‘eight cows of the brāhmaṇa’, where no meaning of yuktā is present.

6.3.47 द्वादश: संख्यामन्यो बहुव्रीहिः

dvādaśaḥ saṃkhya-yām abahuvrīhiyaśityoh
/ dvā-āstanaḥ 6/1 = dvau ca aṣṭa ca = dvāṣṭa (saṃ. dv.), tasya; saṃkhya-yām 7/1 abahuvrīhiyaśityoh 7/2 = bahuśrihiś ca aṣṭiś ca = bahuśrihiya-aśiti (nañ); na bahuśrihiyaśiti (nañ. with int. dv.), tayoh/
(uttarapade #1 āt #46)
‘dvi, aṣṭan’ ity etayor ākārūdeśo bhavati saṃkhya-yām uttarapade abrahuvrīhiyaśityoh

The final sound segment (aL) of dvi and aṣṭan is replaced with ā when a constituent denoting saṃkhya ‘number’, with the exception of aṣṭi ‘eighty’, combines to follow and the compound is not a bahuśrihi.

Examples:

dvādaśa ‘twelve’
dvārimśatih ‘twenty-two’
dvātriṃśat ‘twenty-three’
aṣṭādaśa ‘eighteen’
aṣṭāvimśatiḥ ‘twenty-eight’
aṣṭātrimśat ‘eighty-three’

1. This rule allows a replacement in ā to dvi and aṣṭan, when a number word other than aṣṭi combines to follow and the compound is not a bahuvrīhi. Thus, consider dvāvimśati and aṣṭāvimśati.

2. This replacement will be blocked in dvaimāturaḥ ‘son of two mothers’ and aṣṭamāturaḥ ‘son of eight mothers’ where a constituent denoting number does not combine to follow. This replacement will also be blocked in tridaśāḥ, paraphrased as trīyā yauvanākhyā daśā saḍā yeśām ‘those whose third state of life named ‘youth’ is eternal’. Incidentally, it is a bahuvrīhi compound (2.2.25 samkhyaśā vyayā . . .) where the samāsānta affix DaC is introduced (5.4.73 bahuvrīhau . . .) to follow. A replacement in ā will also be blocked in dvayāṣti ‘eighty-two’ because aṣṭi combines to follow dvi.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to restrict this replacement in ā only to contexts where the following constituent denotes a number lower than a hundred (prāk śatā). Thus dvāṣatam ‘two hundred’ and dvāṣahasram ‘two thousand’ will be counter-examples.

6.3.48 त्रेषृयः

trestrayah
/ treh 6/1 trayaḥ 1/1/
(uttarapade #1 samkhyaśām abahuvrīhyaśityoh #47)
‘tri’ ity etasya śabdasya trayas ādesā bhavati samkhyaśām uttarapade bahuvrīhyaśityoh

The final sound segment of tri is replaced with trayas when a constituent denoting samkhya ‘number’ with the exception of aṣṭi combines to follow and the compound is not a bahuvrīhi.

Examples:

trayodaśa ‘thirteen’
trayovimśatiḥ ‘twenty-three’
trayastrimśat ‘thirty-three’

1. This rule offers trayas as a replacement of tri when tri combines in a non-bahuvrīhi compound with a following constituent other than aṣṭi. Thus, consider trayodaśa, trayovimśati and trayastrimśat.

Note that the restriction of a number lower than a hundred still applies. In addition, we still have conditions of abahuvrīhau and aṣṭi. This replacement will thus be blocked in tridaśāḥ/trayaśitīḥ, and triṣatam/trisahasram, etc.

6.3.49 विभाषा चतवारिश्चत्र्यध्वनिः सर्वेषाम्

vibhāṣā catvārimśatprabhṛtau sarvesām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 catvāriṃśat-prabhūtau 7/1 = catvāriṃśat prabhūti yasyāh (bu.),
sasyām; sarveśām 6/3/
(uttarapade #1 abahuvrhiyaśītyoh #47)
Replacements stated in place of all, i.e., dvi, aṣṭan and tri, apply, only
optionally, when a constituent denoting number, namely catvāriṃśat,
etc., with the exclusion of aṣṭi, combine to follow and the compound
is not a bahuvrhi.

Examples:

dvicatvāriṃśat ‘forty-two’
 dvācatvāriṃśat ‘ibidem’
 tripaṇcāśat ‘fifty-three’
 trayaḥpaṇcāśat ‘ibidem’
 aṣṭaṇcaśat ‘fifty-eight’
 aṣṭaṇcāśat ‘ibidem’

1. Replacements offered under the preceding two rules are here made
optional. That is, when dvi, tri and aṣṭan combine in a non-bahuvrhi
compound with a following number word which denotes forty and above and is
not aṣṭi. Additionally, the restriction of a number word denoting less than a
hundred still applies. Thus, we get dvicatvāriṃśat/dvācatvāriṃśat, etc. Com-
ounds such as dvīṣatam, dvisahasram, etc., will be excluded because of their
śata ‘hundred’.

6.3.50 ह्रदयस्य ह्रलेख्यदण्डालासेव

hrdayasya hrilekhyayadanlāsesu
/hrdayasya 6/1 hṛt 1/1 lekha-yad-an-lāsesu 7/3 (itar. du.), teṣu/
(uttarapade #1)
hrdayasya ‘hṛt’ ity ayam ādese bhavati ‘lekha, yat, an, lāsa’ ity eteṣu parataḥ
The word hrdaya is replaced with hṛt ‘heart’ when lekha ‘line’, yat, aN
and lāsa ‘jumping’ follow.

Examples:

hṛllekhaḥ = hrdayam likhati ‘heart-writing’
hṛdyam = hrdayasya priyam ‘dear to heart’
hārdam = hrdayasyedam ‘pertaining to one’s heart’
hṛllāsah = hrdayasya lāsah ‘heart’s joy’

1. This rule offers hṛt as a replacement for hrdaya when lekha, yaT and aN
follow. Note that yaT and aN are affixes, and this specification does not
involve interpretation via tadantavidhi. That is, they are here understood as
introduced after hrdaya. This is in consonance with paribhāṣā (26): uttarapadā-
dhikāre tadantagrahane tadantāgraḥanasya ‘a specification made by an affix in
the domain of uttarapade does not involve interpretation via tadantavidhi’.
The word *lekha* is here understood as derived with an. That is, it is not interpreted here as derived with GHaN. A GHaN interpretation of *lekha* will thus not permit this replacement. Thus, *hrdayasya lekhaḥ = hrdayalekhaḥ.*

6.3.51 वा शोकचयोजेः

*vā śokasyaṁrogesu*

/ vā ṣoka-ṣyaṁ-rogesu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu/

(uttarapade #1 hrdayasya hṛt #50)

śoka, ṣyaṁ, roga ity eteṣu parato hrdayasya vā ‘hṛt’ ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati

The word *hrdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, only optionally, when *śoka* ‘grief, sadness’, *ṢyaN* and *roga* ‘disease’ combine to follow.

**Examples:**

hrccchakah ‘heart’s grief’

hrdayāśokah ‘ibidem’

sauhārdyām ‘good-heartedness; friendship’

sauhrdayayam ‘ibidem’

hrdrogah ‘heart disease’

hrdayarogah ‘ibidem’

1. This rule renders a replacement by *hṛt* optional when *hrdaya* is followed by *śoka*, *ṢyaN* and *roga*. The *ṢyaN* of this specification is here interpreted as affix *ṢyaN*. Recall that this affix is introduced after *hrdaya*, based on its listing in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals (5.1.124 guṇavacana-brahmaṇādi . . .). Thus, we get *hrccchakah/*hrdayāśokah and sauhrdayyam/*suhṛdayyam* ‘good heartedness’, etc.

2. A replacement in *vrddhi* (7.3.19 hrddhagasindhvante . . .) is accomplished for both constituents, i.e., *su* and *hṛt*, when *hrdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, as in *suhṛdaya + (Ṣ)ya(N)*. If *hrdaya* is not replaced with *hṛt*, we will get initial *vrddhi* of 7.2.117 taddhīteṣa acām . . ., where the final *a* of *hrdaya* will be deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. The *t* of *hṛt* in *hrccchoka* is replaced with *c* (8.4.39 stoh ścunā ścuh). A similar replacement of *ś* of *śoka* with *ch* is accomplished by 8.4.62 saś choṭi.

3. Why do we have to sate this replacement of *hrdaya* with *hṛt* when they are recognized as two separate bases. That is, these two separate bases can account for desired forms independently. An optional provision thus made for *hṛt* to replace *hrdaya* is nothing but expatiation (*prapañca; Kāś: hrdayasadbena samānārtho hṛtśabdah prakṛtyantarām asti tenaiva siddhe vikalpa-vidhānaḥ prapañcārtham*).

6.3.52 पदस्य पदायातिगोपहंते

*padasya padājyātigopahateṣu*
6.3.53 Adhyāya Six: Pāda Three 365

/pādasya 6/1 pada-ājy-āti-ga-upahatesu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(uttarapade)

pādasya 'pada’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ‘āji, āti, ga, upahata’ ity eteśuttara-
padesu

The word pāda is replaced by pada ‘foot’ when āji ‘he who goes’, āti ‘he
who comes’, ga and upahata ‘struck by’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pādājiḥ = pādābhyaṁ ajati ‘goes by foot’
pādātiḥ = pādābhyaṁ atati ‘foot-goer; infantryman’
pādagah = pādābhyaṁ gacchati ‘ibidem’
pādopahataḥ = pādenopahatah ‘kicked by foot’

1. This rule replaces pada with pada when āji, āti, ga and upahata combine
to follow. Note that āji and āti are derivatives of the Unādi affix iN introduced
after aj and at. A replacement in vi, required for aj (22.4.56 ajer vyaghaṇapoh),
is blocked because of iN. Thus we get pādājiḥ, etc.

2. Note that this replacement in pada also has accentual consequences.
The word pāda, as a member of the vṛṣādi group of nominals (6.1.202
vṛṣādīnāṁ ca), is marked udāṭta at the beginning. Its replacement in pada
is offered udāṭta at the end (6.1.168 udīdampadā . . .). Consequently, in a com-
 pound such as padopahataḥ, pada retains its final udāṭta (6.2.48 tṛīyā karmanī).
That is, the compound is udāṭta at the beginning. The other derivatives, i.e.,
pādātiḥ, pādājiḥ and pādagah, are marked udāṭta at the end, via kṛt accent.

3. Incidentally, a replacement in pada is here offered as ending in a. A
replacement ending in d is offered by the next rule.

6.3.53 पदात्यत्वदेव

/pad yaty atadarte
/pad 1/1 yati 7/1 atadarte 7/1 = tasmai idam = tadartham; na tadartham
(nāṁ with int. ca tat.), tasmin/
yatpratyaye parataḥ pādasya pad ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word pāda is replaced with pad when affix yaT, used with the signi-
fication of something other than tadartha ‘intended or beneficial for
that’, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pādyāḥ = śarkarāḥ, pādau vidhyanti ‘gravel which hurts feet’
pādyāḥ = kāntakāḥ ‘thorns which pierce feet’

1. This rule offers pad as a replacement for pāda when it is used before
affix yaT, signifying something other than tadartha ‘intended for that’. Re-
call that rule 5.4.25 pādārghyaṁ ca introduces affix yaT after pāda under the
meaning condition of tādarthya. This rule cannot allow this replacement in that context. We will still get pādyartham udakam ‘ritual water for wiping feet’. This rule will allow pad as a replacement when, for example, yaT is introduced by 4.4.83 vidhyaty adhanuṣā. We can then get padyāh, paraphrased as pādaud vidhyantya = padyāḥ kaṇṭakāḥ ‘thorns which pierce feet’.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to also allow this replacement where ika combines to follow with the signification of carati ‘goes, moves’. Thus, pādābhyaṁ carati = padikah. This ika is a replacement of affix ŚthaN (4.4.10 parpādibhyas śhan). Incidentally, pāda in this proposal denotes ‘foot’, and not a measure (pramanā). That is, dvipādyam, etc., of 5.1.34 paṇapādamāsa . . . will not qualify for this replacement.

6.3.54 हिमकाष्ठहितिः

hima-kāṣṭha-hitiḥ ca

/ hima-kāṣṭha-hitiṣu 7/3 = himam ta kāṣṭ ca hatiṣ ca = himākāṣṭhatayah (itar. dv.), tāṣu, ca φ/

(uttara-pade #1 pādasya #52 pad #53)

‘hima, kāṣṭa, hati’ ity eteṣu pādāśabdasya ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word pāda is also replaced with pad, when hima ‘snow’, kāṣṭa ‘rubbing’ and hati ‘stroking’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

paddhimam ‘foot-cold’
patkāsīnaḥ ‘pedestrian’
paddhatih ‘sidewalk, dirtroad’

1. This rule allows pad as a replacement for pāda, also when hima, kāṣṭa and hati combine to follow. Note also that paddhima is a genitive tapuruṣa compound, where h of hima gets replaced with dh (8.4.61 jha-yo ho’ nyan-tarasyām). Affix NinI (3.2.78 sya-yajītau . . .) is introduced in deriving patkāsīn, where d of pad gets replaced with t (8.4.55 khari ca).

6.3.55 ज्ञात: रूपः

ṛcaḥ se

/ṛcaḥ 6/1 se 7/1/

(uttara-pade #1 pādasya #52 pad #53)

ṛksambandhinah pādāśabdasya ṣe parataḥ ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word pāda, when used in relation to ṛk ‘hymn’, is replaced with pad, provided ṣe (affix ṣaṣ; 5.4.43 samkhyaikavacanāt . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

paccho gāyatrīṃ śaṃsati ‘praises Gāyatrī by its quarters’
1. This rule allows *pāda* to be replaced with *pad* when affix *śas* follows, and the derivate relates to the signification of a hymn. Affix *śas* (5.4.43 *samkhyaikavacanāc ca*) is introduced in *pacchaḥ* with the signification of *viṃśa* ‘pervasion, repetition’. Thus, *(pāda→pad) + śas→pad + śas*, where *d* gets replaced with *c* (*ścutva; 8.4.10 *stos ścunā ścuḥ*). The *s* of *śas* is also replaced with *ch* of 8.4.62 *śas cho ‘ti*.

This replacement will not be allowed in case of *pādaśāḥ*, of *pādaśāḥ kārṣṇāpanām dadāti* ‘gives a quarter of Kārṣṇāpana each’, because the derivate meaning does not relate to a hymn.

6.3.56 वा गोष्टिमिश्रवशब्देशु

*vā ghanamisraśabdesu*

/*vā φ* *ghanamisraśabdesu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.)*

(uttarapade #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)

‘ghanamisraśabdesu *pādasya* ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *pāda* is optionally replaced with *pad* when *ghoṣa* ‘noise’, *mīra* ‘mixed’ and *śabda* ‘noise, word’ combine to follow.

**Examples:**

*padghoṣah* ‘foot-noise’

*pādaghosah* ‘ibidem’

*panmīṣraḥ* ‘foot-mixed’

*pādamiṣraḥ* ‘ibidem’

*pacchabdaḥ* ‘foot-noise’

*pādaśabdaḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the replacement optional when *pāda* combines with *ghoṣa*, *mīra* and *śabda* to follow. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made to allow this replacement when *niśka* ‘gold coin’ combines to follow. Thus, *panniṣkaḥ* ‘one quarter of a gold coin, named *niśka*’ and *pādanīṣkaḥ*.

2. Note that *pāda* of these examples combines with *ghoṣa* and *śabda* to form a genitive tattvapraṇya compound. A compound with *mīra* in interpreted as instrumental tattpurusa (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa . . .*). Incidentally, the *d* of *pādamiṣraḥ*, is replaced with *n* (8.4.44 *yaro* ‘nunāsike . . .*). For phonological changes in deriving *pacchabda* from *pādīṣabda*, follow rules similar to *pacchaḥ* of the preceding rule.

6.3.57 उदकस्योदः समज्ञयायम्

*udakasyodah samjñāyām*

/*udakasya* 6/1 *udaḥ* 1/1 *samjñāyām* 7/1/

(uttarapade #1)

*udakaśabdasya samjñāyām viṣaye ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *udaka* ‘water’ is replaced with *uda* when a constituent follows, and the derivate signifies a name (*samjña*).

**Examples:**

*udamegho nāma yasya audameghih putrah* ‘Audameghi is the son of (he whose name is) Udamegha’

*udavāho nāma yasya udavāhiḥ putrah*

‘Audavāhi is the son of (he whose name is) Udavāha’

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when the same combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name (*samjña*). Thus, consider *audameghih* and *audavāhiḥ* where *udamegha* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. It can even be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* where the middle constituent is deleted and the compound is paraphrased as *udakapūro meghaḥ*. The base, i.e., *udavāha*, of our next example, i.e., *audavāhiḥ*, is a derivate of 3.2.1 *karmavya an* which is blocked in *udakagirih* ‘a mountain with water’. Obviously, this example does not denote a name.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *uda* to replace *udaka* when it is used as a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *lohitodah* ‘red-water’, *ksīrodah* ‘milk-water’ and *nilodah* ‘blue-water’.

### 6.3.58 पेषवासवाहनधिशुः

*peṣamuśāsavāhanadhiṣu ca*

'/peṣam-vāśa-vāhana-dhiṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) ca/

(uttarapade #1 udakasyodah #56)

‘peṣam, vāsa, vāhana, dhi’ ity eteṣu cottaṇapadesu udakasya ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *udaka* is replaced with *uda* when *peṣam* ‘grinding’, *vāsa* ‘living’, *vāhana* ‘carrier’ and *dhi* ‘receptacle’ combine to follow.

**Examples:**

*udapesam pinaṣṭi...* grinds something into a paste by adding water

*udavāṣah = udakasya vāṣah* ‘residing in water; reservoir’

*udavāhanah = udakasya vāhanah* ‘water-carrier’

*udadhīḥ = udakam dhiyate smin* ‘that which holds water; ocean’

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when *peṣa* ‘paste’, *vāsa* ‘residence’ and *dhi* ‘that in which something is placed’ follow in combination.

### 6.3.59 एकहलादौ पूर्वितव्ये न्यतरस्यायम्

*ekahalādau pūrayitavye nyatarasyām*
ekahādau 7/1 = eko hal ādir yasya (bv. with three constituents (tripada)), tasmin, pūrayitavye 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 udakasypoḍah #57)
ekahādau pūrayitavavāciny anyatarasyām udakasya ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeso bhavati
The word udaka is optionally replaced with uda when a constituent which contains a single consonant (hal) at its beginning and signifies the sense of pūrayitavya ‘that which is to be filled up’ combines to follow.

Examples:

udaṁkumbhaḥ ‘pitcher of water’
udakakumbhaḥ ‘ibidem’
udaṁpātram ‘water vessel’
udakapātram ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows udaka to be replaced with uda when it combines with a following constituent beginning with a single consonant and denoting the sense of pūrayitavya ‘that which is to be filled up’. This replacement will not be available to udakasthalam ‘water-place’ and udakaparvataḥ ‘water-mountain’, where the first has sthala beginning with two consonants and the second does not denote something to be filled up.

6.3.60 मन्थादनसक्तुबिन्दुव्यापर्यास्त्राकाराविवधगाहेशु

manthauddanaśaktubinduvārāhāraḥāraḥvāvadhagāḥesu
/mantha-odana-saktu-bindu-vajra-bhāra-hāra-vīvadha-gāheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.),
eteṣu/

(uttarapade #1 udakasypoḍah #57 anyatarasyām #59)
‘mantha, odana, saktu, bindu, vajra, bhāra, hāra, vīvadha, gāha’ ity
eteṣūttarapadeṣūddakasya ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeso bhavati

Examples:

udaṁmanthah = udakena manthah ‘churned by means of water’
udakamanthah ‘ibidem’
udaṁdauḍanaḥ = udakenaudanaḥ ‘rice with water’
udakauḍanaḥ ‘ibidem’
udaṁsaktuh = udakena saktuh ‘saktu with water’
udakasaktuh ‘ibidem’
udaṁbinduḥ = udakasya binduḥ ‘water drop’
udakabinduh ‘ibidem’
udavajraḥ = udakasya vajraḥ ‘water-jar; ‘water with force like Vajra’
udakavajraḥ ‘ibidem’
udabhāraḥ = udakam bibharttiḥ ‘water-carrier’
udabhāraḥ ‘ibidem’
udavivadah = udakasya vivadah ‘load of water’
udakavivadah ‘ibidem’
udagāhaḥ = udakam gāhate ‘he who measures the depth of water; ‘diver’
udakagāhaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows uda as an optional replacement for udaka when mantha, etc., combine to follow. This, udakena manthah = udamanthah, etc.

6.3.61 इको ह्रस्वोद्भवे गालवस्य

iko hrasvo ‘nyoh gālavasya
/ikah 6/1 hrasvaḥ 1/1 anyoh 6/1 gālavasya 6/1/
(uttarapade #1 anyatarasyām #58)
igantasyānyantasyottarapade hrasvo bhavati gālavasyācāryasya matenānyatadarasyām

The final of a nominal which ends in iK, with the exception of ṇi, in the opinion of Gālava, is optionally replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

grāmaniputraḥ ‘son of a village leader’
grāmaṇiputraḥ ‘ibidem’
brahmabandhuputraḥ ‘son of a bad brāhmaṇa; ‘son of a brāhmaṇa woman, but by name . . .’
brahmabandhūputraḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the final iK vowel of an initial constituent, provided the iK vowel is not the ī of a feminine affix marked with ṇ (ṇi). This, of course, is Gālava’s opinion. Others may have their own options. Is this rule optional? Yes, but not because of gālavasya. Notice that anyatarasyām is also carried. Why then use gālavasya? Commentators explain that gālavasya is used for denoting respect (pujārtham; Kāś: gālavagrahānām pujārtham). The option, however, is interpreted as nyavasthitavibhāsa ‘fixed option’.

2. The condition of an iK is imposed so that non-iK vowels, for example in khaṭuṛūḍha and mālāpāda, do not qualify for this replacement. The condition of anyoh is imposed to similarly exclude gārgiputra and vātśiputra, where gārgī and vāṭī are feminine forms ending in ṇi. Since this is a fixed option, examples such as kārisagandhīpati will be excluded. Such examples will come under the purview of 6.3.139 samprasāraṇasya.
3. A vārttika proposal blocks this replacement in avayabhāva compounds, and also where constituents may qualify for replacements in iyAN and uvAN. Thus, consider śrikulam and bhrūkulam; kāndibhūtam and vṛsalibhūtam.

Yet another vārttika proposal restores the short replacement for the long ü of bhrū in bhrūkumśaḥ and bhrūkūṭiḥ. A different proposal (apara āha) would have ü of bhrū replaced with a, instead. Thus, bhrāṅkusāḥ and bhrakuṭī.

6.3.62 एक तद्द्विते च

eka taddhite ca
/eka (deleted 6/1) taddhite 7/1 ca φ/
(uttarapade #1 hrasvah #61)
ekaśabdasya taddhite uttarapade ca hrasvo bhavati

The final ā of eka is replaced with its short counterpart when a taddhita affix, or a constituent in combination, follows.

Examples:

aikarūpyam = ekasyā āgatam 'having arrived from one; descendants of the same woman'

ekamayam 'consisting of one'

ekatvam = ekasyā bhāvah 'unity; sense of oneness'

ekaksīram = ekasyāḥ kṣīram 'milk of one and same cow'

ekadudgadhām 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the ā of ekā when a taddhita affix, or a constituent in combination, follows. Notice that eka is used here without any nominal ending (avibhaktiko nirdesāḥ). This short replacement must apply to the long ā of ekā. For, to state that the short final ā of eka be replaced with its short counterpart will not make any sense. Thus, what is specified with eka is the feminine ekā (liṅgaviśiṣṭasya). Could the proposal mean shortening of e of eka? No. For, the short replacement is here ordered for a final long. Note also that shortening of the final ā of ekā, used as a qualifier (guṇavacana), is already available through masculine transformation (pumvadbhāva; vt. tuvatalo guṇavacanasya, (ad 6.3.35 tasilādis . . .)). This rule therefore allows shortening outside the scope of a qualifier meaning.

6.3.63 ड्यापोः संज्ञान्दसोवीभुलम्
nīyāpoḥ sanjñāchandasor bahulam
/nīyāpoḥ 6/2 = ni ca āp ca = nīyāpau (itinar. dv.), tayoh; sanjñāchandasor
7/2 = sanjñā ca chandaś ca (itinar. dv.), tayoh; bahulam 1/1/
(uttarapade #1 hrasvah #61)
nīyantasyaśbantasya ca sanjñāchandasor bahulam hrasvo bhavati

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in Nī and āP is variously
(bahulam), in the context of a name or Vedic usage, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent follows.

**Examples:**

revatiḥputraḥ ‘son of Revati’
rohiniḥputraḥ ‘son of Rohini’
nāndikaraḥ ‘speaker of a prologue (in a stage play)’
nāndighoṣaḥ ‘announcement of a prologue’
nāndīvīśālah ‘a divinity’
kumāridā ‘bestower of a daughter’
urvidā ‘bestower of the earth’
phālgunīpaurṇamāṣi ‘full-moon night of the month of Phālguna’
jagāticchandāḥ ‘a meter named jagati’
silaprasṭham ‘name of a place’
silavaham ‘ibidem’
lomakāgrham ‘name of a place’
lomakāśaṇḍam ‘ibidem’
ajakṣireṇa juhoti ‘offers oblations with goat’s milk’
ūrṇāsūṭrena kavayō vayanti ‘weavers weave with threads of wool’

1. This rule allows shortening of the final of a form ending in feminine affixes Ā and ĀP, variously (bahulam). Of course, when the derivate denotes a name and the usage is Vedic. Thus, the i of revati and rohini, etc., are shortened. But consider nāndi of nāndikaraḥ, etc., where, because of bāhulaka, this shortening does not apply. This same applies to kumāri and urvī, as against phālguni and jagati. Now consider sila, as an example of a constituent ending in ĀP, where shortening applies. But then the same does not apply in case of lomakā. Examples with ajā and ārnā are: ajakṣireṇa juhoti and ārnāsūṭrena kavayō vayanti. The first goes through shortening but the second does not.

**6.3.64 ते च**

tve ca

/tve 7.1 ca ϕ/

(hrasvah 61 niyāpoḥ bahulam #63)
tvāpratayaye parato niyāpor bahulam hrasvo bhavati

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in Ā and ĀP is, variously, replaced with its short counterpart when affix tva (5.1.119 tasya bhāvas . . . ) follows.

**Examples:**

ajatvam = ajāyā bhāvaḥ ‘sense of being a she-goat’
ajātvam ‘ibidem’
rohiṇiṇītvam = rohiṇyā bhāvah 'sense of being Rōhiṇī'
rohiṇiṇītvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule extends the bāhulaka proposal of the earlier rule to constituents where tvā (5.1.119 tasya bhāvas . . .) follows. Note that examples with the denotata of names are impossible to find.

6.3.65 इष्ठकेशिकामालानां चित्रतुल्लभारिषु

िṣ्ठकेशिकामालानां citatūlabhāriṣu
/िष्ठकेशिकामालानां = िष्ठकā ca िष्ठकā ca mālā ca (itar. dv.); cita-tūla-bhāriṣu
7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(uttarapade #1 hrsvah #61)
िष्ठकेशिकामालानां 'cita, tūla bhārin' ity eteṣṭtārāpadeṣu yathāsāmkhyam
hrasvo bhavati

The final vowel of िष्ठकā, िष्ठकā and mālā are replaced with a corresponding short when cita, tūla, and bhāra combine to follow, respectively.

Examples:

िष्ठकacitam 'heap of ritual bricks'
िष्ठकatūla 'bundle of reeds'
mālabhārini kanyā 'a girl who wears garlands'

1. This rule allows shortening where िष्ठकā, िष्ठकā and mālā occur in combination before cita, tūla and bhārin, respectively. Compounds ending in िष्ठकā, िष्ठकā and mālā also qualify for this replacement, provided cita, tūla and bhārin also combine to follow. Obviously, this interpretation takes recourse to tadantavidhi, interpreting िष्ठकā, िष्ठकā and mālā as also what may end in them. Thus, we get pakveṣṭaṭtcitam 'heap of fired bricks', muṇjeṣkikatūla 'bundle of Muṇja reeds' and utpalamālabhārini kanyā 'a girl who wears lotus garlands'.

6.3.66 रखित्यनव्ययस्य

khīty anavayasya
/khīti 7/1 = kha it yasya (bv.), tasmin; anavayasya 6/1 = na avayasya
(naṅ.)/
(uttarapade #1 hrsvah #61)
khidante uttarapadeḥ navayasya hrsvaḥ bhavati

The final vowel of a word, with the exception of an indeclinable (avaya), is replaced with its corresponding short when a constituent marked with KH as an it follows.

Examples:

kālimmanyā 'she who considers herself Kāli (dark)'
harinimmanyā 'she who considers herself a deer'
1. This rule allows shortening of the final vowel of a non-indeclinable
(anavyayasya) when what follows in combination also ends in an affix marked
with KH as an it. Thus, consider kālimmānyā and harinīmmānyā, where kālim
and harinīm are non-indeclinables and manya is a derivate of KHāS (3.2.83
ātmanāne khaś ca). Refer to notes and appendix of 3.2.83 for relevant
details. The condition of anavyayasya is imposed so that shortening does not
apply to dośā and divā of dośāmanyam ahaḥ ‘a night-like day’ and divāmmānyā
rātrīḥ ‘a day-like night’. For, dośā and divā are both indeclinables.

2. Note that khiti is here interpreted via tadantavidhi. That is, it refers to a
form which follows a non-indeclinable in combination, and also ends in an
affix marked with KH as an it. That is, khiti cannot be interpreted as referring
to an affix alone, as one may expect in view of the paribhāsa (26):
uttarapadādhikāre. . . . The negation of anavyayasya would not be necessary
if an avyaya ended in an affix marked with KH as an it. Such affixes are intro-
duced after a dhātu ‘verbal root’.

3. Note that augment mUM, for example one introduced by the following
rule, will not block this shortening. For, it will be useless to provide for
shortening when the same can be blocked by mUM (Kāś: mumā hrasvo na
bādhyaṣe, anyathā hi hravāsāsanam anarthakaṃ syāt).

6.3.67 अरुन्दिवशाजन्तस्य मुप्प

arurdviṣadajantaḥ mum
/ arurdviṣad-ajantaḥ 6/1 = ac ante yasaḥ = ajantah (bv.); arus ca dviṣac
ca ajantaḥ ca (sam. dv.), tasya; mum 1/1/
(uttarapade #1 khity anavyayasya #65)
‘arus, dviṣat’ ity etatvaj ajantaḥ ca khidanta uttarapade mum āgamo bhavati
anavyayasya

Augment mUM is introduced to arus, dviṣat and a non-indeclinable
word ending in a vowel (aC) when a constituent with KH as its it com-
bines to follow.

Examples:

aruntudah ‘that which hurts the wound’
dviṣantapah ‘he who makes his enemy suffer’
kālimmānyā ‘she who considers herself dark’

1. This rule introduces augment mUM to non-indeclinable stems consti-
tuted by arus and dviṣat, or to stems which may end in a vowel. Of course,
when a constituent ending in an affix marked with KH as an it combines to
follow. Consider aruntudah and dviṣantapah where the final s and t of arus
and dviṣat get deleted by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah. Other derivational de-
tails can be found under the appendix of 3.2.39 dviṣatparāyos tāpeh.

2. A compound such as vidvanmānyā ‘she who considers herself schol-
arly' will not be allowed $mUM$ because this rule does not include $vidvat$ in its specification. Similar exclusion will apply to $doṣāmānyam$ and $divāmānyā$.

3. The word $anta$ is included so that $mUM$ is introduced subsequent to the shortening of bases ending in a vowel ($Kaś: kṛtājantakāryapratipatyartham$).

### 6.3.68 इच्छाकारोऽप्रत्ययवच्च

$ica ekāco m pratyayavac ca$

$/ica 6/1 ekācaḥ 6/1 = eko'c yasmin sa ekāc (bv.), tasya; am 1/1 pratyayavat$

$\phi ca \phi/$

$(uttarapade #1 khitī #66)$

$ijantasya ekācaḥ khidante uttarapade' m āgamo bhavati, ampratyayavac ca$

$dviṣyaśikavacanavac ca sa bhavati$

Augment $am$ is introduced to a monosyllabic word which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term $iC$ ($Śś. 1–4$), with the additional provision that $am$ be treated as if an affix, provided a constituent marked with $KH$ as an $it$ combines to follow.

### Examples:

$gāmmanyaḥ 'thinking about one’s self as cow$

$strīmanyaḥ 'thinking about one’s self as a woman'$

$strīyaṃmanyaḥ 'ibidem'$

$nārammanyaḥ 'thinking about one’s self as a man'$

$sīryammanyaḥ 'thinking about one’s self as a brāhmaṇa'$

1. This rule introduces augment $am$ to a monosyllabic constituent which ends in a vowel denoted by $iC$, provided a constituent ending in an affix marked with $KH$ as an $it$ follows. Note that $am$ is additionally treated as if it was affix $am$ ‘accusative singular’. This extensional provision requires $am$ to be read twice in interpreting this rule ($dvīr āvartate$).

Interpreting augment $am$ as if it was the accusative singular affix $am$ will facilitate operations such as: (a) $ātva$, as in $gām$, where the final $o$ of go and the following $a$ of $am$ are both replaced with a single $ā$; (b) $pūrvasavarnā-ekādeśa 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding'$, as in $strī + am→strīma$ (6.1.103 $ami pūrvaḥ$), of $strīmanyaḥ$; (c) $gūnādeśa: a replacement in $gūna$ for $r$, as in $nṛ + am→nāram$, of $nārammanyaḥ$ (7.3.113 $ṛto nīsarvaṇāmastiḥnayoh$); and (d) $iyanuvānti 'replacement in īyAN and uvAN'$, as in $ṣr(i→iy) + am = sīryam and bhru(u→uv) + am = bhruvam$ (6.4.81 abhyāsasyavarnā), of $sīryammanyaḥ$ and $bhruvammanyaḥ$. The $am$, however, goes through deletion by $LUK$ when it follows $strī$, used as a neuter (7.1.23 svamor napumṣakāḥ). Thus, $sīryammanyaḥ, paraphrased as $sīryam ātmānām manyate brāhmaṇakulam ‘this clan of the brāhmaṇas considers itself to be rich’. This, however, is Patañjali’s view. Others may still accept $sīryammanyaḥ$. 
6.3.69 वाचुंमपुरूंदृश्शों

\[\text{v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}mapur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}rau ca}
\]
\[\text{/vac\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma-pur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}rau 1/2 (itar. dv.); ca Φ/}
\]
\[\text{(mum \#67)}
\]
\[\text{‘v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma, pur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}ra’ ity etau nip\text{\=a}tyete}
\]

The words \text{v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma} and \text{pur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}ra} are derived with the introduction of augment \text{mUM, via nip\text{\=a}tana.}

Examples:

\[\text{v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma ā\text{\=e}ste ‘stays with a vow of not speaking’}
\]
\[\text{pur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}raḥ ‘destroyer of cities’}
\]

1. This rule offers \text{am}, and shortening as well, in deriving \text{v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma} and \text{pur\text{\=a}nd\text{\=a}ra} via \text{nip\text{\=a}tana}. Note that \text{KH\text{\=a}C} is introduced after \text{ya\text{\=m}a} under the cooccurrence condition of \text{vāc} as an object (3.2.40 \text{āci yama vr̥ate}). Thus, \text{v\text{\=a}c\text{\=a}my\text{\=a}ma ā\text{\=e}ste.} An \text{u\text{\=a}pad\text{\=a}} compound is similarly formed with \text{dāra} under the cooccurrence condition of \text{p\text{\=ur} ‘city’}, ending in the accusative (3.2.42 \text{pū\text{\=h} sarv\text{\=a}yor dār\text{\=i}sahōh}).

6.3.70 करणस्यांगदयस्य

\[\text{kāre satyā\text{\=g}adasya}
\]
\[\text{/kāre 7/1 satyā\text{\=g}adasya 6/1 = satyaṃ ca agadaś ca = satyā\text{\=g}adam (sam. dv.), tasya/}
\]
\[\text{(uttarāpade \#1 mum \#67)}
\]
\[\text{kārāṣabda uttarāpade ‘satya, agada’ ity etayor mum āgamo bhavati}
\]

Augment \text{mUM} is introduced to \text{satya ‘truth’} and \text{agada ‘non-affliction’} when \text{kāra} combines to follow.

Examples:

\[\text{satyaṅkāraḥ = satyaṃ karotī; satyasya kāraḥ vā ‘he who proves something to be true’}
\]
\[\text{agadaṅkāraḥ ‘he who makes someone free of afflictions’}
\]

1. This rule introduces \text{mUM} to \text{satya} and \text{agada} when \text{kāra} combines to follow. The following summarizes several \text{vārtti\text{\=ka}} proposals made under this rule:

1. \text{asti, dhenu, loka} receive \text{mUM} when \text{kāra, bhāvya} and \text{pr\text{\=n}a} combine to follow them, respectively. Thus, \text{astuṅkāraḥ ‘he who says, ‘so be it’; dhenuṃ-bhāvyā ‘a cow soon to be milk-giving’; lokampr\text{\=n}ā ‘pleasant to people’}.

2. \text{mUM} is also introduced to \text{bhak\text{\=a}sa} when \text{kāra} combines to follow, in the Vedic. Thus, \text{bhakṣaṃkāraḥ}.

3. \text{mUM} is also introduced to \text{anabhyaśa} when \text{itya} combines to follow. Thus, \text{anabhyaśāmītyaḥ ‘he who goes without eating’}.
(4) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhrāstra* and *agni* before *indha*. Thus, *bhrāstramindhaḥ* ‘firewood for roasting’ and *agnimindhaḥ* ‘firewood’.

(5) *mUM* is also introduced to *gīla*, provided what precedes is not *gīla* itself. Thus, *timiṅgilah* ‘firefly’; but not *gilaṅgilah*. The *mUM* could, however, be introduced before *gīlagīla*. Thus, *timiṅgilagīlaḥ*.

(6) *mUM* is also introduced to *uṣṇa* and *bhadra* when occurring before *karana*. Thus, *uṣṇaṅkaraṇaṃ* ‘warming’ and *bhadraṅkaraṇaṃ* ‘making something look good’.

(7) A replacement in *putraT* is optionally recommended for *duhitṛ* when occurring after *siṣṭa*, *ugra*, *rāja*, *bhoga* and *meru*. Thus, *sūtaputṛi* and *sūtaduhitā*, etc. The *T* as an *i* in *putraT* is intended for the feminine affix *NiP* (4.1.15 *tiḍṭhāṇaṇ...*).

6.3.71 स्येनतिलस्य पाते जे

*śyenatilasya pāte ṇe*

/ *śyenatilasya 6/1 = śynaś ca tilaś ca= śyenatilam (sam. dv.), tasya; pāte 7/1 ṇe 7/1/*

(uttarapade #1 mum #67)

*śyena, tila* ity etayoh pātaśabda uttarapade ṇaprataye pare mum āgamo bhavati

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta*, followed by affix *Na*, combines to follow.

Examples:

*śyainampātā mṛgayā = śyenapāta* syām kṛḍāyām ‘a sport (hunting) in which falcons hunt’

tailampātā ‘a sport where a sesamum seeds are thrown’

1. This rule introduces *mUM* after the final vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco* ntyāl *parah*) of *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta* combines as following constituent and affix *Na* follows. Thus we get *śyainampātā* and *tailampātā*.

This augment cannot be introduced to *śyena* of *śyenapāta* where *pāta* is a derivate of affix *GHaN*. Refer to notes under rule 4.2.58 *ghaṇah sāsyāṃ kriyēti* for further details.

6.3.72 रात्रे: कृति विभाषा

*rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā*

/ *rātreḥ 6/1 kṛti 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(uttarapade #1 mum #67)

*rātreḥ kṛdante uttarapade vibhāṣā* mum āgamo bhavati

Augment *mUM* is optionally introduced to *rātri* when a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix combines to follow.
Examples:

rātriṃcarah 'night-wanderer'
rātricarāh 'ibidem'
rātrimatāh 'ibidem'
rātryatāh 'ibidem'

1. This option (vibhāsā) is interpreted as aprāpta-vibhāsā since it has not been made available earlier. Thus, we get rātriṃcarah, an upapada compound with Tā (3.2.15 cares tāh), i.e., rātri + am + car + Tā. We similarly get rātrimatā with aC (3.1.134 nandigrahīpacādy . . . ), i.e., rātri + am + at + aC.

Recall that 6.3.67 arurdviṣad . . . offers mUM before a constituent ending in an affix marked with KH as an it. This will offer a single form rātrimmanyah, since the provision is obligaroy (nitya). Our present rule applies when a kṛt affix not marked with KH as an it follows.

6.3.73 नलोपो नजः:

nalopo nānah
/nalopah 1/1 = nakārasya lopah (śās. tat.); nānah 6/1/
(uttarapade #1)
nāno nakārasya lopo bhavaty uttarapade

The n of naN is deleted by LOPA when a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

avṛṣalāh 'someone other than a Vṛṣalā'
asurāpah 'someone other than one who drinks liquor'
asomapah 'someone other than one who drinks Soma'

1. This rule allows deletion of n, of naN 'not', when the same combines with a following constituent.

A vārttika proposal is also made to delete n when the following constituent ends in a tīN, and the derivate denotes contempt (avakṣepa). Thus, akarosi tvam jālm! 'hey, you, how come you are not doing this'.

6.3.74 तस्मानुढङ्गि

tasmān nud aci
/ tasmāt 5/1 nuṭ 1/1 aci 7/1
(uttarapade #1 nānah #73)
tasmāl tuptanaṃkārān nānah nud āgamo bhavati ajādāv uttarapade

Augment nUT is introduced after that naN which goes through deletion of its n, provided a pada beginning with a vowel follows in combination.
6.3.76  Adhyāya Six: Pāda Three  379

Examples:

anajah ‘non-goat’
anāsvah ‘non-horse’

1. This rule introduces nUT after a naN which has lost its n to deletion and which combines with a following constituent beginning with a vowel. Since nUT is marked with T as an it, one may be tempted to introduce nUT before the a of naN (1.1.46 ādyantau tākitau). But why delete n, and subsequently restore the same with nUT? It is, therefore, claimed that tasmāt facilitates introduction of nUT at the beginning of a constituent which occurs after naN.

6.3.75  नाभ्रानपानवभवनसत्यात्मकुलद्विकल्पनापुसतनक्षत्रनंकरकेत्युप्रकृत्याः

nabhrānapāṇvavedānāsatyānamucinakulanakhanāpūmsakanakṣatranakranākeṣu
prakṛtyā

/ nabhrāt-napāt-navedāḥ-nāsātyāḥ-namuci-nakula-nakha-napūmsaka-

nakṣatra-nakra-nākeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu; prakṛtyā 3/1/

(naṇaḥ #73)

‘nabhrāḥ, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsātyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napūmsaka,
nakṣatra, nakra, nāka’ ity eteṣu naṇ prakṛtyā bhavati

The naN in nabhrāt, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsātyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napūmsaka, nakṣatra, nakra and nāka remains as is.

Examples:

nabhrāt = na bhrājata iti ‘cloud’
napāt = na pāṭiti ‘nc-phew’
navedāḥ = na vettīti ‘ignorant’
nāsātyāḥ = satsu sādhavaḥ satyāḥ, na satyāḥ =

usatyāḥ = na asatyāḥ ‘twins; the Aśvins’
namuciḥ = na muṇcatīti ‘demon’
nakulaḥ = nāśya kulam asiti ‘mongoose’
nakham = nāśya khamasiti ‘nail’
napūmsakam = na strī na pumān ‘neuter’
nakṣatram = na ksaraṃ kṣayata iti ‘asterism, constellation’
nakrah = na kramātīti ‘that which does not walk; alligator’
nākam = nāsmin akam asiti ‘heaven; that in which there is no absence of happiness’

1. These derivates constitute an exception to the two preceding rules, via nipātana. That is, the n of their naN does not go through deletion.

6.3.76  एकादिर्वेचकस्य चादुकः

ekādiś caikasya cāduk
The Aśtādhyāyī of Pāṇini

6.3.77

\[ /ekādiḥ 1/1 = eka ādir yasya (bv.); ca ṣ ekasya 6/1 ca ṣ āduk 1/1 \]
(uttaraśadpe #1 naṇah #73 prakṛtyā #75)
\[ ekādiś ca naṇ prakṛtyā bhavati ekaśabdasya cādug āgamo bhavati \]
The naṇ with eka at its beginning also remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow; additionally, augment āduK is introduced to eka.

EXAMPLES:

\[ ekāṇnavimśatiḥ = ekena na vimśatiḥ ‘nineteen’ \]
\[ ekāṇnatriṃśat ‘twenty-nine’ \]

1. This rule retains naṇ when the same combines with a preceding eka. Additionally, eka receives augment āduK. Thus, \[ eka + ṭā + navimśati + sU = eka + ād + navimśati = ekāṇnavimśati, \] where a compound between naṇ and vimśati is formed first. Note that eka and navimśati combine to form a triyātattpuruṣa under the split-interpretation (yogavibhāga) of 2.2.21 triyā. . . .

Note that āduK is introduced at the end of eka which precedes. This way, an optional replacement in n (anunāsika) can be accomplished for d, when occurring at the end of a pada (8.4.44 yaro’ nunāsike . . .). This end of the pada status will be impaired if āduK is introduced at the beginning of the following constituent. Consequently, an optional n-replacement for d which may occur at the end of a pada cannot be accomplished. This is how we can also get ekāṇnavimśati and ekāṇnatriṃśat.

6.3.77

नगोप्राणिष्यतत्स्यायम्

\[ /nagah 1/1 apraniṣu anyataraśyām \]
(uttaraśadpe #1 naṇah #73 prakṛtyā #75)
\[ naṇ prakṛtyā bhavaty anyataraśyām apraniṣu vartamāno yo nagaśabdās tatra naṇ prakṛtyā vikalpena bhavati \]
The naṇ in naga, used with the signification of apraṇin ‘non-sentient’, optionally remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

\[ nagāḥ (vrksāḥ / parvatāḥ) ‘trees; mountains’ \]
\[ agā vrksāḥ ‘ibidem’ \]

1. Note that ga of naga is a derivate of the Unādi affix Da (235: gamer ḍah), where am of gam goes through ti-deletion. This optional retention of naṇ is not available to agah, of ago vṛṣalāḥ stītāna ‘a vṛṣala (lowly untouchable) who cannot move because of cold’, since the derivate denotes a praṇin ‘living being’. That is, n of naṇ cannot be retained.
6.3.78 सहस्य स: संज्ञायाम्

sahasya sah samjñāyām
/sahasya 6/1 sah 1/1 samjñāyām 7/1/
(uttarapade #1)
sahaṣabdaṣya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati samjñāyām viṣaye

The word saha is replaced with sa when it combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name.

Examples:

sāsvattham ‘a forest with Aśvattha trees’
sapalāsam ‘a forest with Palāśa trees’
sasimśapam ‘a forest with Śimśapa trees’

1. This rule offers sa as a replacement for saha combining with a following constituent and the derivate signifying a name. Thus, saha aśvatthena = sāsvattham, etc., where a bahuvrihi compound is formed by 2.2.28 tena sheti tulyayoge. This replacement will be blocked in sahayudhvā and sahakṛtvā where an upapada compound is formed with affix KvaNIP (3.2.96 sahe ca) and derivatives do not denote a name.

2. This replacement is also consequential for accent. The word saha is marked udātta at the beginning. Its ha then becomes anudātta. A substitute, here sa, which replaces saha, must then be marked with an accent somewhere in between the udātta and anudātta. The sa is therefore marked with svarita. But this could be true only where the compound is a bahuvrihi. Elsewhere, for example, in the avyayībhāva compounds seṣṭi and sapasu, this accent will be blocked by udātta at the end (antudātta; 6.1.220 samāsasya).

6.3.79 ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च

granthāntādhike ca
/granṭhāntādhiḥke 7/1 = granthasya antah (ṣaṣ. tat.); granthāntaś ca adhikañ ca (sam. dv.), tasmin; ca φ/
(uttarapade #1 sahasya sah #78)
granthānte, adhike ca vartamā纳斯ya sahaṣabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word saha, when used with the signification of ‘end of a treatise (granthānta)’ and ‘more than . . . ’ (adhika), is replaced with sa, provided a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

sakalam jyautiṣam adhīte ‘studies the entire Jyautiṣa’
sasamgraḥam vyākaraṇam adhiyate ‘grammar is studied along with the Saṃgraha’
sadroṇā khāri ‘a khāri in excess of a droṇa’
samāṣah kārśāpanah ‘a kārśāpana in excess of a māsa’
1. This rule replaces saha with sa when it denotes the sense of anta ‘end’ and adhika ‘more than, in excess of’. Note that this replacement is restricted to avrayibhāva compounds formed by 2.1.6 avrayam vibhaktisāma. ... It is for this reason that, elsewhere, this replacement is allowed by 6.3.81 avrayibhāve cākāle. That is, where saha is combined with a following constituent used with the signification of something other than kāla ‘time’.

6.3.80 द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये

dvitiye cā nupākhye
/dvitiye 7/1 ca ə anupākhye 7/1/
(uttaraṇapade #1 sahasya sah #78)
anumeyey dvitiye uttarapade parataḥ sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word saha is also replaced with sa when a constituent with the denotatum of an indirectly perceived non-principal entity combines to follow.

Examples:

sāgniḥ kapotah ‘a pigeon whose presence is indicative of fire’
saptisācā vātā ‘a hurricane indicative of the presence of goblins’
sarākṣasīkā śālā ‘a house indicative of the presence of demons’

1. The word dvitiya is explained as dvayoh sahayuktayar apradhānāh ‘the non-principal among two entities associated with saha’. Thus, agni is non-principal in sāgniḥ kapotah = agnīnā saha yuktah kapotah ‘pigeon in association with fire’. The word anupākhya is explained as upākhyaḥ anyah = anumeyah ‘something not directly perceived; assumed’. Fire is non-principal here since its presence can always be assumed via presence of a pigeon. Conversely, kapota is principal since its presence cannot necessarily by assumed via presence of fire.

6.3.81 अवयवीभावे चाकाले

avrayibhāve cākāle
/avrayibhāve 7/1 ca ə akāle 7/1 = na kālah (nañ.), tasmin/
(uttaraṇapade #1 sahasya sah #78)
avrayibhāve ca samāse kālavaciny uttarapade sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word saha is replaced with sa, also in a compound termed avrayibhāva which ends in a following constituent with the signification of something other than kāla ‘time’.

Examples:

sacakram (dhehi) ‘... with the wheel’
sadhuram (prāja) ‘... with the axle’
6.3.82 वोपप्रसत्तनस्य

vopasarjanasya
/ va φ upasarjanasya 6/1/
(sahasya sah #78)
yasya sarve' voyavā upasarjanihūtāh sa sarvopasarjano bahuvrihiḥ; tadavoyavasya sahasabdasya vā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The saha of a compound formed with all constituents termed upasarjana is replaced with sa, only optionally.

Examples:

saputraḥ ‘with (his) son’
sahaputraḥ ‘ibidem’
sacchātraḥ ‘with (his) student’
sahachātraḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows saha to be optionally replaced with sa when contained within a compound formed with all constituents termed upasarjana (1.2.45 prathamānirāśta ...). This option, as one understands from 2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthā, is only available to bahuvrihi compounds.

2. Note that upasarjana is not used here as a qualifier to saha. It is, instead, used as a qualifier to all compound constituents. Thus, the interpretation: ‘where all compound constituents are termed upasarjana’. The word upasarjana, denoting the property of a part of the compound, is thus manipulated to refer to the property of its whole (Nyāsa: avayavadharmena samudāyadharmasya tathā nirdeśāt).

The saha of sahayudhā and sahakṛtvā cannot be replaced with sa since these tatpurusa compounds have saha alone as an upasarjana. This replacement can also not be allowed in sahakṛtvapriyah and priyasyahakṛtvā where saha is part of the bahuvrihi. But the constituent which immediately follows saha is not directly relatable to the bahuvrihi in reference. The first example has an intervening kṛtvā. The second has sahakṛtvā as the following constituent.

6.3.83 प्रकृत्याशिशि

prakṛtyāśiṣi
/prakṛtyā 3/1 āśiṣī 7/1/
(sahasya #78)
prakṛtyā sahaśabdo bhavati āśiṣī viṣaye
The word saha remains as is when a constituent combines to follow and āśiṣ 'benediction' is denoted.

Examples:

svasti devadattāya sahaputrāya sahacchātrāya
sahāmātyāya 'blessings to Devadatta, along with his son; . . . student;
. . . his minister'

1. Kāśikā reads this sūtra as: prakṛtyāisy āgovatsahaleṣu, where āgovatsahaleṣu 'when a constituent other than go 'cow', vatsa 'calf' and hala 'plough' follows' is an addition made in view of a vārttika proposal. The gavāḍi 'go, etc.' of this vārttika proposal is illustrated by Patañjali with svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya sahalāya 'blessings to you with your cow, calf and plough'. The option of the preceding rule will still offer sahagave, etc. I have decided not to include āgovatsahaleṣu as part of the reading of this sūtra.

6.3.84 समानस्य छत्र्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदार्केषु

samānasya chandasi amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkēṣu
/samānasya 6/1 chandasi 7/1 amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkēṣu 7/3 = mūrdhā ca prabhṛtiś ca udarkaś ca = mūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkāḥ (itar. dv.); na mūrdha- prabhṛtyudarkāḥ (naṅ. with int. dv.)/
(uttarapade #1 saḥ #78)
samānasya ‘sa’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye ‘mūrddhan, prabhṛti, udarka’ ity etāṁ uttarapadāṁ varjayitvā
The word samāna is replaced with sa, in the Vedic, when a constituent other than mūrdhan, prabhṛti and udarka combines to follow.

Examples:

anubhrātā sagarbhyāḥ 'younger brother'
anusakhā sayūthāḥ 'a companion who follows'
yo naḥ sanūtyāḥ 'he who is an outsider for us'

1. This rule allows samāna, in the Vedic, to be replaced with sa, provided the following constituent is not mūrddhan, prabhṛti and udarka. Consider sagarbhyāḥ, a derivate of suffix yaN (4.4.114 sagarbhasayūtha . . . ), introduced after sagarbha + Ni. Thus, samānāḥ garbhaḥ = sagarbhaḥ, tatra bhavah = sagarbhyāḥ 'same womb, born there = born in the same womb'. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.58 pūrvaparaprathama . . . This sa replacement is negated for samānamūrddhā, samānaprabhṛtyayāḥ and samānodarkāḥ. But how would one derive samānāḥ pakṣō sya = sapākṣaḥ 'he who is on the
same side', samāno dharmo sya = sādharmyam '... whose dharna is the same' and samānā jātir asya 'he whose class is the same'. A split-interpretation of this sūtra as samānasya accomplishes the derivation. The samāna of example compounds is replaced with sa after formation of a bahuvrihi.

6.3.85 ज्योतिर्जनापदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्रयुपरिशयानवयववचनबंधुसु

jyotirjanapadarātriṁānāmbhimagotrarūpapasthānavaṁyavanavaṁyavanabandhūsū
(uttarapade 31 sah #78 samānasya #84)

‘jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayasa, vacana, bandhu’ ity eteṣuuttarapadesu samānasya ‘sa’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word samāna is replaced with sa when jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayasa, vacana, and bandhu combine to follow.

Examples:

sa-jyotih 'having the same glow'
sa-janapadaḥ 'belonging to the same principality'
sa-rātriḥ 'similar night'
sa-nābhiḥ 'having the same center (navel)'
sa-sānāṁ 'having the same name'
sa-gotraḥ 'having the same gotra'
sa-rūpaḥ 'having the same appearance'
sa-sthāṇaḥ 'residing at the same place'
sa-varṇaḥ 'having the same color (sub-class)'
sa-vavāyāḥ 'being of the same age'
sa-vacanāḥ 'having similar speech'
sa-bandhum 'having same clansman'

1. These examples are mostly interpreted as bahuvrihi compounds. Thus, samānā jyotir asya 'that whose glow is the same', etc. Note, however, that a tatpurusa interpretation of these compounds cannot be ruled out. Thus, samānām jyotih = sa-jyotih 'same glow', etc.

6.3.86 चरणं ब्रह्मचारिणिः

caraṇe brahmacārini
/caraṇe 7/1 brahmacārini 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 sah #78 samānasya #84)
caraṇe ganyamāne brahmacāriny uttarapade samānasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word samāna is replaced with sa when brahmacārin combines as a following constituent, and caraṇa is denoted.
Examples:

sabramhacārī ‘a fellow student with similar vows of studying the same branch of the Veda’

1. The word brahma here means vedā. The word caraṇa is used in the sense of a Vedic branch. The word brahmacārīn ‘pursuer of the Brahman’, in the context of caraṇa, thus refers to a person who has taken the vow of pursuing the study of a Vedic branch. A fellow student with similar vow of study is called sabrahamacārīn. Note that caraṇa is a relative term. It can refer to the four principal branches of the Vedas. It can also refer to sub-branches within these four principal branches.

6.3.87 तीर्थे ये

tīrthe ye
/ tīrthe 7/1 ye 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 saḥ #78 samānasya #84)
tīrthāsabde uttarapade yatpratayānte samānasya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeṣo bhavati

The word samāna is replaced with sa when tīrtha, terminating in yaT, combines to follow.

Examples:

saṁīrthyaḥ ‘he who studies at the same teacher’s place’

1. This rule allows samāna to be replaced with sa when tīrtha combines as a following constituent ending ya. Note that samānatīrtha is a karmadhāraya ending in the taddhita affix yaT (4.4.107 samānatīrthe vāsi). The word tīrtha is used here in the sense of a teacher’s place.

6.3.88 विभाषोदरे

vibhāṣodare
/ vibhāsa 1/1 udare 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 saḥ #78 samānasya #84)
udarasabda uttarapade yatpratayānte samānasaya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeṣo bhavati

The word samāna is replaced with sa only optionally when udara, terminating in affix yaT, combines to follow.

Examples:

sodaryah ‘brother
samānodaryah ‘ibidem’

1. This rule optionally allows samāna to be replaced with sa when udara
‘belly, womb’, ending in yaT, combines to follow. Thus, samānodaryah and sodaryah, where samānodara and sodara receive affixes yaT and ya, respectively (4.4.108 samānodare sayita . . .; 4.4.109 sodarād yah).

6.3.89 द्रध्राधवत्तुष

dṛgdrśavatutṣu
/ dṛg-drśa-vatutṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(uttarapade #1 saḥ #78 samānasya #84)
‘dṛk, drśa, vatu’ ity eteṣu parataḥ samānasya ‘sa’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word samāna is replaced with sa when dṛk, drśa and vatU combine to follow.

Examples:

sadṛk ‘similar to . . .’
sadṛśaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows samāna to be replaced with sa when dṛk, drśa and vatU combine to follow. Recall that affixes kaN and KuN are introduced after verbal root dṛśIR when tya, etc., occur in conjunction (3.2.60 dṛśādiṣu . . .). A vārttika proposal is made under that rule to also allow these affixes when samāna and anya are used in conjunction with dṛśIR (samānanyayoś ceti vaktaryam). This gives us sadṛk and sadṛśa. A vārttika proposal is additionally made there to allow affix ksa after dṛśIR to derive drkṣa. This with samāna will yield sadṛkṣa.

How come no examples for vatU are offered here? It is specified here for anuvṛtti in the following rule (Kāś: vatugrahān tan uttarārtham). Note that affix vatUP is introduced only after yad, tad and etad, when the signification is parimāṇa ‘measure’ (5.2.39 yattadebhyah parimāṇe). Obviously, examples of vatU with samāna are impossible (asambhavāt) to find.

6.3.90 इद्र र्पीरीर्की

idānkimorīṣi
/ idānkimoḥ 6/2 = idam ca kim ca (itar. dv.), tayoh, īṣkī (deleted 1/1)/
(uttarapade #1 drgdrśavatutṣu #89)
‘idam, kim’ ity etayor īṣ, ki, ity etat yathāsamkhyam ādeśau bhavato dṛgdrśavatutṣu

The word idam and kim are replaced, respectively, with īṣ and ki, when dṛk, drśa, and vatU combine to follow.

Examples:

īḍṛk ‘like this’
īḍṛśaḥ ‘ibidem’
iyān ‘this large’
kīḍṛk ‘like what’
kīḍṛśāh ‘ibidem’
kiyān ‘how large’

1. This rule offers āś and kī as replacement for idam and kim, respectively, when dṛk, dṛśa and vatU follow. Refer to notes under 5.3.39 yattadetebhyah parimāne and 5.3.40 kimidambhyām . . . for deriving iyān and kīyān. A vārttika proposal is also made to allow these replacements when dṛkṣa follows in combination after kim and idam. Thus, we also get idṛkṣaḥ and kīḍṛkṣaḥ.

6.3.91 आ सर्वनामः:

ā sarvanāṃmah
/ā (1/1 deleted) sarvanāṃmah 6/1/
(uttarapade #1 dṛg-dṛś-vasītu #89)
sarvanāṃma ākāraśe bhavati dṛg-dṛśvātītu
The final sound segment of a pronominal (sarvanāman) is replaced with ā when dṛk, dṛśa and vatU combine to follow.

Examples:

tādṛk ‘like that’
tādṛśaḥ ‘ibidem’
tāvān ‘that much, that large’
yādṛk ‘like that which . . .’
yādṛśaḥ ‘ibidem’
yāvān ‘as much as . . .’

1. This rule offers ā as a replacement for the final sound (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) of a pronominal (sarvanāma; 1.1.27 sarvādini sarvanāmāni) when dṛk, dṛśa and vatU follow in combination. Here again we find a vārttika proposal (dṛkṣe ceti ca vaktavāyam) to include dṛkṣa as a following constituent. Thus, we get tādṛkṣaḥ and yādṛkṣaḥ.

6.3.92 विष्णुदेवयोगः तेरस्त्राय स्वप्रस्तवते व्याख्या

visvagdevayoś ca teradryāṇcatau vopratyayae
/viśvag-devayoh (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ teh 6/1 adri (1/1 deleted) aṇcatau
7/1 vopratyayae 7/1 = vah pratayo yasmāt (bv.), tasmin/
(uttarapade 7/1 sarvanāṃmah #91)
‘visvak, deva’ ity etayoh sarvanāṃnaś ca teh ‘adri’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati aṇcatau vopratyayānta uttarapade
The form adri comes in place of the ti (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ti) of visvak, deva, and a sarvanāman as well, when verbal root aṇcU, terminating in suffix vā, combines to follow.
Examples:

visvadryañ = viśvag aṅcati ‘all-pervading’
devardryañ ‘turned towards divine’
tadryañ ‘turned towards that’
yadryañ ‘turned towards the thing which . . .’

1. This rule offers adri as a replacement for the ṛti part (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ṛti) of viśvak and deva, and of pronominals as well, when a constituent with aṅc ending in vA (3.2.59 ṛtvigadṛṛkṣrṣag . . .) follows. Thus, viśv(a→adri) + aṅ = viśvadr(i→y) + aṅ = viśvadryañ and dev(a→adri) + aṅ = devadr (i→y) + aṅ = devadryañg, through application of 6.1.77 iko yañ acī. Refer to the appendix of rule 3.2.59 ṛtvigadṛṛkṣrṣag . . . for deriving aṅ from aṅc + KuIN. Similar rules apply in deriving tadryañ and yadryañ, derives with pronominal tad and yad.

A vārttika proposal is made to mark adri and sadhri with a final udāṭta, via nipātana. This will block the kṛt accent of 6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt kṛt. Consequently, after the i is replaced with y (yaṅādēśa), the following constituent will receive svarita (8.2.4 udāttasvaritayor . . .).

Kāśikā offers aśvam aṅcati = aśvācī ‘moves the horse’, viśvagyuk and viśvagaṅcanaṃ as counter-examples where adri cannot be used as a replacement. The first example does not have viśvak and deva; the second lacks aṅc, and the third does not have affix v. That is, aṅcana is a derivate of LyuT.

Why state vapurāyaye when aṅcatau itself could have served the purpose. This specification with vapurāyaye is made to indicate that, elsewhere, a specification made by a verbal root alone could be interpreted as referring to the entire form, beginning with the verbal root ending in the affix (Nyāsa: anyatra dhātugrahane dhātvādeḥ prakṛtipratushayasya pratipattiḥ). This tadādīvidhi ‘beginning with that . . .’ interpretation will facilitate a s-replacement for h (visarga; 8.3.46 atāḥ kr̥kamikamsa . . .) also in ayaḥ + kṛtam→ayaskṛtam and ayaskāraḥ. Otherwise, s could replace h only where kr alone was used as the following constituent, for example, in ayaskṛt. Incidentally, the final t (tUK) will be treated as part of kr.

Yet another vārttika proposal states that, in the Vedic, especially in the feminine, adri is found variously (bahulam). Consider viśvācī and ghrṭācī where it is not found, and kadṛicī where it is found.

6.3.93 सम: सपि

samah sami
/samah 6/1 sami (1/1 deleted)/
(uttaraṇāde #1 aṅcatau vapurāyaye #92)
’sam’ ity etasya ‘sami’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati aṅcatau vapurāyayeṇte uttaraṇāde. The form sami comes in place of sam when verbal root aṅcU, terminating in affix vA, combines to follow.
EXAMPLES:

\textit{samyak} ‘nominative singular; turned together in one direction;
\textit{samya\=ncau} ‘nominative dual’
\textit{samya\=ncah} ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule offers \textit{sami} as a replacement for \textit{sam} when verbal root \textit{a\=nc} terminating in \textit{v\=a} follows. Thus, consider \textit{samya\=n/samya\=ncau/samya\=ncah}.

6.3.94 तिरस्तित्वर्धलोपे

\textit{tirasas tiry alope}
/\textit{tiras\=a} 6/1 \textit{tiri} 7/1 \textit{alope} 7/1 (na\=n. tat., tasmin)/
(\textit{uttarapade} #1 a\=ncatau va pratyaye #\=92)

‘tiras’ \textit{ity etasya ‘tiri’ ity ayam \=ade\=so bhavaty a\=ncatau va\=pratyay\=ante uttarapade}
The form \textit{tiras} is replaced with \textit{tiri} when verbal root \textit{a\=ncU} terminates in affix \textit{v\=a} and combines to follow without going through any deletion.

EXAMPLES:

\textit{tiry\=a} ‘nominative singular; crooked, slanted, oblique’
\textit{tiry\=a\=ncau} ‘nominative dual’
\textit{tiry\=a\=ncah} ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule allows \textit{tiras} to be replaced with \textit{tiri} when \textit{a\=nc}, ending in \textit{v\=a}, follows, provided the \textit{a} of \textit{a\=nc} has not gone through deletion. Recall that the \textit{a} of \textit{a\=nc} gets deleted by 6.4.138 \textit{acah}, as in \textit{tira\=sc\=a} and \textit{tira\=sc\=e}. Note that \textit{alope} is not desired to be interpreted as: \textit{asya lopah}, \textit{tasmin} ‘when deletion of \textit{a} has occurred’.

6.3.95 सहस्य सङ्खि:

\textit{sahasya sadhri\=h}
/\textit{sahas\=a} 6/1 \textit{sadhri\=h} 1/1/
(\textit{uttarapade} #1 a\=ncatau va\=pratyaye #\=92)

‘saha’ \textit{ity asya ‘sadhri’ ity ayam \=ade\=so bhavaty a\=ncatau va\=pratyay\=ante uttarapade}
The word \textit{saha} is replaced with \textit{sadhri} when a constituent with \textit{a\=ncU} terminating in affix \textit{v\=a} combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

\textit{sadhrya\=n} ‘nominative singular of \textit{sadhrya\=n} ‘turned in the same direction’
\textit{sadhrya\=ncah} ‘nominative plural . . .’
\textit{sadhri\=cah} ‘accusative dual . . .’
\textit{sadhri\=ca} ‘instrumental singular’
1. Note that the a of anēc is deleted (6.4.138 acah) in sadhrīcāḥ and sadhrīcā, the accusative dual and instrumental singular forms, and the short i is replaced with long (6.4.138 cau). Also recall that the n of anēc will be deleted by 6.4.24 aniditāṃ hala...

6.3.96 सध मादास्थवोरशिष्टसि

sadha mādasthayoś chandasi
/sadha (1/1 deleted) māda-stha-yoh 7/2 (itar. dv.) chandasi 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 sahasya #95)
chandasi visaye ‘māda, stha’ ity etayor upapadayoh sahasya ‘sadha’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word saha is replaced with sadha when, in the Vedic, māda and stha combine to follow.

Examples:

sadhamādō dyumninrāpāh
sadhasthā

1. Note that sadhamāda is paraphrased as mādena saha where māda, as a derivate of GHaN, combines to follow saha. A similar interpretation applies to sadhastha where sthā ends in affix ka (3.2.3 āto’ nupasarge kah).

6.3.97 द्वियन्तरुपसर्गायोःप्रेषु ईत

dvīyantarupasargēbhyo’ pa īt
dvī-antar-upasargēbhyaḥ 5/3 (itar. dv.) apah 6/1 īt 1/1/
(uttarapade #10)
‘dvi, antar’ ity etābhhyām upasargāc cottarasya āb ity etasya īkārādeśo bhavati
The initial (1.1.53 ādeḥ parasya) sound segment of ap is replaced with īT (1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) when ap occurs in combination after dvi, antar and a preverb (upasarga).

Examples:

dvīpam ‘island’
antaripam ‘a portion of land stretching out into the sea’
sampam ‘near, proximate’

1. This rule offers īT (1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) as a replacement for ap ‘water’. Note that īT replaces the a of ap in accord with 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.54 for derivational details. Incidentally, the samāśanta affix a (5.4.74 rkpūrabdhūḥ . . .) is introduced in deriving dvīpam. Kāśikā offers sampāṇā āpah asmin = saṃgam, vigatā āpah asmin = vīpam and nigatāḥ āpah asmin = nīpam as examples where an upasarga is in combination. Incidentally, the last should have been nirgatā āpah = nirīpam.
2. A vārttika proposal blocks this replacement in samā āpha asmin, samāpaṃ nāma devayajnam = samāpaḥ ‘a sacrifice’. Some say that this replacement in long ī should not apply when āp is used with a prefix ending in a. Thus, pra + āp + a = āpāpa. The word upasarga here refers to pra, etc., in general. The technical sense of upasarga will require kriyāyoga ‘association with a verbal root signifying an action’ (1.1.59 upasargāḥ kriyāyoge). Obviously, āp is not a verbal root.

6.3.98 उदनोदेशे

udanor deśe
/ū́ṭ 1/1 anoḥ 6/1 deśe 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 āpha #97)
anor uttarasya āp ūkārādeso bhavati deśābhidhāne
The initial (1.1.53 ādeḥ parasya) sound segment of āp is replaced with ūT (1.1.70 taparas tathālasya) when āp occurs in combination after anu and the derivate denotes deśa ‘place’.

Examples:

anū́po deśah = anugatā āpo’ smin ‘a place named Anūpa’

1. This rule offers ūT, as a replacement for the a of āp, when the derivate signifies a deśa ‘place’. We will get anvīpam ‘a place close to water’ when the derivate does not signify a place.

6.3.99 अष्टशत्तीसस्यम्यां

aṣṭaṣṭhyatṛtyāsthasyānyasya dug āśirāśthāsthithotsukotikārakāraṅgaccheṣu
/aṣṭaṣṭhy-atṛtyā-sthasya 6/1 = na satthi = aṣṭaṣṭhī, na tṛtyā = atṛtyā (naḥ.);
aṣṭaṣṭhī ca atṛtyā ca = aṣṭaṣṭhyatṛtyaye (itar. dv.); tayoh tiṣṭhati = aṣṭaṣṭhyatṛtyāsthah, tasya; ananya 6/1 duṣ 1/1 āśir-āśā-āsthā-āsthita-utsukā-
īti-kāraka-ṛga-ccheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(uttarapade #1)
aṣṭaṣṭhīsthasya aṭṛtyāsthasya cānyaśabdasya dug āgamō bhavati ‘āsis, āśā,
āsthā, āśhīta, utsuka, īti, kāraka, rāga, cha’ ity eteṣu parataḥ

Examples:

anyadāśih = anyā āśih ‘a different benediction’
anyadāśā = anyā āśā ‘a different hope’
anyadāsthā = anyā āsthā ‘a different consideration’
anyadāsthitaḥ = anya āsthitaḥ ‘differently preoccupied’
anyadutsukah = anya utsukah 'eager for something else'
anyadūtih = anyā ūṭih 'a different help'
anyatkārakah = anyah kārakah 'a different agent'
anyadrāghah = anyo rāghah 'a different passion'
anyadīyāh = anyasmin bhavah 'belonging to another'

1. This rule offers $dUK$ as an augment to anya, when anya is not used with genitive and instrumental. Additionally, anya must combine before āśih, etc., its following constituents. Thus, we get anyadāśiḥ, etc. Note that affix cha is introduced to derive anyasmin bhavah = anyadīyāh from anya + Ni cha (4.2.138 gahādibhya ca; 7.1.2 āyaneyi . . ).

Kāśikā offers anyasya āśih = anyāśiḥ and anyena āsthitah = anyāsthitāḥ as counter-examples to the condition of aṣaṣṭhy-atreṣṭhasya 'when not ending in the genitive and instrumental'. We do not get augment $dUK$. We get a similar long vowel replacement.

How do we get anyasya kārakam = anyatkārakam and anyasya idam = anyadiyam, where anya is used with genitive? This negation of genitive and instrumental is non-obligatory (anitiya). How do we know this? The use of negatives in saṣṭhi and tṛṭiye both serve as a mark (jñāpaka). For, Pāṇini would have simply stated aṣaṣṭhyatreṣṭhasya. A verse summarizes this introduction of $dUK$ as follows:

dugāgamo' viśesena vaktavyah kārakacchayoh/
ṣaṣṭhītreṣṭhayor neṣṭa āśīrāduṣu saptaśu/
'augment $dUK$ is to be generally stated before kāraka and cha; it is not desired before the other seven items listed beginning with āśih, especially when anya is used with saṣṭhi and tṛṭiye'

6.3.100 अर्थ विभाषा

arthe vibhāṣā
/arthe 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
(uttaraṇapade #1 aṣaṣṭhyatreṣṭhasya anyasya duk #99)
arthaśabde uttarapade anyasya vibhāṣa dug āgamo bhavati
Augment $dUK$ is optionally introduced to anya, when not used with saṣṭhi and tṛṭiye, provided artha combines to follow.

Examples:

anyadarthaḥ 'for some other purpose'
anyārthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes $dUK$ optional when anya, not used in the genitive and instrumental, is followed by artha in combination. Thus, anyadarthaḥ and anyārthaḥ. These compound are formed with the signification of anyasmai idam 'intended for someone else' (2.1.36 caturthī tadarthārtha . . ).
6.3.101 को: कत्त्थुतुरुष्ये सि

koh kat tatpuruse' ci
/koh 6/1 kat 1/1 tatpuruse 7/1 aci 7/1/
(uttarapade #1)
‘ku’ ity etasya ‘kad’ ity ayam āđeśo bhavati tatpuruse samāse jādāv uttarapade
ku is replaced with kat when, in a compound termed tatpuruṣa, a constituent beginning with a vowel (ajādi) combines to follow.

Examples:

kadajah ‘bad goat’
kadasvah ‘bad horse’
kaduṣṭrah ‘bad camel’
kadannam ‘bad food’

1. Consider ku + sU+ aja + sU→ kat + aja, a prādi compound (2.2.18 kugati prādayaḥ) where t of kat is replaced with d through jaśtva (8.3.39 jhalām jaśo’ nte). Other examples are similarly derived.

2. Note that a non-tatpuruṣa compound, for example, a bahuvrīhi such as kusṭrah ‘he whose camel is bad’ (as in kusṭro rājā), will not qualify for this replacement. A similar exclusion will be made for kubrāhmaṇaḥ and kumpuruṣaḥ, where brāhmaṇa and puruṣa begin with a consonant.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to allow this replacement when tri combines after ku. Thus, kutsitāh trayah = kattrayah ‘three bad ones’.

6.3.102 रथवदयोर्च

rathavadayoś ca
/ratha-vadayoḥ 7/2 (itar. duv.), tayoh; ca ṣ/
(uttarapade #1 koh kad #101)
‘ratha, vada’ ity etasya cottarapadayoḥ koh ‘kad’ ity ayam āđeśo bhavati
The word ku is replaced with kad when ratha and vada combine to follow.

Examples:

kadrathah ‘a bad chariot’
kadvadah ‘a bad speaker’

1. This rule allows ku to be replaced with kat when ratha and vada combine to follow. Thus, kadrathah and kadvadah. This, and rules which follow, are formulated so that kad replaces ku even when a constituent not beginning with a vowel (anajādi) follows.

6.3.103 त्रोथे च जाताय

ārca ca jātāu
Examples:

\[\text{\textit{kattrn\breve{a} n\text{"a}ma j\text{"a}t\text{"i}h 'any class of bad vegetation'}}\]

1. This rule allows \textit{ku} to be replaced with \textit{kad} when \textit{tr\breve{a}} combines to follow and the derivate denotes \textit{j\text{"a}t\text{"i}h 'class'. Thus, kattr\breve{a} 'bad grass; leek'. This replacement will not be available to kut\breve{r\text{"a}}ni 'bad grass', where the derivate denotes nind\breve{a} 'repertoire'.

6.3.104 का पश्चाययो:

\[\text{\textit{k\breve{a} pathyak\text{"a}yoh}}\]
\[\text{\textit{/k\breve{a} (1/1 deleted) pathya-k\text{"a}yoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/}}\]
\[\text{\textit{(uttarapade #1 k\breve{oh} #101)}}\]
\[\text{\textit{pathin, ak\text{"a} ity etayor uttarap\text{"a}dayoh k\breve{oh} 'k\breve{a} ity ayam \text{"a}d\text{"e}\text{"o} bhavati}}\]

The word \textit{ku} is replaced with \textit{k\breve{a}} when \textit{pathin 'path'} and \textit{ak\text{"a} 'eye'} combine to follow.

Examples:

\[\text{\textit{k\text{"a}pathah = kutsita\text{"a} panth\text{"a}h 'a bad road'}}\]
\[\text{\textit{k\text{"a}k\text{"a}s\text{"a}h = kutsite aks\text{"i}ny asya 'he whose eyes are bad (evil)'}}\]

1. This rule offers \textit{k\breve{a}} as a replacement for \textit{ku} when \textit{pathin} and \textit{ak\text{"a}} combine to follow. Thus, \textit{kutsita\text{"a} panth\text{"a}h = k\text{"a}pathah 'bad road'} and \textit{kutsite aks\text{"i}ni yasya = k\text{"a}k\text{"a}s\text{"a}h 'he whose eyes are bad'}, where \textit{k\breve{a}} replaces \textit{ku} of (\textit{ku\text{"u}k\breve{a}}) + \textit{pathin} and 5.4.74 \textit{\text{"a}k\text{"a}pur\text{"a}bd\text{"i}h\text{"u}h . . . introduces the sam\text{"a}s\text{"a}nta affix a}. We thus get k\text{"a}path(in) + a = k\text{"a}patha, through it-deletion (6.4.144 nas taddhite). The \textit{bahuvr\breve{h}i} compound k\text{"a}k\text{"a}s\text{"a} is derived with the sam\text{"a}s\text{"a}nta affix \textit{SaC} (5.4.113\textit{ bahuvri\text{"a}hu . . .). Note that k\text{"a}k\text{"a}s\text{"a}h can also be interpreted as a tatpurusa compound paraphrased as kutsita\text{"a} k\text{"a}s\text{"a}h 'bad axle'.

6.3.105 ईशदर्थे च

\[\text{\textit{\text{"i}sadarte ca}}\]
\[\text{\textit{/\text{"i}sadarte 7/1 = \text{"i}sadah artha\text{"a} (\text{"a}sa. tat.), tasm\text{"a}t; ca \text{"a}/}}\]
\[\text{\textit{(uttarapade #1 k\breve{oh} #101 k\breve{a} #104)}}\]
\[\text{\textit{\text{"i}sadarte vartam\text{"a}nasya k\breve{oh} 'ka' ity ayam \text{"a}d\text{"e}\text{"o} bhavati}}\]

The word \textit{ku}, when used with the signification of \textit{\text{"i}sad 'slight'}, is replaced with \textit{k\breve{a}}, provided a constituent combines to follow.
Examples:

kāmadhuram ‘slightly sweet’
kālavaṇam ‘slightly salted’
kāmlam ‘slightly sour’
koṇam ‘slightly warm’

1. This rule allows ku to be replaced with kā when the same is used with the signification of īṣat ‘a little’. Thus, īṣan madhuram = kāmadhuram ‘a little sweet’ and īṣad āamlam = kāmlam and īṣal lavaṇam = kālavaṇam ‘a little salt’. Note that īṣad āamlam = kāmlam and īṣad uṣṇam = koṇam, where āamlam and uṣṇam begin with a vowel (ajādi), get kā from this rule on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent in order’. They should have received kat, instead, because āmla and uṣṇa begin with a vowel (6.3.101 koh kat tatpuruse’ cī).

6.3.106 विभाषा पुरुषे

vibhāṣā puruṣe
/vibhāṣā 1/1 puruṣe 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 koh #101 kā #104)

purusaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā koh ‘kā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word ku is optionally replaced with kā when puruṣa combines to follow.

Examples:

kāpuruṣah ‘a coward; contemptible person’
kupuruṣah ‘ibidem; a bad person’

1. Commentators remind that this option is to be understood as aprāpta-vibhāṣā, an option which was not available. Why can this option not be accepted as ubhayatra-vibhāṣā ‘an option which is, and also is not, available’. It is available when the sense is īṣadartha. It is not available elsewhere. It is stated that the provision made under the condition of īṣadarthe is obligatory (nitya). Consequently, kā is obligatorily selected as a replacement on the basis of pūrvavipratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’.

6.3.107 कव्योणो

kavaṇa koṣe
/kavaṇam 1/1 caṣ uṣne 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 koh #101 kā #104 vibhāṣā #106)

uṣṇasabda uttarapade koh kavaṇam ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kā ca vibhāṣa
The word ku is optionally replaced with kavaṇ when uṣṇa ‘hot’ combines to follow.
EXAMPLES:

kavosnam ‘slightly warm’
kosnam ‘ibidem’
kadusnam ‘not warm enough’

1. This rule allows ku to be optionally replaced with kavan when usna follows in combination. Thus, we get (ku→kava) + usnam = kavosnam. The ca in this rule is used to attract kā. Thus, we also get (ku→kā) + usnam→kosnam. Note that vibhasa is also carried. That is, we get a third form where ku gets replaced with kat. Thus, (ku→ka(t→d)) + usnam = kadusnam.

6.3.108 पथिः च चढ़दिसि

pathi caḥ, handasi
/pathi 7/1 ca ṣ handasi 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 koh #101 kā #103 vibhāsa #106 kavam #107)
pathisabda uttarapade chandasi viśaye koh ‘kava, kā’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhāsa

The word ku is optionally replaced with kavan, in the Vedic, when pathin ‘path’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kavapathaḥ ‘a bad road’
kāpathaḥ ‘ibidem’
kupathaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule applies to Vedic when pathin combines to follow ku. Thus, we get (ku→kava) + pathin = kavapath(in→ṣ) + a = kavapatha, through the samāśāna affix (5.4.74 ṭṛpūrabdhūḥ . . .) and ti-deletion. Another form will be kāpatha with a replacement in kā. If no option is accepted, we will get kupatha with no replacement.

6.3.109 पपोदानीनिवयोपदिष्टम्

prṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam
/prṣodarādīni 1/3 = ṭṛṣodara ādiḥ yēsāṁ tāṇi (bu.); yathopadiṣṭam = yāni yāni upadiṣṭāni = (aryayibhāva)/
prṣodarādīni śabdārūpāṇi (yēsu lopāgamavarnavārkārāḥ sāstrena na vihatāḥ, dṛśyante ca, tāṇi) yathopadiṣṭāni bhavanti

Words such as prṣodara, etc., are accepted as derived.

EXAMPLES:

prṣodaram = prṣad udaram yasya ‘he whose belly is spotted’
prṣodvānam = prṣad udvānam yasya ‘he whose vomit is . . .’
balāhakaḥ = vāruvahakaḥ ‘he who carries water; cloud’
jīmūtaḥ = jīvanasya mūtaḥ 'container for water'
śmaśānam = śavānāṃ sayanam 'reclining of corpses; crematorium'
ulūkhalam = īrūḥam kham asya 'that which opens upward; a mortar'
pīśacah 'goblin'
mayūrah 'peacock; that which cries on ground'

1. Note that yathopadīṣṭa is here used in the sense of śiṣṭoccaṇīta 'as used by the learned'. This rule is needed to account for prṣodara, etc., with no need to explain what rules apply to accomplish LOPA 'deletion', āgama 'augment', varṇavikāra 'sound modification', etc. Consider prṣad udaram yasya = prṣodarauḥ and prṣad udvānam yasya = prṣodvānam, where the final t of prṣat gets deleted. A replacement in ba for vārī, and in l for v of vāhaka, produces (vārī→ba) + (v→l) āhakāh = ba + lāhakāh = balāhakāh. We can similarly accept śavānāṃ sayanam = śmaśānam, where śava and sayana are, respectively, replaced with śma and śāna, to produce śmaśāna. The word ulūkhalam is similarly derived by replacing īrūḥam with ulū and kha with khala to produce ulūkhalam, paraphrased as īrūḥam kham yasya. A replacement in pi and śāca is ordered to derive pīśacā from pīśāta and aśa. Thus, pīśāta aśa yasya = pīśacā 'he whose hopes are shattered'. Or else, pīśitam ācāmati 'he who sips on powdered food'. The word mayūra is derived parallel to mahāyām rauti, where affix aC (3.1.62 acaḥ) is introduced after ru used in construction with mahī + Ni. We get mayūra by replacing mahī with mayū and delting the u of ru. Thus (mahī→mayū) + r(u→φ) = aC = mayūra. Similar details can also be offered for deriving aśvattha and kapīṭha, etc.

2. A series of vārītika proposals are also offered to derive uttaratāram and daksinaṭāram, optionally, to uttaratīraṃ and daksinaṭāraṃ. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for additional details.

6.3.110 संख्याविज्ञानपूर्वस्याध्यायान्तरस्यां डै

sankhyāvisāyapūrvasāhnsasyāhan anyatarasyāṃ nau
/samkhyā-vi-sāya-pūrvasa 6/1 = samkhyā ca viś ca sāya ca = samkhyāvisāyam (sam. dv.); sankhyāvisāyam pūrvaḥ yasya (bv. with int. dv.);
ahnasya 6/1 ahan 1/1 anyatarasyāṃ 7/1 nau 7/1/
'samkhyā, vi, sāya' ity evam pūrvaḥ ahnaśabdaḥ 'ahan' ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ nau parataḥ

The word ahaṇa, when used in combination after samkhyā, vi and sāya, is optionally replaced with ahan when Ni follows.

Examples:

dh焦急 = dhajor ahnor bhavah 'born of two days'
dh焦急hi 'locative singular . . .'
dh焦急hi 'ibidem'
dh焦急ne 'ibidem'
vyahnah 'he whose day has elapsed'
vyahni 'locative singular . . .'
vayahni 'ibidem'
vyahne 'ibidem'
sayahnah 'end of the day; evening'
sayahni 'locative singular'
sayahni 'ibidem'
sayahne 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows ahan, when used before the locative singular Ni, to be optionally replaced with ahan, provided sāmykhya ‘number word’, vi, and sāya are used in combination to precede. Thus, dvayor ahnor bhavah = dvi + ahan + Ni + thaN = dvi + ahna + (Ni→ϕ) + (thaN→ϕ) = dvi + ahna, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 taddhiārthottara-pada . . . Affix thaN is introduced by 4.3.11 kālāt thań, and is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 dvigor lug anapate. Our present rule then introduces ahan as a replacement for ahna, thereby producing dvi + (ahna→ahan) = dv(i→γ) + ahan = dvahana. We will get dvahyna if the option of replacing ahna with ahan is not accepted. An introduction of Ni after dvahna will again involve the replacement of ahna with ahan in deriving dvahymni and dvahyani, where the a of an of ahan will be optionally deleted by 6.4.134 vībhasā niśyoh. A compound with sāya is formed at the strength of the formulation of this rule.

6.3.111 दृश्यपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो गण:

dhralope pūrvasya dirgho' naḥ
/ dhralope 7/1 = dhakārāṣ ca rephaṣ ca = dhrau (itar. dv.); tayor lopo yasmin (bu.), tasmin; pūrvasya 6/1 dirghaḥ 1/1 aṇaḥ 1/1/
dhraloe pūrvasyāno dirgho bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aN, when occurring before that which causes the deletion of dh and r, is replaced with its long counterpart.

Examples:

upagūḍham ‘concealed, embraced’
mūḍhah ‘idiot, infatuated’
nirakataḥ ‘with no blood’
anirathah ‘fire-chariot’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a short sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aN, provided a deleted dh and r, and what caused this deletion, follows. Consider the derivation of ṭūḍha, a derivate of the nīṣṭhā suffix Kta introduced after lih ‘to lick, taste’, where 8.2.31 ho ḍhah replaces the h of lih with dh. Rules 8.2.40 jhāṣasthato . . . and 8.4.40 ṭunjña ṭuḥ then
apply on \( \text{lidh} + \text{ta} \) to yield \( \text{lidh} + (t \to \text{dh} \to \phi) \) \( a = \text{lidh} + \text{dha} \). Rule 8.3.13 \( \text{dho dhe lopah} \) then causes deletion of \( \text{dh} \) of \( \text{lidh} + \text{dha} \), whereby we get \( l(i \to \phi) + \text{dha} = \text{lidha} \). Our present rule then applies on \( \text{lidha} \) to replace its short \( i \) with its long counterpart \( i \). We thus get \( l(i \to \phi) + \text{dha} = \text{lidha} \). Similar application of rules are witnessed in deriving \( \text{mIELDham}, \text{upagudham} \) and \( \text{nirakRAM} \). The \( r \) of \( \text{nir} + \text{raktam} \), subsequent to compound formation by 2.2.18 \( \text{kugati} \ldots \), goes through deletion of 8.3.14 \( \text{ro} \) \( \text{ri} \). Similar rules also apply in deriving \( \text{agnir} + \text{rathah} = \text{agnirathah} \) and \( \text{indurathah} \).

2. The word \( \text{dhraloPE} \) is interpreted as a \( \text{bahuVRIHI} \) with internal \( \text{dvandva} \), paraphrased as \( \text{dhekara} \text{ca repha ca = dhrav ‘dh and} \ r’; \text{dhyor lopo yasmin = dhraloPah ‘that which conditions deletion of} \ \text{dh} \text{and} \ r’; \text{tasmin ‘when that follows’}. \) A genitive \( \text{tatpurusa} \) interpretation of \( \text{dhraloPE} \) will yield the following meaning: ‘when deletion of \( \text{dh} \) and \( \text{r} \) follows’. This will make it impossible for the rule to apply, since \( \text{lopa} \) means non-appearance (\( \text{adarshana} \)) and hence, there will be nothing there to follow. Why can we not revive the deleted \( \text{dh} \) and \( \text{r} \) by means of \( \text{sthaniVadhava} ‘treating a LOPA as what it replaced’? This will create problems in deriving \( \text{karaniya} \), where, after an assumed deletion of \( \text{r} \), the \( \text{a} \) of \( \text{ka} \) will be subject to lengthening. It is to resolve such problems that \( \text{dhraloPE} \) is interpreted as a \( \text{bahuVriHI} \).

6.3.112 सहिवहोरोदवण्यस्य

\( \text{sahivahor od avarnasya} \)

\( \text{/sahivahoh 6/2 = sahi} \text{ś ca vaha} \text{ś ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ot 1/1 avarnasya 6/1 = aś cásau varna} \text{ś ca (karmadhāraya), tasya /} \)

\( \text{(dhraloPE #111)} \)

‘sahi, vahi’ \( \text{ity etayor avarnasyaaukāra ādeśo bhavati dhraloPE} \)

The \( a \) of verbal roots \( \text{sahi} \) and \( \text{vahi} \) is replaced with \( oT \) (1.1.70 \( \text{tapa} \text{ras} \ldots \)) when deletion of \( \text{dh} \) and \( r \), by means of \( \text{LOPA} \), occurs.

Examples:

\( \text{sodhā ‘he who endures’} \)
\( \text{sodhum ‘to endure’} \)
\( \text{sodhavayam ‘that which is to be endured’} \)
\( \text{vodhā ‘he who carries’} \)
\( \text{vodhum ‘to carry’} \)
\( \text{vodhavayam ‘that which is to be carried’} \)

1. This rule offers \( o \) as a replacement for the \( a \) of \( \text{sah} \) and \( \text{vah} \), when that which caused deletion of \( \text{dh} \) and \( r \) follows. Thus, we get \( \text{(sah} + \text{Kta}) + \text{TaP} = \text{sodha} + \ddot{a} = \text{sodhā}, \) etc. Note that \( \text{sodha} \) of \( \text{sodhā} \) is similar in derivation to \( \text{lidha} \), where we do not get a replacement in \( o \).

2. Note that the \( a \) which here gets replaced with \( o \) is specified with the qualification of \( \text{varṇa ‘sound’}. \) Consequently, \( a \) represents all sounds homo-
geneous with it. That is, it also represents its long counterpart ā. Why can we not get this reference to ā by simply using a, without the specification of varṇa? That is, in consonance with 1.1.69 anudit savarnasya. . . . This would have served the purpose, had it not been for the specification of o with t (tapararakaṇa). This t would then have also been interpreted with a in consonance with tād api taparaḥ ‘also what occurs after t’, a second interpretation of taparaḥ (see 1.1.70 taparas taṅkālasya). That is, a would then have been restricted to refer to itself only. This would have blocked the o-replacement of ā of vāh in udavoḍhām, deriving from ud + a + v(a→ā→o) + (h→dh)) + LUN)). The vrddhi-replacement of a in vah is accomplished by 7.2.3 vadavrāja. . . .

6.3.113 साध्यासाध्यासाध्यानिगमे

sāḥhyai sādhyā sādheti nigame
/sāḥhyai φ sādhyā φ sādhā 1/1 iti φ nigame 7/1/
‘sāḥhyai, sādhyā, sādhā’ iti nigame nipātyante

The words sāḥhyai, sādhyā and sādhā are derived in the Vedic via nipātana.

EXAMPLES:

sāḥhyai ‘having prevailed, or conquered’
sādhyā ‘ibidem’
sādhā ‘overcome, prevailed’

1. This rule offers sāḥhyai and sādhyā as derived, via nipātana, in the Vedic. That is, a replacement in ḛhyai for Ktvā, and a lack of replacement in o for a of saha can both be accomplished, via nipātana. The word sādhyā retains Ktvā and does not avail o-replacement. Finally, sādhyā, a derivate of trN (3.2.135 trn), again involves no replacement in o. The long ā in all these examples can be accomplished by 6.3.110 dhrālope pūrvasya. . . .

6.3.114 साम्हितायाम्

samhitāyām/
samhitāyām 7/1/
‘samhitiyām’ ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ārdhavam anukramiṣyāmah
‘samhitiyām’ ity evaṃ tad veditavam

When samhītā finds its scope . . .

1. This is an adhikāra, valid through the end of this quarter. Note that an adhikāra carries (anuvartate), and thus, facilitates the application of rules contained within its domain. The word samhītā is explained as ‘close proximity between sounds’ (1.4.109 pārah sannikarṣaḥ samhītā). Refer to examples under rules which follow.
2. Note that operations specific to the condition of *uttarapade* are performed by different rules. The condition of *uttarapade* is specifically offered in the context of compounds. Operations referred to by *samhitā* can thus be performed obligatorily. That is, in consonance with the general understanding that *samhitakapade nityā* ‘*samhitā* is obligatory within a single *pada*’. Why do we then have *samhitāyām* as an *adhikāra*? Since the condition of *uttarapade* is limited to the context of a compound, this rule becomes necessary to account for contexts outside the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, consider rule 6.3.134 *dvyaoc’ tas tināḥ* which offers a long replacement for the final sound of a form ending in *tiN*. Since a form which ends in a *tiN* affix does not combine in a compound with any following constituent, *uttarapade* cannot facilitate this replacement.

6.3.115 कर्णेऽलक्षणस्याविषयाः प्रतिक्रियाभिधिन्नातिन्निर्मित्रिक्षुच्चिंत्रयस्वत्वस्वतिक्य

karne laksanasyāviṣāṣṭapaṅcaḥmaṇibhinnacchinacchidrasrūvasvastikṣya
/karne7/1 laksanasya6/1 āviṣṭa-aṣṭan-paṅcan-mani-bhinna-chinna-chidra-
srūva-svastikṣya6/1 (na viṣṭa-paṅcan . . . svastikṣya (naṅ. with int. dv.))/
(pūrasya dirghaḥ anāḥ #111 samhitāyām #114)
karaṇasabde uttarapade laksanavācino dirgho bhavati ‘viṣṭa, aṣṭan, paṅcan,
mani, bhinna, chinna, chidra, srūva, svastikā’ ity etān varjāyitvā

A final short vowel denoted by *aN* of a nominal which denotes *lakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic mark’, and is other than *viṣṭa, aṣṭan, paṅcan, mani, bhinna,
chinna, chidra, srūva*, and *svastika*, is replaced with its long counterpart when *samhitā* finds its scope.

**Examples:**

dāṭrākarnāḥ ‘branded with mark of a sickle on the ear’
dviguṇākarnāḥ ‘branded with two marks on the ear’
triguṇākarnāḥ ‘branded with three marks on the ear’
dvyaṅgulākarnāḥ ‘branded with a mark equal in measure to two fingers
on the ear’
aṅgulākarnāḥ ‘branded on the ear with mark of a finger’

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the final short vowel of a constituent which is used in combination with a following (*uttarapade*), namely *karna* ‘ear’, used with the signification of *lakṣaṇa* ‘mark’. Additionally, this preceding constituent must be one other than *viṣṭa*, etc.

2. Note that *lakṣaṇa* is explained (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā: lakṣyate nena svāmi-
viśeṣasya sambandhah*) as ‘that by means of which a particular relationship
(here, ownership) is marked to be known’. Thus, *dāṭrākarnāḥ* ‘... one on
whose ear there is mark of a sickle’. Other example compounds, mostly *bahuvrīhis*, can be similarly understood.
6.3.116 नाहिवृत्तिवृत्तियथिधिमिचिसहितनिषु क्रू

nahivṛttivṛttiyathirucisahitanisu kvaun
(pūrvasya dirgho' nah #111 samhitāyām #114)
'nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhī, ruci, sahi, tani' ity eteṣu
kvāpatayānteśṛttarapiṇḍaṣu pūrvapadasya dirgho bhavati samhitāyām viśaye
A final short vowel denoted by aN of a nominal is replaced with its long counterpart when nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhī, ruci, sahi, tani, all ending in KloP, combine as following constituents.

Examples:

upānat 'shoe, sandal'
̄nivṛt 'an inhabited place'
prāvṛt 'rainy season'
hrdayāvit 'heart-piercing'
niruk 'tasteless, insipid'
ṛisat 'conquering enemies'
parītāt 'encircling'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short aN at the end of what precedes, when verbal roots nahl, vṛṭl, vṛṣl, vyadhīl, rucī, sahil, and tanīl, used with affix KloP, follow, and samhitā finds its scope. Thus, consider upānat 'shoe' where affix KloP is introduced after nah by a vārtika (sampadādibhyāh kvāp; ad 3.3.94 striyāṃ kti). The root-final h is then replaced with t (cartva, 8.4.55 kharī ca), via dh (8.2.34 naho dhaḥ) and d (jaśtva, 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jasō'nte). Our present rule will then replace the short a of upa, in upānat, with its long counterpart yielding upānat.

2. Other derivate involves similar operations. Thus, parīnat where, given pari + nah + KloP, the n of nah is replaced with n (8.4.14 upasargād asamāsē' pi . . . ). Affix KloP is introduced by 3.2.75 anyebhyo' pi dṛṣyate. This same KloP is also introduced in deriving nivṛt. Replacements in jaŚ (d; jaśtva) and caR (t; cartva) are also seen in prāvṛt. The samprasāraṇa of vyadh in marmāvit is accomplished by 6.1.16 grahibhāvayvayadha. . . The c in niruk goes through kutva of 8.2.30 cōh kuḥ. The s of sah in rīṃ sahate = rīṣat is replaced with s (8.3.109 saheḥ pṛtanartābhyaṃ ca), via yoga-vibhāga 'split-interpretation' of saheḥ. The final h of sah . . . as usual, goes through jaśtva and cartva. The t of tan, in paritanoti = parītat, is deleted at the strength of a vārtika (gamanādīnām iti vaktaryam; ad 6.4.40 gamaḥ kvau). Augment tUK is then introduced subsequently (6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk).

6.3.117 वनगिरियोः संझायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम

vanigiryoḥ sanjñayaṁ koṭarakiṁśulakādināṁ
/vana-giryoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.) sanjñayaṁ 7/1 koṭara-kiṁśulaka-ādīnāṁ 6/3
= koṭaraś ca kimśulakaś ca (itar. dv.); koṭara-kimśulakau ādi yeṣām (bv.)/(uttaraṇpade #1 pūrvasya đirgho' nāḥ #111 samhitāyām #114)

‘vana, giri’ ity etayor uttarapadayor yathāsaṃkhyam koṭarādīnāṃ kimśulakādīnām ca đirgho bhavti samjñāyām visaye

The final sound segment of nominals listed in the group headed by koṭara and kimśulaka is replaced with its long counterpart when vana and giri, respectively, combine to follow them in samhitā and the derivate denotes a name (samjñā).

**Examples:**

koṭarāvanaṃ ‘name of a forest’
mīśrakāvanaṃ ‘ibidem’
sidhrakāvanaṃ ‘ibidem’
sāṁkāvanaṃ ‘ibidem’
kimśulakāgiriḥ ‘name of a mountain’
aṅjalāgiriḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowels of nominals enumerated in the list headed by koṭara and kimśula, when vana and giri, respectively, follow to combine. Additionally, the derivate must denote a name (samjñā). Thus, koṭarāvanaṃ ‘name of a forest’ and mīśrakāvanaṃ ‘ibidem’; and kimśulakāgiriḥ and aṅjalāgiriḥ. Note that, in accord with 1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśah samānām, we will get long replacement in nominals of the koṭara group only when vana combines to follow. Similarly, we will get a similar long replacement in nominals of the kimśulaka group when giri combines to follow. It is for this reason that asipatraṇavanam and kṛṣṇagariḥ are treated as counter-examples.

2. All example compounds are genitive tātpuruṣa. The n of vana is replaced with n by 8.4.4 vanam pūragāmiśrakā. . .

6.3.118 बले

vare
/vare 7/1/
(pūrvasya đirgho' n #111, samhitāyām #114 samjñāyām #117)
vare parataḥ pūrvasya đirgho bhavati

The final aN of a constituent is replaced with its long counterpart when vare combines to follow, and samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

āsbūṭivalah ‘distiller, brewer’
kṛṣṇivalah ‘farmer’
dantāivalah ‘elephant’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for aN, also when vare follows and
derivatives denote a name. Note that vala does not here refer to a nominal stem (*prātipadika). Instead, and especially in view of association (*sāhacaryya) of matUP in the following rule, it here refers to affix valaC (5.2.112 rajaḥkṛśyāsūt . . .). Thus, āsūli(i→i)valaḥ = āsūlivalaḥ, etc.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to block this lengthening in case of utsāha, bhrāṭ and pīṭr. Thus, we should still get utsāhavalaḥ, as against utsāhāvalaḥ, etc.

6.3.119 मतो बहुवाक्यजिरादीनाम

matau bahvaco' najirādinām
/matau 7/1 bahvacoḥ 6/1 = bahvaco yasmin sa (bv.); anajirādinām 6/3 = ajir ādir yeśām = ajirādayāḥ, na ajirādayāḥ (nañ. with int. bv.), teśām)/
(pūrvasya dirgho naḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 saṃjñāyām #117)
matau parato bahvaco' jirādivarītasya dirgho bhavati saṃjñāyām viśaye

The final an of a polysyllabic nominal other than one listed in the group headed by ajira is replaced with its long counterpart when matUP follows and saṃhitā finds its scope, provided, of course, the derivate also denotes a name (saṃjñā).

Examples:

udumbarāvati ‘name of a river’
maṣakāvati ‘name of a place’
viranāvati ‘ibidem’
puṣkarāvati ‘ibidem’
amarāvati ‘ibidem’
bṛihimati ‘name of a river’
valayavati ‘ibidem’

1. The final vowel of a nominal which consists of many vowels, but is not ajira, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart, when affix matUP follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, consider udumbar(a→ā)vati, etc. Incidentally, affix matUP is introduced by 4.2.85 nadyāṃ matup. A replacement in v for m of matUP is accomplished by 8.2.11 saṃjñāyām.

Kāśikā offers bṛihimati ‘rich in rice’, ajiravati ‘she who has a mole . . . ’ and valayavati (matUP; 5.2.94 tad asyāṣṭi . . . ) as counter-examples for conditions of bahvaco, anajirādi and saṃjñāyām, respectively.

6.3.120 शारादिनां च

śarādināṃ ca
/śarādināṃ 6/3 ca φ/
(pūrvasya dirgho naḥ #111, saṃhitāyām #114 saṃjñāyām #116 matau #119)
śarādināṃ ca matau dirgho bhavati saṃjñāyām viśaye
The final an of nominals listed in the group headed by śara ‘arrow’ is replaced with its long counterpart when affix matUP follows and the derivate denotes a name.

**Examples:**

śarāvati ‘name of a river’
vamśāvati ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final of nominals listed in the śarādi group, provided matUP follows and the derivate denotes a name. Here again the m of matUP is replaced with v, as also in case of brihimātī. It, however, cannot be permitted in cases where nominals of the yavādi group are involved (8.2.9 mād upadhāyāś . . ).

6.3.121 इको वहेःपीलो:

iko vahe’ piloh
/ ikaḥ 6/1 vahe 7/1 apiloh 6/1/
(uttaraṇade #1 dīrgaḥ #111 samhitāyāṁ #114)
igantasya pūrvaṇadasya piluvairjitasya vaha uttarapade dīrgo bhavati

The final iK of a nominal other than pilu is replaced with its long counterpart when vaha combines to follow, and samhitā finds its scope.

**Examples:**

ṛṣivaham ‘name of a place’
kapitiveham ‘ibidem’
muniveham ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows shortening of the final iK of a preceding constituent when the same is not pilu, but is combined before vaha. Our examples are all genitive tātpuruṣa compounds where vaha is a derivate of affix aC (3.1.134 nandigrahapacādhīhyaḥ . . ). Kāśikā offers piṇḍavaham and piluvaham as counter-examples to conditions of ikaḥ and piloh, respectively. These derivatives both denote names. Incidentally, Nyāsa lists the examples in the masculine nominative singular.

2. A vārttika (vt. apīlavāḍināṁ iti vaktavyam) proposal is made to read the exclusion as: apīlavāḍināṁ ‘except for pilu, etc.’ This extended exclusion can also block lengthening in additional derivate, for example, dāruvaham, etc.

6.3.122 उपसर्गस्य चव्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्

upasargasya ghañy amanuseye bahulam
/ upasargasya 6/1 ghanī 7/1 amanuse 7/1 = (nañ.); bahulam 1/1
(uttaraṇade #1 pūrvasya dīrgo’ nah #111 samhitāyāṁ #114)
upasargasya ghañante uttarapade’ manuseye’ bhidheye bahulam dīrgo bhavati
The final of a preverb (upasarga) is variously replaced with its long counterpart when affix ghāṇ follows, and the derivate does not denote manusya 'human'.

EXAMPLES:

vikledah 'getting wet'
vīmārgah 'a broom'
apāmārgah 'a plant'

1. This rule variously allows a long replacement for the short of an upasarga when the same combines with a derivate of GHaṇ. Thus, nikledah, vimārgah and apāmārgah, where GHaṇ has been introduced after klid and mrj by 3.3.121 halaś ca. The initial vrddhi, and the g-replacement for j of mrj, is accomplished by 7.2.114 mrjer vrddhiḥ and 7.3.52 cajo ku. . . . This replacement will be blocked when the derivate denotes a human (manusya). Thus, consider nisādo manusyaḥ 'nisāda is a human'. Incidentally, since it is impossible to find affix GHaṇ introduced after a preverb, GHaṇ of ghāṇi is interpreted as 'that which ends in GHaṇ'.

2. The following are some additional proposals made under this rule:

(i) An upasarga should receive a final long replacement also when sāda and kāra combine to follow, and the derivate denotes kṛtrima 'non-natural, artificial'. Thus, prāsādaḥ 'palace' and prākāraḥ 'enclosure', etc.

(ii) Another proposal seeks optional lengthening when veśa, etc., combine to follow. Thus, pratīvesaḥ/pratīvesaḥ 'neighborhood' and pratirodhaḥ/pratirodhaḥ 'obstacle'.

6.3.123 इक: कासे

ikah kāse
/ikah 6/1 kāse 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 dīrgaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 upasargasya #122)
igantasyopasargasya kāśaśabda uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final iK of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when kāsa combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

nīkāsah 'look, appearance'
vīkāsah 'progression'
anūkāsah 'reflection of light'

1. This rule allows a long replacement when an upasarga ending in an iK combines with a following kāsa. Note that kāsa is not a derivate of GHaṇ. It is a derivate of aC, instead (3.1.134 nandigrahiṇacādy . . . ). The condition of iK is imposed so that pra could not receive a long ā in prakāsah 'light'. 
6.3.124 दस्ति

das ti
/daḥ 6/1 ti 7/1/
(dīrgaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 upasargasya #122 ikah #123)
‘dā’ ity etasya yas takārādir ādesas tasmin parata igantasyopasargasya dīrgo bhavati

The final iK of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when a replacement of dā beginning with t follows.

EXAMPLES:

nittam ‘made as a gift’
vittam ‘that which has passed’
parittam ‘given away’

1. This rule allows an upasarga which ends in an iK to receive a long vowel replacement when a t-initial replacement of dā follows. Thus, consider ni-dā + Kta = nītta, where the final ā (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) of dā is replaced with t (7.4.77 aca upasargāt taḥ). Rule 8.4.54 khari ca then replaces the d of ni + d + t + ta with t. Rule 8.4.64 jharo jhari savarme then deletes the preceding t. This produces ni + (d→t) + (t→ϕ) + ta. Our present rule then offers a long i for the short of ni. This same happens in case of vittam and parittam.

2. Note that the condition of daḥ is imposed so that vi and ni could be blocked from receiving lengthening, due mainly to an absence of dā. The condition of ti will similarly block lengthening in sudattam where dā is replaced with dad (8.4.60 do dad ghok).

3. Note that the genitive of daḥ is here interpreted as signifying sthānyādesa-sambandha ‘substituendum substitute-relationship’. A question is raised as to how this long replacement for the final short of an upasarga can be accomplished. That is, when there will not be any t-initial replacement of dā to follow an upasarga. Recall that the t-initial replacement dā by 7.4.77 aca upasargāt taḥ will replace its final ā. That is, d of ni + d + t + Kta, will then intervene, and ni will not be directly followed by t-initial replacement. This long replacement cannot be accomplished even when the d is replaced with t by 8.4.54 khari ca. For, this t-replacement will become asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of the application of long replacement. Commentators explain that Pāṇini’s specification by ti itself indicates that asiddhatva of cartva (of 8.4.54 khari ca) cannot be accepted as valid.

6.3.125 अन्यन: संज्ञयायम्

aṣṭanaḥ samjñāyām
/aṣṭanaḥ 6/1 samjñāyām 7/1/
The final aN of aṣṭan is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow and the derivate denotes a name (saṃjñā).

**Examples:**

aṣṭāvakraḥ ‘he whose eight limbs are crooked; a name’
aṣṭābandhuraḥ ‘ibidem’
aṣṭāpadam ‘he who has eight feet’

1. This rule allows lengthening of aṣṭan when a constituent follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus aṣṭāvakraḥ ‘he whose eight limbs are crooked’, etc. Note that 8.2.7 nalopah... accomplishes n-deletion of aṣṭan.

6.3.126 छःद्विस्ति च

chandasi ca
/chandasi 7/1 ca φ/
(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dirgho ‘ṇah #111 aṣṭanah #125)
chandasi viṣaye ्ṣṭan uttarapade dirgho bhavati
The final aN of aṣṭan is replaced with its long counterpart, also in the Vedic, when a constituent combines to follow.

**Examples:**

āgneyāmaṣṭākapālam nirvapet cārum ‘... offer oblations in eight vessels...’
aṣṭāhiranyā daksinā ‘a ritual gift of eight gold coins?’
aṣṭāpadī devatā sumati ‘a verse of eight quarters...’

1. Note that aṣṭasu kapāleṣu samskṛtam = aṣṭākapālam is a derivate of aN, introduced by 4.2.16 samskṛtam bhaksāh. This affix, however, is deleted by 4.1.88 avigator lug anapate. The final a of pāda, of aṣṭau pādāḥ asyāḥ = aṣṭapadi, is deleted by 5.4.138 pādasya lopo... An optional affix NiP is then introduced by 4.1.8 pādo’ nyatatasyām. A compound such as aṣṭau hiranyāni parimāṇam asyāḥ = aṣṭahiranyā ‘that whose measure is eight gold coins’ is formed in the sense of a taddhita affix (taddhitārtha; 2.1.51 taddhitārthottara-pada...). The taddhita affix introduced by 5.1.57 tad asya parimāṇam is deleted by 5.1.28 adhyardhapūrva... .

2. A vārttika proposal is made to also allow lengthening when gava combines to follow. Thus, aṣṭāgavam śakatam ‘a cart pulled by eight bullocks’.

6.3.127 चित्ते: कपि

citeh kapī
/citeh 6/1 kapī 7/1/
(pūrvasya dīrgho ‘ṇah #111 samhitāyām #114)
citisabdasya kāpi parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of citi is replaced with its long counterpart when affix kaP follows, and samhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

Ekaciitikah ‘that which has one layer of bricks’
Dviciitikah ‘that which has two layers of bricks’
Triciitikah ‘that which has three layers of bricks’

1. This rule allows lengthening of citi when kaP follows. Thus, ekā citir asya = ekaciitikah. Note that pumavadbhāva ‘masculine transformation’ is accomplished by 6.3.34 striyāh pumavadbhāṣita. . . . Affix kaP is introduced by 5.4.154 sēsād vibhāṣā.

6.3.128 विष्वकय बसुराठोः:

viśvasya vasurātoḥ
/ viśvasya 6/1 vasurātoḥ 6/2 (itar. du.) /
(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho ‘ṇah #111 samhitāyām #114)
viśvasābdasya ‘vasu, rāṭ ity etayor uttarapadayor dīrgha ādeśo bhavati
The final vowel of viśva is replaced with its long counterpart when vasu and rāṭ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

Viśvāvasuḥ ‘one of the names of Viṣṇu’
Viśvārāṭ ‘lord of the universe’

1. This rule allows viśva to receive lengthening when vasu and rāṭ combine to follow. Thus, consider viśvārāṭ where affix KoIP is introduced after rājR by 3.2.61 satsūdvīsa. . . . Note that a specification with rāṭ is made to ensure lengthening only where we find the form rāṭ (yatṛasyaitad rūpam tatraiva). Recall that such a form is available where the term pada can be assigned. We find no lengthening in viśvarājau and viśvarājaḥ because of negation of asarvanāmasthāne in 1.4.17 svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne.

6.3.129 नरे संज्ञायाः

Nare samjñāyām
/ nare 7/1 samjñāyām 7/1 /
(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho ‘ṇah #111 samhitāyām #144 viśvasya #129)
naraśabda uttarapade samjñāyām viśaye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of viśva is replaced with its long counterpart when nara combines to follow.
6.3.131  Adhyāya Six: Pāda Three

Examples:

viśvānaro nāma yasya vaiśvānarih putraḥ
‘Vaiśvānari (Agni) is the son of he whose name is Viśvānara’

1. This rule allows lengthening of the final a of viśva when nara is combined to follow viśva and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, viśvānaro nāma yasya, tasya putraḥ = vaiśvānarih ‘a son of Viśvānara’. This lengthening will be blocked, for example, in viśve naraḥ yasya sa = viśvanarahaḥ ‘he whose all these men are’.

6.3.130  पित्रे चर्चा

mitre caśau
/mitre 7/1 ca φ rṣau 7/1/
(uttarapade#1 pūrvasya dīrgho’ nāḥ #111 saṁhitāyām #114 viśvasya #129)
mitre cottaṛapade rṣau abhidhey viśvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of viśva is also replaced with its long counterpart when mitra combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (ṛṣi).

Examples:

viśvāmitro nāma rṣih ‘a sage named Viśvāmitra’

1. This rule allows lengthening of viśva when mitra combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (ṛṣi). Thus, viśvāmitraḥ ‘name of a sage’. This provision will be blocked where a sage is not denoted. Thus, viśvamitro’ yam māṇavakaḥ ‘this boy is a friend of all’.

6.3.131  मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेतज्ञविशवदेवस्य भती

mantre somāśvendriyaviśvadevyasya mātau
/mantre 7/1 soma-aśva-indriya-viśvadevyasya 6/1 (sam. dv.); mātau 7/1/
(pūrvasya dīrgho’ nāḥ #111 saṁhitāyām #114)
mantraviṣaye soma, aśva, indriya, viśvadeva’ ity eteśām matup pratyaye parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of soma, aśva, indriya and viśvadeva is, in the mantra usage, replaced with its long counterpart when affix matUP follows.

Examples:

somaḥvātā ‘possessing soma’
aśvātā ‘possessing horses’
indriyāvatā ‘powerful’
viśvadēvāvatā ‘dear to all gods’

1. This rule allows lengthening in soma, aśva, indriya and viśvadeva, when matUP follows and the usage belongs to the mantra literature of the Vedic. The examples are all derivate of the feminine affix NīP (4.1.6 uṣitaś ca).
6.3.132 ऋषेद्रेष विभक्तावपर्ययायायम्

रा सदेः त्व विभक्ताव अप्रथमायाम
x सदेः ६ १ क ि विभक्ताव ७ १ अप्रथमायाम ७ १ = ना वर्धमायाम (नान.) /
(पुर्वया धर्गोऽ नाह #१११ समितया याम #११४ मन्त्रे #१३१)
रा सदेः शादवस्या विभक्ताव अप्रथमायाम परतो धर्गो भवति

The final vowel of ऋषेद्रि is also, in the mantra literature, replaced with its long counterpart when a nominal terminating in an ending other than प्रथमायाम ‘first triplet (nominative)’ follows.

Examples:

ो सदेः शिवयाय नम ओ सदेः शिवयाय ‘obeisance to earth and vegetation’

1. This rule allows lengthening to ऋषेद्रि, again in the mantra literature, when a nominal ending other than the nominative (प्रथमायाम) follows. Thus, नमाह ओ सदेः शिवयाय ‘(our) salutation to vegetation’. A counter example to the condition of प्रथमायाम will be शिवयाय अस्तू ओ सदेः शिर ‘let this vegetation be here forever’.

6.3.133 ऋषेद्रेष तुर्यमानिकृतःसाद्वयम्

रा तु नु मात्र रत्रुष्यवस्यानाम
x रा ७ १ तु-नु-घा-मात्र-शिवा-कु त्रा-रुष्यानाम ६ ३ (ितार. द्व.) /
(धर्गोऽ नाह #१११ समितया याम #११४)
रा तशर्या ‘तु, नु, ग्हा, मात्र, शिवा, रुष्या’ इते शादवस्या धर्गो भवति

The final aN of tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṁ, kutra, urusya is replaced with its long counterpart when the usage is a Vedic hymn, and समितया finds its scope.

Examples:

ा तु ना इन्द्र वश्राहन ‘come to us O, Indra, killer of व्रत्र’
x ना कराने
yata va ghā साखात
makṣu गोमान्तिमाहे
bharatā जातवेदसम ‘make Agni happy’
kūmanah ‘wicked-minded’
arā gauh
urusya no gneḥ ‘protect us O, Agni’

1. This rule allows lengthening of tu, etc., in the context of रा ‘Vedic hymn’. Note that taN ‘ta with N as an it’ refers to the active (परास्मािपाद) replacement of second personal plural tha (3.4.101 taśṭhaṃṣaipām tāṃtāmāh). Recall that a replacement of LOT is treated as a replacement
of LÄN, marked with ṇ as an it, by extension (atideśā; 3.4.85 loto lañvat). The tra of atrā has its source in affix traL (5.3.10 saptamīś traL). A replacement in aN, for etad of etad + traL, is accomplished by 5.3.5 etado’ n. The word urusya, paraphrased as ātmana urum icchati, is a derivate of uru + am + KyaC, where augment sUK (vi ad 7.1.51 aśvakṣraya ... sarvaprātipadikebhya lālasāyām sug vaktavyah) is introduced to produce uru + sUK + KyaC→urusya. Given urusya + (LOT→hi) = urusya + (hi→ϕ), where hi gets deleted by 6.4.105 ato heh and s of urusya gets replaced with ṁ, our present rule orders lengthening.

Why can we not interpret the specification by gha, of this rule, as referring to affixes taraP and tamaP (1.1.22 taraptamapau ghah). A form ending in affixes taraP and tamaP which, in turn, may involve this lengthening is impossible (asambhava) to find, especially in this context of rCā.

6.3.134 इक: सूची

ıkah suñi
/ıkah 6/1 suñi 7/1/
(uttaraṇaṇe #1 dīrghah #111 saṁhitāyām #114 rCī #132)
igantasya suñi parato rCī visaye dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of a word which ends in iK is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, suñī follows, and saṁhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

abhī śu ṇah sākhīnām
ūrdhva ū śu ṇā ūtaye

1. This rule allows an iK which occurs before suñī to be replaced with its long counterpart, provided the context is rCā. Note that suT is a particle, where its s is replaced with s. The n of the pronominal nah is replaced with ṇ by 8.4.26 nāś ca dhātustho. . . .

6.3.135 द्वयातिरिक्त:

dvaya'c tasa tiṇah
dvayaḥ 6/1 = dvau acau yasmīn (bh.), tasya; ataḥ 6/1 tiṇah 6/1/
(uttaraṇaṇe #1 dīrghah #111 saṁhitāyām #114 rCī #132)
dvacyaśaś tīnantasyātā tṛguśaye dīrgho bhavati
The a of a tiN affix composed of two vowels is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, saṁhitā finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uḍmā hi tvā gopātim śūra goṇām ‘O, brave Indra, we know you as the master of many cows’
uḍmā śārasyā pīṭarām
1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short $a$ of a āṈ affix composed of two vowels. Of course, when the context is rcā. Thus, consider vidmā, a form of LOT ending in mas ‘first person plural active verbal ending’. Kāśikā offers bharata and vaksi as counter-examples to conditions of dvycacah and atah, respectively.

6.3.136 निपातस्य च

nipātasya ca
/ nipātasya 6/1 ca ā/
(uttarapade #1 dirgho ṇah #111 samhitāyām #144 rci #133)
nipātasya ca rgyiṣaye dirgha ādeśo bhavati
The final aṈ of a particle, in a Vedic hymn, is also replaced with its long counterpart when samhitā finds its scope.

Examples:

evā tē
acchā te

1. A particle is also subjected to lengthening in a context of rcā. Thus, evā and acchā which are nipātas because of their membership in the cādi group (1.4.57 cādayo’sātve).

6.3.137 अन्तेश्यापि दूरयते

anyeṣām aṭi drṣyate
/ anyeṣām 6/3 aṭi ā drṣyate (verbal pada)/
(uttarapade #1 dirgho ṇah #111 samhitāyām #114)
anyeṣām aṭi dirgho drṣyate
A final aṈ is also seen replaced with its long counterpart, elsewhere.

Examples:

kesākeṣi ‘a fight where one pulls the hair of another’
kačākaci ‘ibidem’
jalasāt ‘he who endures rain’
nārakah pūrusah ‘a sinful man’

1. This rule covers examples not enumerated thus far. Consider what the Kāśikā says: yasya dirghatvam na vihitam drṣyate ca prayoge tad anena kartavyam ‘that for which lengthening is not offered but is seen in the usage should be accomplished by this rule’. Thus, kesākeṣi and kačākaci, etc., where the compounds are formed by 2.2.27 tatra tenedad . . . , and the samāsānta affix is introduced by 5.4.127 ic karma . . .

2. A vārttika proposal is also made to allow lengthening in śvan when danta, damśtrā, karna, kunda, varāha, puccha and pada follow.
6.3.138 ची

cau
/cau 7/1/
(uttarapade #1 पुर्वस्या दिर्घो नाह #111 सम्हितायां #114)
cau parataḥ पुर्वपादस्या दिर्घो bhavati
The final aN of a preceding word is replaced with its long counterpart when cu combines to follow, and सम्हिताः finds its scope.

Examples:

dadhīcaḥ (paśya) ‘nominative plural of dadhīc’
dadhīce ‘dative singular . . .’
madhūcaḥ (paśya) ‘nominative plural of madhūc’
madhūce . . . ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule allows lengthening when cu follows a sound denoted by aN. The word cu here refers to verbal root aṇc with its deleted nasal. Consider dadhica where aṇc receives affix KuIN (3.2.59 rtvigdadhrk . . .) and its nasal is deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hal . . . The a of ac + KuIN is deleted by 6.4.138 acah. The word dadhīcaḥ is thus a derivate of dadhi + c + ūs, with long ī replacing the short of dadhi. Similar rules apply in deriving madhūcaḥ. Affix KuIN, as usual, gets deleted.

Note that a replacement denoted by the abbreviatory symbol yaN (yaṇādeśa; 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci) is applicable here on the basis of being internally conditioned (antarāṅga). This, however, does not apply at the strength of this express provision of long-vowel replacement (dirghādeśa; Kāś: antarāṅgo’ pi hi yaṇādeśo dirghavidhānasāmarthyan na pravarttate).

6.3.139 सम्प्रसारणस्य

samprasāraṇasya
/samprasāraṇasya 6/1/
(uttarapade #1 पुर्वस्या दिर्घो नाह #111 सम्हितायां #114)
samprasāraṇāntasya pūrvapadasyottarapade dirgho bhavati
The final of a word which has gone through samprasāraṇa is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

Examples:

kārṣagandhiputraḥ ‘son of a female who smelled like dried cow-dung’
kārṣagandhipatiḥ ‘husband of . . .’
kaumudagandhiputraḥ ‘son of a female who smelled like lily’
kaumudagandhipatiḥ ‘husband of . . .’

1. Note that uttarapade is still carried. This rule offers a long replacement for the short final aN of a preceding constituent ending in a vowel termed
samprasāraṇa. Of course, when a constituent in combination follows. Thus, we get kārīṣagandhiputraḥ and kārīṣagandhipatiḥ, where the final samprasāraṇa vowel i of kārīṣagandhi is replaced with its long counterpart before putra and pati. Recall that this samprasāraṇa vowel, in fact, is the samāsānta affix i (5.4.137 upamānāc ca). Refer to the appendix of 6.1.13 svaṇaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ for derivational details of these examples.

2. A question is raised as to why 6.3.61 iko hrasva . . . cannot be applied on kārīṣagandhi of kārīṣagandhiputraḥ? Recall that this rule, in the opinion of Gālava, offers a short replacement for the final i. Our present rule will require a replacement in long. Nyāsa suggests that the anuvṛtti of anyatarasyāṁ will be carried to 6.3.61 iko hrasvo . . . from 6.3.59 ekahalādau . . . . This will then turn 6.3.61 iko hrasvo . . . into a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā ‘fixed option’. Consequently, kārīṣagandhi will escape its application. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśi) finds vipratisedha in the application of rules 6.1.61 and 6.3.139. He claims that an independent scope of application of 6.3.61 can be seen in grāmānaṇīputraḥ. A similar independent scope of 6.3.139 can be found in contexts where shortening of 6.3.61 cannot apply. Thus, given that dīrgha ‘lengthening’ finds its scope even when hrasva does not find its scope, dīrgha of this rule blocks the application of hrasva on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 vipratisedhe . . .). Why can hrasva not apply after the application of dīrgha in consonance with punah prasaṅgavijñāna, a renewed context of application? This cannot be done since that which goes through vipratisedha once, and hence is blocked, remains blocked forever (PS 41: sakṛd gatau vipratisedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva).

PĀDA FOUR

6.4.1 अंगत्व

aṅgasya 6/1/
adhiκāro’ yam ā saptamādhhyāyaparīsamāpteḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramisyāmo’ nasyeytu evaṃ tad veditavyam

Of that which is termed an aṅga . . .

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This is an adhiκāra ‘governing rule’. It is carried over to all rules contained within its domain, valid through the end of the seventh chapter (saptamādhhyāyā).

2. Some claim that this adhiκāra of aṅgasya is valid prior to rules introducing modification to abhyāsa (7.4.58 atra lopo’ bhāsasya). This way, one need not specify luk in the wording of rule 7.4.82 guṇo yaṣṭukoh. Why? Rule 1.1.62 pratyayaloḥ pratyaylakṣaṇam can account for its purpose. If such an adhiκāra
of anāgasya is accepted as valid, even in the section dealing with modifications introduced to an abhyāsa, 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya will block operations relative to an anāgā. Of course, based on deletions accomplished via LUK, ŚLU and Lup. The Lup of 7.4.82 guno yaṅlukhoḥ is stated so that guna is applied against the negation of 1.1.62 na lumatāṅgasya.

The author of the Kāśikāvṛtti finds problems in accepting this limited governing scope of anāgasya. The author of the vr̥tti considers vraṣc + LIT→vavraśca where, given va + vraṣc + LIT, 6.1.17 līty abhyāsasyobhayēṣām would apply to replace r with its samprāsāraṇa counterpart r. This samprāsāraṇa will become applicable again to v after the application of 7.4.66 ur at and 7.4.60 halādi sēsaḥ. The negation of this samprāsāraṇa (6.1.37 na samprāsāraṇe samprāsāraṇam) which is desired can then not apply. For, the a which results from the application of 7.4.66 ur at will not be a samprāsāraṇa vowel. One cannot invoke sthānivādbhāva here because the samprāsāraṇa condition of paranimita ‘following condition’ can then not be satisfied (PM: ad Kāś: vr̥tikārās tu manyate-yadi prāg abhyāsavyakārebhyōṅgādhikārah vavraś ceti vr̥cater līti līty abhyāsasyobhayēṣām’ iti repahśas samprāsāraṇe uradatva halādiśeṣe ca krte vakārasyāpī samprāsāraṇam prāpnoti, tasya ‘na samprāsāraṇe samprāsāraṇam’ iti pratisedha iṣyate, sa na prāpnoti, uradatvasyāsamprāsāraṇatvāt. na ca tasya sthānivātvam, apararnimitatvāt). It is to facilitate the derivation of vavraśca (and not of *vraśca) that anāgasya is treated as valid up to the end of the seventh chapter (Adhyāya).

If one accepts the extent of the domain of anāgasya valid through the end of the seventh chapter, the result of 7.4.66 ur at will constitute the following condition. For, an anāgā will then expect its own affixal right condition (PM: ā sañtamāḥdvāyaparīsāmāpteh punar anāgādhikāre saty uradatvam paranimitakam bhavati, anjena svanimittasya pratayasyāpekṣeṣāt). The idea that one need not specify luk in 7.4.82 guno yaṅlukhoḥ is not acceptable. For, the applicational domain of that negation (cf. 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya) is not limited only to operations of the domain of anāgasya. It is true that this negation applies to an anāgā which has gone through deletion of its affix via LUK. But it is also true that operations relative to an anāgā, such as this one, will apply whether they are limited to the domain of anāgā or not. (PM: lumātā lupte pratayaye vastuto yad anāgam tasya prāptaḥ yat kāryam āṅgam anāṅgam va tasya sarvasya pratisedhah). It is therefore wise to accept the scope of anāgasya valid through the end of the seventh chapter.

3. I shall now offer some illustrations where anāgasya plays a role in proper interpretation and application of rules contained within its domain. For example, Pāṇini says 6.4.2 halāḥ which, when read with 6.4.1. anāgasya, yields the following interpretation:

‘a long replacement is introduced to the anāgā-final samprāsāraṇa vowel which is denoted by aN and occurs after a consonant contained within the anāgā’
Consider $hve(\tilde{N}) + (K) ta\rightarrow h\tilde{u}t\tilde{a}h$, where $v$ goes through a replacement in samprásāraṇa (6.1.15 vacisvāpiyajādīnām ...; 1.1.45 ig yanaḥ samprasāraṇam) and the resultant vocalic sequence is replaced with a single vowel homogeneous with the preceding (pūrvasavarna; 6.1.108 samprásāraṇāc ca). Thus, $h(\nu\rightarrow\mu)e(\tilde{N}) + (K) ta\rightarrow h(u + e\rightarrow u) + ta\rightarrow h(u\rightarrow \tilde{u}) + ta\rightarrow \tilde{h}u\tilde{a} + sU\rightarrow h\tilde{u}t\tilde{a}h$. A long replacement for the short $u$ is consequently accomplished by 6.4.2 halah. Similar applications of samprásāraṇa, pūrvarūpā and long replacement (dirgha) produce (jyā + Kta) + sU)→ jīnāḥ where 8.2.44 lōdībhīyāḥ replaces the $t$ of the niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktaḥtavatū niṣṭhā) suffix with $n$.

Why do we need this specification by āngasya ‘of (part) of an aṅga’? Consider (nir-veN + Kta) → (nir- (ν→μ) + e + ta) → (nir- (u + e→u) + ta→ niruta + sU = nirutam and (dur-u + ta) + sU→durutam, where there is no long replacement since nir and dur are preverbs. They are not part of the aṅga, i.e., veN and $i$. The samprásāraṇa vowel also does not occur after a consonant which is part of the aṅga.

Now consider 6.4.3 nāmi which facilitates a long replacement for the final short of an aṅga when nām follows (Kāś: nāmi dirghah). Thus, agni + ām→agni (i→i) + ām→agni + nUT + ām→agniṇām, when augment nUT is introduced by 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nūt.

Why do we have the condition of āngasya? Consider kriminā + am and pāmanā + am where kriminā and pāmanā are derivatives of krimina + ṬāP and pāmanā + ṬāP. Note that kriminā and pāmanā are derivatives of affix na (5.2.100 lopādīpāmādo ...) which, in turn, is introduced after krimi + fas and pāman + fas with the signification of krimayāḥ santy asyām ‘that in which there are worms’ and pāmanāḥ santy asyām ‘that which itches’. Since this is the domain of āngasya we do not get a long replacement for the final short of krimi and pāma before nām. For pāmanā and kriminā are derivatives of na. The forms pāma and krimi cannot be assigned the term aṅga before nām. The nām of kriminām and pāmanām is gotten by combining nā and am. If there was no specification of the domain of aṅga, a long replacement could apply to the short final of krimi and pāma before nām. That is, long replacement can apply before any nām.

Now consider 7.1.9 aṭo bhīś aīs whereby bhīś ‘instrumental plural’, which occurs after an aṅga ending in a (aT), is replaced with aīs. Consider brāhmaṇabhisṣā and odanabhīssīṭā where aT is not the final of an aṅga and bhīś of bhīssā and bhīssīṭā is not an affix with reference to which the term aṅga could be assigned. Both brāhmaṇa and odana cannot be termed an aṅga before bhīssā and bhīssīṭā. The preceding two examples focus on bhīś as part of a compound. Now consider he brāhmaṇa bhīssā tatva vartate where bhīś is part of a nominal stem, i.e., bhīssā which, in turn, is not a compound constituent. We also find that bhīś occurs after brāhmaṇa which ends in a. But brāhmaṇa is not an aṅga. For, bhīś is not an affix here. Incidentally, bhīssā
means 'rice' and bhissitā means 'burned'. Haradatta (PM) cites the form as bhissadā and glosses it as dadhi 'yogurt'.

4. One cannot here argue that aṅgasya is not needed. A long replacement which may becomes applicable can be blocked by invoking the paribhāsa (15): arthavad grahane nānarthakasya 'a specification applicable to something meaningful does not allow inclusion of something non-meaningful'. That is, this paribhāsa will not permit a non-meaningful bhis to condition lengthening in brāhmaṇabhissā and odanabhissitā. Why do we need aṅgasya? Commentators emphasize that the domain of aṅgasya is specified for purposes of other operations. It also controls long replacements, etc., of 6.4.3 nāmi (Kāś: aṅgādhikāraḥ kṛto' nyārthah, nāmi dirghatvād api vyavasthāpayatīti tadartham arthavadgrahaṇaḥparibhāsa nāśrayitavyā bhavati). We must need aṅgasya.

The genitive of aṅgasya denotes 'relations is general' (sambandha-sāmānya). It is interpreted in particular senses of sthāna 'in place of' and avayava 'part of a whole', as context of rules may demand (Kāś: aṅgasyeti sambandhasāmānye esā saṣṭhi yathāyogam viśeṣu avatiṣṭhate). Thus, the genitive of hanter (6.4.36 hanter jaḥ) is interpreted as sthāna-ṣaṣṭhi 'in place of'. The same in 6.4.89 ūd upadhāyāḥ . . . is interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (avayava-ṣaṣṭhi). The genitive of yuvoh (7.1.1 yuvor anākau) is similarly interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'condition-conditioned' (nimitta-nimitti).

Commentators also offer another proposal. They state that the stem notion (prātipadikārtha) of aṅga, with no meaning of genitive (ṣaṣṭhi), is carried to all rules. This stem notion keeps adjusting with the denotation of 'ablative' (paṇcamī) or genitive (ṣaṣṭhi), as may be desired by the context of individual rules. This facilitates proper interpretation of rules with desired meanings.

5. Commentators outline the following rules whose operational provisions must meet the condition of aṅgasya as a domain heading:

(i) 6.4.16 ajjhanagamāṁ sani, whereby an aṅga which ends in a, or is constituted by han and gam, receives a long replacement before a saN affix beginning with a consonant denoted by jhal. Consider (vi + saN) + LAṬ) → viviṣāti, where iteration (dvitva) and operations relative to abhyāsa are accomplished after the long replacement of this rule. Such a long replacement cannot be availed by dadhi sanoti where i of dadhi is not a part of the aṅga. That is, san of sanoti is not an affix.

(ii) 6.4.68 vā' nyasya samyogādeḥ, whereby an aṅga which is not termed ghu but begins with a conjunct and ends in an ā, receives an optional replacement in e when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LIN marked with K or N follows. Consider gleyat or glāyāt where ai of glai is replaced with ā (6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe . . .). The e (ētva) of this rule produces gl(ā→e)yāt→gleyat. This replacement is not pos-
sible in deriving nirvāyāt where r of nir is not a part of the āṅga. That is, the root is not conjunct-initial.

(iii) 7.1.35 tuhyos tātaṇ . . . , whereby tu and hi are replaced, optionally, with tāṭAn when the denotatum is benediction (āśiṣ). We thus get jivatād bhavān/jivatu bhavān ‘may you live long’; jivatāt tvam/jiva tvam. This replacement in tāṭAn cannot apply on jīva tu tvam because jīva is not an āṅga with reference to tu, an indeclinable particle.

(iv) 6.4.77 aciśnudhātubhrvām . . . , whereby the final i and u of some specified āṅga is, respectively, replaced with iyAn and uvAn before a vowel initial affix. Thus, we get niyau/niyāh and luvau/luvāh, where these bases are derived with Kulp, and i and ū of nī and lū are replaced with iyAn and uvAn, respectively.

(v) 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nut, whereby augment nUT is introduced to ām which, in turn, occurs after an āṅga ending, in either a short vowel or in a nadi word, or else, in a feminine affix with āP. Thus we get agnīnām, kumārīnām and mālānām. We cannot get nUT in kumārī ām ity āha ‘the girl said “ām” (yes)’, because kumārī cannot be indentified as an āṅga before ām, a non-affixal indeclinable.

(vi) 7.4.13 ke’ nāḥ, whereby a vowel denoted by aN is replaced with its short counterpart before affix ka. We thus get (kumār(i→i) + ka) + TāP→kumārikā + sU→kumārikā. We cannot get this replacement in kumārī kasmāi sphyayati ‘who does the girl love’ and kumārī kāmā sukham ‘what happiness does this girl have’, where ka, of kasmī and kām, is not an affix before which kumārī can be termed an āṅga. Besides, both kumārī and kumārīh are already fully derived words.

(vii) 7.4.48 apo bhi, whereby the āṅga-final p of ap is replaced with t when an affix beginning with bh follows. Thus, we get a(p→t→d) + bhi(s→r→h) = adbhiḥ and abdhyaḥ. Now consider the counterexample, i.e., (a(p→b)+ bharīḥ))→abdhārah, where this replacement cannot apply since ap is not an āṅga.

6.4.2 हलः

halah
/halah 5/1/
(dīrgaḥ' nāḥ #6.3.111 samprasaṇaṇasya #6.3.199 aṅgasya #1)
aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasaṇaṃ tadantasyāṅgasya dīrga bhavaṇi
The final sound of an aṅga, which terminates in a samprasaṇa vowel denoted by aN and occurs after a consonant contained within the aṅga, is replaced with its long counterpart.
EXAMPLES:

ḥūṭah ‘called, summoned’
ṝinaḥ ‘subdued, conquered’
samvītah ‘properly covered’

1. This rule offers a long replacement to an aṅga which ends in a samprasārana vowel occurring after a consonant contained within it.

This rule can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

(i) hala uttarasya samprasārāntasya aṅgasya ṛīrgho bhavati ‘a long replacement applies to the final sound of an aṅga which ends in a samprasārana vowel and occurs after a consonant’;

(ii) aṅgavayavādd hala uttarasya samprasārānasya ṛīrgho bhavati ‘long replacement applies to a samprasārana vowel which occurs after a consonant contained within the aṅga’;

(iii) aṅgavayavādd halo yad uttaram samprasārānam tadantasyāṅgasya ṛīrgho bhavati ‘a long replacement applies to an aṅga which ends in a samprasārana vowel occurring after a consonant contained within the aṅga’

The Kāśikāvrtti accepts the third interpretation.

If the first interpretation is accepted, long replacement will apply to the u of (nir-ve(N) + (K)ta)) + sU→nirutam and (dur-veN + (K)ta)) + sU→durutam. Note that the u of nir-u + tam is a samprasārana replacement of ve, via (v→u)e→ue→u, a single replacement of the vocalic sequence u + e, similar to the first of the sequence (6.1.108 samprasārāṇa ca). Of course, the aṅga occurs after a consonant, namely r, the final of the preverb nir. The r of dur similarly precedes the aṅga, i.e., u, in durutam. Recall that u itself is a vowel termed samprasārana. The lengthening of u and i, in nirutam and durutam, is, however, not desired (anisṭa). Accepting the first interpretation will yield wrong forms *nirutam and *durutam. For, we find an aṅga which, here, ends in a samprasārana vowel and occurs after a consonant. Notice that, in this interpretation, the consonant is not considered part of the aṅga.

Accepting the second interpretation will also yield undesired results, especially in deriving viddhah and vicītah. This interpretation will provide lengthening in viddhah/ vicītah and yield undesired forms: viddhah and *vicītah. Incidentally, we get viddhah and vicītah from (ṛyaḍh + Kta) + sU)) and (ṛyaḥ + Kta) + sU)), where 6.1.16 grahiyāyayāvyadhistivicati . . . requires samprasārana of y. The v of ṛyaḍh and ṛyaḥ is saved from going through samprasārana as a result of the negation of 6.1.36 na samprasāraṇa samprasāranaṃ. Notice also that we have the samprasārana vowel i occurring after a consonant (v) contained within the aṅga. It is to remove problems relative to the acceptance of the first two interpretations that Kāśikā accepts the third interpretation. But this interpretation cannot be gotten with just one use of the word
aṅga. For, a single aṅgasya can either qualify haluh, or be used for specifying operational locus (kārya-pratipatti). A single use of aṅgasya can be accepted only as a qualifier to haluh. We also need another aṅgasya so that its genitive (saṭṭhi) can be interpreted as denoting sthāna-saṭṭhi ‘in place of’ and can serve as a qualified (viśeyya) to saṃprasāraṇam. We can then get the sense of ‘an aṅga ending in a saṃprasāraṇa’, via applying tadantavidhi ‘interpreting a specification as also that which ends in that’ to the qualifier saṃprasāraṇa. The first aṅgasya will be treated as a qualifier to haluh where its genitive will be interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as ‘part of a whole’ (avayavāvayavi-sambandha). If, on the other hand, aṅgasya is not used as a qualifier to haluh, a long replacement cannot be made available to an aṅga which may end in a saṃprasāraṇa vowel and be followed by a consonant. Kāśikā, therefore, uses the word aṅga twice, by way of repetition (avṛtti) of aṅgasya already made available. Thus, we get two phrases in the avṛtti: aṅgāvāvayavudd haluh and tadantasyāṅgasya dirghah. How can a single aṅgasya be used twice? Like a single pot used for feeding many not eating concurrently (yathaikam bhājanam asahabhujām anēkeśāṁ bhujikriyāyām). Thus,

āvatātmaṇāṁ vāstv ekāṁ apy anekasya śeṣatām/
bhajate bājānaṁ yadvan nṛṇāṁ asahabhujāne//

‘as a single thing serves as a remainder, like a pot, when used in turn for many not eating concurrently’

Consider the following ślokavārttika which summarizes many of the interpretational problems discussed:

nanu ekam aṅgagramaṇaṁ prakṛtam tadd halu yadi/
viśeṇaṁ syāt kārītvam aṅgasyeva na labhyate//
tataṁ ca viddham ity ādāv api dirghah āsajyate/
atha nirdīṣyate kāryi naḥhalah syād viśeṇaṁ//
tato nirutam ity ādāv api dirghatvam āpatet/
sakṛc chrutasya caikasya yuvyate nōbhayāṛthata//

‘if aṅgasya, as given, is interpreted as a qualifier to haluh, we cannot have aṅgasya to specify operational locus. This, in turn, will cause lengthening in viddham, etc. If, on the other hand, aṅgasya is used to specify operational locus, it cannot be used to qualify haluh. This will occasion lengthening in nirutam, etc. For, a single utterance (here, aṅgasya) cannot be associated with dual meanings’

In summary, aṅgasya is to be read again via repetition: once for making it a qualifier to haluh and once again for specifying the operational locus (Kāś: aṅgagramaṇam āvatātmaṇāyaḥ: halviśeṇaṇārtham, aṅgakārīya-pratipatyartham ca).

Note that aṇah (6.3.111), dirghah (6.3.111) and saṃprasāraṇasya (6.3.139) are all carried over. But how could aṇah be carried here when its anuvṛtti is already canceled by the incompatible ik of 6.3.123 ikah kāṣe. No problem.
Carry $iK$ as a qualifier to $aN$, thereby yielding the meaning: an an which is denoted by an $iK$ (a ig iti). But qualifying $aN$ with $iK$ will create problems in applying rule 6.3.138 cau, where $aN$ alone is desired to be carried. Consequently, lengthening cannot be accomplished in avācā and suvarācā. In that case, just carry $aN$ from 6.3.138 cau. Or else, bring $iK$ by madhukapātu ‘frog’s leap’ process of anuvṛti. Incidentally, $aN$ is required because lengthening can apply only to a vowel denoted by $aN$.

6.4.3 नामि

/ nāmi 7/1/
(dīrghaḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1)
nāmi parato' ṅgasya dīrgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an aṅga is replaced with its long counterpart when nām follows.

Examples:

agniṇām 'genitive plural of agni'
vāyūnām 'genitive plural of vāyu'
kartṛṇām 'genitive plural of kartṛ'

1. Note that nām of nāmi is interpreted as the genitive plural nominal ending ām, used with augment nUṬ (sanuṭka; Kāś: ‘nām’ ity etat saṣṭhī-bahuvacanam āgatanuṭkam gṛhyate). This rule thus allows lengthening of an aṅga when nām follows. The $aN$ of 6.3.111 dhrālope pūrvasya dīrgho' n is not carried here. That is, lengthening can also apply to ē.

2. A specification with nUṬ is made so that (i) ēm is interpreted as nām and (ii) introduction of augment nUṬ is accomplished before a replacement in long. For, 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nṛti will introduce nUṬ under the condition of hrasva ‘short’, etc. Consider agni + ēm, where, unless ēm is specified as nām, long replacement of this rule will become applicable simultaneously with the introduction of nUṬ. Note that nUṬ is subsequent in order (parah), but dīrgha ‘long replacement’ is obligatory (nītya). That is, it will apply whether nUṬ applies or not. Once the long replacement has taken effect, nUṬ cannot be introduced. For, the condition of nUṬ, i.e., hrasva, will be removed by a replacement in long (dīrgha). Why can we not introduce nUṬ accepting bhūtāpaṇvagrati ‘existence of a short (hrasva) vowel prior to the application of a long (dīrgha)’. If nUṬ does not apply after a long replacement has applied, specifying nUṬ with hrasvasya in rule 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nṛti will becomes vacuous (vyarthā). That is, it will not have any scope of application (niravakāśa). It is, therefore, suggested that nUṬ be introduced even after the application of dīrgha ‘long’. How? By accepting
bhūtapūrvagati ‘existence of hrasva prior to the application of dirgha’. This way, nUT can be accomplished without making its provision vacuous.

But this method of applying nUT is not valid. The provision of nUT cannot become vacuous because its application is seen, for example, in tisrnām, etc., where dirgha ‘long’ is not available. It is thus clear that applying nUT simply because its provision will otherwise become vacuous is not acceptable. Also recall that 6.4.7 noepadāyāḥ negates a long replacement to the penultimate sound of an aṅga when the aṅga ends in n (nānta). That is, nUT must be introduced before a long replacement is accomplished. For, in the absence of nUT, there will be a long replacement in carman + ām→*carnaṇām. A long replacement before ām, used with nUT (sanuṭka; nām), will not allow a long replacement in carman + ām = carmaṇām. It is, therefore, recommended that nUT be introduced first:

nāmidirgha āmi cet syāt kṛte dirghe na nuḍ bhave/
vacanād yatra tan nāṣṭi noepadāyāś ca carmaṇām/
‘if the long replacement provision of nāmi is accomplished when ām follows, nUT cannot be introduced after the long replacement. It is not proper to argue that nUT can be introduced at the strength of Pāṇini’s own statement (ārambha-sāmarthya). For, nUT is not in any danger of becoming vacuous. This provision is also made there by the lengthening of noepadāyāś ca’

6.4.4 न तिस्रुचत्वत्

na tisrcatar / na ṣ tisr-catar (6/2 deleted cf. 7.1.39 supām suluk . . ; itar. dv.)/
(dirghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3)
‘tisr, catasr’ ity etayor nāmi dirgho na bhavati
The final short vowel of an aṅga, namely tisr and catasr, is not replaced with its long counterpart when nām follows.

Examples:

tisṛṇām ‘genitive plural of tisr’
catasṛṇām ‘genitive plural of catasr’

1. This rule disallows a long replacement when nām follows tisr and catasr. Note that tri and catur are replaced with tisr and catasr in the feminine (7.2.99 tricaturo . . ). Thus, we get (tri→tisr) + nām = tisṛṇām. A long replacement for r, made available by the preceding rule, is negated here.

2. This rule is accepted as a jñāpaka ‘indicator’ for negating the long replacement of 6.4.2 nāmi. That is, given tisr + ām, nUT and r as a replacement for r (7.2.100 aci ra ṛṭah), both become applicable simultaneously. If a replacement in r, based on 7.2.100 aci ra ṛṭah being subsequent in order, is accomplished first, tisr + ām will not qualify to receive nUT. Consequently,
the question of a replacement in long does not arise. Why make a negative provision when a positive provision does not exist. But since Pāṇini still offers this negation, it must have some purpose. The purpose is to indicate that nUT is introduced first. That is, based on its status as a prior exception (purastāpavāda) to replacement in r (repha). Rule 6.4.2 nāmi can introduce a long replacement once augment nUT is introduced. Our present rule, however, negates this provision of replacement in long. It is for this reason that we state: numcirattjvadbhāvebhoyo nudd bhavati pūrvavipratisedhena ‘... nUT is accomplished by conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’.

6.4.5 छन्दस्युभयत्ता

chandasya ubhayathā
/ chandasi 7/1 ubhayathā 1/1 /
(dīrghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3 tisṛ-catasṛ #5)
chandasi visaye ‘tisṛ-catasṛ’ ity etayor nāmi parata ubhayathā drṣyate

The short final vowel of an aṅga, namely tisṛ and catasṛ, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when nām follows.

Examples:

   tisṛnām madhyadine ‘... mid-day’
   tisṛnām madhyadine ‘ibidem’
   catasṛnām madhyadine ‘... mid-day’
   catasṛnāṇi madhyadine ‘ibidem’

1. This rule states that both, a long replacement (dīrgha), or its absence (dīrghabhāva), is witnessed in the Vedic usage. Thus, tisṛnām and tisṛnām; catasṛnām and catasṛnām.

6.4.6 नः च

nr ca
/ nr 1/1 ca φ /
(dīrghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3 chandasya ubhayathā #5)
‘nr’ ity etasya nāmi pare ubhayathā bhavati

The short final vowel of an aṅga, namely nr, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when nām follows.

Examples:

   tvam nṛnām nrpate ‘O you, the king of men’
   tvam nṛnām nrpate ‘ibidem’

1. This provision of a long replacement, or its optional absence, is made in the Vedic where nr occurs followed by nām. Some do not carry here the
anuvṛtti of chandasi from the preceding rule. Consequently, this dual provision also becomes applicable to the classical usage (bhāṣāyām).

6.4.7 नोषधायः:

nopadhāyāḥ
/na φ upadhāyāḥ 6/1/
(dīrghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3)
nāntasyaṅgasopadhāyāyā nāmi parato dīrgho bhavati

The penultimate short vowel of an aṅga which ends in n is replaced with its long counterpart when nām follows.

Examples:

pañcānām ‘genitive plural of pañcan (five)’
saptānām ‘... saptan (seven)’
navaṇām ‘... navan (nine)’
Daśānām ‘... daśan (ten)’

1. Note that provisions made prior to this rule deal with an aṅga which ends in a vowel (ajanta). This rule begins making provisions relative to an aṅga which does not end in a vowel (anajanta). A specification with nah, in the genitive, is made to indicate the nasal sound (varna) n. The interpretation of this specification of nah as nāntasya ‘that which ends in -n’ is based, as usual, on tadantavidhi ‘treating that by means of which a specification is made as referring also that which ends in that’. A mention of upadhā is made so that long replacement could not apply to an initial vowel (ādyacah).

This rule thus allows a long replacement for the upadhā ‘penultimate’ of an aṅga which ends in n and is followed by nām. Thus, pañcan + nām→ pañca(n→a) n + nām→pañcā(n→φ) + nām, where 8.2.7 nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya causes n-deletion in pañcān. Other examples involve similar rule applications.

Consider caturṇām, as a counter-example to the condition of nah, where we find nUT, though catur does not end in n. A long replacement must, in this context, occur before nām. That is why, carman + ām→carmanām, cannot get the a of carman replaced with ā. Refer also to my notes under 6.4.2 nāmi for further details.

6.4.8 सर्वनामस्थाने चासांब्धो

sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau
/sarvanāmasthāne 7/1 ca φ asambuddhau 7/1 = na sambuddhau (nañ)/
(dīrghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3 nopadhāyāḥ #7)
sarvanāmasthāne ca parato’ sambuddhau nopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga which ends in n is replaced with
its long counterpart when a sarvanāmasthāna affix other than sambuddhi follows.

**Examples:**

rājā ‘nominative singular of rājan (king)’
rājānau ‘... dual ...

rājānah ‘... plural ...

rājānam ‘accusative singular of ...

rājānau ‘... dual of ...

sāmāṇi tiṣṭhanti ‘the impartial ones are sitting’
sāmāṇi paśya ‘look at the impartial ones’

1. This rule allows a long replacement to the penultimate short of an aṅga which ends in n, provided a non-sambuddhi nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna follows. Recall that 1.1.42 ṣi sarvanāmasthānam and 1.1.43 suḍ anapumśakasya assign the term sarvanāmasthāna to a set of nominal endings. Thus, rājā/rājānau/rājānah; rājānam/rājānau. Additionally, sāmāṇi tiṣṭhanti and sāmāṇi paśya where Jas and Sās, which occur after sāman, are replaced with Śī (7.1.20 jaśasōḥ śī).

2. Note that ca is used here to attract nopadḥāyāḥ (Kāś: cakāraḥ nopadḥāyā ity anukarṣantārthāḥ). But this should not be accepted, since nopadḥāyāḥ carries beyond this rule. Besides, what is attracted by means of ca cannot be carried subsequently (cānuṛṣṭaṁ nottaratrabhisambadhyaṇa). In that case, consider ca as used for clarity (asandehārtham). Besides, absence of ca may lead to doubts whether the intended right context is that of sambuddhi or non-sambuddhi. But this could hardly be the problem. Pāṇini should have then formulated the rule as asambuddhau sar. anāmasthāne. It is therefore suggested that ca could have been used for stylistic variation (vaicitṛārtham).

3. Because of the negation of sarvanāmasthāna, we cannot get a long replacement in sāmāṇi, a locative (saptamī) singular. Similar negation applies to he rājan! and he taksan!, both vocative (sambuddhi) singular forms.

### 6.4.9 वा चपुर्वस्य निगमे

vā śapūrvasya nigame

/ vā ṣapūrvasya 6/1 = ṣaḥ pūrvo yasmāt (bv.), tasya; nigame 7/1/

(dirghaḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 nāmi #3 nopadḥāyāḥ #7 sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau #8)

śapūrvasyācō nopadḥāyā nigamaviṣaye sarvanāmasthāne parato’ sambuddhau vā dirgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga which ends in n, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when it occurs after ś, and a sarvanāmasthāna affix other than sambuddhi follows.
EXAMPLES:

sá tákṣāṇaṁ tiśhantamabravīt
sa tákṣaṇam . . .
ṛbhukṣaṇamindram
ṛbhukṣaṇamindram

1. This rule makes yet another optional proposal for a replacement in long in the Vedic (nigama). That is, the penultimate vowel of an anga which ends in n is replaced with its long counterpart when the same occurs after s. Of course, when the anga is followed by a non-sambuddhi nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna. Thus, consider the optional accusative singular forms of tákṣaṇ: tákṣaṇam and tákṣaṇam.

Note that the base is tákṣaṇa, a derivate of inI (5.2.115 ata inīthanaũ) introduced after tákṣaṇa. The a of tákṣaṇa is deleted (6.4.148 yasyeti ca) and i of inI is replaced with a (7.4.86 ito ' its sarvanāmasthāne). We can now derive tákṣāṇam from tákṣaṇa + am with the application of optional long replacement. Of course, the n will also be replaced with n (nātva). We will get tákṣaṇam if this optional long replacement is not accomplished. This same applies to ṛbhukṣaṇaṁ and ṛbhukṣaṇaṁ.

6.4.10 सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य

sānta mahataḥ saṁyogasya
/sānta (6/1 deleted) mahataḥ 6/1 saṁyogasya 6/1/
(dīrghaḥ #6.3.111 angasya #1 nāmi #3 no-padhāyāḥ #7 sarvanāmasthāne
asambuddhaũ #8)
sa-kāraṁtasya saṁyogasya yo nakāraḥ mahataś ca tasyopadhāyāṁ dīrgho bhavati
sarvanāmasthāne parato ' sambuddhaũ
The next to the last vowel of a samyoga ‘conjunct’ ending in s, or the penultimate vowel of n of mahat, is replaced with its long counterpart when a sarvanāmasthāna affix other than sambuddhi follows.

EXAMPLES:

śreyān ‘masculine nominative singular of śreyas (meritorious)’
śreyāmsaũ ‘ . . . dual . . . ’
śreyāmsaḥ ‘ . . . plural . . . ’
mahān ‘nominative singular of mahat (great)’
mahāntau ‘ . . . dual . . . ’
mahāntaḥ ‘ . . . plural . . . ’
śreyāṃsī ‘neuter nominative plural of śreyas’
yasāṃsi ‘ . . . of yaśas (fame)’
payāṃsi ‘ . . . of payas (milk)’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a penultimate short vowel which
occurs as part of a conjunct ending in -s, or as part of mahat close to its n, provided a non-sambuddhi nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna follows.

Note that the a of sa in sānta is used for articulation (uccāraṇārthāḥ). The word sānta, used with a deleted genitive (luptaṣaṣṭhīka), is interpreted as: saḥ anto yasya ‘that whose final is -s’. That is, it is used as a qualifier to samyogasya. The n (nakāra) is then qualified by samyoga, in turn, qualified with sānta. The word mahat is also used as a qualifier to -n. The word sarvanāmasthāne which is carried from the anuvṛtti is then used as an immediately preceding (avyavahita-pūrva) qualifier to sānta, samyoga and mahat. This is how Kāśikā phrases its vṛtti as: sakārāntasya samyogasya nakāraḥ mahataḥ ca ‘the n of a conjunct ending in -s, and that of mahat as well . . .’. Note that Kāśikā uses tasya of tasyopadāhyāḥ to relate n to upadhā. What is this relationship? This question arises since upadhā is defined as ‘that which occurs next to the last sound segment of a given form’ (1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā). All genitive usages in the wording of this rule are relational (sambandha-sāmānyā). The genitive of upadhāyāḥ denotes sāmīpya ‘proximity’. There is no way (gatya-bhāvāt) one can get this meaning of upadhā within the context of an aṅga ending in a conjunct with s at the end. Since an a which occurs prior to the n of a conjunct ending in -s is spoken of as the upadhā of n, this relationship can be characterized as that of sāmīpya ‘proximity’. That is, an upadhā which is proximate to -n. Of course, a broader genitive denoting tadayatvāva ‘part of that’ in relation to the genitive of aṅgasya will always be there.

Refer to derivational details of peryāmsi and yasāmsi under the appendix of 1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ. Recall that śreyān, śreyāmsau and śreyāmsah are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of śreyas, a derivate of praṣasya, where praṣasya is replaced with śra (5.3.60 praṣasyasya śraḥ) before affix iyasUN (5.3.57 dvivacana-vibhajayopapade). Augment nUM is further introduced to śreyas + sU, etc. A deletion of ti (6.4.155 teḥ) is blocked because of 6.4.163 praṇkṛtyaikāc. The -s of the nominative singular gets deleted by 6.1.68 halīnabhhayo . . . Given śreyans + (sU→ϕ) = śreyans, the final -s will be deleted (8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah), and the a before n will be replaced with its long counterpart. We will thus get śrey(a→ā) (n→ϕ) = śreyān. Similar rules apply in deriving other forms of śreyas. Note, however, that mahat is treated as ugit ‘marked with a sound denoted by uK as an it (7.1.70 ugi d-cām . . .), and mahān, etc., are derived by treating it as ending in affix SatR (cf. vt: vartamāne prṣan . . ., ad 7.3.109 jasti ca).

6.4.11 अनुवृत्तयौगिकनूपेन्तांवृत्तक्षम्यतौप्रक्षमित्रप्रसाधिपतिः

aptṛntrcsvanapātryaśtrastaṛtvāṣṭrakṣatrhot potṛprāstāstīnām
/ aptṛntrcsvanapātryaśtrastaṛtvāṣṭrakṣatrhot potṛprāstāstīnām 6/3 (itar. dv.),
tesām/
(dirghah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #7 sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau
#8)
The next to the last vowel of an an̄ga, namely āp ‘water’, or of an an̄ga which ends in affixes trN and trC, or else, an an̄ga which is constituted by svār ‘sister’, naptr ‘grand (daughter’s) son’, nestr ‘priest’, tvāstr ‘artisan’, ksattr ‘charioteer’, hottr ‘the priest who reads invocation, potr ‘priest performing ritual purification’ and praśāstr ‘one who presides’, is replaced with its long counterpart when a sarvanāmasthāna affix other than one termed sambuddhi follows.

Examples:

āpah ‘water’
kartārau kaṭān ‘those two whose nature it is to make mats’
kartārau kaṭasya ‘(the two) mat-makers’
svasā/svasārau/svasārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of svasā ‘sister’
naptr/napṭārau/napṭārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of naptr ‘daughter’s son’
nesṭār/nesṭārau/nesṭārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of nesṛ ‘one of the chief officiating priests at the Soma sacrifice’
tvāṣṭārau/tvāṣṭārau/tvāṣṭārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of tvāṣṭr ‘fashioner of the universe’
ksattr/ksattrārau/ksattrārah ‘nominative singular’ dual and plural of kṣattr ‘door-keeper, charioteer’
hotā/hotārau/hotārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of hotr ‘presiding priest’
potā/potārau/potārah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of potṛ ‘purifying priest’
praśāstrā/praśāstārau/praśāstrārau ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of praśāstr ‘administrative priest’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short upadhā ‘penultimate sound’ of an an̄ga constituted by (i) āp, (ii) a form which ends in affixes trN and trC, (iii) svār, (iv) naptr, (v) nesṛ, (vi) tvāṣṭr, (vii) kṣattr, (viii) hotr, (ix) potr, and (x) praśāstr. Of course, when a non-sambuddhi nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna follows.

Why are naptr, etc., specified here when they can easily be covered by the specification of forms ending in trC and trN? It is stated that their separate specification is made so that a long replacement could be accomplished by accepting them as derived without any reference to affixes and subsequent operations. If, however, one accepts them as derived with reference to bases, affixes and operations relative to trC and trN, a separate specification is made for restricting long replacement only with reference to these cited forms. That is, nominals such as pitr and mātr which are not separately specified cannot avail this long replacement. We will thus get pitārau/pitarah; and mātarau/mātarah, with no long replacement in the upadhā.
Here again, this long replacement is negated by the condition of 
asambuddhau. That is, we do not get it in he svasaḥ ‘O sister’ and he kartah ‘O doer’, etc. Refer to derivational details of examples with \( trC \) under rule 1.1.2 \( ād guṇah \). Derivates of \( trN \) share identical forms with those of \( trC \). They, however, differ in accent.

6.4.12 इन्हन्यूयार्यामाण्याः शौ

\[\text{inhan-पुशायमन्नाम् शौ} \]
\[/\text{in-han-पुशान-aryamnām 6/3 (itar. dv.) शौ 7/1/} \]
\[\text{(dīrghāḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā #7)} \]
\[\text{‘in-han-पुशान-aryaman’ ity eteśām aṅgānām शौ parataḥ upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati} \]

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely one which ends in \( in \), \( han \), \( pūṣan \) and \( aryaman \), is replaced with its long counterpart when affix Śi follows.

**Examples:**

- bahudaṇḍīni ‘a place where there are many shaft-bearing ascetics’
- bahucchatrīṇi ‘a place where there are many umbrella-bearing students’
- bahuvṛtrahāṇī ‘a place where there are many killers of brāhmaṇas’
- bahubhrūṇahāṇī ‘a place where there are many killers of fetuses’
- bahupūṣāṇi ‘many who offer nourishment’
- bahavaryamāṇi ‘many who offer hospitality’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the upadhā of an aṅga which ends in \( iN \), \( han \), \( pūṣan \) and \( aryaman \), provided Śi follows. Note that \( iN \) is an affix and it cannot constitute an aṅga by itself. It is therefore interpreted via tadantavidhi, i.e., an aṅga ending in \( iN \). This is also in consonance with the paribhāṣā (17): aninasmangrahāṇāny arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhīm prayojayanti. There are other forms which can also not constitute an aṅga before Śi. Thus, \( han \) which is a derivate of KuIPA. Since this KuIPA (3.2.87 brahmabhrūṇa . . .) gets introduced under the condition of an upapada ‘conjoined pada’, namely brahman, etc., we cannot find han alone to constitute an aṅga. The last two, i.e., pūṣan and aryaman, are both masculine. They themselves cannot constitute an aṅga before Śi since it is a replacement of Jas and Šas (7.1.20 jāssasoh śīḥ) introduced after a neuter (napumsaka) base. One needs to interpret them via tadantavidhi ‘treating \( x \) as that which ends in \( x' \). The examples are all bahuvṛhi compounds formed with bahū. Refer to kundāṇi, under 1.1.42 śi sarvanāmāsthānām, for derivational details. Rule 8.4.2 aṭkupuṇa . . . will replace the \( n \) of han with \( n \) (natva). This natva ‘replacing \( n \) with \( n' \), in bahuvṛtrahāṇi compound is, however, accomplished by 8.4.12 ekāj uttarapade . . .

2. Note that a long-vowel replacement could also be accomplished be-
fore a following Śi by 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau. But since Pāṇini still formulates this rule, we understand that it serves a restrictive purpose (niyamārtha). That is, it restricts this long replacement of iN, etc., only when Śi follows. Thus, we do not get this replacement in derivates such as chattrīnau, vṛtrahanau, pūṣanau and aryamanau, etc. A proposal for split-interpretation of this rule is also made in the Mahābhāṣya as follows:

(i) inhanpūṣāryamnām and (ii) sau.

The first split-rule will have the anuvṛtti of sarvanāmasthāne and will, thus, restrict long replacement only before affixes termed sarvanāmasthāna. The second split rule will only include inhanpūṣāryamnām, and thus, will restrict the desired replacement only before Śi. This way, and especially in view of the second split-rule, the locative singular of bhrūnahanī cannot get a long replacement, thereby to yield *bhrūnah(a→ā) ni.

6.4.13 सौ च
sau ca
/sau 7/1 ca φ/
(dirghāḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #7 asambuddhau #8
inhanpūṣāryamnām #12)
sāv asambuddhau parata inhanpūṣāryamnām upadhāyā dirgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely one which ends in in, han, pūṣan and aryaman, is replaced with its long counterpart when a sU, not termed sambuddhi, follows.

Examples:

dandaḥ ‘nomative singular of dandaṇin’
vṛtraḥ ‘nomative singular of vṛtrahan’
pūṣā ‘nomative singular of pūṣan’
aryamā ‘nomative singular of aryaman’

1. The upadhā of iN, han, pūsan and aryaman gets replaced with its long counterpart also when a non-sambuddhi ending, namely sU, follows. Note that the restrictive nature of the preceding rule will not permit a long replacement before sU. The ca is here used for attracting inahpūṣāryamnām. Thus, consider dandaḥ, etc. This long replacement will be blocked in case of he dandaṇin, where the nominal ending is termed sambuddhi.

6.4.14 अत्वसांतस्य चाधातो:

atvasantasya cādhātoḥ
/atva-as-antasya 6/1 = atuś ca aś ca (itar. dv.); atvasau ante yasya sa (bv. with int. dv.), tasya; ca φ adhātoḥ 6/1 = na dhātuḥ (nañ.), tasya/
(dīrgahā #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadāyāh #7 asambuddhau #8 sau #13)

‘atu, as’ ity evam antasya adhātor upadāyāh sāv asambuddhau parato dīrga
bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely one which ends in atU and as but is not a verbal root, is replaced with its long counterpart when the non-sambuddhi ending sU follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhavān ‘nominative singular of bhavat (you)’
kṛtavān ‘made’
gomān ‘rich in cows’
yavamān ‘rich in barley’
supayāh ‘possessing good milk’
suyāsāh ‘having good fame’
suśrotāh ‘good listener; he who has good ears’

1. This rule allows a long replacement also for the upadā of a non-dhātu form which ends in atU and as, provided a sU which is not a sambuddhi follows. Thus, consider bhavān, gomān, supayāh and suyaśāh, etc.

Note that atU refers to forms ending in affixes DavatUP, KtavatU and matUP, etc. A specification with as is made to refer to forms which end in as, i.e., supayas and suyaśās, etc., where it is not necessary for as to be also meaningful (Kāś: anarthakaḥ pi asaśabdo grhyate; also the Paribhāṣā of Vyādi: annaśmaṅgaraḥān arthatavatā cānarthākena ca tadantavidhīṃ prayojayanti). The word anta, in this rule, is used so that a reference with atus can also refer to forms which may end in a part of atus, i.e., at and as. If such an interpretation is not accepted, we cannot include forms ending in affix matUP.

We derive bhavān from bhavat + sU, where bhavat ends in affix DavatUP (Uṇādi 1:68: bhātē davatup). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 kniti ca for derivational forms derived with KtavatU. Examples such as gomān and yavamān derive from (go + matUP) + sU and (yava + matUP) + sU where penultimate lengthening (upadā-dīrga) and introduction of nUM at the strength of UK as an it (7.1.70 ugid acām . . .) are important operations. Now consider supayas + sU→supayāh, suyaśās + sU→suyaśāh and suśrotas + sU→suśrotāh which illustrate derivates of affix asUN.

2. A proposal is also made here to apply long replacement prior to the introduction of augment nUM (Kāś: atra kṛte dīrghe numāgamaḥ kartavyāh). For, if the rule which introduces nUM is applied first on the basis of its status as subsequent (para) and obligatory (nitya), the necessary condition for long replacement, i.e., upadā, will be removed (Kāś: yadi hi paratvān nityatvāc ca num syāt, dīrghasya nimittam tūpadā vinhayeta). Thus, given (kṛ + Ktavat) + sU, we get kṛtavān where long replacement of the second a of tavat is accomplished before nUM (7.1.70 ugidacām . . .) is introduced. A decision to apply
prior to the long replacement will produce krtavant where long replacement cannot be accomplished, due mainly to n which now constitutes the upadhā.

3. The negative condition of adhātoh is imposed so that pindam grasate = pindagrah, etc., could be blocked from receiving a long replacement. The condition of asambuddhae is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement in he goman and he supayah, etc.

6.4.15 अनुपासिकस्य क्रियासाधनस्य: बिद्धिः

anunāsikasya kvijjhaloh kniti
/anunāsikasya 6/1 kvijjhaloh 7/2 (itar. dv.) kniti 7/1 = kaś ca ṇaś ca;
knau itau yasya (bv. with int. dv.)/
(dīrgah #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā #7)
anunāsikāntasya aṅgasya upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati kvipratyaye parato
jhalaḍāu ca kniti

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely one which ends in a nasal (anunāsika), is replaced with its long counterpart when affix KuI, or an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by jhaL, ‘non-nasal consonant’ (Śs. 8–14) and marked with K or N as an i, follows.

Examples:

praśān ‘tranquil’
pratān ‘languid’
sāntah ‘calm, quiet’
sāntavān ‘ibidem’
samsāntah ‘extremely tranquil’
tantāntah ‘extremely languid’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the penultimate (upadhā) short vowel of an aṅga which ends in affix KuI, or in an affix beginning with a sound denoted by jhaL and marked with K and N as an i, follows. A reference with KuI is here made to affixes KuIN and KuIP which go through total (sarvāpahārī) deletion (lopa). Also note in this connection that kniti is here relatable only to jhalādau. It cannot be relatable to affix KuIP. For, a qualifier-qualified relationship obtains only when removability of a qualifier is possible (sambhava-tyahbicāra). Thus, one can find an affix which may begin with a jhaL sound and which may also be marked with K and N as an i. The K as an i in KuI is absolutely not separable. The question of whether or not N is separable does not arise.

2. Note that praśān and pratān are derived from praśān + sU and pratān + sU, where affix KuIP (3.2.76 kvip ca) is introduced after verbal roots samU and tamU, used with the preverb pra. Their final m is changed to n (8.2.64 mo no dhātoh) after deletion of KuIP and the long replacement of the upadhā.
Deriving śāntah and śāntavān, from śam+ Kta and śam+ KtavatU where both involve affixes termed nisthā, is no problem. The word śānti is a derivate of affix KṭiN, introduced after śam. Refer to derivational details of pāpaṭhīti under the appendix of 2.4.74 yaṇo’ ci ca. Examples such as śaṃśāntah and tantaṁtaḥ derive from (śam + yaN) + LAṬ→śaṃśam + (LAṬ→tas) and (tam + yaN) + LAṬ→tamtam + (LAṬ→tas), where affix yaN goes through deletion (yanluk) and affix LAṬ is replaced with tas. The anusvāra results from the nUK of 7.4.85 nugato’ nunāśikasya. A long replacement of their abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyāsah) syllable is not accomplished, mainly due to the introduction of nUK. The long replacement of this rule applies before tas, a replacement of LAṬ.

3. The condition of anunāśikasya ‘of a nasal’ is imposed so that odanapāk ‘cooking of rice’, paṇvah ‘cooked, ripe’, and paṇvavān ‘cooked’ could be excluded from receiving a long replacement for the upadhā of their roots. Obviously, pac does not end in a nasal, though the condition of kvijjhaloh is satisfied. Now consider examples which must be excluded because of not meeting this condition. Thus, gamyate and ramyate, where the roots ends in a nasal but the affixes do not satisfy the condition of kvijjhaloh. The condition of kviti is similarly not satisfied by the trC-derivatives gantā and rantā. That is why they cannot be allowed long replacement for the short of the upadhā of gam ‘to go’ and ram ‘to sport’.

6.4.16 अन्ननगमां सानि

ajjhanagamāṁ sani
/ ajjhanagamāṁ 6/3 = ac ca hanaś ca gam ca = aji-han-gamaḥ (itar. dv.),
tēsām; sani 7/1/
(dīrgaḥ #6.3.111 anāgasya #1 jhali #15)
ajantānām anāgānām hanigamnyoś ca sani jhalādau pare dīrgo bhavati
The final sound of an anga which ends in aC ‘vowel’, or one which is constituted by han ‘to kill’ and gam, is replaced with its long counterpart when a saN affix beginning with jhal follows.

Examples:

ciśāsti ‘desires to heap’
tuṣṭaṇāti ‘desires to pray’
cikhiṣati ‘desires to make’
jhihiṣati ‘desires to carry’
jighāṁsaṭi ‘desires to kill’
adhiṣṭijāṅṣate ‘desires to go’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short vowel of an anga which ends in a vowel, or one which is constituted by han and gam, provided a saN affix beginning with a consonant denoted by jhAL ( Śs. 8–14) follows.
The "gam" in this rule refers to the replacement of verbal root "iN 'to study' (2.4.48 iṇaś ca). This is in consonance with a "vārtika" proposal made under this rule (vt: gamer iṇādeśasyeti vaktavyam). Refer to derivational details of tuṣṭuṣati, etc., under the appendix of 1.2.9 iko jhal. The Mahābhāṣya offers samjigamsate 'he wishes to go with', a sāN-derivate of samgam, as a counter-example with no long replacement. We get samajigāṃsatī in the Vedic where "iN" does not get replaced with "gam" but a long replacement is accomplished in view of 6.3.137 anyēsām api drṣyate. A proposal is also made to formulate this rule simply as hanagamāṃ sani 'long replacement of the final sound of an aṅga when sāN follows'. An aṅga which ends in a consonant will not come under this lengthening proposal since we talk about long replacements only in the context of a vowel. It will apply to "gam" on the basis of its status as a replacement of "iN", ending in a vowel. This proposed formulation will rule out any need for the word acaha in the wording of this rule. It will also rule out any need for the "vārtika" just mentioned.

Derivational details of adhījigāṃsatī, where "gam" is a replacement of "iN", can be found under the appendix of 2.4.48 iṇaś ca. Deriving ḣīghāṃsatī from han should pose no problem. Note, however, that the h occurring after the abhyāsa is replaced with gh (7.3.55 abhyāsāca ca).

6.4.17 Tanonetavibhāṣā

tanoter vibhāṣā
/tanoteh 6/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
(dīrghāḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadēṣyāḥ #7 jhali #15 sani #16)
tanoter aṅgasya sani jhaladau vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely tanU, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when a sāN affix beginning with a consonant denoted by jhal follows.

Examples:

tītamsati 'desires to extend'
titaṃsati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement to an aṅga constituted by verbal root tan when a sāN affix beginning with jhal follows. Follow derivational details of sāN-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that an optional iT augment is also made available to tan (vt: ad 7.2.49 sanvantardha . . .). There is no long replacement when the option of augment iT is accepted. For, there will not be a following affix beginning with jhal. The derivate with this option of augment iT will be titaniṣati. We will thus get three forms: titāmsati and titamsati, with optional long replacement, and titaniṣati, with optional augment iT and no long replacement.
6.4.18 ऋषभ विच

kramaś ca ktvi
/kramaḥ 6/1 ca ṣaḥ ktvi 7/1/
(dirgṭaḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadḥāyāḥ #7 jhalī #15 sani #16 vibhāṣā #17)
krama upadḥāyā vibhāṣā dirgho bhavati ktvā pratyaeye jhalādau parataḥ
The next to the last vowel of an aṅga, namely kramaU 'stride', is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when affix Ktvā, with a sound denoted by jhāL at the beginning, follows.

Examples:

krantvā 'after having stridden'
krāntvā 'ibidem'
kramitvā 'ibidem'
prakramya 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement for the penultimate a of kram when the same occurs as an aṅga before affix Ktvā beginning with a sound denoted by jhāL. Thus, we get krantvā and krāntvā.

Why do we have to still retain jhalādi as a qualifier to Ktvā? discalogical where that no long replacement could be allowed when Ktvā receives augment iṭ (7.2.56 udīto vā). That is, with iṭ as an augment, it will become vowel-initial (ajādi). We will thus get kramitvā, and no *krāmitvā.

Now consider prakramya and upakramya where Ktvā is replaced with LyaP. It is stated that LyaP, even though externally conditioned (bahirāṅga), is applied first blocking an internally conditioned operation (antarāṅga) such as this long replacement. Once LyaP blocks this internally conditioned long replacement, Ktvā no longer remains jhalādi 'beginning with a sound denoted by jhaL'. It now begins with y of LyaP, a sound not included within jhāL. How do we know that an externally conditioned LyaP blocks the internally conditioned long replacement? It has been indicated by Paribhāṣā (55), ad 2.4.36 ado jagdhīr . . . antarāṅgān vidhīn bahirāṅgo lyāb bādhate 'a replacement in LyaP, even though externally conditioned, blocks internally conditioned operations.

6.4.19 छोऽ: शून्यनासिके

chvoh śud anunāśike ca
/chvoh 6/2 = chaś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; śuth 1/1 = śaś ca ūṭh ca (sam. dv.); ca ṣaḥ/
(aṅgasya #1 kujhāloḥ knīti #15)
'cch, va' ity etayoh sthāne yathāsaṁkhyam 'ś, ūṭh' ity etāv ādesau bhavato' nunāśikādau pratyaeye parata kvau jhalādau ca knīti
The \( ch \) and \( v \) of an \( aṅga \) are replaced with \( š \) and \( ūTH \), respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by \( Kvl \), or one beginning with a \( jhaL \) and marked with \( K \) or \( N \) as an \( it \), follows.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{praśnaḥ} \ '\text{query, question interrogation}' \]
\[ \text{visnaḥ} \ '\text{ibidem}' \]
\[ \text{syonaḥ} \ '\text{auspicious, pleasant}' \]
\[ \text{śabdaprāṭ} \ '\text{he who asks about words}' \]
\[ \text{goviṭ} \ '\text{procuring cows}' \]
\[ \text{aksadyāḥ} \ '\text{gambling with dice}' \]
\[ \text{hīranyasṭhyāḥ} \]
\[ \text{prśāḥ} \]
\[ \text{prśavān} \]
\[ \text{dyūṭāḥ} \]
\[ \text{dyūṭavān} \]
\[ \text{dyūtvā} \]

1. This rule allows \( cch \ (tUK + ch) \) and \( v \) of an \( aṅga \) to be replaced with \( š \) and \( ūTH \), respectively, when what follows is (i) an affix beginning with a nasal; (ii) an affix constituted by \( Kvl \) (\( Kvp \), etc.), or (iii) an affix which begins with a sound denoted by \( jhaL \) and is marked with \( K \) or \( N \) as an \( it \). Thus, we get \( \text{pracch} + \text{naNvpra(cch→š) + na(N)} = \text{praśna} \), where \( cch \) includes augment \( tUK \) (6.1.73 \( che \ ca \)). Affix \( naNv \) is, of course, introduced by 3.3.90 \( yajayāca-yatā . . . \) We similarly derive \( visna \) from \( vičc naNvvi(cch→š) na = visna \).

We also get \( si
[...]

Note that augment \( ūTH \) (6.4.132 \( vāha \ uth \)) is here introduced prior to the \( guṇa \) of 7.3.84 \( sārvadhātukā . . . \) We will get a wrong form \( *s(i→e)v + na→se(v→ō) + na = *seūna \) if \( guṇa \) is applied before \( ūTH \). We can apply sandhi of \( s(i→y) \) before \( ū \) because this replacement in \( yaNv \ (yanādeśa) \) will be treated as internally conditioned (\( antaraṅga \)) against the \( guṇa \), an externally conditioned (\( bahiraṅga \)) operation. Recall here that an operation relative to an \( aṅga \) (\( āṅga \)) is more powerful than another which has \( varṇa \) ‘sound-segments’ as its focus (\( PS \) (56): \( varṇād aṅgan bālyo bhavati \)). But this \( pārībhāṣā \) cannot be invoked here since its applicational conditions are different. For example, \( yaNv \) is conditioned by \( ūTH \); \( guṇa \) is conditioned by suffixes termed \( āṟdhadhātuka \). Augment \( ūTH \) is thus internally conditioned, as against \( guṇa \) which is externally conditioned. Replacement in \( yaNv \) is then accomplished first since it depends on \( varṇa \) ‘sound’ as its condition.

The word \( śabdām prchati = śabdaprāṭ \) derives from \( śabda + am + pracch + (Kvp→o) \), where \( samprasadāraṇa \) is blocked and \( a \) of \( pracch \) goes through a long replacement \( (vt: kvibucaprachyāyatastu . . .) \); cf. 3.2.178 anyebhya' \( pi \).
drṣyaṭe). Our present rule then applies to produce śabdapr(a→ā) cch→śabdaprā(cch→ś) = śabdaprāś. This ś is then replaced with s of 8.2.36 vraśca-bṛhasaj . . . We finally get śabdaprā(s→d→t) = śabdaprāt, through s→d (jaśṭva; 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśo' nte) and d→t (cartva; 8.4.56 vāvasāne).

6.4.20 ज्वरत्वरस्रिवविवाहवापुपथायाच

jvaratvārasrivayavimāvat upadhāyāś ca
/jvar-tvar-sriv-avu-mavāṃ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśām; upadhāyāḥ 6/1 ca ṣ/
(āṅgasya #1 kvijhaloh kniti #15 cchvoh anunāśike śūth #19)
‘jvara, tvara, srivi, avu, mava’ ity eṣām avānāṃ vahāvaya upadhāyāḥ ca
sthāne ‘ūth’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kvaau parato’ nūnāśike jhalādau ca kniti
The v and next to the last vowel of an aṅgā, namely jvara ‘to be feverish’,
tvara ‘to hasten’, srivi ‘to become dry’, avu ‘to help, protect’ and mavā ‘to move, go’, is replaced with uṬH when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by Kvi, or else, one beginning with a jhaL and marked with K or ṇ as an it, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jūḥ/ jūrau/ jūrah ‘nominaive singular, dual and plural of jūr ‘fever’
jūrttiḥ ‘fever’
tūḥ/ tūrau/ tūrah ‘nominaive singular, dual and plural of tūr ‘hasteful’
tūrttiḥ ‘haste’
srūḥ/ srūvau/ srūvah ‘nominaive singular, dual and plural of srū ‘dryness’
srūtāḥ ‘dry’
ūḥ/ uvau/ uvah ‘nominaive singular, dual and plural of ū ‘pro-
tector’
ūtih ‘protection’
mūḥ/ mūvau/ mūvah ‘nominaive singular, dual and plural of mū ‘mover’
mūtāḥ ‘. . . has moved’

1. This rule offers uṬH as a replacement for v, and the penultimate vowel as well, of an aṅgā, namely jvara, tvara, srivi, avu and mava, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by Kvi, or beginning with a jhaL marked with K or ṇ as an it, follows. Thus, we get jvar + KviP→j (va→uṬH) + KviP→jū + (KviP→ϕ)→jū + sU→jū, jūrau and jūrah. We similarly get tūh, tūrau and tūrah. Derivatives of srivi, avu and mavā will have their iv and av replaced with ū. Note that srivi also has a different reading as śrivI.

6.4.21 रालोपः:

rāḷ ṭopaḥ
/ṛāt 5/1 lopah 1/1/  
(āngasya #1 kvijahol kñiti #15 cchvoh anunāsike śūth #19)  
rephād uttarayayoś chvor lopo bhavati kvau parato jhalādau kñiti ca parataḥ  
A cch and v which occurs after r in an ānga is replaced with LOPA when  
affix Kvä, or an affix beginning with a jhal, and marked with K or N as  
an it, follows.

**Examples:**

mūḥ/ murau/ murah 'nominative singular, dual and plural of mur 'swoon'"  
mūrttaḥ 'formed, manifest'  
hūḥ/ hurau/ hurah 'nominative singular, dual and plural of hur 'crooked'"  
hūrṇah 'deceived'  
hūṛtīḥ 'deception'  
tūḥ/ turau/ turah 'nominative singular, dual and plural of tur 'harm'"  
tūṁnah ' . . . has harmed'  
tūṛtīḥ 'harm'  
dhūḥ/ dhurau/ dhurah 'nominative singular, dual and plural of dhur  
yoke'"  
dhūṛṇah ' . . . has yoked'  
dhūṛtīḥ 'yoke'"

1. This rule offers deletion via LOPA of cch and v when Kvä and other  
specified affixes follow. Thus, mur(ch→∅) + (K) v(iP) → mur + (v→∅) →  
m(ū→uṭH)r = mūr 'swoon'. We similarly get hūr from hurchā. Deletion ap-  
plies only to ch since we do not get augment lUK here (Kāś: rālope satukkasya  
chasyābhāvāt kevalo grhyate). Deletion of v is witnessed in tur and dhur from  
trūvī and dhūvī.

6.4.22 असिद्धवद्वरभात्

asiddhavad atrābhāt  
/asiddhavat ∅ = na siddhāḥ; asiddhena tulyāṁ vartate = asiddhavat; atra ∅  
ābhāt 5/1/  
asiddhavad ity ayam adhikāro yad ita ērdhvam anukramisyāma ā adhyāya-  
parisamāptes tad asiddhavad ity evaṁ veditavyam  
Operations with identical conditions are, from here to the extent of  
the domain of 6.1.129 bhāya, treated as if suspended (asiddhavat).

**Examples:**

edhi 'second singular imperative active of as'  
sādhi 'second singular imperative of śās 'instruct'"  
āgāhi 'second singular imperative of ā-gam'  
jahi 'second singular imperative of han 'to kill'"
1. The use of *vatUp* in *asiddhavat* clearly marks this rule as extensional (*ātideśika*) in nature. It renders the status of something accomplished (*siddha*) as if it was not (*asiddha*). The domain of this rule extends to the end of the seventh book (*adhyāya; ā saptamādhyāyaparīsamāpteḥ*).

The phrase *ā bhāt* ‘up to bha’ (6.4.29 *bhaya*) is used to specify the context (*visaya*) of this extensional suspension (*ātideśika-asiddhatva*). Note that the word *atra* ‘here’ is generally used in the sense of *asmin* ‘in here’. This general meaning will then refer to operations (*kārya*) stated within this domain of *bha* (*ābhīya*). But since accepting an accomplished operations as if not accomplished does not make any sense, a relatively more finer specification is needed. The word *atra* restricts the scope of such operations to rules contained within the domain ending with the last rule of 6.4.129 *bhaya* (*ābhīya*). But we still need some clarification. What operations within this domain of rules will be treated as *asiddha*? It is explained that an operation of this domain will be treated as *asiddha* if another operation of this domain is to be performed and if both operations share the same condition of application (*samāna-nimitta; Kāś. atreī samānāsrayapratipatiparthartha*).

Consider the derivation of *śādhi* ‘second person singular imperative active’ of *śās* ‘to instruct’ for illustration. We get *śās + (LOT→siP)→śās + ŠaP + siP→śās + (ŠaP→∅) + si(P→∅)→śās + (si→hi) = śās + hi*, where *hi* replaces *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*), itself a replacement of *LOT*, and *ŠaP* goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti . . . *). A replacement in *śās* is then ordered for *śās* before *hi* (6.4.35 *śā hau*) to produce *śā + hi*. It is at this stage that 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhīḥ* becomes applicable. But there is a problem. This replacement in *dhī* must come in place of *hi* when *hi* occurs after a sound denoted by *jhal*. Recall that *śā*, by way of replacing *śās*, has removed *jhal*, i.e., *s*, which occurred before *hi*. Since these replacements, i.e., *śā* and *dhī*, both are accomplished by rules contained within this domain, a *śā*-replacement can be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *dhī*. That is, our string will still be *śās + hi*, as far the application of 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhīḥ* is concerned. Thus, we get (*śā←śās + (hi→dhī)) = *śā + dhī = śādhi*. A similar situation is also involved in deriving *edhī* from (*as + LOT→siP→as + si*, where *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor allopah* and *sa + hi* gets its *s* replaced with *e* (6.4.119 *dvasor eddhāv . . . *) to produce *e + hi*. Rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhīḥ* now applies to replace *hi* with *dhī*, with the understanding that *e* (*etva*) as a replacement is *asiddha*. Thus we get (*e←s + (hi→dhī)) = *edhī*.

Now consider the derivation of *āgahi* and *jahī*, both second person singular imperative active forms of *ā-gam* and *han*, where *si* has replaced *LOT*, and *ŠaP* has again been deleted. Additionally, the *m* of *gam* has been deleted (6.4.37 *anudāttopadēsa . . . *), and *han* has been replaced with *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jah*). Rule 6.4.105 *ato hēh* then becomes applicable to *āga + hi* and *ja + hi* to delete *hi*. Note that this deletion is required after an *āṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*
pratyayavidhi . . . ) which ends in a. This rule application will produce undesired (aniṣṭa) forms: *āga and ja. The desired forms, i.e., āgahi and jahi, could be derived only if deletion of m (after ga) and replacement in ja (of han) is treated as asiddha. This asiddhatva will make the aṅga end in a consonant. That is, hi could then not be deleted. This is how we can get the desired forms āgahi and jahi.

The Mahābhāṣya discusses the purpose of establishing this asiddha section as follows:

(i) to facilitate application of a rule characterized as general (utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāvārtham) and

(ii) to negate the application of a rule characterized with a replacement (ādeśalakṣaṇa-pratishedhārtham).

The word utsarga in the first purpose refers to a general rule in relation to a particular which displaces it. By inference, this utsarga, in the present context, refers to a substituendum (sthānī) which is replaced by its corresponding replacement (ādeśa). An illustration of the first can be found in the derivation of śādhi and edhi where a replacement in dhi after jhaL is facilitated. The second is illustrated by derivational details of āgahi and jahi where deletion by LUK is negated on the basis of asiddhatva.

2. Note that ā(N) of ā bhāt ‘up to bha’ is used in the sense of māryādā ‘exclusive and inclusive (abhīvidhi) limits’. That is why, ā bhāt can receive two interpretations: (i) ‘up to and excluding rules of the domain of bha’ and (ii) ‘up to and including rules of the domain of bha’. The first interpretation will make asiddhatva applicable only where rules listed prior to the domain of bha are involved. The second interpretation will make asiddhatva applicable to rules listed through the end of the domain of bha (6.4.129 bhasya). The second interpretation is accepted here.

It is clear that ā bhāt is used here to exactly identify the scope and extent of rules governed by the extensional provision of asiddhavat. If asiddhavat, as an adhikāra, was left without any clear specification of its scope, it could have also covered rules such as 7.1.1 yuvor anākau. If asiddhavat was given as an adhikāra without any clear indication of what atra means, it would create problems. Thus, 6.4.23 śnān nalopaḥ will then be interpreted as: śnād uṭṭarasya nakārsya lopo bhavati sa ca asiddhavad bhavati ‘a n which occurs after śnā goes through deletion. It is, additionally, treated as if not accomplished’. The word atra, in this interpretation, will refer to rules contained within the reach of asiddhavat as an adhikāra ‘governing rule’. But since the extent of the domain of asiddhavat will then not be clear, this interpretation of atra will not be acceptable. We will thus get another interpretation. That, because of proximity of context, could only be recognized as n-deletion (nalopa). Thus, atra will give the full meaning of rule 6.4.23 as: ‘a n which occurs after śnā goes through deletion; and that deletion is treated as asiddha when
deletion of \( n \) is to be accomplished'. This interpretation will limit *asiddhatva* to contexts of identical operations. The fact is otherwise. That is, *asiddhatva* could apply also to contexts where two different operations are involved. However, they must both share similar conditions (*nimitta*). A clear specification of domain thus becomes desired also for correct interpretation of *atra*.

This specification of domain is needed so that, given *abhājī* 'he broke' and *rāgāh* 'affection, coloring', *asiddhavat* does not apply to contexts of penultimate (*upadhāh*) *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāh*. Thus, *bhaṇj* 'to break' and *raṇj* 'to color' which go through deletion of their nasal by 6.4.33 *bhaṇjēś ca cinī* and 6.4.26 *raṇjēś ca*, respectively, do not get their deleted nasal treated as *asiddha* in the context of application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāh*. For, 7.2.116 is not contained within this section generally known as *ābhiyā*.

3. Why is *atra* 'here' used in this rule So that *samprāṣāraṇa* of *vas* could not be treated as *asiddha* when deletion of *ā* (*āl-lopa*), replacement in *yaN* (*yaṇādesa*) and replacement in *uvAN* is to be accomplished. For, *ā-lopa*, etc., are accomplished when *vas* follows, and a form ending in *vas* goes through *samprāṣāraṇa* before a nominal endign (*vibhakti*). Thus, the conditions of these two operations both are identical. Consider the derivation of *papuṣāḥ*, *cicyuṣāḥ* and *luluvuṣāḥ*, as in *papuṣāḥ pasya*, etc., where we get *papā + us*, *cici + us* and *lulu + us*, after *LIT* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) and *vas* goes through *samprāṣāraṇa* (6.4.77 *vasoh samprāṣāraṇam*). Since the condition of *samprāṣaṇa* is different from those of the deletion of *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iī ca*) in *papā, yaN* replacement for the final *i* (6.4.82 *er anekāco* *samyogapūrvasya*) of *cici*, and *uvAN-replacement for u* (6.4.77 *acī śmadhātubhūvam*) of *lulu, samprāṣāraṇa* cannot be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing them.

Recall that an externally conditioned (*bahiraṇga*) operation is treated as *asiddha* when an internally conditioned operation is to be accomplished (*PŚ* (51)). But since the validity of this *paribhāṣā* is established based upon application of rule 6.4.132 *vāḥ uth*, it also becomes part of this *ābhiyā* section. That is, the question of a conflict between an externally conditioned operation and one conditioned internally does not arise since *asiddhatva* can still cover it. That is, *samprāṣāraṇa*, etc., whose *asiddhatva* we are talking about, will not allow any conflict between *antaraṇga* and *bahiraṇga*. Rule 6.3.131 *vasoh samprāṣāraṇam* is also *ābhiyā*. Hence, there is no conflict after the same becomes *asiddha*.

4. A *vārttiika* proposal is made here to consider *vUK* and *yUT* as *asiddha* when *uvAN* and *yaN* are to be accomplished as replacements. Consider *babhūva/babhūvatuh* and *babhūvuh*, where *vUK* is introduced (6.4.88 *bhuv yug* . . . ). This *vUK* is treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *uvAN*. That is, a replacement in *uvAN* is not accomplished. Refer to derivational details of *babhūva* (II:429–30) under the appendix of rule 1.2.6
indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca. Now consider upadidīye/ upadidīyire, where we get upadidī + e(Ś) in the third singular middle from upadi(N) + (LIT→ta→e(Ś)). Rule 6.4.63 dīno yuḍ aci knītī now offers augment yUT to derive upadidīye. This yUT is treated as siddha with reference to the application of 6.4.82 er anekāco' sanyogapūrvasya. This is what the vārttika offers. More generally, an ābhiya like this remains siddha in applying another ābhiya.

6.4.23 रनास्लोपः:

śnān nalopāḥ
/śnāt 5/1 nalopāḥ = na(kāra)sya lopaḥ (ṣās tat.)/
śnād iti śnam ayam utsṛṣṭam akāro gṛhyate, tata uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati

A n which occurs after Śna is deleted by means of LOPA.

Examples:

anakti IIIrd sing. pres. indicative active of aṅjŪ ‘to show, protect, move, anoint’
bhanakti ‘. . . of bhaṅj ‘to split, break’
hinasti ‘. . . of hisf ‘to kill, strike, harm’

1. Note that śnāt here specifies ŚnaM with no M (Kāś: śnād iti: śnam ayam utsṛṣṭamakāro gṛhyate). This rule offers deletion of n which may occur after Śna(M). We interpret Śna as ŚnaM (3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam) since no other interpretation is possible. Refer to viruṇaddhi and bhinatti under the appendices of 1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ and 3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam, respectively, for derivational details of our current examples. Recall that augment nUM is introduced to hisf to derive hins (7.1.58 idāno num . . .). Deriving anakti, bhanakti and hinasti from a + (Ś) na(M) + nja + ti, bha + na + nj + ti and hi + na + nUM + s + ti involves deletion of n occurring after ŚnaM. Note that ŚnaM is marked with M as an it. Consequently, it is introduced after the last vowel (1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ) of the verb root.

2. Why is Śna specified here with an accompanying Ś? Consider yajñānām and yatnānāṃ, which derive from yajña + n(UT) + ām and yatna + n(UT) + ām. Augment n(UT) is here introduced before the genitive plural nominal ending ām. Rule 7.3.102 supi ca, based on being para ‘subsequent’, orders a long replacement for the final a of yajña and yatna to produce yajñānām and yatnānāṃ. If Śna was specified as na, instead, the long ā of yajñā and yatnā could still be treated as its short counterpart via sthāṇivadbhāva ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’. This would then allow deletion of n by this rule. Recall that yajñā and yatna are derivatives of affix naN (3.3.90 yajayācayata . . .), introduced after verbal roots yaj and yat.

A question is raised as to why this deletion cannot apply in cases of viśnānāṃ ‘genitive plural’ of viśna ‘splendor’ and praśnānāṃ ‘genitive plural’ of praśna
'question', where $n$ is found directly after śna. It is stated that śna of viśna and praśna is a śna derived with application of rules (lākṣanīka). The Śna of this rule is a specifically enumerated element (pratipadokta). That is why, Śna alone should be accepted. It is also in consonance with the Paribhāṣā (PŚ: 114): lakṣanapratipadoktaḥ pratipadoktaṣyaiva grahaṃ 'a specifically enumerated form should be accepted against one which is derived by a rule application'. A summary of this discussion is presented by the following ślokavārttika:

nān nasyāyaṁ vidheyo nanu lubaniditāṁ
nanditā cāpi siddhyed
hiṃser na prāptir evam kniti sati tathā
nandāmāno na siddhyet//
knin nāc cec cātha yatnād bhavacanaavidhau
dusyati sthānivatvād
viśnānāṁ lakṣanoktapratipadavacanāt
siddha evety adaśāḥ//

6.4.24 अनिदितां हल उपशालयाः: विकर्ति

aniditāṁ hala uḍpadhāyāḥ kniti
/aniditām 6/3 = ikāra it yasya (bv.) = iditaḥ; na iditaḥ = aniditaḥ (naṅ.),
tesām; halāḥ 6/1 uḍpadhāyāḥ 6/1 kniti 6/1 = knāu itau yasya (bv.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23)
aniditām aṅgāṇāṁ halantānāṁ uḍpadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati kniti
pratyayē parataḥ.
The penultimate $n$ of an aṅga which ends in a consonant and does not contain $i$ as an it is deleted by means of LOPA when an affix marked with $K$ or $N$ as an it follows.

Examples:

sraṣṭaḥ
dhvaṣṭaḥ
sraṣyate
dhvaṣyate
sanīṣraṣyate
danīdhaṣyate

1. This rule allows deletion of a $n$ which is penultimate in an aṅga and occurs before an affix marked with $K$ and $N$ as an it. Of course, when the aṅga ends in a consonant and is not marked with $I$ as an it (anidit). We thus get srastah and dhvastah from (sraṁs$U$ + Kta) + s$U$ and (dhvaṁs$U$ + Kta) + s$U$, where the aṅga ends in $s$ and is marked with $U$ as an it. The penultimate $n$ of these forms goes through deletion. Now consider sraṣyate and dhvaṣyate where
we introduce yaK to the same aniga (3.1.67 sārvadhātu ke yak) under the condition of sārvadhātu. The signification condition of this yaK must be bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’. Refer to derivational details of pāpayate, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving sanirayaye and danidhvayate, both with roots derived with yaN denoting pauṇahpya ‘over and over again’. Note that augment niK is here introduced to the abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūruv bhāsa) by 7.84 nāvamucansudhvansa . . .

2. Why should we have the condition of aniditām? So that nandyate and nānandyate could not avail this deletion of a penultimate n. Recall that the root here is Tūnadd ‘to be prosperous, happy’ and it is because of its i that we get nUM (7.1.58 idito num dhāthoh). There is no deletion of n since the root has l as an it. Deriving nānandyate from na + nand + yaN + te involves long replacement for the short of the abhyāsa (7.4.83 dīrgho ‘kitaḥ).

The condition of halanta ‘ending in a consonant’ is imposed so that n-deletion could not be accomplished in niyate and neniyate where the root is niN ‘to lead’. Note that neniyate is also a derivate of yaN where a guna-replacement (7.4.82 guno yāntukoh) of the abhyāsa yields ne at the beginning.

Why is this deletion intended for the penultimate n? Consider nåhyate and nānåhyate where nå ‘to tie’ does not have any penultimate n. Consequently, there is no deletion. The condition of kniti similarly blocks this deletion in sānāstī and dhvānāstī, both derivate of trC with augment It.

3. A vārttika proposal is made for deletion of n of laghI and kāplI where 7.1.58 idito num dhāthoh introduces nUM. This deletion is made available under the condition of upatāpa ‘affliction’ and śaṅrāvīkāra ‘body-product’ (vt. laṅgikamptyor upatāpaśaṅrāvīkārayor upasaṅkhāyanaṁ kartavyam). Since these roots are both marked with l as an it, n-deletion was not available. Consider vīgālītāh and vikāpiṭāh as examples. Note that upatāpa here does not refer to roga ‘disease’. For, śaṅrāvīkāra then would not make any sense. It here means kṛcchrapāpiṭih ‘obtaining with difficulty’. Elsewhere, derivate will be viliṅgītāh ‘afflicted’ and vikampiṭāh ‘shaken’, with no deletion.

Another vārttika proposal is made for deletion of n of raṇīl ‘to color’ when Ni follows and the derivate denotes mṛgaramana ‘sporting of deer’. Thus, rajayati mṛgān ‘he who has the deer sport’. Yet another vārttika proposal is made for n-deletion when affix GHinUN (3.2.142 samprānurūdhā . . .) follows raṇīl. Thus, rágīn from raṇīl + GHinUN, where n-deletion, penultimate vṛddhi and kutva (j→g) apply. It can also be derived via nipūtana. An additional vārttika proposal accounts for deriving rajaka from raṇīl + (ŚouN→aka), rajana from raṇīl + (LyuT→ana) and rajas from raṇīl + asUN, through deletion of n.

6.4.25 दंशस्त्रस्त्र्यां शपि

damśasaṇjasvaṇjāṁ śapi
/damśa.saṇja-svaṇjām 6/3 (itar. dv.); śapi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24)
‘dāṃśa, saṃja, svaṃja’ ity eteṣām aṅgānāṁ ṣapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate n of an aṅga, namely dāṃśa, saṃja, and svaṃja, is deleted by means of LOPA when affix ŚaP follows.

EXAMPLES:

daśati
sajati
parisvajate

1. This rule allows deletion of n of a penultimate aṅga, namely dāṃśa, saṃja and svaṃja, when ŚaP follows. Thus, daśati, sajati and parisvajate. The s of svaṃja is replaced with ś by 8.3.65 upasargat sunoti . . .

6.4.26 रङ्गेषच

raṇjeś ca
\( /\text{raṇjeḥ} 5/1 \text{ ca} \phi /\)
(aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 śapi #25)
raṇjeś ca śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate n of an aṅga, namely raṇji ‘to color’, is also deleted by means of LOPA when affix ŚaP follows.

EXAMPLES:

rajati ‘third singular present active of raṇji’
rajataḥ ‘third dual . . .’
rajanti ‘third plural . . .’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate n of an aṅga, namely raṇji, when ŚaP follows. Thus, we get ‘rajati, rajataḥ and rajanti’. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding? So that raṇjeḥ alone could be carried to subsequent rules (Kāś: prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham). A joint formulation would have also required the following rule to carry the anuvṛtti of dāṃś and svaṃj.

6.4.27 घानि च भावकरणयो:

ghaṇi ca bhāvakaranaṇayoh
\( /\text{ghaṇi} 7/1 \text{ ca} \phi \text{ bhāva-karaṇaṇayoh} 7/2 \) (itar. dv.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 raṇjeḥ #26)
bhāvakaranaṇavācini ghaṇi parato raṇjer upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate n of an aṅga, namely raṇji, is also deleted by means of LOPA when affix GHaN with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karaṇa ‘most instrumental means’ follows.
Examples:

āścaryo rāgah ‘wonderful color’
vicitro rāgah ‘strange color’
rajaite’ neneti rāgah ‘that by means of which something is colored’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate n of rañj also when affix GHaN follows with the denotatum of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karaṇa ‘means; instrument’. Thus, rāgah ‘coloring’ and rāgah ‘that by means of which one colors’, respectively. Now consider raṅgah ‘that in which they color’ where no deletion of n can be allowed. For, the derivate here denotes adhikaraṇa (3.3.121 halaś ca). The j of rañj is replaced with g through kutva (7.3.52 cajoḥ ku . . .).

6.4.28 स्यादो जावे

syado jave
/syadāḥ 5/1 jave 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 ghaṇi #27)
jave bhidheye ‘syadaḥ’ iti ghaṇi nipaṭyate

The word syada is derived, via nipaṭana, when affix GHaN follows and the signification is java ‘speed’.

Examples:

gosyadaḥ ‘charge of a bull’
asvasyadaḥ ‘horse-speed’

1. This rule takes recourse to nipaṭana for deriving syada with affix GHaN. Of course, under the meaning condition of ‘speed’. It is via nipaṭana that vrddhi is blocked and the penultimate n is deleted. Thus, syanda + GHaN = syanda, as in gosyandah and asvasyandah. Note that a vrddhi characterized with IK (iglakṣanā; 1.1.3 iko guṇavrddhi) can be negated by 1.1.4 na dhātu-lopa . . ., mostly because of deletion of n. The vrddhi which is blocked here is related to upadhā (upadhālakṣanā; 7.2.116 at a upadhāyāḥ). Thus, nipaṭana must be used for blocking vrddhi.

6.4.29 अवोदेषोद्विप्रथिप्रथिप्रथिहिंप्रथिहिं

avodaidhodmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ
/avoda-edha-odma-praśratha-himaśrathāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/
(āṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 ghaṇi #27)
‘avoda, edha, odma, praśratha, himaśratha’ ity ete nipaṭyante

The word avoda, edha, odma, praśratha and himaśratha are derived, via nipaṭana, when affix GHaN follows.
Examples:

avodah ‘soaking’
edhah ‘glowing’
odmah ‘flowing’
praśrathaḥ ‘abandoning, rejoicing’
himaśrathaḥ ‘melting of snow’

1. This rule derives avoda, edha, odma, praśratha and himaśratha, again via nipātana. Here again GHaN forms the right context of derivation. Consider ava + und + GHaN → ava + u(n→ϕ) da + a → av(a + u→o) d + a = avoda, through n-deletion and guna of undI ‘to wet, be damp’. This guna cannot be negated by 1.1.4 na dhātulopa . . . because it comes in place of the a of ava and the u of the verb. This same is also applicable to edha, a derivate of īndī ‘to kindle, glow’. Yet another derivate of undI is odma, derived with the Uṇādi affix maN, through guna. Derivatives of śranth ‘to release, let go’, i.e., praśratha and himaśratha, also involve n-deletion. Their vṛddhi is again blocked via nipātana.

6.4.30 नान्ते: पुजायाम
nāntaḥ pujāyām
/ na φ aṇaḥ 6/1 pujāyām 7/1
(aṅgasya #1 naloṣa #23 upadāṭyāḥ #24)
aṇaḥ pujāyām arthe nakārasya lopo na bhavati
The penultimate n of an aṅga, namely aṇaḷ, is not deleted by means of LOPA when the derivate denotes pujā ‘respect’.

Examples:

aṅcitāḥ asya guravah ‘revered (by him is) his teacher’
aṅcitam iva śiro vahati ‘he is respectful; he carries his head in reverence’

1. This rule blocks deletion of n when derivates denote pujā ‘praise, respect’. Consider aṅcitā ‘respected’, of aṅcitāḥ asya guravah, from aṅc + Kta (3.2.188 matibuddhi . . .) with augment iN (7.2.35 aṅcēḥ pujāyām). This negation of n-deletion goes against the positive provision of 6.4.24 aniditāṃ hala upadāṭyāḥ.

Kāśikā orders udakta ‘drawn, taken out’, of udaktaṃ udakāṃ kuśāt ‘water fetched from the water-well’ as a counter-example. Deletion of n applies here since pujā ‘respect’ is not the derivational meaning. The iN in udakta is here negated by 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā.

6.4.31 कत्वः स्कन्धिशयन्ति:
ktvi skandisyandoh
/ktvi 7/1 skandi-syandoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/
Examples:

skantvā ‘having leaped over . . . ’
syantvā ‘having moved over . . . ’
syandtvā ‘ibidem’

1. Note that this negation of n-deletion of skand and syand is made against positive provisions of 6.4.24 aniditām hala . . . Since syandU is marked with Ü as an it, we also get optional iT (7.2.44 svaratisūti . . . ). That is, we will get syandtvā, optionally with syantvā. Recall that syandtvā will automatically avail non-deletion of n at the strength of negation of KiT-status of Ktvā (1.2.18 na ktvā set). A specification with kti demands that Ktvā follows syand immediately. An optional introduction of augment iT after syandU will impair this condition. That is why, the negation of n-deletion in case of syandtvā is accomplished based on non-KiT status of 1.2.18 na ktvā set. This rule does not do anything in saving n from deletion, especially when iT is introduced. Besides, the positive provision of n-deletion (cf. 6.4.24 aniditām hala . . . ) applies only when an affix marked with K or N as an it follows. Verbal root skandI does not have any iT made available. It also does not have its n deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hala . . . , especially because it is marked with I as an it. Our present rule thus saves n of skandI from deletion, as it does in case of the non-iT option of syandU. The d of skand will go through a replacement in t (cartva; 8.4.54 khari ca). One of the two resultant t sounds will be deleted by 8.4.64 jhara jhari savarne. Thus, skand + Ktvā→skan(d→t) + tvā→skan(t→ϕ) + tvā = skantvā. This same applies to syantvā.

6.4.32 जातनशां विभाषा

jāntanaśāṁ vibhāṣā
ejāntanaśāṁ vibhāṣā 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 na #30 kti #31)

The penultimate n of an aṅga, namely one which ends in j, and also the n of naś ‘to perish’, is optionally not deleted by means of LOPA when affix Ktvā follows.

Examples:

ranktvā ‘having colored’
raktvā 'ibidem'

bhāṅktvā 'having split, broken'

bhaktvā 'ibidem'

naṣṭvā 'having destroyed'

namṣṭvā 'ibidem'

naśtvā 'ibidem'

1. This rule negates deletion of n, optionally, when an anģa ends in n, or else, is constituted by naś. Consider raṅktvā and raktvā; bhāṅktvā and bhaktvā, the two sets of forms of raṅj 'to color' and bhaṅj 'to break, shatter’. Note that j→g and g→k are accomplished by 8.2.30 coḥ kuh and 8.4.54 khari ca, respectively. The nasal of raṅj + tvā, when not deleted, is replaced with n (8.4.54 anusvārasya yayī parasavaraḥ), via ṇ (anusvāra; 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya . . ). This optional deletion of n will yield two forms of naś ‘to disappear, be destroyed’: naṣṭvā and namṣṭvā. A third form, i.e., naśtvā, will be gotten with optional iT. Recall that the n which optionally goes through deletion here is the n of nUM (7.1.60 naįjer naisor jhal). The s then goes through a replacement in s (8.2.36 vraścābhrasj . . ). The t of Ktvā must then go through a replacement in t (ṣṭutva; 8.4.4 ṣṭunā ṣṭuk).

2. Note that a specification made with a sound automatically invokes tадантавидhi ‘a specification made with x also refers to that which ends in x’. That is, j alone should be enough to get the meaning of jānta ‘that which ends in j’. Why use anṭa? Commentators explain that anṭ is used for clarity (vispañṭārtham).

6.4.33 भङ्गः विनेन

bhaṅjeś ca cini

/bhaṅjeḥ 6/1 ca ṇ cini 7/1/

(anjasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 vibhāśā #32)

bhaṅjeś ca cini parato vibhāśā nakāralopo bhavati

The penultimate n of an anģa, namely bhaṅjI, is optionally deleted by means of LOPA when affix CiN follows.

Examples:

abhañji ‘it was broken (into pieces)’

abhañji ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional deletion of n of bhaṅjI when CiN (3.1.66 cin bhāvakarmanoḥ) follows. Recall that CiN is an affix not marked with K or N as an it. Consequently, it could not condition n-deletion. This deletion can thus be characterized as an option which is not made available (aprāpta). Refer to derivational details of examples under 3.4.66 cin bhāvakarmanoḥ. The penultimate vrddhi of 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ will apply in deriving abhañji.
A non-deletion of \( n \) will block this \( vrddhi \) to produce \( abhañji \). Incidentally, the third singular middle verbal ending \( ta \) will be deleted by 6.4.104 \( ciño būk \). Refer to \( akārī \) (III:724–25) under the appendix of 3.1.66 \( ciño bhavakarmanoḥ \) for derivational details.

6.4.34 शास इद्दहलने:

\( sāsa id anhaloh \)
\( sāsaḥ 6/1 it 1/1 an-haloh 6/2 (itar. du.)/ \)
(āṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #24)
\( sāsa upadhāyā ikāra ādeso bhuvati aṇi paraṇaḥ halādu ca kniti \)
The penultimate sound segment of an \( aṅga \), namely \( sās \), is replaced with \( i \) when \( aN \), or an affix which begins with a consonant (\( haL \)) and is marked with \( K \) or \( N \) as an \( it \), follows.

**Examples:**

- \( anvaśiṣat \) ‘third singular active \( LUÑ \) form of \( sās \) ‘instruct’ used with the preverb \( anu \)’
- \( anvaśiṣatām \) ‘third dual . . .’
- \( anvaśiṣan \) ‘third plural’
- \( sīṣṭāḥ \) ‘derivate of Kṛṣṇa; instructed; taught’
- \( sīṣṭāvān \) ‘derivate of KṛṣṇavU; ibidem’
- \( avām sīṣvah \) ‘first dual active \( LAṬ \) form of \( sās \)’
- \( vayaṃ sīṣmah \) ‘first plural . . .’

1. This rule allows he \( upadhāḥ \) of an \( aṅga \) constituted by \( sās \) to be replaced with \( i \) when either \( aN \), or a consonant-initial affix marked with \( K \) and \( ṇ \) as an \( it \), follows. Consider \( anvaśiṣat \), a third singular active derivate of \( LUÑ \) introduced after verbal root \( sās \) used with the preverb \( anu \). At the stage when the string is: \( anu + (aT + sās + CLi + it) \), \( aN \) comes as a replacement of \( CLi \) (3.1.56 sārtitiśāastyartibhyas ca). The \( s \) of \( sīs \), after the penultimate \( ō \) is replaced with \( i \), is replaced with \( s \) (8.3.60 sāsivasighasinām ca). Refer to derivational details of \( aśiṣat \), under the appendix of 3.1.56 sārtitiśāastyartibhyas ca, for deriving \( anvaśiṣat \), etc., where \( sās \) is used with the preverb \( anu \). Derivational details of \( niṣṭhā \) (1.1.26 k타ktavatū niṣṭhā), i.e., \( sīṣṭāḥ \) and \( sīṣṭāvān \), can be found under \( mṛṣṭāḥ \) and \( mṛṣṭāvān \) (appendix, vol. II under 1.1.5 kniti ca). Note that \( sīṣvah \) and \( sīṣmah \) are derivate of \( sās + (LAṬ→vas) \) ‘first person dual active present’ and \( sās + (LAṬ→mas) \) ‘first plural active present’, which both begin with a consonant. Additionally, 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit accepts them as marked with \( n \) as an \( it \). All these examples involve a replacement in \( i \) for the penultimate (\( upadhāḥ \) sound of \( sās \). Their \( s \) is replaced with \( s \) (8.3.60 sāsivasighasinām ca) after \( ō \) is replaced with \( i \) (\( itva \)).

2. Note that \( sās \) is here intended as referring to \( sāsU \), used with the signification of \( anuśiṣṭi \) ‘instruction, command’. This is the root that allows \( CLi \) to
be replaced with $aN$ (3.1.56 sartiśāstyaarttibhyāsaḥ ca). A specification with śās thus does not refer here to śāsU ‘to wish’. Consider āśāste and āśāyamānah where ā is not replaced with i, even when a consonant-initial affix marked with $K$ and $N$ as it follows. Nyāsa states that a single root śās is here interpreted as one which is used with the preverb anu and allows active (parasmātipada) endings. This is in consonance with its association with sr (sarti) and ṛ (artī) of 3.1.56 sartiśāstyaarttibhyāsaḥ ca, further qualified with the introduction of $aN$ for CLI. Verbal root śās, when used with the preverb āN, denotes icchā ‘desire’ and allows only middle (ātmanepada) endings.

3. A vārttika proposal is made, however, to allow a replacement in i for the ā of śāsU ‘to wish’ when affix KuIP follows. Thus, consider āśih, āśisau and āśisah, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms of āśi. These examples can also be derived via nipātana (8.2.104 kṣiyāśiḥpraśeṣu tiṁ-ākāṁkṣam). That is, if itvā is not accomplished under the vārttika proposal.

6.4.35 शा है

śā hau
/śā 1/1 hau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 śāsah #34)
śāso hau parataḥ ‘śā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

An aṅga, namely śās, is replaced with śā when affix hi follows.

Examples:

anuśādhi ‘please instruct’
praśādhi ‘please instruct well’

1. This rule does not carry the anuvṛtti of upadhāyāḥ ‘in place of the penultimate’ and knīti ‘when an affix marked with $K$ and $N$ as an it follows’. The genitive (saṣṭhī) of śāsah is thus interpreted as meaning ‘in place of’ (sthāne). Dropping the anuvṛtti of knīti facilitates i-replacement, even when 3.4.84 vā chandasi extends, to hi, the status of being marked with $P$ as an it (pit). The word śādhi is also seen as marked with udātta at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of śādhi, here used with anu and pra, under notes of 6.4.22 asiddhavad atrā’ bhāt.

6.4.36 हन्रेजः:

hanter jah
/hantere 6/1 jah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 hau #35)
hanter dhātor ‘ja’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ

An aṅga, namely verbal root han, is replaced with ja when affix hi follows.
Examples:

jahi śatrūn 'kill enemies'

1. This rule allows han to be replaced with ja when the same occurs before hi. Thus, han + (LOT→siP→hi)→(han→ja) + hi→jahi. Thus, we get jahi śatrūn 'kill enemies'. Refer to derivational details of jahi under notes of 6.4.22 asiddhavad atra' bhūt.

6.4.37 अनुदात्तपदेशादनतत्तत्साहितत्नामनुनासिकलोपो झळि विक्रिति

anudāttapadeśavanatitanotyādinām anunāsikalo po jhali kniti
/ anudāttapadeśa-vanati-tanotyādinām 6/3 = anudāttaś ca te upadesāś ca =
anudāttapadesāh (karmadhāraya); tanotir ādir yeśām (bv.); anudāttapadesāś ca
vanatiś ca tanotyādayāsa ca (itar. dv.), teśām; anunāsīka (6/1 deleted);
lopaḥ 1/1 jhali 7/1 kniti 7/1/
anudāttapadesānām angānāṁ vanates tanotyādinām cânunāsikalo po bhavati
kniti pratyaye parah

The nasal of an anga, namely that which is marked with anudatta in
upadesa, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by vanA ‘to
like’ and tanU ‘to extend’, etc., is deleted by means of LOPA, when an
affix beginning with a jhaL and marked with K or ā as an it follows.

Examples:

yatvā ‘having stopped, waited on’
yataḥ ‘stopped’
yatatvān ‘ibidem’
yatiḥ ‘stopping’
ratvā ‘having sported’
rataḥ ‘sported’
ratavān ‘ibidem’
ratiḥ ‘sporting’
vatiḥ ‘liking’
tataḥ ‘extended’
tatavān ‘ibidem’
ksataḥ ‘wounded, wound’
ksatavān ‘wounded’

1. This rule specifies contexts under which the nasal of an anga will be
subject to deletion via LOPA. Thus, we get ya(m(U) + Ktvā→ya(m→ϕ) +
(K)tvā = yatvā. We similarly get (yamU + (K)tvā) + sU = yataḥ, (yamU +
(K)tavāt(U)) + sU = yatavān and yam(U) + (K)t(N)) + sU = yatih. This dele-
tion also facilitates similar forms of verbal roots vanU and tanU. Thus, van(A)
+ (K)t(N) = vati + sU = vatiḥ. A form of vanU with affix KtīC does not go
through deletion of its nasal because of negation of 6.4.39 na ktīc dīrghasya.
Elsewhere, since we get augment \( \tilde{i} \) before affixes beginning with a sound denoted by \( jhala \) and marked with \( \hat{K} \) and \( \hat{N} \) as an \( it \), this deletion does not apply. Forms of \( tanU \) are: \( tan(U) + \hat{K}ta \rightarrow tata + sU = tatah \) and \( tatavān \) with \( KtavaiU \). Verbal root \( kṣanU \) will similarly get \( kṣatah \), and \( kṣatavān \). We will similarly get \( ṭah; ṭavān \) and \( ghṛtah; ghṛtavān \) from verbal roots \( ṭnU \) ‘to go, move’ and \( ghṛnU \) ‘to glow’, respectively. Verbal root \( vanA \) will yield \( vatah \) and \( vatavān \). Note, however, that \( n \) of \( san \) will be offered a replacement in ā (ātva). Verbal roots \( yam, ram, nam, gam; and \( han \) and \( man \) are considered anudāttopadesa. Their \( m \) and \( n \) is thus subject to deletion.

Now some examples of roots where a \( jhala \)-initial affix marked with \( \hat{N} \) follows. Consider \( tanU + LUN \), where \( LUN \) gets replaced with third and second personal middle endings to yield: \( aT + tan + ta \) and \( aT + tan + thās. \) Note here that \( ta \) and \( thās \) (3.4.78 tiptasjhi . . . ) are marked with \( \hat{N} \) as an \( it \) on account of 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam \\( apit \) (3.4.113 tiṇīcī sārvadhātukam). Thus, we get \( atatah \) and \( atatāh. \)

2. Why do we have the condition of anudāttopadesa, etc.? Consider \( sāntah, sāntavān; tāntah, tāntavān; \) and \( dāntah, dāntavān \) where we do not get this deletion. Note that only four roots which end in \( m \), i.e., \( yam, ram, nam \) and \( gam \), are considered anudāttopadesa.

Why do we have the deletion of a nasal (anunāśika)? Consider \( pakvah \) ‘cooked, ripe’ and \( pakvavān \) ‘ibidem’ where we do not have any nasal. Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \( jhala? \) Consider \( gam + ya\hat{K} + te = gamyate ‘. . . is gone to’ \) and \( ram + ya\hat{K} + te = ramyate ‘. . . sports’ where, in the absence of a \( jhala \)-initial suffix we do not get the deletion of \( m. \)

Why the condition of \( kiṇī ‘. . . marked with \( K \) and \( \hat{N} \)? Consider \( (yam + t̄C) + sU = yantā \) where \( t̄C \) is not marked with \( K \) or \( \hat{N} \). Consequently, we do not get the deletion of \( m. \) We similarly get non-deletion of \( m \) in \( yantavyam, \) a derivate of \( yam \) with \( tavyaT. \)

Why do we have the condition of a nasal in \( upadesā? \) So that deletion of the nasal of \( yam, ram, nam, gam, han \) and \( man \) could be accomplished. So that this deletion does not apply in case of \( samU ‘to be tranquil’ of \( sāntah \) and \( sāntavān \) where \( samU \) is not marked with anudātta in \( upadesa. \) Incidentally, the penultimate lengthening in (\( samU + \hat{K}ta \) + sU→sāntah is accomplished by 6.4.15 anunāśikasya kvijjhaloh. Rule 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā blocks \( iT \) which was optionally made available (7.2.56 uditō vā) against 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyaṇḍa vālādeḥ.

6.4.38 वा ल्यापि

\[ vā \text{ lya}pi \]
\[ /vā \text{ φ lya}pi 7/1/\]
(āṅgasya #1 anudāttopadesavatitanottādīnām anunāśikalopah #37)
lyāpi parato' nudāttopadesa vanatitanotyādinām anunāsikaloṣṇa vā bhavati
The nasal of an āṅga, namely one which is marked with anudātta in upadesa, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by vanā to like' and tanU 'to extend', etc., is deleted by means of LOPA, only optionally, when affix LyāP follows.

Examples:

prayatya 'absolutive form of pra-yam'
prayamya 'ibidem'
pranatya 'absolute form of pra-ram'
pranamya 'ibidem'
pranatya 'absolutive form of pra-nam'
pranamya 'ibidem'
āgatya 'absolutive form of ā-gam'
āgamya 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the earlier provision optional when affix LyāP follows. Note that this option is fixed (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā). That is, an āṅga which ends in m goes through its deletion optionally (Kāś: makārāntānāṃ vikalpo bhavati). All others, i.e., those which end in n, go through deletion of their nasals obligatorily (nitya; Kāś: anyatra nityam eva lopaḥ). Thus pra-yam + (Ktvā→LyāP) = prayamya and pra-yam + (Ktvā→LyāP)→pra-ya(m→ϕ) + ya→pra-ya + tUK + ya = prayatya 'after having restrained'. We similarly get pra-(n→n) mya = pranamya, pranatya; ā(Ñ)-gamya = āgamya, āgatya, āhatya, etc., where, after the deletion of m or n, augment tUK is introduced to the short vowel. Consequently, we get two forms: one with the nasal and the other with nasal-deletion and tUK. Refer to prakṛtya and prahṛtya (appendix II:394) for additional derivational details.

6.4.39 न किचि दीर्घेच
na ktici dirghaś ca
/na ϕ ktici 7/1 dirghaḥ 1/1 ca ϕ/
in (āṅgasya #1 anudāttopadesavatitanotyādinām anunāsikaloṣṇa lopaḥ #37)
ktici parato' nudāttopadesādānām anunāsikaloṣṇa dirghaś ca na bhavati
The nasal of an āṅga which is marked with anudātta in upadesa, or ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by vanā and tanU, etc., is optionally not deleted by means of LOPA, nor is a short vowel of the āṅga replaced with its long counterpart, when affix KtiC follows.

Examples:

yantih 'restraint'
vantih 'liking'
tantih 'extension'
1. This rule does not allow nasal-deletion and lengthening to an an̄ga included within the specification of the earlier rule. That is, when affix KuI (3.3.174 ktiCau ca samjñāyām) follows it. Consider yantih, vantih and tantih where m and n of yam, van and tan are not deleted before KuI. We also do not get a long replacement for their short a. The m and n, of course, go through a replacement homogeneous with what follows (8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ). The negation of a long replacement by this rule is aimed against the positive provision of rule 6.4.15 anunāsikasya kvijjhaloh knīti).

6.4.40 गम: कृ

gamah kvau
/gamah 6/1 kvau 7/1/
(anāgasya #1 anunāsikalopah #37)
gamah kvau partato' nunāsikalopo bhavati
The nasal of an an̄ga, namely gam, is deleted by means of LOPA when affix KuI follows.

Examples:

an̄gagat ‘those who go to the country of the Aṅgas’
kalisingat ‘those who go to the country of the Kaliṅgas’
adhvagato harayah ‘the horses are gone on road’

1. A nasal also gets deleted when the an̄ga is followed by affix KuI. This rule begins deletion where the following affix does not begin with a sound denoted by jhal (ajhaladyartha ārambhāḥ). Thus, an̄gagat = an̄gān gacchanti and kalisingagat = kaliṅgān gacchanti and adhvagato harayah. Notice that we also get augment tUK in these examples.

A vārttika proposal is made to also include verbal roots gam, etc., to facilitate deletion of their nasal (vt: gamādinām iti vaktavyam ‘nasal-deletion of gam, etc., should also be stated’). This will account for sam-yam + KuIP = sanyat and pariyam + KuIP = pariitat, with tUK.

Yet another vārttika proposal is made for nasal-deletion of gam, etc., plus a replacement in ū for their a (vt: ū ca gamādinām iti vaktavyam). Thus, we will get agregūḥ = agre gacchanti ‘leader; he who goes ahead of everyone’, etc.

6.4.41 विद्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात्

vidvanor anunāsikasyāt
/vidvanoh 7/2 (itar. dv.) anunāsikasya 6/1 āt 1/1/
(anāgasya #10)
vīti-vāni ca prayaye parato' nunāsikāntasyaṅgasyākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an an̄ga which ends in a nasal (anunāsika) is replaced with ā when affixes vIT and van follow.
Examples:

\[\text{\textit{abjāh} 'born in water'; \textit{gojāh} 'born among cows'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ṛtajāh} 'born with excellent values'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ādrijāh} 'mountain-born'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kūpakhāh} 'those who dig water-wells'}\]
\[\text{\textit{agregā unnetṛnām} 'leader'}\]
\[\text{\textit{gosā indro nṛṣā asītyatra} 'bestower of cows . . .'}\]
\[\text{\textit{vijāvā} 'born'}\]
\[\text{\textit{agrejāvā} 'born earlier'}\]

1. This rule offers a replacement in ā for the nasal of an \textit{aṅga} which ends in a nasal and is followed by affixes \textit{uI} and \textit{van}. Refer to relevant derivational details under the appendix of rule 3.2.67 janasanakhana . . . (II:739–40). Thus we get \textit{apsu jāyate = abjāh}; \textit{goṣu jāyate = gojāh}, \textit{ṛteṣu jāyate = ṛtaijāh} and \textit{adṛṣu jāyate = adrijāh}, etc., where affix \textit{uI} goes through total deletion (\textit{sarvāpahārī-lopa}) and the \textit{n} of \textit{jan} is replaced with ā. The example derivatives are syntactically coordinated compounds (\textit{upapada-samāsa}). Other examples follow similar patterns where this rule replaces \textit{n} or \textit{m} with ā. Thus, we get \textit{kūpam khanaṭi = kūpakhāh} and \textit{agre gacchati = agregā, etc.} The \textit{s} of verbal root \textit{san} is replaced with \textit{s} (8.3.108 sanoter anah) after this rule replaces its \textit{n} with ā before affix \textit{uI}. Thus, we get \textit{goṣu sāyate = goṣā} and \textit{nṛṣu sāyate = nṛṣā} of \textit{gosā indro nṛṣā asi}. Derivatives such as \textit{vijāvā} and \textit{agrejāvā} derive parallel to \textit{vijāyate} and \textit{agre gacchati} with affix \textit{vanIp} (3.2.75 anyebhya’ ā ṛdṛśyante). Thus, \textit{vijā(n→ā) + van→vijāvan + sU→vijāvā}.

2. Why was the word \textit{anunāsika} used explicitly in this rule when the same could have been carried via \textit{anuvṛtti}? So that the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{anudāttopadesā}, etc., could be blocked from applying to this rule. Note that \textit{anunāsika} is associated with \textit{anudāttopadesā}, etc., in the earlier rule. Carrying one would have also required the \textit{anuvṛtti} of others. This rule thus offers a replacement in ā only to an \textit{anunāsika}.

Why was the replacement not given as \textit{aT}? We could have gotten desired forms with the application of 6.1.101 \textit{akah savarne dirghaḥ}. Thus, \textit{vi-jan + van→vija(n→ā) + van→vij(a + ā→ā) + van = vijāvan}. One should not worry that an application of 6.1.97 \textit{guṇe} will block the derivation of desired forms. One cannot argue here that \textit{Pañini} should have offered deletion of \textit{anunāsika} to avoid conflicts between the two applications of 6.1.101 \textit{akah savarne dirghaḥ} and 6.1.97 \textit{ato guṇe}. For, this would have created problems with the derivation of \textit{ghu(n→ā) + van(IP) = ghu + ā + van→ghvāvan}, as in \textit{ghvāvā}. Consequently, provision of a long replacement (\textit{dirgha-vidhāna}) alone is proper (Nyāsa ad Kās: krasve hi sati ‘ghuṇa ghūrane’ ity asmad vanịpi vihite ghvāvā iti na siddhyet. tato dirghasyaiva vidhānaṃ yuktiṃ).
6.4.42 जनसनखां सञ्ज्ञालो:

janasanakhanāṁ sañjhaloh
/jana-sana-khanam 6/3 (itar. dv.) sañ-jhaloh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(āṅgasya #1 jhali kniti #37 āt #41)
‘jana, sana, khana’ ity eteśām aṅgānāṁ sani jhalādau kniti jhalādau ca
pratyayā parata ākāra ādeo bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely janA ‘to be born’, sanA ‘to gain, bestow’, and khAnA ‘to dig’, is replaced with ā when a saN affix beginning with jhaL, or an affix beginning with jhaL and marked with K or Ń as an it, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jātaḥ ‘born’
jātavān ‘ibidem’
jātih ‘birth’
siṣāsati ‘he wishes to gain, or bestow’
sātah ‘gained, bestowed’
sātavān ‘ibidem’
sātiḥ ‘gaining, bestowing’
khātaḥ ‘dug’
khātavān ‘ibidem’
khaṭih ‘digging’

1. This rule offers a long replacement to the final nasal of an aṅga, namely jan, san and khan, when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by jhaL, namely saN, or any other additionally marked with K and Ń as an it, follows. Thus, we get jan + ṇta → ja(n → ā) + ta = jātaḥ, (jan + ṇtavatU) + sU = jātavān and (jan + ṇtiN) + sU = jātiḥ. Now consider siṣāsati, a third person singular present (LAT) indicative active form of the derived root siṣāsa, where affix saNis introduced after verbal root saN → san. Note that san + saN → sasan + saN will produce sisan + saN after doubling (dvitva; 6.1.1 ekāco dve prathamasya) and operations relative to abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaśaḥ). We will get siṣa(n → ā) + saN → sis(a + ā → ā) + saN → si(s → s) ā + sa = siṣāsa + LAT = siṣāsati, through n → ā, s → s (satva) and operations relative to LAT → tiP.

2. What will happen if jhaL is not brought here to qualify affix saN. This replacement in ā could be blocked from applying to desiderative derivates, for example, of jan, san and khan, jījānsati, sisanāsati and cikhanāsati, where 7.2.49 sanīvantardhabhārasja . . . offers an optional introduction of augment iT. These forms do not avail this replacement in ā because, subsequent to the introduction of iT, the condition of a following jhaL-initial affix (jhalādi-pratyaya) cannot be met. Thus, sisan + iT + saN → sisanāsa + LAT → sisanāsati.

3. Note that affix saNis used here only on account of verbal root san. For, this verb alone could get an optional augment iT. One can get a jhaL-initial
affix, i.e., saN, after verbal root san only when the option of iṭ is not accepted. This, in turn, will facilitate the āṅga-final n with ā. Why can we not delete the n of verbal root san before affix saN by the application of 6.4.37 anudāṭtopadesa...? A conflict of equal strength (vipratisedha) arises since enumeration of tanoti, etc., by 6.4.37 also includes verbal root san. That is why, operations relative to tan, particularly of rules such as 3.1.79 tanādikṛtibhyah uḥ and 2.4.79 tanādikhyas tathāsoḥ, apply to san. In fact, this establishes the independent scope of verbal root san. Here, in case of replacement in ā, we get both n-deletion and ātva applicable. We get ā on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent order of enumeration’.

Since pūrva ‘prior’ and para ‘subsequent’ rules both are asiddha ‘suspended’ in this section of ābhīya, one cannot invoke vipratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength’ here. But Pāṇini anticipates vipratisedha also in this section of ābhīya rules. It is to indicate this that he includes halī in the wording of rule 6.4.66 ghumāṣṭāgāpajahāṭisāṁ halī. This enables the replacement in ā (ītva) to apply only when a consonant-initial (halādi) affix follows. That is, it does not apply in godah ‘cow-giver’ and kambaladah ‘blanket-giver’ where a vowel-initial affix, namely Ka, follows. If Pāṇini had not anticipated vipratisedha as operative in this section of ābhīya, he did not have to include halī in the wording of 6.4.66 ghumāṣṭāḥ... For, ā-deletion of 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca would then have been blocked by ī-replacement (ītva) of 6.4.66 ghumāṣṭāḥ... on the basis of paratva. This is why godah and kambaladah go through deletion of ā (of dā), as per 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca.

6.4.43 ये विभाषा

ye vibhāṣā
ye 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #37 āt #41 janasanakhanām #42)
yakāraṇāu kniti pratraye parato janasanakhanām ākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an āṅga, namely jan, san, and khan, is optionally replaced with ā when an affix beginning with y and marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:
jāyate/janyate... comes into existence; optional LAT-derivatives of jan with yaK denoting bhāva'
jājāyate/janjanyate 'optional LAT-derivatives of jaN ending in affix yaN'
sāyate/sanyate 'optional LAT-derivatives of saN with yaK denoting bhāva or karman'
sāsāyate/samsanyate 'optional LAT-derivatives of san ending in affix yaN'
khāyate/khanyate 'optional LAT-derivatives of khan with yaK denoting karman'
cākhāyate/caṅkhanyate 'optional LAT-derivatives of khan with affix yaN'
1. This rule makes an optional replacement in ā for the final nasal of jan, san and khan when a y-initial affix marked with K or N as an it follows. Consider (jan + yaK + (LAT→te)) with optional forms: janyate (with no replacement in ā) and jañyate. We similarly get jājāyate and jañjanyate, from (jan + yaN) + (LAT→ta→te), where, in jājāyate, we get a replacement in ā (jaja(n→ā)). Doubling and operations relative to abhyāsa, especially lengthening of the abhyāsa (j(a→ā) jā . . .; 7.4.83 dīrgho kītaḥ), finally produce jājāyate. When the option of ā is not accepted, the abhyāsa is introduced with augment nUM (7.4.85 nụgatō nunāsikasya). Thus, ja + nUM + jan = janjan.

An application of anusvāra, followed by parasavarna ‘replacement homogeneous with what follows’, will produce: ja(n→m→n) jan = jañjan + ya + te = jañjanyate. We will similarly get sāyate and sanyate, with yaK and LAT→te, where LAT may denote bhāva ‘root-sence’ or karman ‘object’. The long replacement of the abhyāsa will again be accomplished by 7.4.83 dīrgho kītaḥ. This same also applies to sāsāyate which is an optional derivate of san + yaN, used with LAT→ta→te. We will get samsanyate, with nUM and anusvāra, when the option of replacing n with ā is not accepted. Derivates such as khāyate/khanyate; cākhāyate/cānkhanyate follow similar derivational patterns where ā-replacement, homogeneous long replacement (savarna-dīrgha); doubling, operations relative to abhyāsa, long vowel replacement for the short of an abhyāsa, nUM and parasavarna apply as may be the case. Note here that jā replaces jan, obligatorily, when ŚyaN is introduced (1.3.57 jñājanor jā).

6.4.44 तनोतेर्थिक

tanoter yaki
/tanoteh 6/1 yaki 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 āt #41 vibhāṣā #43)
tanoter yaki paraṭo vibhāṣa ākārādeso bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely tan ‘to extend’, is replaced with ā when affix yaK follows.

EXAMPLES:

tāyate ‘LAT-derivate of tan with yaK denoting object’
tanyate ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers ā to replace the final n of tan when yaK follows. Thus, we get tāyate and tanyate. A derivate with yaN, as against yaK, will thus not involve this replacement in ā. We will, therefore, get: tantaranyate.

6.4.45 सन: फिचि लोपच्छायतरस्याम्

sanah ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām
/sanah 6/1 ktici 7/1 lopaḥ #1 caḥ anyatarasyām 7/1
(aṅgasya #1 āt #41)
sanoter aṅgasya ktcī prayāye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati lopaś cānyatarasyām
The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely san ‘to gain, donate’ is
replaced with ā, or is optionally deleted by means of LOPA, when affix
Ktcī follows.

EXAMPLES:

sāṭiḥ ‘gain’
saṭiḥ ‘ibidem’
saṭiḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional ā, against an optional deletion of n of san,
when affix Ktcī follows. Thus, since both ā and deletion are optional, we get
three forms: sāṭiḥ (with ā), saṭiḥ (with n-deletion) and saṇṭiḥ (with no ā and
n-deletion).

2. Since we have an express mention of Ktcī in this rule, one may be
confused about the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā. For, vibhāṣā is used under the condition
of an affix which began with ū. This rule introduces a new condition of
ktcī. So that there is no confusion about the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā, especially
because of the use of Ktcī, this rule uses anyatarasyām ‘optionally’ (Kāś:
anyatarasyām grahāṇaṁ vispaṭārtham).

6.4.46 आर्धधातुके

ārdhadhātuke
/ārdhadhātuke 7/1/
‘ārdhadhātuKE ity ahikāraḥ; ‘na lyaṇī iti prāg etasmād yad ita ārdhvaṁ
anukramisyāmah ‘ārdhadhātuKE ity evaṁ tad veditavyam
When an affix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukaṁ śeṣaḥ) fol-

1. This is an adhikāra ‘governing rule’. The word ārdhadhātuKE is thus to
be read with all rules enumerated prior to 6.4.69 na lyaṇi. Consider the fol-

Examples:

cikisoner ‘he who wishes to do (with affix trC)’
bhūtool ‘he who wishes to repeatedly break (yaN + trC)’
karaṇā ‘instigation; (kāri + (yuC→ana) + ṬāP))’
haraṇā ‘to have carried away; (hāri + (yuC→ana) + ṬāP))’
yānti ‘they go’
diyate ‘. . . is given’
seinai ‘third singular active LIN-derivate of snā ‘to bathe’
kāriṣṭa ‘third singular middle LIN-derivate of kṛN’
hariṣṭa ‘third singular middle LIN-derivate of hṛN’
(i) 6.4.48 *ato lopah* 'the final *a* of an *aṅga* goes through deletion by LOPA when an affix termed *ārdhadhatuka* follows’

We thus get *(cikīrṣa + tṛC) + sU = cikīrṣitā* and *(jihīrṣa + tṛC) + sU = jihīrṣitā*, where verbal root *cikīrṣa* is derived with *saN* (appendix, II:435). The *a* of *cikīrṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* under the express condition of *ārdhadhatuke*. Note that, given bh(ū→o→av) + SaP + ti = bhava + ti, we cannot delete the final *a* of *bhava* because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhatuka* affix. It is termed *sārvadhātuka*, instead.

This counter-example to the condition of *ārdhadhatuke* is, however, questioned. It is argued that we do not need this counter-example to show how deletion of *SaP* is not accomplished. We already have 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah śapah* as an indicator that, elsewhere, deletion of *SaP* is not accomplished. But 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah śapah* is not intended to do this. It is formulated to negate operations characteristic of affixes when those affixes get deleted (*Kāś: adiprabhṛtibhyah sapo lugvacanam pratyayalopalaksanaprativedhārtham syād ity etan na jñāpakah śapo lopabhāvasya*).

(ii) 6.4.49 *yasya halah* 'the *a* which occurs after a consonant goes through deletion, via LOPA, when an affix termed *ārdhadhatuka* follows’

Consider *bebhiditā, bebhiditum* and *bebhiditavyam* where the root derives as *bhid + yaN→bebhidya*, through doubling and operations relative to *abhyaśa*. We subsequently derive *bebhidya + tṛC= bebhiditṛ, bebhidya + tumUN→bebhiditum* and *bebhidya + tavyaT→bebhiditavya*, with augment *iT* and deletion of *ya*. Note that *tṛC, tumUN* and *tavyaT* are all termed *ārdhadhatuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhatukam śeṣah*). Now consider *bebhidya + (LAT→ta→te)→bebhidya + SaP + te = bebhidyate*, where, since *te* is not an *ārdhadhatuka*, we do not get *ya-deletion*.

Note that 6.4.47 *yasya halah* applies to delete *ya*, a sequence of *y* and *a*. Some argue here that *halah* of 6.4.49 *yasya halah* is specified with *pañcamī* ‘ablative’. Consequently, 1.1.54 *ādeh parasya* facilitates only the deletion of *y*. The *a* of *ya* is then deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*.

(iii) 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* ‘*Ni* goes through deletion via LOPA, when an *ārdhadhatuka* affix with no augment *iT* as its initial follows’

Consider *kāri + (yu(C)→ana)→kāri(i→ā) + a(n→n)a = kārana + TāP = kārāṇa* and *(hāri + yuC) + TāP = hārāṇa* where deletion of the causal suffix *NiC* is accomplished under the condition of the *ārdhadhatuka* affix *yuC* (3.3.107 *nyāsāśrāntho yuc*). Why the condition of *ārdhadhatuke?* Consider *kāri + SaP + (LA→tiP) = kārayati* and *hārayati*, where deletion of *NiC* must be blocked because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhatuka* affix.
(iv) 6.4.64 āto lopa iti ca ‘an aṅga-final ā goes through deletion via LOPA when an iṬ or a vowel-initial affix marked with K or N as an it follows’

Consider yayatuḥ and yayuh, the third personal dual and plural perfect (LIṬ) forms of yā and vā, which derive from ya + yā + atus and va + vā + atus through doubling and operations relative to abhyāsa. Note that ā of yayā and vavā goes through deletion via LOPA before the ārdhadhātuka affixes atus and us (3.4.82 parasmatīpādānām . . .). This ā-deletion cannot be accomplished in yā + (ŚaP→LUK) + (jhi→anti) = yānti and vānti because ti is an affix termed sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tīnātī sārvadhātukam).

(v) 6.4.66 ghumāsthāgāpajahātīsām hali ‘a replacement in i (itva) applies to an aṅga which is either termed a ghu (1.1.20 dādhāghv adāp), or is constituted by mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti and sā, provided a consonant-initial affix marked with K or N as an it follows’

Consider d(ā→i) + yāK + (LIṬ→ta→te) = diyate and dhīyate where yāK is an affix termed ārdhadhātuka. Why the condition of ārdhadhātuke? Consider adātām and adhātām, third personal active immediate past (LUŅ) dual forms of dā and dhā, where, given aT + dā + (sIC→ϕ) + (LUŅ→tas→tām) and aT + dhā + (sIC→ϕ) + LUŅ→tas→tām, we do not get i since, after the deletion of sIC (2.4.77 gātisthāghupābhābhyyah sicah . . .), what follows the aṅga is an affix termed sārvadhātuka.

(vi) 6.4.68 vā’ nyasya samyogādeḥ ‘a non-ghu verbal root which begins with a conjunct and ends in ā receives a replacement in e (etva), optionally, when a LIŅ-replacement termed ārdhadhātuka follows’

Consider snā + yāsUT + (LIŅ→ti)→sn(a→e) + yās + t(i→ϕ) = sne + yā(s→ϕ) + t = sneyāt where augment yāsUT is treated as part of the affix (PŚ12): yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahanam gṛhyante). The term ārdhadhātuka, in this case, is assigned by 3.4.116 līnāśiṣī. We thus get sneyāt and snāyāt where s of yāsUT gets deleted by 8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor ante ca. One can also consider snāyāt as a counter-example where, since it is not a benefactive (aśiḥ) form of LIŅ, the affix cannot be termed ārdhadhātuka. This replacement in e thus does not apply in case of a non-benefactive derivate of LIŅ.

(vii) 6.4.62 syasicsīyuṭāsiṣu bhāvavakaranor upadeṣe . . . ‘operations similar to CīN (cīṇadvāhāva), an iṬ in addition, apply optionally to an aṅga which, in upadeśa, ends in a vowel, or else, is constituted by han, grah and drī, provided affixes saya, sIC, siyUT and tās follow with the scope of bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’

Consider kr+ (LIŅ→ta) and hr+ (LIŅ→ta) which produce kr+ siyUT + sUT + iṬ + ta→hāriṣṭiṣa and hr+ siyUT + sUT + iṬ + ta→hāriṣṭiṣa with the application of cīṇadvāhāva. These forms in-
volve *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* with a following *ṛ* (*raṣṭra*), deletion of *ṛ* (*yayogha*), replacements in *ṣ* (*ṣāvāṇa*) and *ṭ* (*ṣṭāvāṇa*). Now consider *kriyēt* and *kriyēt*, the two benedictive forms of *kṛ* and *ḥṛ*, where, in the absence of a following *ārdhadhātuka* affix, *cinvadadhāva* cannot be applied. An application of *cinvadadhāva*, based upon the *aṅga* ending in a vowel on account of *ya*K, would end in *a* through *vṛddhi*. Given *kriyā* + *ṛy + ta*, *guna* and *yUK* would both become applicable. Augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk caṅkṛtoḥ*), since operations relative to an *aṅga* are more powerful, would have blocked *guna*. This would have yielded a wrong form. Thus, the condition of *ārdhadhātuka* becomes necessary.

A *ślokavārttika* of the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerates seven purposes served by the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*: (i) *a-lopa* ‘deletion of *a’’, (ii) *ya-lopa* ‘deletion of *ya’’, (iii) *ni-lopa* ‘deletion of *Ni’’, (iv) *ā-lopa* ‘deletion of *ā’’, (v) *itva* ‘replacement in *i’’, (vi) *etva* ‘replacement in *e’ and (vii) *cinvadadhāva*, when *sīyūṭi* follows:  

*āto lopa ya-lopaś ca ni-lopaś ca prayojanam/
ālopa itvam evam ca cinvadadhāvasa ca sīyuṭī/  

6.4.47 **भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमण्यतरस्यायम्**

*bhrasjō ropadhayo ram anyatarasyāṃ*

/bhrasjah 6/1 ropadhayoḥ 6/2 = repaś ca upadḥā ca = ropadhe (itar. dv.),
tayoh; ram 1/1 anyatarasyāṃ 7/1/
bhrasjō reprehasyopadhāyāś ca ram anyatarasyāṃ bhavati

Augment *rAM* is optionally introduced in place of the sequence of *ṛ*, plus next to the last sound segment of an *aṅga* namely *bhrasj* ‘to roast’, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

**Examples:**

*braṣṭā* ‘nominative singular of *bhrasj + trC’*

*bhrasṭā* ‘ibidem’

*bhrasṭum ‘... for roasting; (bhrasj + tumUN)’*

*bhrasṭum ‘ibidem’

*bhrasṭavṛyam ‘ought to roast; bhrasj + tavyaT’*

*bhrasṭavṛyam ‘ibidem’

1. This rule introduces augment *rAM* after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco* *nyāt parah*) of *bh* - *ṣj*, in place of its *ṛ* (*repha*) and penultimate *s* (*upadhā*). Note that *rAM*, since it is marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*), is to be introduced after the *a* of *bhrasj*. But this will create problems since the *r* of *bhrasj* will still be there. There are two operaions involved here: (i) deletion of *repha* (*r*) and deletion of *upadhā* (*s*); and (ii) introduction of *rAM*. These two opera-
tions can both not be applied concurrently. It is therefore recommended that deletion of \( r \) and \( s \) be applied first. Introduction of \( rAM \) then follows. Thus, \( bh(r) a(s) j + trC \rightarrow bha(rAM) j + trC \rightarrow bhar\ṣṭā, \) through applications of \( .satva \ (j \rightarrow s; 8.2.36 \ vraś ca bhrasj \ldots) \) and \( štutva \ (t \rightarrow t; 8.4.41 \ štunā ġtuh). \) We will get \( bh\ṛṣṭā \) if the option of \( rAM \) is not accepted. The \( s \) of \( bhrasj \) will then be deleted by 8.2.29 \( skoḥ samyogādyoh. \) Operations such as \( .satva \) and \( štutva \) will still apply. They will also apply in deriving the \( tavyaT \) forms \( bhar\ṣṭaryam \) (with \( rAM \)) and \( bhr\ṣṭaryam. \) The \( s \) of \( (bhrasj + (LYUT\rightarrow ana)) \rightarrow bhrasj + ana \) will be replaced with \( d \) (8.4.52 \( jhalām jaś jhasi \)). This \( d \) will be further replaced with \( j \) through \( štutva \ (8.4.41 \ stōs cunā ġcuḥ). \) Thus, \( (bhra(s \rightarrow d \rightarrow j) j + ana) + sU \rightarrow bhrajjanam. \) A form with \( rAM \) will be \( bhar\ṣṭanam. \)

2. Note that the condition of \( upadeśa \) is still valid. Thus, we do not get \( rAM \) in deriving \( baribhṛyyate, \) third singular middle intensive (\( yaN \)) of \( bhrasj, \) where 4.7.90 \( rīg ṅūpādhasya ca \) introduces augment \( riK. \)

6.4.48 **अतो लोपः**

\[ \text{ato lopah} \]
\[ / \text{atal 6/1 lopah 1/1} \]
\[ (āṅgasya \#1 ārdhadhātuke \#46) \]
\[ akārāntasya ārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati \]

The final sound segment of an \( āṅga \) which ends in \( a \) is deleted by means of \( LOPA \) when an affix termed \( ārdhadhātuke \) follows.

**Examples:**

- \( \text{cikirṣitā \ldots \text{wishes to do; } trC\text{-derivative of } cikirṣa} \)
- \( \text{cikirṣitum \text{ } tumUN\text{-derivative of } cikirṣa} \)
- \( \text{cikirṣitavyam \text{ } tavyaT\text{-derivative of } cikirṣa} \)
- \( \text{dhinutah \text{ } third dual active } LAT\text{-derivative of } dhiul \text{ } \text{‘to please’} \)
- \( \text{krṇutah \text{ } third dual active } LAT\text{-derivative of } krul \text{ } \text{‘to harm, to do’} \)

1. This rule offers deletion of the final \( a \) (1.1.52 \( alo \text{ } ntyasya \)) of an \( āṅga \) which ends in \( a. \) Refer to derivational details of \( cikirṣitā, \) etc., under 6.4.46 ārdhadhātuke. The third person dual present (\( LAT \)) indicative active forms of \( dhiul \) and \( krul, \) i.e., \( dhinutah \) and \( krṇutah, \) involve the introduction of augment \( NUM \) (7.1.58 \( idito num dhātoh \)). Affix \( u, \) with concurrent replacement of \( v \) with \( \sigma, \) is introduced in consonance with 3.1.8 \( dhinvikṛtyyor a ca. \) Thus, \( dhiu + (LAT\rightarrow tas) dhi + num u + (v \rightarrow a) + tas \rightarrow dhiu + u + a + tas \) and \( krṇ + u + a + tas. \) This \( a \) is, however, deleted by our present rule. An application of \( s \rightarrow ruU \rightarrow h \) (\( rutva-visarga \)) finally produces \( dhinutah \) and \( krṇutah. \) Refer to the appendix (III:726) for derivational details of the singular forms \( dhinoti \) and \( krṇoti. \) Since they can be derived with \( guṇa \) of \( u \) and single replacement in \( o \) (6.1.97 \( \text{ato guṇe, } dhiu + (u \rightarrow o) + a + ti \rightarrow dhiu + (o + a \rightarrow o) + ti \)), this rule does not offer them as examples.
2. Why deletion of a? Consider cetā and stotā (appendix, II: 328–29) where, since there is no a, this deletion does not apply. Why this deletion applies only to a short a(aT; taparakaśara)? Consider yātā and vātā where the long ā does not go through deletion. Why the condition of ārdhadhātuke? Consider vrksatavam and vrksatā where no deletion of short a can be accomplished. For, the anga is followed by affixes which fall outside the scope of ārdhadhātuke.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to apply a-deletion prior to the application of vrddhi and long-replacement (dirgha). Consider cikirṣa + (Nyūl→aka) where deletion of a and vrddhi (7.2.115 aco’ nīnī) both become applicable. Deletion of a blocks vrddhi on the basis of pūrva-vipratisedha ‘conflict between rules of equal strength where the rule which precedes in order wins’. Once this deletion applies condition of the application of vrddhi is removed. This same happens in case of jihirṣakah (appendix, II: 406–7). A similar conflict between this deletion of a and long replacement is witnessed in deriving cikirṣa + yaK + (ta→te)→cikirṣyate and jihirṣa + yaK + te = jihirṣyate. The long replacement of 7.4.25 akṛtsārdhadhātukayor dīrghah is blocked by deletion of a. Here again the condition of dīrgha is removed by deletion of a.

6.4.49 यस्य हैल:

yasya halah
/yasya 6/1 halah 5/1/

(angasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 lopah #48)
halā uttarasya yaśabdasyārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati

A ya which occurs after a consonant in an anga is deleted by means of LOPA when an affix termed ārdhadhātuka follows.

Examples:

bebhiditā ‘nominative singular of bhid ‘to split’ ending in affix trC’
bebhiditum ‘derivate of bhid ending in tumUN’
bebhiditavayam ‘derivate of bhid + tavyaT’

1. This rule offers deletion of ya (cf. yasya) when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows. Of course, when ya occurs after a consonant. Refer to my notes under 6.4.46 ārdhadhātuke for illustrations. Note, however, that a sequence of y followed by a becomes the focus of this deletion. This rule does not accomplish deletion of a final a in consonance with 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya. Rule 6.4.48 ato lopah is already to do that. I have already indicated that some do not accept deletion of ya. They would rather delete y with this rule in consonance with the ablative (pañcamī; 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya) of halah. They will of course resort to deletion of a by 6.4.48 ato lopah.

2. Why is this specification made with the sequence ya? Consider śrīy + iṬ + trC→iśrīyitā and māṣy + iṬ + trC→māṣyitā where, because of ya alone, this rule does not apply. Why the condition of halah ‘occurring after a conso-
nant? Consider *lolūya + iṬ + trC and *popūya + iṬ + trC where *lolūya and *popūya are roots derived with yāN. This rule cannot apply here to delete yā because yā does not occur after a consonant. Consequently, a-deletion alone applies.

6.4.50 क्यस्य विभाषा


tyasya vibhāṣā
tyasya vibhāṣā 1/1/
(ārdhadhātuke #46 lopah #48 halah #49)
tyasya hala uttarasya vibhāṣā lopo bhavati ārdhadhātuke

A Kya which occurs after a consonant in an aṅga is optionally deleted by means of LOPA when an affix termed ārdhadhātuka follows.

Examples:

samidhitā ‘trC-derivate of sam-idh + KyaN’
samidhyitā ‘ibidem’
dṛṣaditā ‘trC-derivate of dṛṣad + KyaN’
dṛṣadyitā ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional deletion to yā of Kya. All other conditions remain the same. Note that Kya here refers to affixes KyaC (3.1.8 supa ātmanah kyac) and KyaN (3.11.11 kartaḥ kyān salopaś ca) both. Consider samidh + KyaC + iṬ + trC → samidh + (yā→φ) + iṬ + trC = samidhitṛ + sU→samidhitā. We similarly get dṛṣad + yā + iṬ + KyaN + trC → dṛṣaditṛ + sU = dṛṣaditā. Forms with no optional deletion of yā will be: samidhyitā and dṛṣadyitā. This rule is necessary so that both forms could be accounted for. Our previous rule offers deletion obligatorily (nitya).

6.4.51 जोरिनिति

/nēr anīti
/nēh 6/1 anīti 7/1 = na it yasya = anīt (bu.), tamsin/
(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 lopah #48)
anidādāv ārdhadhātuke ner lopo bhavati

Affix Ni of an aṅga is deleted by means of LOPA when an ārdhadhātuka affix, not conjoined with iṬ at its beginning, follows.

Examples:
atataksat ‘third singular active causal LUN of taks’
ararakṣat ‘third singular active causal LUN of raks’
āṭitāt ‘third singular causal active LUN of aṭ
āśisat ‘third singular active causal LUN of aś
kāraṇā ‘derivate of (kṛ + ṇiC + yuC) + TāP’
hāraṇā ‘derivate of (hṛ + ṇiC + yuC) + TāP
kārakah ‘doer’
hārakah ‘he who carries’
kāryate ‘that which is fetched’
hāryate ‘that which is carried’
jñīpsati ‘wishes to know’

1. This rule offers deletion of NiC as an exception to iyAŅ, yaN, guṇa, vṛddhi and dirgha ‘long replacement’ (Kāś: iyanyangunaṇavṛddhidirghāṇām apavādāh). Since their application will render this deletion of Ni without any scope of application (anavakāśa), it is accepted as an exception (apavāda) to them (PM ad Kāś: iyaṇādibhiḥ sarvasya viśayasyāvastabdhatvād anavakāśo’ yaṁ vijñāyate).

Consider ata + lakṣ + i + a + ti = atatakṣat ‘he planed the wood’ and ara + rakṣ + i + a + ti = ararakṣat ‘he protected’, where iyAŅ and deletion both become applicable to i of NiC. This deletion blocks iyAŅ, by way of being an exception. It also blocks the application of yaN (6.4.82 er anekāco ...) in āti + ti + ati = ātiṭat and āsti + śi + a + ti = āśiṭat. An applicable of guṇa is blocked in favor of this deletion, also when kāraṇa and hāraṇa are derived from (kāri + yuC→ana) + TāP and (hāri + (yuC→ana) + TāP, respectively. Derivates such as kāraṇae–kāri + ṇuvL and hāraṇae–hāri + ṇuvL illustrate how vṛddhi is blocked by deletion. A blocking of dirgha ‘long replacement’ (7.4.25 akṛtśarvaṁ-dhātu-kayor ...) by deletion is illustrated by kāri + ya + ta→kāryate and hāri + yaK + ta→hāryate. A long replacement (6.4.16 aḷjhanagamāṁ ...) is again blocked by deletion in deriving jñīpsati.

Refer to derivational details of these examples in the appendix. Note also that (kāri + iT + trC) sU→kārayita ‘he who will have it done’ (hāri + iT + trC) sU→hārayita ‘he who will have it carried’ do not involve deletion of NiC. They must go through guṇa and ay of i since iT precedes trC.

6.4.52 निष्ठायां सेषि

niṣṭhāyāṁ seṣi
/ niṣṭhāyām 7/1 seṣi 7/1 = िता saha = seṣ (bu.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #1 lopaḥ #48 neḥ #51)
niṣṭhāyāṁ seṣi parato ner lopo bhavati

Affix Ni of an aṅga is deleted by means of LOPA when an affix termed niṣṭhā conjoined with iT follows.

Examples:

kāritam ‘that which was arranged to be done’
hāritam ‘that which was arranged to be carried’
ganitam ‘that which was counted’
lakṣitam ‘that which was marked’

1. This rule allows deletion of Ni when a niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktvakτavitU niṣṭhā)
suffix augmented with $iT$ follows. Thus, we get $kāri + iT + Kta→kārita$ and 
$hāri + iT + Kta→hārita$, $gāni + Kta→gānita$ and $lakṣi + Kta→lakṣita$.

2. Kāśīkā offers samjñapitah paśuh as a counter-example for the condition of seṭī. That is, samjñapita does not go through deletion of NiC since its Kta is not augmented with $iT$. Actually, an $iT$ is optionally introduced after jñap (7.2.49 sanāvantardhahprasj . . .). But this optional $iT$ is negated before a niṣṭhā suffix (7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā). If $iT$ is negated based on the followig niṣṭhā then why can anīṭi of the earlier rule not accomplish Ni-deletion? This is not possible since our present rule expressly mentions niṣṭhāyām seṭī. If this deletion could be made possible by the earlier rule then why state this rule. Note that the Mahābhāṣya refutes this sūtra. I choose not to discuss this any further.

Questions have also been raised against adding the word seṭī to this rule. Many consider it unnecessary. Some state that seṭī is added to determine operational timing (kālāvadhāraṇa). That is, deletion of Ni must follow introduction of $iT$.

6.4.53 जनिता मन्त्रे

janitā mantre
/janitā 1/1 mantre 7/1/
(aṅgasya #48 lopah #48 neḥ #51)
janiteti mantraviṣaye īḍādau nilopo nipātyate

The word janitā, in the mantra, is derived with deletion of Ni via nipātana.

Examples:

yo nāḥ piṭā jāniṭā ‘he who is our father the progenitor’

1. This rule derives janitā, via nipātana, when the usages is mantra. Thus, given (jan + NiC) = (jān + i + iT + tr) + sU, we get janitā in the mantra and janayitā in the classical usage. Recall that 6.4.51 ner anīṭi allows Ni-deletion only when an ārdhādhatuka not augmented with $iT$ follows. This nipātana allows deletion even when an ārdhādhatuka augmented by $iT$ follows. The vrddhi-vowel ā of jāni goes through shortening on the basis of mit (Dhātupātha: janijṛṣknasuraṇjo’ mantās ča). The shortening is accomplished on the basis of its listing in the mitādi (mit) group (6.4.92 mitāṁ hrasvah).

6.4.54 शामिता यज्जनेः

śamitā yajñe
/śamitā 1/1 yajñe 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 lopah #48 neḥ #51)
yajñakaramani śamiteti īḍādau trci nilopo nipātyate

The word śamitā, in ritual sacrifices (yajñakarmanī), is derived with deletion of Ni via nipātana.
Examples:

śṛtām haviḥ = śamitaḥ 'vocative singular of śam + NiC + īT + trC'

1. This rule offers śamitaḥ, again via nipātana, when the context is sacrificial offering (yajña-karma). Our example śamitaḥ is an address (sambuddhi) form in the singular. Thus, (śam + NiC + īT + trC) sU produces śamitaḥ. The sU is deleted by 6.1.68 halīyābbhyo. . . . The r of trC goes through guṇa (ṛto . . .) and its resultant r goes through replacement in visarga. This all is accomplished after deletion of NiC.

6.4.55 अयामन्ताल्वाव्येत्नविष्णु

aṭāmantālāvāvyaṇeviṣṇu
/ āy 1/1 ām-anta-ālu-āyya-itnu-iṣnu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 neḥ #51)

'ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu, iṣnu' ity eteṣu pariṇo ne ye ay ādeśo bhavati
The Ni of an aṅga is replaced with ay when ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu and iṣnu combine to follow.

Examples:

kārayāṇcakāra ‘. . . had it made’
harayāṇcakāra ‘. . . had it carried’
maṇḍayaṁtaḥ ‘ornamentation’
sprhayaḻuḥ ‘desirous, compassionate’
grhayāḻuḥ ‘householder’
sprhayaṭyāḥ ‘desirous’
grhayāṭyāḥ ‘householder’
stanayitnuḥ ‘thunder’
poṣayiṣṇavah ‘desirous of nourishing’
pṛayiṣṇavah ‘desirous of going across’

1. This rule is an exception to Ni-deletion of 6.4.51 neṛ anitā. It allows ay to replace Ni when ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu and iṣnu follow. Refer to derivational details of examples in the appendix (III: 717–18).

2. Why was this rule not formulated as na, to simply negate the deletion of Ni? This provision of non-deletion would have eventually resulted into a replacement in ay, via guṇa of Ni. This would also have proved more economical. Commentators note that a replacement in ay is intended more for subsequent rules (Kāśi: ‘na’ iti vaktavye ayādēṣavacanam uttarārtham).

6.4.56 व्यपि लघुपुर्ववांत्

laṭāpi laghupūrvāt
/laṭāpi 7/1 laghupūrvāt 5/1 = laghuḥ pūrvo yasmāt (bv.), tasmāt/
(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 neḥ #51 ay #55)
lyapi parato laghupūrvād varnād uttarasya ṛer aya ādeso bhavati
A Ni, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed
laghu 'short', is replaced with aya, provided an affix termed ārdhadhātuka,
namely Lyap, follows.

Examples:

pranamayya ‘having caused to bow down’
pratamayya ‘having caused to fall down’
pradamayya ‘having caused to restrain’
praśamayya ‘having caused to quest down’
sandamayya (gataḥ) ‘having constrained he went’

1. This rule allows aya to replace Ni, when Lyap follows Ni, and what precedes Ni is preceded by a vowel termed laghu. Thus, Consider pra + nam + NiC + Lyap → pranamayya, etc., where a laghu vowel, i.e., a, precedes m occurring before NiC. The Lyap, of course, is a replacement of Ktvā, used after a verbal root signifying prior action (pūrvakāla; 7.1.37 samāse naṁpūrve . . .). Recall that praśami → praśami, etc., entail shortening of 6.4.92 mitām hasvah.

Note also that prabebhidayya, etc., are derivates of Lyap introduced after a NiC-derivate of bhid, etc., ending in yaN, used with the preverb pra. Thus, pra + bhid + yaN → pra + bh + bhid + yaN → pra + bi + bhid + yaN → (pra + be + bhid + yaN) + NiC. The ya of yaN, however, gets deleted by 6.4.49 yasya halah. This same also applies to other examples. The curādi verbal root gana is enumerated as ending in a. This a goes through deletion as a result of being an i. The urddhi in praganayya is blocked via sthānivadbhāva.

2. Note that shortening (hasvah) of pranāmi, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.92 mitām hasvah. This rule accomplishes a replacement in aya. These two operations both are contained within the domain of 6.4.22 asiddhavād atrābha. Why can we not accept hasvah, which enables m to be preceded by the laghu vowel a, as asiddha? Commentators state that such operations, i.e., hasvah ‘shortening’, yalopa ‘deletion of ya’, allopā ‘deletion of a’ cannot be accepted as asiddha since they do not share similar operational loci (samānāsraya) with, for example, this replacement in aya. That is, hasvah, etc., are conditioned by Ni and aya in place of Ni is conditioned by Lyap. Thus, shortening, etc., do not become a asiddha ‘suspended’.

3. The condition of laghupūrvāt is imposed so that we do get aya as a replacement of Ni of prapātya gataḥ. Notice that t of prapāti is not preceded by a laghu vowel.

6.4.57 विभाषार्थः:

vibhāṣā "pah
/vibhāṣā 1/1 āpah 5/1/
(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 ne#51 aya #55 lyap #56)
āpa uttarasya nera byapi parato vibhāsav yādeśo bhavati
A replacement in ay comes optionally in place of affix Ni when Ni occurs after āp and affix LyaP follows.

EXAMPLES:

prāpayya gataḥ 'having caused to obtain he went'
prāpya gataḥ 'having obtained he went'

1. This rule offers optional ay as a replacement for Ni, when Ni occurs after āp and is followed by LyaP. Note that āp refers here to āpI, ‘to attain’ (cur-ādi) and āpI, ‘to pervade’ (sv-ādi), both.

6.4.58 युप्लुवोदार्थ्यवर्णदर्श
yuplauva dirghaś chandasi
/yu-plauva 6/2 (itar. du.) dirghaś 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgaśya #1 byapi #56)
‘yu, plu’ ity etayor byapi parataś chandasi viśaye dirgho bhavati
The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely verbal roots yū ‘to mix’ and plu ‘to float’, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix LyaP follows.

EXAMPLES:

dāntyānupūrvaṃ viyūyā
yatā yo daksinaḥ pariplūya

1. Note that this rule covers Vedic derivates. Elsewhere, we will get samyutya and āплuta with no long replacements. Note that augment tUK (6.1.71 hrasvasya piti . . .) will be introduced in the absence of this long replacement.

6.4.59 ख्रियः

kṣiyah
/kṣiyah 6/1/
(aṅgaśya #1 byapi #56 dirghaś #58)
�iṣya ca dirgho bhavati byapi paratāḥ
The final vowel of an aṅga, namely kṣi, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix LyaP follows.

EXAMPLES:

prakṣiyah

1. This rule does not carry thes anuvṛti of chandasi.

6.4.60 निष्ठायायण्यवर्णः
nisṭhāyāṁ anyadarthe
/niṣṭhāyām 7/1 anyadarthe 7/1 = nyato' rthah = nyadarthah (ṣaṣ. tat.); na nyadarthah (naṅ. tat.)/
(aṅgasya #1 dirghah #58 kṣiyah #59)
nyataḥ kṛtyasyārtho = bhāvakarmanī, tābhīyām anyatra yā niṣṭhā tasyāṁ kṣiyō dirgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an aṅga, namely kṣi ‘to decay’, is replaced with its long counterpart when a niṣṭhā suffix denoting something other than the sense of NyaT follows.

EXAMPLES:

āksīnāh ‘decayed, having resided’
prakṣīnāh ‘ibidem’
parikṣīnāh ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the short i of kṣi when a niṣṭhā suffix with the signification of something other than NyaT follows. Recall that NyaT is an affix termed kṛtya, used with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karman ‘object’ (3.4.70 tayor eva . . .). Obviously, this replacement in long applies when a niṣṭhā suffix follows with the signification of kārtṛ ‘agent’ and adhikarana ‘locus’. Thus, prakṣīna and parikṣīna where Kta is introduced after the intransitive (akarmaka; 3.4.72 gatyarthākarmaka . . .) verbal root kṣi, used with the preverb pari. This Kta denotes an agent. Recall that this long replacement also causes the application of 8.2.46 kṣiyō dirghāt whereby the t of Kta is replaced with n. This n is subsequently replaced with n.

6.4.61 वास क्रोशादेनयोः:

vā” krośadainyayoh
/vā ākroṣa-danyayoh 7/2 (itär. dv.), tayoḥ/
(aṅgasya #1 dirghah #58 kṣiyah #59 niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe #60)
ākroṣe gamyamāne dainye ca kṣiyō niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe vā dirgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an aṅga, namely kṣi, is replaced with its long counterpart when a niṣṭhā affix denoting the sense of something other than NyaT follows and the derivate denotes ākroṣa ‘anger, reproach’ and dainya ‘pity’.

EXAMPLES:

kṣitāyuḥ edhi ‘may you have a very short life-span’
kṣīnāyuḥ ‘ibidem’
kṣitakah ‘emaciated’
kṣīnakah ‘ibidem’
kṣītō’ yam tapasvī ‘this ascetic is emaciated’
kṣīno’ yam tapasvī ‘ibidem’
1. This rule makes the long replacement optional when a niśṭā suffix
not used with the signification of NyaT follows, and derivates denote ākroṣa
‘anger’ and dainya ‘pity’. The Kṣa or kṣi + Kṣa is used with the denotatum of
kartr ‘agent’. Notice how this long replacement, when blocked, also blocks
n-replacement of t. The question of a subsequent replacement of n with ṇ
does not arise.

This optional replacement is not available to kṣitam of kṣitam asya sarvam
‘whatever is his is wasted’, or kṣitam asya tapasvinah ‘this ascetic’s (all) is
wasted’, because Kṣa of kṣita is used with the signification of karman ‘object’.

6.4.62 स्वसित्सीयुद्धासिपुर्धकर्मणोरुपदेशे तन्निज्ञानहंदुशं वा विविदित्र च

syāsiciṣyuttāsisu bhāvakarmano rupadesē ājhanagrahadṛśām vā cīnval iṭ ca
/sya-sic-siyut-tāsisu 7/1 (itar. dv.); bhāvakarmanoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.); upadesē
7/1 aij-hana-graha-dṛśām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; vā ṝ cīnval ṝ iṭ 1/1 ca ṝ/
(angasya #1)

‘sya, sic, siyu, tāsi’ ity eteṣu bhāvakarmaviṣayasya parata upadesē jantānam
āṅgānam ‘han, grah, dṛś’ ity eteṣaṃ ca cīnval kāryam bhavati
An aṅga, namely han ‘to kill’, grah ‘to seize, hold’ and dṛś ‘to see’, and
also that which ends in a vowel in upadesa ‘initial citation’, is optionally
reated like an aṅga occurring before affix GiN, when sya, sic, siyUṬ
and tāsi, with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’
with a concurrently introduced augment iṬ follow.

EXAMPLES:

cāyisate third singular middle LRṬ form of cīN ‘to heap’
cesiye ‘ibidem’
acāyisata third singular middle LRN . . .
acesyate ‘ibidem’
ghānisyate third singular middle LRṬ form of han ‘to kill’
hanisyate ‘ibidem’
aghānisyata . . . LRN . . .
ahanisyate ‘ibidem’
grāhisyate . . . LRṬ form of grah ‘to seize, hold’
grahisyate ‘ibidem’
agrahisyata . . . LRN form of grah
agrahisyate ‘ibidem’
darśisyate third singular middle LRṬ form of dṛś ‘to see’
draksyate ‘ibidem’
adarśisyata . . . LRN form of dṛś
adraksyate ‘ibidem’
avāyisātāṃ third dual middle LUṆ form of cī ‘to heap’
acesātāṃ ‘ibidem’
adāyisātāṃ . . . LUṆ form of dā ‘to give’


1. This rule offers operations similar to ČiN, optionally, along with the introduction of augment īT, to verbal roots which end in a vowel in upadeśa, or to roots han, grah and drś, provided sya, sIC, sīyUT and tās follow with the signification of bhāva and karman. Most of the cited examples are derivates of LRṬ and LRN where augment aṬ is introduced with derivates of LRN.
Additionally, there is no replacement in \( e \) (etva) for \( ti \) (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi \( ti \)). These and derivates of \( IIN \) and \( LUN \) follow operational provisions made for \( sIC \), etc., with cinvadbhāva where applicable. Derivates of \( LUT \) should present no difficulty.

Note that cinvat ends in vatUP. Consequently, provisions of this rule are extensional (aiddīṣṭa). There are two ways in which cinvat can be interpreted to facilitate operations:

(i) operations which \( GiN \) conditions and (ii) operations which may or may not be conditioned by \( GiN \), but which generally obtain when \( GiN \) follows.

Commentators state that this second interpretation is generally accepted. Refer to my notes under rule 3.1.87 karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ for further details. Note that, in addition to operations listed there, cinvadbhāva always brings augment \( iT \). This \( iT \), because of being contained within the section known as ābhīya, becomes suspended (asiddha).

This rule anticipates cinvadbhāva ‘operations similar to when GiN follows’. That is, operations relative to an aṅga (aṅga-kārya) should be performed before sya, sIC, sīyUT and tāsI, in a manner similar to when GiN follows. There are basically four operations which are performed before sya, sIC, etc., under this extensional provision of cinvadbhāva:

(i) A vṛddhi conditioned by affixes marked with \( N \) as an it (niś-nimittaha; 7.2.115 aco' ŋniti and 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ);
(ii) Introduction of augment yUK (7.3.33 āto yuk cinkrtiḥ) to roots which end in a;
(iii) Replacement in gh for the h of verbal root han (7.3.54 ho hanter ŋnimnesu) as conditioned by \( N \) as an it in GiN;
(iv) An optional long replacement for the short penultimate of an aṅga marked with \( M \) as an it (mit; 6.4.93 cin ṇamulo dirgo' nyatarasyāṃ).

The Mahābhāṣya summarizes cinvadbhāva as follows:

\[
\text{cinvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvam} \\
\text{dirghaś cokto yo mitām vā cinūti/} \\
\text{if ca' siddhas tena me Ṽupyaṭe nir} \\
\text{nityaś cāyaṃ valnimittvo vighāṭā/}
\]

‘cinvadbhāva is stated to offer operations similar to vṛddhi, augment yUK, gh-replacement (for h of han) and optional replacement for those which are marked with \( M \); since an \( iT \) which is concurrently introduced with cinvadbhāva is treated as asiddha (6.4.22 asiddhavat atrābhāt), rule 6.4.51 ner aniti applies to delete \( NiC \). The \( iT \) of cinvadbhāva is considered obligatory (nitya); the \( iT \) which is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by vaL (valādi-lakṣaṇa) is considered non-obligatory (aniṭya)’. 

Note that an operation is called niṭya if it obtains irrespective of whether or not a competing operation obtains (kṛta-prasaṅga). Introduction of 
iti, via cīṇadbhāva, is considered obligatory (niṭya). Introduction of 
iti characterized with a following affix beginning with consonants denoted by val. is considered anitya. There are two things which must be remembered in connection with cīṇadbhāva and the obligatory-non-obligatory nature of augment 
iti. Firstly, this provision of cīṇadbhāva and introduction of augment 
iti is generally accepted as sanniyogāśīṣṭa ‘concurrently introduced’. That is, if one is removed the other must also be removed (sanniyogāśīṣṭānām saha vā praṇītī saha vā niṇītī). Secondly, rule 6.4.62 syaścyaś . . . is optional. It is
within this stipulation that 
iti of cīṇadbhāva is considered obligatory against the non-obligatory 
iti characterized with an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by val. The Mahābhāṣya (ad 6.4.62: yāvān in nāma sa sarva ārdhadhātukasyāvaiḥ bhavati) clearly specifies the locus of two operations in cīṇadbhāva. That is, cīṇadbhāva is to apply on what is termed an āṅga; augment 
iti is introduced to sya-sīya-yt, etc. Now consider an illustration. We
get two forms, bhāvītā and bhavītā, which both derive from bhū + (LUT → ta). We get bhāvītā via optional cīṇadbhāva which yields bhū + 
iti + tās + ta = bh(ū→au) + itās + ta. Obviously, we have the concurrent introduction of 
iti to tās and vṛddhi of the final vowel of bhū, the āṅga. The au and ta are then replaced with āv (6.1.78 ec’ yakṣyāvah) and Dā (2.4.85 lūtaḥ prathamasya . . . ), respectively. We thus get bh(ū→au→āv) + itās + (Dā) = bhāv + itās + ā. An application of ti-deletion finally yields bhāv + itā(sā→φ) = bhāvītā. If the
option of cīṇadbhāva is not accepted we will get bhavītā. Augment 
iti is then introduced by 7.3.35 ārdhadhātukasyād valādeh. Of course, an application of vṛddhi and subsequent replacement in āy, relative to cīṇadbhāva, cannot be availed here.

Now consider bhāvītā and bhāvavītā, the two causal derivates of bhū + 
NiC→bhāvi. Given bhāvi + (LAT → ta), we can get the introduction of 
iti + tās. That is, with the understanding that bhāvi ends in a vowel (ajanta), i.e., which is aupdēśika ‘given as part of first citation (upadeśa)’. The word upadeśa is here interpreted as ‘that which ends in (a vowel) in upadeśa’. The straightforward interpretation of ‘a root which ends in a vowel in upadeśa’ will create problems. The causal vowel i of affix NiC (3.1.26 hetumati ca) in bhāvi is what is accepted as aupdēśika here. Our form bhāvītā receives 
iti, via cīṇadbhāva. This 
iti is considered asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of 6.4.51 neri
aniṭi. These two operations both are contained in the ābhīya section with similar operational locus. Hence, deletion of Ni by 6.4.51 neri aniṭi is accomplished. This gives us (bhāvi→φ) + tas + ta. We finally get bhāvītā with replacement in Dā and Ti-deletion. In the absence of not accepting cīṇadbhāva we will bring 
iti from 7.3.35 ārdhadhātukasyād valādeh. This 
iti cannot be accepted as asiddha since it is not contained within the ābhīya section. We thus do not get the deletion of NiC. We will thus get the application of guna
(7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha . . .) and replacement in ay on: bhāv(i→e→ay) + iT + tās + ta→bhāvay + itā(s + ta→ϕ) = bhāvayitā. Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.4.63 दीनो युद्धिच विद्विति

dīno yud aci kniti
/dīṇah 5/1 yuT 1/1 aci 7/1 kniti 7/1/
(āngasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46)
dīno yud āgamo bhavati ajādau kniti prataye parataḥ

Augment yUT is introduced to an aṅga, namely dīn, when a vowel-initial affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

upadidīye ‘third singular middle LI7-derivate’
upadidīyāte ‘third dual middle . . .’
upadidīyire ‘third plural middle . . .’

1. Note that yUT, an augment marked with T as an it, should be introduced at the beginning of dīN (cf. 1.1.46 ādyantau taṅitau). But such an introduction is possible only when dīṇah is interpreted as ending in the genitive (1.1.49 saṣṭhi sthāneṣyogā). It is to facilitate the introduction of yUT to the following affix beginning with a vowel that dīṇah is here interpreted as ending in the ablative (pañcamī; 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya). A genitive interpretation is blocked in favor of the ablative (ubhayānirdeśe pañcaminirdese baliyah (pari. 71)). Thus, consider the third personal middle forms of LI7 introduced after dī used with the preverb upa. Recall that the ta, ātām and jha which replace LI7 are further replaced with eŚ, āte and ireś, respectively. We get upadidīye, upadidīyāte and upadidīyire through iteration (abhyaśa/dvitva), shortening (hrasva) and yUT (3.4.81 liṭas tajhayor . . .), introduced before eŚ, etc.

Note that augment yUT, and a replacement in yaN of 6.4.82 er anekācāh, are both contained within this ābhīya domain of rules. Commentators state that this yUT cannot be treated as suspended (asiddha) when considering the application of yaN. For, that will produce wrong forms such as *upadidīyire, etc. Besides, this express provision of yUT will then become meaningless (vyartha). Thus, yUT cannot be treated as if suspended (asiddhavat) when 6.4.82 er anekācāh . . . applies to cause a replacement in yaN (Kāś: ‘dīṇah’ iti pañcaminirdēśau ajāder yuṭ āgamo bhavati. vidhānasāmarthyaḥ ca ‘er anekācāḥ . . .’ iti yanādeśe kartavye tasyāsiddhatvam na bhavati). That is, this application of yaN is blocked.

6.4.64 आतो लोप इटि च

āto lopa iti ca
/ātah 6/1 lopah 1/1 iti 7/1 ca φ/
(angasya #1 ārdhadhatuke #46 aci kniti #63)
idyajadāv ārdhadhatuke kniti cākārāntasyāṅgasya lopo bhavati
The final vowel of an āṅga ending in ā is deleted by means of LOPA
when an ārdhadhatuka affix beginning with augment iṬ, or one which
begins with a vowel and is marked with K or ṇ as an it, follows.

Examples:
papitha ‘second person singular active LIṬ of pā ‘to drink’
papatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIṬ of pā’
papuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
tasthitā ‘second person singular active LIṬ of sthā ‘to stand’
tasthatuḥ ‘third person dual . . .’
tasthuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
godaḥ ‘giver of cow’
kambaladaḥ ‘giver of blanket’
pradā ‘gift, giving generously’
pradhā ‘oblations, placing with great care’

1. This rule allows deletion of the final ā of an āṅga when an ārdhadhatuka
affix either augmented with iṬ, or beginning with a vowel and marked with K
and ṇ as an it, follows. A specification with iṬ is made separately to also allow
this deletion before an ārdhadhatuka affix not marked with K and ṇ as an
it. Now consider the second person active singular LIṬ forms of pā and
sthā. Recall that siP is further replaced here with thāL (3.4.82 parasmai-
padānām . . .). We get papā + i + tha and tathā + i + tha, after iteration, operations
relative to abhyāsa and introduction of augment iṬ (7.2.63 rō bharadvājasya).
The ā-deletion of this rule thus produces papitha and tastitha.
Refer to derivational details of papatuḥ and papuḥ in the appendix of 1.1.59
dvīr vacanē ci. Rule 3.2.3 ātō nūpasargē kāḥ introduces affix Ka in deriving
goda and kambalada. Affix aṉ is similarly introduced by 3.3.106 ātās copasargē
in deriving pradā and pradhā. These are both derivatives of ṬāP, introduced
after deletion of ā.

2. Kāśikā offers yānti ‘they go’ and vātmi ‘. . . move’ as counter-examples
to the condition of ārdhadhatuke. Recall that i is an affix termed sārvadhātuka.
Similar counter-examples are offered in vyatyare and vyatyale, the first per-
son singular derivatives of LAṉ signifying reciprocal action (karmavyatithāra).
Since there is no ārdhadhatuka affix to follow, the ā (of rā and ī) and i (of
affix i) receive a single replacement in guṇa. This ā-deletion can also not be
possible in glāyate and dāśīya where the condition of ajādi ‘vowel-initial’ cannot
be met.

6.4.65 इश्विति
iḍ yati
6.4.66 Adhyāya Six: Pāda Four

/ɪ 1/1 yati 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 ātah #64)
īkāra ādeśo bhavati ākārāntasyāṅgasya
The final ā of an aṅga is replaced with ī when affix yaT follows.

Examples:

deyam '... to be given'
dheym '... to be placed'
heyam '... to be discarded'
steyam 'theft; stealing'

1. This rule offers īT as a replacement for the aṅga-final ā when affix yaT follows. Note that deyam, etc., are derivates of yaT. Refer to derivational details of geyam in the appendix (III: 729) of 3.1.97 aco yat.

6.4.66 चुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हृलि

ghumāsthāgāpājahātissorsāṁ hali
/ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahātissorsām 6/3 (itar. dv.) hali 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuko #46 kniti #63 īt #65)
ghu-samjñakānāṁ aṅgānām 'mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti, sā' ity eteṣāṁ halādau
kniti pratyayē parata īkārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely one which is termed ghu,
or one which is constituted by mā 'to measure', sthā 'to stand', gā(gai)
'to sing', pā 'to drink', hā 'to abandon' and sā (so) 'to destroy', is re-
placed with ī, when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant,
and marked with K or N as an īt, follows.

Examples:

dīyate 'third singular passive LAT of dā 'to give' with affix yaK denoting
karman 'object'`
dedīyate '... with verbal root dā ending in yaN'
dhiyate 'third singular passive LAT of dhā 'to place'`
dedhiyate '... with verbal root dhā ending in yaN'
miyate 'it is measured (with yaK denoting object)'
memiyate '... with verbal root mā ending in yaN'
sthīyate 'third singular LAT of sthā with yaK'
tsthiyate '... with verbal root sthā ending in yaN'
giyyate 'third singular LAT with yaK denoting object'
jejiyate '... with verbal root gā ending in yaN'
adhyāgīśta 'third singular middle LUN-derivate of adhi-i 'to study dili-
gently'`
adhyāgīśātām 'third dual middle LUN...'
adhyāgīśata 'third plural middle ...'
\( \text{piyate} ‘\text{third singular middle} \ \text{LAT of} \ \text{pā ‘to drink} \ \text{where} \ \text{yaK denotes object}’ \)
\( \text{pepiyate} ‘\ldots \text{with verbal root} \ \text{pā ending in} \ \text{yaK}’ \)
\( \text{hiyate} ‘\ldots \text{verbal root} \ \text{hā with} \ \text{yaK; ‘‘\ldots \text{is abandoned}’’} \)
\( \text{jehiyate} ‘\ldots \text{with verbal root} \ \text{hā ending in} \ \text{yaN}’ \)
\( \text{avasiyate} ‘\ldots \text{is destroyed; ava-so + (LAT→te) with yaK’} \)
\( \text{avasesiyate} ‘\ldots \text{with verbal root} \ \text{so ending in} \ \text{yaN}’ \)

1. This rule allows \( i \) as a replacement for an \( \text{āṅga-final} \ \text{ā}, \) provided the \( \text{āṅga} \) is either termed \( \text{ghu} (1.1.20 \ \text{dādhāghu adāp}), \) or is constituted by \( \text{mā} \) (\( \text{meN}, \ \text{sthā, gā, pā, hā (of jahāti)} \)) and \( \text{sā}. \) Additionally, the following suffix must begin with a consonant and must be marked with \( \text{K} \) or \( \text{N} \) as an \( \text{ṅt} \). Thus, consider \( \text{diyate} \) and \( \text{dhīyate} \) where \( \text{ta} \) replaces \( \text{LAT} \) with the denotatum of \( \text{karman}, \) and \( \text{yaK} (3.1.67 \ \text{sārvaadhātu} \ \text{yaK}) \) is introduced. Verbal roots \( \text{dā} \) and \( \text{dhā} \) are termed \( \text{ghu} \) and their \( \text{ā} \) is replaced with \( i \), under the condition of \( \text{yaK}. \) Note that \( \text{yaK} \) is marked with \( \text{K} \) and begins with a consonant (\( \text{halādi} \)). The consonant initial affix in \( \text{dediyate} \) is \( \text{yaN} (3.1.22 \ \text{dīhātor ekāco} \ldots). \) Thus, \( \text{dā + yaK→dī + yaK} \), etc. Refer to full derivational details of similar forms under the appendix of \( 3.1.22 \ \text{dhātor ekāco} \ldots. \) Similar rules apply in deriving \( \text{miyate}, \ \text{memiyate}, \ \text{piyate}, \ \text{pepiyate}, \) etc. Derivational details of \( \text{adhyaśīa}, \) etc., can be found under the appendix of \( 1.2.1 \ \text{gāṅkuțādibhyo} \ldots. \) Operations relative to \( \text{dvitva ‘iteration’ and abhyāsa, particularly retention of khaR (7.4.61 \ \text{sārpūrvāh khayah) in teṣṭhiya and replacement with jaŚin gigīya→jegīya, should pose no problem.} \) Refer to many example derivates under \( 1.2.1 \ \text{gāṅkuțādi} \ldots, \) etc., and also rules dealing with \( \text{dvitva (6.1.1 ekāco dve} \ldots) \) and \( \text{abhyaśa (6.1.4 pūrvo’ bhyaśah). Note that verbal root} \ \text{so gets its s replaced with s (6.1.64 \ \text{dhātvādeh} \ldots). It further receives ā as a replacement for o (6.1.45 ādeca} \ldots. \) Note that \( \text{mā} \) refers to three verbal roots: \( \text{mā}, \ \text{meN} \) and \( \text{māN}. \) A similar reference with \( \text{gā} \) is made to \( \text{gāN}, \ \text{ga and gā}. \) Verbal roots \( \text{pā ‘to drink’ and Ohāk ‘to abandon’} \) alone are referred to by \( \text{pā} \) and \( \text{hā}. \)

2. \( \text{Kāśikā} \) illustrates the conditions of \( \text{hali and kniti with} \ \text{dadaṭuḥ/dadaḥ} \) and \( \text{dātā/dhātā}, \) respectively. Affixes \( \text{atus} \) and \( \text{us} \) do not allow \( \text{ā} \) of \( \text{dā} \) to be replaced with \( i \) since they begin with a vowel. Affix \( \text{trC} \) of \( \text{dātā} \) and \( \text{dhātā} \) is marked with \( C \), as against the required \( \text{K and N}. \)

Note that \( \text{hali} \) of this rule also serves as an indicator (\( \text{jnāpaka}). \) That is, its use indicates that \( \text{vipratisedha} \) applies in this section of \( \text{ābhīya} \) rules. Thus, this rule finds its independent scope in deriving \( \text{diyate} \) and \( \text{dhīyate} \) with \( i \) as a replacement. Rule \( 6.4.64 \ \text{āto lopa} \ldots \) finds its scope in \( \text{ayau} \) and \( \text{ayuh} \) to delete \( \text{ā} \) of \( \text{yā}. \) These two rules both find their scope in \( \text{dadaṭuḥ} \) and \( \text{dadaḥ}. \) If \( \text{hali} \) was not used here, \( i \)-replacement could have bloked \( ā \)-deletion on the basis of \( \text{paratva (1.4.2 vipratisedhe} \ldots). \) One can argue here that the question of \( \text{vipratisedha} \) arises only when both rules are not \( \text{asiddha}. \) Both these rules, because of their inclusion in this section, are \( \text{asiddha}. \) Thus, the ques-
tion of *vipratisedha* does not arise. But since Pāṇini uses *hali* with the express purpose of only allowing *i* before a consonant-initial affix, *hali* has been used to block deletion on the basis of *vipratisedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, *vipratisedha* obtains in this section of ābhiya rules. For, if one does not accept *vipratisedha*, *itva* will not find its scope. That is, a specification with *hali* to block *vipratisedha* will not be needed.

6.4.67 एकीकरण

ER LIŅI

/eh 6/1 liņi 7/1/

(āṅgasya #1 ārdhdhātuken #46 kniṭi #63 ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām #66)
ghumāsthāgāpājahātīsām āṅgānām liņi paṛata ekārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an āṅga, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā, sthā, gā, pā, hā* and *sā* is replaced with *e*, when a *LIŅ* affix termed ārdhdhātuka follows.

**Examples:**

- *deyāt* 'third singular active *LIŅ* (benedictive) derive of *dā* 'to give''
- *meyāt* '... of māN 'to measure''
- *dheyāt* '... of dhā 'to place''
- *stheyāt* '... of sthā 'to stand''
- *geyāt* '... of gai 'to sing''
- *peyāt* '... of pā 'to drink''
- *avaseyāt* '... of so used with *ava' *
- *dāśīśa* 'third singular middle *LIŅ* (benedictive) derive of *dā* 'to give''
- *dhāśīśta* 'third singular middle *LIŅ* (benedictive) derive of *dhā* 'to place''

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* for the final *ā* of *ghu* and *mā*, etc., when an ārdhdhātuka replacement of *LIŅ* marked with *K* and *N* as an it follows. Recall that 3.4.116 *tīnāśiśi* assigns the term ārdhdhātuka to a tiņ which replaces *LIŅ*. Rule 3.4.104 *kid āśiśi* extends *kit-status* to augment *yāsUṬ* which, in turn, is introduced to an active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of *LIŅ*. Example derivates are all given for verbal roots which are active (*parasmaipada*). Examples for a following affix marked with *N* are impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

6.4.68 वास्तविक संवेदने:

vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ.

/vā/ anyasya 6/1 saṃyogādeḥ 6/1 = saṃyogasya ādir yaḥ (bv.), tasya/
(angasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 ātah #64 er liṇi #67)
gevādibhyo nyasya samyogāder ākārāntasya vā ekārādeśo bhavati liṇi paratah

The final sound segment of an āṅga which is not specified here with ghu, etc., and which begins with a conjunct and ends in ā, is optionally replaced with e when a LIŅ affix termed ārdhadhātuka and marked with K or .Adapter as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

gleyāt ‘third singular active LIŅ (benedictive) derivate of glai ‘to be glum’
glāyāt ‘ibidem’
mleyāt ‘third singular active benedictive (LIŅ) derivate of mlai ‘to fade away, be sad’
młāyāt ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers e as an optional replacement for roots which begin with a conjunct (samyogādī) and end in ā, but which are not covered by the specification of ghu, etc. The condition of a LIŅ-replacement termed ārdhadhātuka is still valid. The condition of knīti is also valid. Thus, we get gleyāt/glāyāt; mleyāt/mlāyāt, etc. Recall that ai of glai and mlai is replaced with ā (6.145 ādeca upadēṣe . . .). The exclusion of ghu, etc., is made in view of the obligatory (nitya) application of the preceding rule.

6.4.69 न त्यप

na lyāpi
/nal φ lyāpi 7/1/
(angasya #1 ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām #66)
lyāpi pratyaye parato ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām yaz uktam tan na bhavati

That which is stated for an āṅga termed ghu, or one constituted by mā, sthā, gā, pā, hā and sū, does not become operative when LyāP follows.

EXAMPLES:

pradāya ‘after having given’
pradhāya ‘after having placed’
pramāya ‘after having measured’
prasthāya ‘after having started’
pragāya ‘after having praised’
praṇāya ‘after having drunk’
prahāya ‘after having abandoned’
avasāya ‘after having destroyed’

1. The i-replacement of 6.4.66 ghumāsthā . . . is here negated when LyāP follows. The question of negating a replacement in e does not arise since
that requires \textit{LIN}. Recall that \textit{LyAP} is a replacement of \textit{Ktvā} \((7.1.37\ \textit{samāse' nañ ...})\), treated as marked with \textit{Kvia} \textit{sthānivadbhāva}.

\subsection*{6.4.70 मयतेरिद्यतरस्य्यप्}

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
mayater id anyatarasyām \\
\textit{mataye}h \textit{6/1 it 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/} \\
\textit{(āngasya \#1 \textit{lyāpi \#69})} \\
mayater āngasya ikārādeśo bhavati \textit{lyāpi parato' nyatarasyām}
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

The final sound segment of an \textit{āṅga}, namely \textit{meN}, is replaced optionally with \textit{i} when affix \textit{LyAP} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
apamitya 'having exchanged after ...'
\textit{apamāya} 'ibidem'
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

1. Note that \textit{mayateh} here specifies verbal root \textit{meN} ‘to exchange, barter’ as an \textit{āṅga}. This rule offers \textit{i} as an optional replacement for the \textit{ā} of \textit{m(e→ā = mā)}. Of course, when \textit{LyAP} follows. The \textit{Ktvā} which subsequently gets replaced by \textit{LyAP} is introduced in example derivates by \textit{3.4.19 udicāṃ māno} ... A replacement in \textit{i} also brings augment \textit{tUK} \((6.1.71\ \textit{hrasvasya pītīkriti} \ldots)\). Thus, \textit{apamitya} and \textit{apamāya}.

\subsection*{6.4.71 लुङलशल्इज्जव्बउदात्त:}

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
luñilaṅkṛṣu ad udāttaḥ \\
\textit{lūñ-lan-ṛṣikṣu7/3 (itar. dv.) a[t 1/1 udāttaḥ 1/1)} \\
\textit{(āngasya \#1)} \\
‘luñ, lañ, ṭṛi’ ity eteṣu parato’ nāṉgasyād āgamō bhavati udātaś ca sa bhavati
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

Augment \textit{aT}, concurrently marked \textit{udātta}, is introduced to an \textit{āṅga} when affiliates \textit{LUÑ, LAÑ} and \textit{LRN} follow.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
akārṣit ‘he made’
ahārṣit ‘he carried, fetched’
akaɾot ‘he did’
ahanat ‘he carried, fetched’
akariṣyat ‘he had done’
ahanisyat ‘he had carried, fetched’
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

1. This rule introduces the \textit{udātta} augment \textit{aT} to an \textit{āṅga} when \textit{LUÑ, LAÑ} and \textit{LRN} follow. Refer to derivational details of \textit{akārṣit} and \textit{ahārṣit} under the appendix of rule \textit{1.1.1 vṛddhīr ādāic}. Derivational details of \textit{akariṣyat} and \textit{ahanisyat} can be found under \textit{1.4.13 yasmāt pratīṣayavidhis \ldots (II: 511)}. Refer to the appendix of \textit{3.2.111 anadyatane lañ} for derivational details of
akarot. This same also applies to aharat where ŠaP is introduced before tiP as vikaraṇa.

6.4.72 आडजादीनाम्

āḍ ajādinām
/āṭ 1/1 ajādinām 6/3 = ac ādir yeśām (ব), teśām/
(aṅgaśya #1 luṇāḷṇṛṅkṣu udāttah #71)
āḍ āgamo bhavaty ajādinām luṇāḷṇṛṅkṣu parataḥ; udāttaś ca sa bhavati

Augment āT, with concurrent marking of udātta, is introduced to an aṅga which begins with a vowel (aC) when affixes LUÑ, LAÑ and LRÑ follow.

EXAMPLES:

aikṣiṣṭa ‘third singular middle LUÑ-derivative of īkṣ ‘to see, perceive’
aihīṣṭa ‘... of ih ‘to desire, strive’
aubijṭ
aumbḥiṭ
aikṣata ‘third singular middle LAÑ form of īkṣ’
aihatā ‘... of ih’
aubhyata ‘third singular active LAÑ form of ubj ‘to subdue, be straight’
aumbhata ‘... of umbh ‘to confine, fill’
aikṣiṣyaṭa ‘third singular middle LRÑ form of īkṣ’
aihīṣyaṭa ‘... of ih’
aubhyiṣyaṭa ‘... ubj’
aumbhīṣyaṭa ‘... of umbh’

1. This rule introduces an udātta augment āT to an aṅga which begins with a vowel. The right condition of LUÑ, etc., is still valid. Refer to my notes under 6.1.90 ātaś ca for derivational details of many of these examples.

Note that aijyata, aupiṣyata and aubhyata are derivatives of LAÑ introduced after yaj, vap and vah. Given yaj + (LAÑ→ta), etc., we get yaj + yaK + ta, etc., with the introduction of yaK (3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak). Recall that augment āT is accepted as being internally conditioned (antarāṅga). The vikaraṇa, i.e., yaK, is obligatory (ṇitya; Paribh.,(44): śabdāntarasya prāpnuvan vidhir anityo bhavati). Consequently, it applies before āT. That is, āT is introduced to an aṅga qualified with the introduction of vikaraṇa. This renders āT as non-obligatory. A conflict is also witnessed between the application of samprasāraṇa and introduction of āT. Since samprasāraṇa is nitya, as compared with the introduction of āT, samprasāraṇa applies first. This is how (yaj + ya + ta, etc., produce ij + ya + ta, etc., which, after the introduction of āT, produce aiyyata, etc., through vṛddhi (6.1.90 ātaś ca). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.
6.4.73 छन्दस्यपि दृष्यते

chandasya api dṛśyate
/chandasi 7/1 api φ dṛśyate (verbal pada)/
(aṅgasya #1 udāṭṭah #71 āṭ #72)
chandasi viśaye āḍ āgamo dṛśyate

Augment āṬ, concurrently marked with udāṭta, is also seen in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

sūracō vena āvah
ānak 'third singular active LUN form of naś 'to perish’
āyunak 'third singular active LUN of yuj 'to yoke’

1. This rule informs that āṬ is also found elsewhere in the Vedic usage. That is, āṬ is also seen in contexts where an aṅga does not begin with a vowel (Kāś: anajādīnām api dṛśyate).

Note that āvah is a derivate of LUN→tiP, where i of vr goes through guna and CLI, before LUN, is deleted (2.4.80 mantra...). Augment āṬ is then introduced to produce āvar + ti which, after the deletion of ti and r→h, yields āvah. Deriving ānak, from (n→n) aś + LUN→naś + CLI + ti→āṬ + naś + ti, will involve kutva (8.2.63 naśer vā). Thus, āna(ś→k) = ānak. Similar rules apply in deriving āyunak from yuj + LUN. Recall, however, that the vikaraṇa is ŚnaM (3.1.78 ruddhādhibhyāḥ śnam). The j of yuj goes through kutva (8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ) followed by cartva (8.4.56 va' vasāne).

6.4.74 न माह्योगे

na mānyoge
/na φ mān-yoge 7/1 = māno yogah (sās. tat.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #1 lūniṇāṇyīkṣu āḍ udāṭṭah #71 āṭ #72)
mānyoge lūniṇāṇyīkṣu yad uktam tan na bhavati

Augments āṬ and āṬ' which are stated when affixes LUN, LAN and LRN follow an aṅga do not become operative in connection with māN 'not'.

EXAMPLES:

mā bhavān kārṣīt ‘do not do (it)’
mā bhavān hārṣīt ‘do not fetch (it)’
mā sama karot ‘he did not do’
mā sama harat ‘he did not carry’
mā bhavān ihiṣṭa ‘do not try’
mā bhavān iksiṣṭa ‘do not see’
mā sama bhavān ihata ‘you did not strive’
mā sama bhavān iksiṣta ‘you did not understand’
1. This rule does not allow augments $aT$ and $a\ddot{a}T$ when $LU\ddot{N}$, $LA\ddot{N}$ and $LR\ddot{N}$ follow and the root is used in conjunction with $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$. Thus, $m\ddot{a}$ bhav\ddot{a}n k\ddot{a}r\ddot{s}i\ddot{t}$ and $m\ddot{a}$ bhav\ddot{a}n h\ddot{a}r\ddot{s}i\ddot{t}$, where 3.3.175 $m\ddot{a}$ni lun introduces $LU\ddot{N}$. Affix $LU\ddot{N}$ is similarly introduced after $kr$ and $hr$ in $m\ddot{a}$ sma karot and $m\ddot{a}$ sma harat. Other examples of $LU\ddot{N}$ and $LA\ddot{N}$ are $ihi\ddot{a}ta$/ik\ddot{s}i\ddot{t}a$; and $i\ddot{a}hata$/ik\ddot{s}ata$, respectively. These derivates all follow patterns of $LU\ddot{N}$ and $LA\ddot{N}$, except for introduction of $aT$

6.4.75 बहुलं छन्दस्यमार्थ्योगे पि

$bahula\ddot{m}$ chandasya am\ddot{a}nyoge' $pi$
/bahulam 1/1 chandasi'7/1 am\ddot{a}nyoge = na m\ddot{a}nyoge (na\ddot{g}. with int. sa\ddot{a}.
tat.); $api$ φ/
(aragasya #1 lu\ddot{n}la\ddot{n}ry\ddot{k}sv ad ud\ddot{a}tthah #71 $\dot{a}$t #72 na m\ddot{a}nyoge #74)
chandasi vi\ddot{a}yae m\ddot{a}nyoge' $pi$ bahulam a\ddot{d}\ddot{a}tou bhavat\ddot{a}h
Augments $aT$ and $a\ddot{a}T$ are introduced variously in the Vedic even when there is, or is not, any connection with $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$.

EXAMPLES:

janis\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h $ug\ddot{a}h$ 'has been born . . .'
$k\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}$m\ddot{u}n\ddot{a}y\ddot{h}$ ' . . . has decreased'
$m\ddot{a}$ vah k\ddot{e}tre parabij\ddot{a}nyav\ddot{a}psuh $m\ddot{a}$ bhit\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h
. . . bij\ddot{a}ny av\ddot{a}psuh ' . . . procured'
$m\ddot{a}$ \ddot{a}vah

1. Note that $am\ddot{a}$nyoge' $api$ makes the $b\ddot{a}$hulaka provision rather wide. That is, in the Vedic, we find $aT$ and $a\ddot{a}T$ variously when $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$ is used in conjunction. They are also, variously, not found when $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$ does not occur in conjunction. Consider $janis\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h$ where $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$ does not occur but no augment is introduced. Thus, $jan + i\ddot{a}T + si\ddot{C} + (LU\ddot{N}\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h)$ = $janis\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h$, through $s\rightarrow s$
(satva), $t\rightarrow i$ ($\ddot{st}utva$) and $s\rightarrow r\rightarrow h$. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.51 nonayati . . . for derivational details of $\ddot{u}$n\ddot{a}y\ddot{h}$ and ar\ddot{d}ay\ddot{it}$. Note that $abhit\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}h$
receives $aT$ even when it is used in conjunction with $m\ddot{a}\ddot{N}$. It goes through deletion of $si\ddot{C}$ by 8.2.26 $jh\ddot{a}$lo $jh\ddot{a}$li. Follow the derivational pattern of $k\ddot{a}r\ddot{s}u\ddot{h}$
(under 3.1.51 nonayati . . .) for deriving av\ddot{a}psuh.

6.4.76 इर्यो रे

$ir\ddot{a}yo$ $re$
/ir\ddot{a}yah 6/2 $re$ (1/1 deleted)/
(bahul\ddot{a}m chandasi #75)
‘ir’ ity etasya chandasi vi\ddot{a}yae bahul\ddot{a}m ‘re’ ity ayam \ddot{a}d\ddot{e}so bhavati
The form $ire$, in the Vedic, is variously replaced with $re$.
EXAMPLES:

garbham prathamam dadhra apha
yas' sya paridadhre
paridadhyre

1. This rule allows re to replace ire in the Vedic variously. Note that ire refers to ireC, itself a replacement of jha (3.4.81 itas thayor . . . ). Thus, consider paridadhre, from paridha + (LIT→jha)→paridha + (jha→ireC) = paridha + ire, where deletion ā (6.4.64 āto lopa āti ca) is accomplished even though re replaces ire. This is done in view of re being asiddha (6.4.22 asiddhavat atrabhāt).

2. A question is raised against irayoh in dual. Why did Pāṇini not use ire in singular? Commentators state that re may become ire when iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhatukasyed valādeh) is introduced. It is to ensure that re alone replaces jha→ire and iT + re that ire is specified in the dual. Consider cakri re ‘they have made’ as an example of iT + re.

6.4.77 अथि रूढातुप्फलम् व्योरियिङ्गतुव्दौ

acia śnudhātubhruvām yvor iyānuvañau
/aci 7/1 śnu -dātu-bhruvām 6/3 = śnuš ca dhātuś ca bhrūś ca (itar. dv.),
tēsām; yuoh 6/2 = iś ca uś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; iyān-uvañau 1/2 (itar. dv.)/
(angasya #1)
śnupratyayāntasya angasya dhātor ivarnovarnāntasya ‘bhrū’ ity etasya can
‘iyañ, uvañ’ ity etāv ādesau bhavato jādau pratyaye paratah

The final i and u of an anģa which ends in affix Śnu, or is constituted by a root ending in i and u, or else, is constituted by bhrū, is replaced with iyāṉ and uvaṉ, respectively, when an affix beginning with a vowel (aC) follows.

EXAMPLES:

āpnuvanti ‘they obtain’
rādhuvanti ‘they accomplish’
saknuvanti ‘they are able to do’
ciksīyatuh ‘those (two) wasted away’
ciksīyuh ‘they wasted away’
luluvatuh ‘those (two) have cut’
luluvuh ‘they have cut’
niyau ‘nominative dual KuIP derivate of ni ‘to lead’’
niyah ‘nominative plural . . .’
luvau ‘nominative dual KuIP derivate of lū ‘to cut’’
luvah ‘nominative plural . . .’
bhruvau ‘nominative singular KuIP derivate of bhrū’
bhruvah ‘nominative plural . . .’
1. This rule introduces iyAN and uvaN, respectively, as replacements for the final i and u (1.1.51 alo' nyasya) of (i) an aṅga which may end in Śnu, (ii) a root which may end in i and u, and (iii) verbal root bhrū, when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that yuvoh could be construed only as an adjective to roots ending in i and u. For, it cannot refer to śnu and bhrū as they end in u.

Consider āp + Śnu + (LAT→jhf→ant) i = āpnuvant, where a replacement in iyaN for u is blocked in favor of unAN. This same also happens in rādhnuvant and saknuvant. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details of examples.

6.4.78 अभ्यासस्यासवर्णेः

abhyaśasyāsavarnē
datac1/abhyaśasya 6/1 asavarne 7/1 (nañ.)/ (aṅgasya #1 aci yor iyānuvāṇau #77)
abhyaśasyeuvarnovarnaṁtasasyāsavarnē cī parata ‘iyan uvan’ ity etāv ādesau bhavataḥ

The final sound segment of an abhyaśa which, in an aṅga, ends in i and u, is replaced with iyaN and uvaN when a non-homogeneous (asavarṇa) vowel (aC) follows.

EXAMPLES:

iyeṣa ‘he has desired’
uvoṣa ‘he has burnt’
iyartti ‘he goes’

1. This rule allows a replacement in iyAN and uvaN for the final i and u of an abhyaśa when a non-homogeneous vowel follows. Consider iyesa anduvoṣa which derives from iṣ + (LAT→tiP→NaL) and uṣ + (LAT→tiP→NaL). Given iṣ + a and uṣ + a, we get es + a and os a through guna of the short penultimate vowel (6.2.88 pugantalaghiṣpadhasya ca). Operations related to iteration (dvitva) are then performed by accepting e and o of es and os as if they were i and u, via sthānivadbhava. This produces i + es and u + os which, after a replacement in iyAN and uvaN, yield (i→iyan) + es + a and (u→uvaN) + os + a. Thus, iy + es + a = iyesa and uv + os + a = uvosa. Now consider iyartti which is a third singular LAT-derivate of r ‘to go’. Given r + ŠaP + tiP→r + ŠLU + ti where ŠaP goes through deletion by ŠLU, we get r + t + ti, via iteration (dvitva). The r of the abhyaśa is then replaced by a, with a following r (7.4.65 ur at; 1.1.51 ur an raparaha). The r which follows a, however, is deleted by 7.4.60 haladi śesah. The a of i + r + ti is then replaced with i (7.4.77 arttípiartyos ca) to yield: (i→a) + ar + ti. This rule then replaces i with iyAN to produce (i→iy) + ar + ti = iyarti.

Note that this replacement in iyAN and uvaN cannot be accomplished if the abhyaśa is followed by a vowel homogeneous with it. Thus, consider iṣatuḥ/
iṣuh and uṣatuh/ūṣuh, both derivates of atus and us. The i and u of i + िः +
atus and u + us + atus, etc., cannot be replaced with iyAN and uvAN because
i and u of the abhyāsa are followed by homogeneous i and u. Kāśikā offers
iyāja and uvāpa as counter-examples to show that iyAN and uvAN, in the
context of this rule, can only replace an abhyāsa when what follows also be-
gins with a vowel.

6.4.79 रिख्या:

striyāḥ

/striyāḥ 6/1/

(āṅgasya #1 aci iya#77)

‘strī ity ētasyājādau prataye parata iyaṅādēso bhavati

The final sound segment of an anga, namely strī, is replaced with iyaṅ
when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

strī ‘nominative singular of strī ‘woman’
striyau ‘nominative dual . . .’
striyah ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule allows iyAN as a replacement for the final i of strī when a
vowel-initial affix follows. Note that strīnām does not involve a replace-
ment in iyaṅ. It, instead, requires introduction of augment nUṬ (7.1.54
hrasvanadyāpo nui), which, for reasons of being subsequent (para) in order
(parativāt), blocks (1.4.2 vipratiṣedhe . . .) iyaṅ (Kāś: ‘strīnām’ ity atra paratvām
nud āgamaḥ). This being the case, we do not get a vowel-initial affix to fol-
low.

2. How come this rule was not formulated along with the following? A
separate formulation of this rule is intended to block the anuvṛtti of
dhāturbhruvoḥ in the following rule (Kāś: ṗṛthag yogakaranam uttarārtham).

6.4.80 वाप्ससोः:

vā amśasoh

/vā ṛ am-śasoh 7/2 = am ca ṣas ca = amśasau (itar. dv.) tayoh/
ami ṣasi parataḥ striyā vā iyaṅādēso bhavati

The final sound segment of an anga, namely strī, is replaced with iyaṅ,
only optionally, when affixes am and ṣas follow.

Examples:

strīm paśya ‘accusative singular of strī’
striyām paśya ‘ibidem’
strīh paśya ‘accusative plural . . .’
striyāḥ paśya ‘ibidem’
1. This rule allows *iyan* and *uvan*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Sas* follow. This option is available against a single replacement of *i* + *a* similar to *i*, when *am* follows (6.1.103 *ami pūrvaḥ*). It is made against the *pūrvasavānādirgha* 'long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a sequence' when *Sas* follows. Thus, we get two forms: *striyam*/ *strīm* and *striyāh*/strīh.

6.4.81 इणो यण्

*ino yan*

/sanah 6/1 yan 1/1/

(āṅgasya #1 aci #77)

*ino* ṅgasya yanādeso bhavati aci parataḥ

The final vowel of an *āṅga* constituted by verbal root *iN* 'to go' is replaced with *yaN* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

**Examples:**

*yanti* 'they go'

*yantu* 'they may go'

*āyan* 'they went'

1. Note that this rule is an exception to replacement in *iyaN*. Thus, an *āṅga* constituted by verbal root *iN* 'to go' gets its *i* replaced with *yaN* when a vowel follows (aci). Recall that an exception read in between operations only blocks preceding operations, and not any subsequent. This replacement in *yaN* will thus block *iyaN*, but cannot block *guna* and *vṛddhi* which follow. Commentators cite *yanti* ← (*i + (SāP→ϕ) + (LĀT→ṭiP)) and *yantu* ← (*i + (SāP→ϕ) + (LĀT→antu)) as examples where *yaN* finds its independent scope. They cite *cayanam* 'heaping' and *cāyakāh* 'he who heaps' as examples for independent scope of *guna* and *vṛddhi*. They state that *ayanam* 'return' and *āyakāh* 'he who returns' may entail *yaN* and *guna-vṛddhi* both. They state that *yaN* is blocked here by *guna* ((i→e) + (LyuT→ana)) = *ayana* and *vṛddhi* (*i + NūwL = āyaka*) on the basis of *paratva*. Incidentally, *āyan* derives from *āT* + *i* + (*LĀN→(jh→ant)i*) where *jh* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*) with subsequent deletion of the final of the conjunct (8.2.23 *sāmyogānṭasya lopaḥ*). Augment *āT* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āt ajādīnām* on the basis of the vowel-initial root as well as *asidhatvā* 'suspension'.

6.4.82 एनेकाचो उसंयोगपूर्वस्य

*er anekāco* sāmyogapūrvasya

/eh 6/1 anekācaḥ 6/1 = na ekah = anekah (nañ. tat.); aneko'c yasmin sa (bv.), tasmin; avidyāmānah sāmyogah pūrvo yasmāt (bv.), tasya/

(āṅgasya #1 aci dhātoḥ #77 yan #81)
dhātor avayavah samyogah pūrvo yasmād ivarnān na bhavaty asāv asamyogapūrvah, tadantasyāṅgasyānekkāco ā pariyo yaṇādesā bhavati
An āṅga which consists of more than one vowel and ends in an i, where i is not preceded by a conjunct (samyoga) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with yaN, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:
ninyatuḥ 'those two led'
ninyuh 'they led'
unnyau 'nominative dual of unni ‘leader’'
unnyah ‘nominal plural . . .'
grāmanyau ‘nominative singular of grāmaṇi ‘village leader’’
grāmanyah ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule allows yaN as a replacement for the final i of an āṅga which ends in i, provided aC follows, and i is not preceded by a conjunct contained within the dhātu. Note that dhātoḥ is carried here to qualify samyoga ‘conjunct’. This is how we get the meaning: ‘an i before which there does not occur a conjunct as part of a verbal root’ (dhātor avayavah samyogah pūrvo yasmād ivarnāt). A specification with eh is made here so that it could be qualified with asamyogapūrvasya. For, asamyogapūrvasya is not intended as a qualifier for i.

It is argued that if eh was not stated in this rule, yaN could replace i and u in general. This would then not require the formulation of 6.4.83 oh supi, whereby a final u is replaced with yaN before sUP. Rule 6.4.83 then becomes restrictive, requiring yaN only where sUP follows. This restrictive provision does not permit yaN where a tiN follows. This is why tuluvatuh, etc., get a replacement in uvAN, as against yaN.

2. Why do we have to state anekā? So that yaN could be blocked in favor of iyAN in the nominative dual and plural forms of ni, i.e., niyau and niyah. For, this derivate of KuIP consists of a single vowel (ekāc). Now consider yavakriyau and yavakriyah, the nominative dual and plural forms of yavakri, again a derivate of KuIP. The i of yavakri must be replaced with iyAN because it is preceded by a conjunct contained within a dhātu. Now consider unnyau and unnyah where the conjunct, i.e., nn, occurs before i in unni. This conjunct is not any part of the dhātu ‘verbal root’. Consequently, i is replaced with yaN. This is how samyoga ‘conjunct’ must be qualified with dhātu.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to block yaN in case of an āṅga which ends in i, provided i is not preceded by anything other than a gati and kāraṇa. Consider paramaniyau and paramaniyah, where ni, a derivate of KuIP, combines with para. Since para is neither a gati nor a kāraṇa, yaN must be blocked in favor of iyAN.
6.4.83 ओ: सूपि

oh suipi
/oh 6/1 suipi 7/1/
(anigasya #1 aci #77 yan #81 anekāco saṃyogapūrvasya #82)
dhvātvavavyah saṃyogah pūrvo yasmād uvāmān na tadantasyāṅgasyānēkāco' jādau suipi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati

An anga which consists of more than one vowel and ends in u, not preceded by a conjunct (saṃyoga) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with yaN when a sUP affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

khalapuau ‘nominative dual of khalapū ‘those who clean the threshing floor’

khalapvah ‘nominative plural . . . ’

śatasvau ‘nominative dual of śatasū ‘he who produces a hundred . . . ’

śatavah ‘nominative plural . . . ’

sakrīlau ‘nominative dual of sakrīlū ‘he who cuts only once’

sakrīlvah ‘nominative plural . . . ’

1. This rule allows yaN-replacement for u before a vowel-initial sUP. That is, when an anga consists of more than one vowel and ends in u, and this u is not preceded by a conjunct contained within a dhātu. Thus, consider khalapuau and khalapvah, the nominative dual and plural forms of khalapū, where a derivate of Kulp combines to form a compound paraphrased as khalam punāti. This same is also true of other examples. They all get their ū replaced with yaN. Incidentally, the t of sakṛt is replaced with l before ī (8.4.60 ṭor ī). Recall that this replacement in yaN can be possible only when a sUP follows. Thus, lūvwatuh and lūvwuh will get a replacement in uvAN because atus and us are not denoted by sUP. This uvAN again blocks yaN in luvau and luvah because the anga, i.e., ī, is monosyllabic (ekāc). We also get uvAN in katapruvau ‘nominative dual of kataprū ‘he who makes a mat while going’ and katapruvah ‘nominative plural . . . ’ where pr, a conjunct (saṃyoga), not only precedes u but is also a part of verbal root pru.

2. A vārttika proposal similar to the preceding rule is also made here to block yaN where something other than a gati and kāraka precedes. Thus, consider paramaluvau and paramaluvah.

6.4.84 वर्षभवच

varṣabhvas ca
/varṣabhvaḥ 6/1 ca ṣ/
(anigasya #1 aci #77 yan #81 suipi #83)
‘varṣabhū’ ity etasyājādau suipi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati
The final u of varṣabhū 'born in the rainy season', termed an aṅga, is replaced with its yaN counterpart when a sUP affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

varṣabhuvau 'nominative dual of varṣabhū'
varṣabhvah 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule is formulated so that a replacement in yaN, negated by 6.4.85 na bhūsudhiyoh, can be made available. Thus, varṣabhū gets its u replaced with u when a vowel-initial affix follows.

2. A vārttika proposal also allows yaN when bhū occurs in combination preceded by punar and kārā. Thus, we get punarbhuvau/punarbhvah 'nominative dual and plural' of punarbhū 'nail'; kārābhuvau/kārābhvah 'nominative dual and plural' of kārābhū 'born in jail'.

6.4.85 न भूसूधियोऽः

na bhūsudhiyoh
/ na φ bhū-sudhiyoh 6/2 (itār. du.)/
(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yaṇ #81 supi #83)
'bhū, sudhi' ity etayor yanādeso na bhavati

The final vowels of an aṅga, namely bhū and sudhī, are not replaced with their yaN counterpart when a sUP affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

pratibhuvau 'nominative dual of pratibhū 'guarantor''
pratibhvah 'nominative plural . . .'
sudhiyau 'nominative dual of sudhī 'intellectuals''
sudhiyāḥ 'many intellectuals . . .'

1. Note that bhū of this rule is interpreted not only as bhū but also as: 'that which ends in bhū' (PM ad Kāś: bhūgraṇaṇena tadantasya grahaṇam, na kevalasya).

6.4.86 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasya ubhayathā
/ chandasi 7/1 ubhayathā φ/
(aṅgasya #1 bhūsudhiyoh #85)
chandasi visaye 'bhū, sudhī' ity etayor ubhayathā dṛśyate
An aṅga constituted by bhū and sudhī, in the Vedic, is seen with forms of both kinds.
6.4.87 तुर्नुवीः सार्वथातुके

**Examples:**

\[\text{vānestu} \text{citraṁ vibhuvām više} \\
vīše vibhuvām \\
sudhyo havayamagne \\
sudhiyo havayamagne\]

1. This rule states that \(\text{yaN}\) and \(\text{iyAṅ}/\text{uvAṅ}\), both, are found in the Vedic usage. Thus, \(\text{vibhuvam}/\text{vibhuvam} ; \text{svdhyaḥ}/\text{svdhiyah}\)

**6.4.87 हुनुवोः सार्वदधातुके**

\[\text{huśnuvoh sārvadhātuke}\]
\[/ \text{hu-śnuvoh 6/2 sārvadhātuke 7/1/}\]
\[(aṅgasya #1 aṣi #77 yaṅ #81 enekāco' sanyogāśrayasya #82)\]
\[\text{`hu' ity etasyāṅgasya śnu-pratayantasiyānekāco' sanyogāśrayasyājādau sārvadhātuke parato yanādeṣo bhavati }\]

The \(\text{u}\) of an \(\text{aṅga}\), particularly \(\text{hu}`to call, perform sacrifice', or of an \(\text{aṅga}\) which consists of more than one vowel and does not begin with a conjunct, though ends in \(\text{Śnu}\), is replaced with \(\text{yaN}\) when a \(\text{sārvadhātuka}\) (3.4.113 \(\text{tinṣit sārvadhātukam}\)) affix beginning with a vowel follows.

**Examples:**

\[\text{juhvati 'they offer oblations'}\]
\[\text{juhvatu 'let them offer oblations'}\]
\[\text{juhvat 'nominative singular of juhvat ending in ŠaṭR'}\]
\[\text{sunvantī 'they press-out'}\]
\[\text{sunvantu 'let them press-out'}\]
\[\text{asunvan 'they pressed out'}\]

1. This rule allows \(\text{yaN}\) to the \(\text{u}\) of \(\text{hu}\), and an \(\text{aṅga}\) which consists of more than one vowel and ends in \(\text{Śnu}\), provided a \(\text{sārvadhātuka}\) affix beginning with a vowel follows, and the \(\text{u}\) is not preceded by a conjunct. As usual, this \(\text{yaN}\) is an exception to the \(\text{iyAṅ}/\text{uvAṅ}\) replacements. Note that \(\text{asanyogaprāvah}\) is interpreted as a qualifier to \(\text{u}\). The word \(\text{anekācaḥ}\) is similarly interpreted as a qualifier to \(\text{aṅgasya}\). Refer to derivational details of \(\text{juhoti}\) (under 1.1.61 \(\text{pratyāśasya} \ldots\)) and \(\text{juhvat}\) (under 3.2.124 \(\text{lataḥ} \ldots\)) in the appendix. A replacement in \(\text{at}\) for \(\text{jhi}\) is offered by 7.1.4 \(\text{ad abhyastā}\). Deriving \(\text{sunvantī}, \text{etc.}, with Śnu should present no problem.

2. The condition of \(\text{hu}\) and \(\text{Śnu}\) blockes \(\text{yaN}\) in favor of \(\text{uvAṅ}\) in \(\text{yuvvati}\) and \(\text{rurvati}\). These are both derivates of verbal roots \(\text{yu 'to mix'}\) and \(\text{ru 'to cry'}\), respectively, with deletion of \(\text{yaN}\), via \(\text{LUK}\). The conditions of \(\text{sārvadhātuke}\) and \(\text{asanyogaprāvasya}\) are also valid. Thus, \(\text{juhvataḥ}\) and \(\text{juhuvuh}\) illustrate how \(\text{uvAṅ}\) is favored against \(\text{yaN}\) because of the third person dual and plural \(\text{ārdhadhātuka}\) affixes \(\text{atus}\) and \(\text{us}\). Examples such as \(\text{āpnuvantī 'they obtain'}\)
and rādhnuvantī 'they accomplish' illustrate how, because of asamyogapūrvasya, yaN is again blocked in favor of uvAaN.

6.4.88 भुवो बुगुलिबिल्टोः:

bhuvō vugūlimiṭṭoh
/bhuvāh 6/1 vuk 1/1 limiṭṭoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #1 aci #77)
bhuvo vug āgamo bhavati luni liti cājādau parataḥ
Augment vUK is introduced to an aṅga, namely bhū, when a LUN and LIṬ affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

abhūvan 'third person plural active LUN of bhū'
abhūvam 'first person singular active LUN of bhū'
abhihva 'third person singular LIṬ of bhū 'to be''
abhihvatuh 'third person dual . . .'
abhihuvuh 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment vUK to bhū when a replacement of LUN and LIṬ which begins with a vowel follows. Thus, consider abhūvan and abhūvam, the third and first person singular derivates of LUN. The last three examples are third singular, dual and plural derivates of LIṬ with NaL, atus and us as replacement (3.4.82 parasmaiṭpadānām . . .). Refer to many examples of LUN and LIṬ in the appendix and notes for derivational details.

6.4.89 ऊदुपदाया गोहः:

udupadhāyā gohah
/ūṭ 1/1 upadhāyāh 6/1 gohah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1 aci #77)
goho' ngasya upadhāyā ukārādeo bhavati ajādau prataye paratah
The penultimate vowel of an aṅga, namely goh, is replaced with ūT (1.1.70 tāparas tatkālasya) when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

nigūhayati ' . . hides, preserves'
nigūhakah 'he who preserves, hides'
sādhu nigūhi 'ibidem'
nigūhamnigūham 'hiding over and over again'
nigūho varttate ' . . . hiding goes on'

1. This rule allows ū to replace the penultimate (upadhā) o of an aṅga constituted by goh, provided a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that goh is real-
ized via guna of u in guh when NiC follows. The NiC is then deleted by 6.4.51 ner aniti. The o of goh is then replaced by ū of our present rule. Thus, nigūhayati and nigūhakah, etc. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

2. Note that the condition of upadhāyāḥ is imposed so that ū does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 alo' ntyasya). A specification with goh, a modified form of guh, is made to restrict the scope of application of this rule (Kāś: vikṛtragrahaṇam viṣayārthaṃ). That is, a replacement in ū is blocked where goh is not found. Thus, nijuguhatuḥ and nijuguhuh.

Some claim that this modified form of goh is specified to block ay as a replacement of Ni, for example, in nigūh + Ni. They think that this ū replacement will become asiddha in view of the ay of 6.4.56 lāyāpi laghūpurvāt. But this view is not correct. These replacements do not share identical condition of application. Negating ay of Ni could hardly be accepted as the purpose of specifying guh with goh.

6.4.90 दोषो णी

doṣo nau
/doṣah 6/1 nau 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89)
doṣa upadhāyā ūkāra ādesō bhavati nau parataḥ

The penultimate vowel of an aṅga, namely duṣ, is replaced with ū when affix Ni follows.

Examples:

duṣayati 'he contaminates, corrupts'
duṣayataḥ 'those two contaminate'
duṣayanti 'they (all) contaminate'

1. This rule allows ū to replace the o of doṣ when NiC follows. A specification with the modified form of duṣ, i.e., doṣ, is made to maintain contextual similarity with the preceding rule (prakramābheda).

6.4.91 वा चित्तविरागे

vā cittavirāge
/vā φ citta-virāge 7/1 (śas. tat.), tasmin/
(āṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89 doṣo nau #90)
cittavikārārthe doṣa upadhāyā vā ākāraēō bhavati nau parataḥ

The penultimate vowel of an aṅga, namely duṣ used with the signification of cittavirāga ‘distraction, indifference (of mind)’, is optionally replaced with ū when affix Ni follows.

Examples:

cittam doṣayati ‘. . . agitates mind’
cittam duśayati ‘ibidem’
prajñāṃ duśayati ‘... corrupts intelligence’
prajñāṃ dosayati ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in ā when the derivate denotes cittavirāga ‘distraction, indifference (of mind)’. Thus, dosayati cittam and duśayati cittam. This replacement will be obligatory, as against optional, in sādhnam duśayati ‘fouls up the means’. It will be blocked in cittasya dosaḥ where dosa is a derivate of GHaNī.

6.4.92 मित्रो ह्रस्वः:

mitāṃ hrasvaḥ
mitāṃ 6/3 hrasvaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā #89 nau #90)
mito dhātavāḥ ‘ghatādayo mitah’ ity evam ādayo ye pratipāditāḥ teśāṁ
upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati nau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an anga, namely one specified with m as an it (mit), is replaced with its short counterpart when affix NiC follows.

Examples:

ghatayati ‘... brings about’
vyathayati ‘... causes pain’
janayati ‘... brings into existence’
rajayati ‘... sports (colors)’
śamayati ‘... quiets down, afflicts’
jñāṇayati ‘... informs’

1. This rule offers hrasva ‘short’ as a replacement for the penultimate vowel of an anga constituted by roots called mit ‘those which have M as their it’. This replacement is valid before suffix NiC. Recall that roots of the bhvādi class, enumerated beginning with ghaṭ and ending with pha, are termed mitādi. This rule offers replacement for the vṛddhi vowel accomplished by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ.

6.4.93 विष्णुमुलोदीधिः स्नातस्वाम्

cinnaṃulo dīrgho nyatarasyām
̄/cin-naṃuloḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.); dīrghaḥ 1/1 anantarasyām 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā #89 nau #90 mitāṃ #92)

The penultimate vowel of an anga, namely one specified as mit, is replaced with its long counterpart when affixes cIN and NamUL, preceded by Ni, follow.
Examples:

aśami ‘first person singular LUN-derivative of causal’
sāmi ‘to quiet down, cause affliction’
asāmi ‘ibidem’
atami ‘first person singular LUN-derivative of causal’
tāmi ‘to cause desire’
atāmi ‘ibidem’
śaṁaṁśaṁam ‘NamUL form; . . . over and over again’
śaṁaṁśaṁam ‘ibidem’
taṁantāmam ‘NamUL form; . . . over and over again’
taṁantāmam ‘ibidem’

1. Note that aśami/aśāmi and atami/atāmi are derivatives of LUN introduced after causal verbal roots sāmi and tāmi. Given aT + sāmi + (CLI→GīN) + (LUN→ta), where GīN is introduced by 3.1.66 cīn bhāvakarmanah as a replacement of CLI, we get the deletion of Ni (6.4.51 ṇer anītī). The ta is then deleted (6.4.104 cīna lūk) after this rule introduces its optional long replacement. The remaining examples illustrate optional replacement in derivatives of NamUL, introduced with the signification of ābhiṣeṇya ‘over and over again’. Recall that 8.1.4 nītyavīdsaṁyoh requires repeating a form such as śaṁam in toto. Thus, śaṁaṁśaṁam, etc.

2. Why was this specification made with the optional replacement in long? Why can we not offer the optional replacement in long for the short which is already available? This way, if the option of hrasva is not accepted then the vṛddhi-replacement before Ni could be retained as long. But this cannot be done. Consider sām + NiC which yields sāmi after vṛddhi-replacement, Ni-deletion and shortening. If NiC is introduced again, we cannot get aśami. For, given aśāmi, we cannot get optional shortening because of the earlier NiC appearing again in place of deletion, via sthāṇivadbhāva. If, however, a long is offered as opton, Ni-deletion does not become sthāṇiva in accomplishing vocalic replacements (ajādeśa; 1.1.58 na padānta . . .). This same is also applicable to deletions (of a of yaN and NiC) in deriving asaṁśāni and aṣaṁśāni. An optional replacement for vṛddhi is not possible here. For, the deleted Ni will reappear via sthāṇivadbhāva. A NiC, when occurring after a verbal root ending in yaN, will block vṛddhi. For, the deleted a of yaN will reappear via sthāṇivadbhāva. Consequently, there will not be any penultimate a to go through vṛddhi. Thus, an optional provision of long is justified.

6.4.94 खचि हस्यः:

khac hrasvah
/khac 7/1 hrasvah 1/1/
(aṅgaśya #1 upadhāyā #89 ṇau #90)
khaṭpare ṇau parato hrasvo bhavaty aṅgaśyopadhāyāḥ
The penultimate vowel of an āṅga is replaced with its short counterpart when affix Nī, occurring before KHzC, follows.

**Examples:**

*dviṣantapah* 'he who torments his enemy'
*parantapah* 'he who torments others'
*purandarah* 'he who destroys cities'

1. Refer to derivational details of these examples under (appendix, III:735–36) rules 3.2.39 *dviṣat parayos tāpe* and 3.2.41 *pūhsarvavat*. . .

6.4.95 ह्रादो निस्त्हायाम्

hlādo niṣṭhāyām
/ hlādaḥ 5/1 niṣṭhāyām 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 upadāhyāḥ #89 hrāvah #94)

hlādo’ ōṅgasopadāhyāḥ hrāvah bhavati niṣṭhāyām parataḥ

The penultimate vowel of an āṅga, namely hlād, is replaced with its short counterpart when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

**Examples:**

*pārhlañnah* ‘. . . has rejoiced’
*pārhlañnavān* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that 8.4.42 radābhīyām . . . replaces the t of niṣṭhā, and the preceding d as well, with n. This rule allows shortening and 7.2.14 *śuīdito niṣṭhāyām* blocks introduction of iT. Thus, *pārhlañnah* and *pārhlañnavān*.

   Why do we state the condition of niṣṭhāyām ‘when a niṣṭhā suffix follows’? Consider *pārhlañdayati* ‘. . . causes to rejoice’ where, because LAṬ follows, we do not get a short vowel replacement.

2. A proposal is here made for split-formulation (yoga-vibhāga) of hlādah. This is done so that a short replacement can be accomplished when affix KtiN follows. Thus, we get *pārhlattih*. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā) claims that this proposal is not found in the Mahābhāṣya.

6.4.96 छादेव द्रव्यपारस्य

chāder ghe’ dvṛyapārṣasya
/chādeḥ 6/1 ghe 7/1 a-dvṛyapārṣasya 6/1 = *dvaṭu upasargau yasya* (bu.);
na dvṛyapārṣah (nañ), tasya/
(āṅgasya #1 upadāhyāḥ #89 hrāvah #94)
chāder aṅgasāyādvṛyapārṣasya ghapratya ye parata upadāhyāḥ hrāvah bhavati

The penultimate vowel of an āṅga, namely chādi when not used after two preverbs, is replaced with its short counterpart, provided affix GHa follows.
Examples:

utraśchadah ‘that which covers the chest; armor’
pracchadah ‘that which properly covers’
dantacchadah ‘that which covers teeth; lips’

1. This rule allows a short replacement to the penultimate vowel of an anga which is constituted by chādi and is not used with two preverbs at the beginning. Of course, when affix GH follows. Look for derivational details under rule 3.3.118 pumṣi samjñāyām . . .

Note that this rule will become vacuous if deletion of Ni is treated as asiddha (6.4.22 asiddhaved . . .), or else, is treated as sthānivat (1.1.57 acak parasmin pūrvavidhau). The penultimate short which this rule provides will then become impossible. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that asiddhatva ‘suspension’ and sthānivadbhāva ‘treatment of substitute as what it replaced’ of NiC is not accepted here.

6.4.97 इस्मान्त्रक्षित्र च
ismantrandvisu ca
/ is-man-tran-kvṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) ca φ/
(āṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #89 hrasvaḥ #94 dhādeḥ #96)
‘is, man, tran, ku’ ity eteṣu parataṁ chāder upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati
The penultimate vowel of an anga, namely chādi, is replaced with its short counterpart when affixes is, man, tran and KoI follow.

Examples:

chādiḥ ‘cover’
chādma ‘cover; roof’
chāṭtram ‘umbrella’
dhāmacchat ‘that (a roof) which covers a house’
upacchat ‘a cover in general’

1. Note that is (II:108: arcīṣucī . . .), manIN (IV:145: sarvadhātubhyo manin) and traN (IV:159: sarvadhātubhya śtran), of chadi, chadma and chatra, are all Unādi affixes. Rule 3.2.76 kvip ca introduces KoIP. Deletion of NiC, as usual, is accomplished by 6.4.51 ṇeṛ anīti.

6.4.98 गम्यवनजनवन्यसं लोप: विकत्तन्यसि
gamahanajanakhanaghasāṃ lopāḥ knity anāni
/gama-hana-jana-kaṇa-ghaśāṃ 6/3 (itar. dv.); lopāḥ 1/1/ knīti 7/1/ anāni 7/1 = na an (nañ.), tasmin/
(āṅgasya #1 aci #77 upadhāyāḥ #89)
‘gama, hana, jana, khana, ghasa’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām upadhāyā lopo bhavyat
ajādau pratyaye knity anāni parataḥ
The penultimate sound segment of an anãga, namely gamA ‘to go’, hanA ‘to kill’, janA ‘to be born’, khanA ‘to dig’ and ghasA ‘to eat’, is deleted by means of LOPA when a non-aN affix beginning with a vowel and marked with K or N as an it follows.

**Examples:**

jagmatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of gam ‘to go’
jagmuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
jaghnatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of han ‘to kill’
jaghnuh ‘third person plural . . .’
jajñē ‘he came into existence (LIT; ātmanepada)’
jajñāte ‘those (two) came into existence’
jajníre ‘they (all) came into existence’
cakhnatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of khan ‘to dig’
cakhnuh ‘third person plural active . . .’
jaksatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of ad ‘to eat, consume’
jaksuh ‘third person plural active . . .’
aksānnamimadanta pījāraḥ

1. This rule offers deletion of an upadhā ‘penultimate sound’ when gam, han, jan, khan and ghas constitute an anãga, provided the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel, is not aN and is marked with K and N as an it. Refer to derivational details of jaksatuḥ, jaksuh, jaghnatuḥ, jaghnuh and aksan under the appendix of 1.1.58 na padāṇa. . . . Examples of jan are middle (ātmanepada) deritives of LIT where ta and jha are replaced with eŚ and ireC (3.4.81 lītas tajhayor . . .). Refer to many derivatives of LIT already derived in the appendix (II:412–13).

6.4.99 तनिपत्योऽचरणसि

tanipatyōś chandasi
/tani-patyoh 6/2 (itār. dv.), tayoh; chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 upadhāyaḥ #89 lopah kniti #98)
‘tani, pati’ ity etayoś chandasi visaye upadhāyā lopo bhavati ajādau kniti pratyayē parataḥ

The penultimate vowel of an anãga, namely tanI and patI in the Vedic, is deleted by means of LOPA when a vowel-initial affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

**Examples:**

vitātnire kavayah ‘the weavers weaved’
sākynā iva pāptima ‘. . . fell like a bird’

1. Note that vitatnire derives from vitan + (LIT→jha→ireC), where we get vitatan + ire after iteration. We get vitat(a→φ) nire = vitatnire after deletion of
upadhā by this rule. This deletion is also found in deriving paptima, from pat + \( \text{LIT} \to \text{mas} \), after iteration. The condition of a following vowel-initial affix is met via introducing augment \( iT \) (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya . . .).

6.4.100 घसिष्ठसोऽवलःँ च

ghasibhasor hali ca
\( / \text{ghasi-bhasoḥ} 6/2 \) (itar. dv.); hali 7/1/
(\( \text{āṅgasya} \#1 \) aci \#77 upadhāyāḥ \#89 lopaḥ kniṭi \#98 chandasi \#99)
'ghasi, bhas' ity etayoś chandasi upadhāyā lopo bhavati halādāv ajādau ca
kniṭi pratyaye paratah

The penultimate vowel of an aṅga, namely ghasī and bhas, is deleted, in the Vedic, by means of LOPA when an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, and marked with \( K \) or \( N \) as an it, follows.

Examples:

sagdhiś ca me sapītiś ca me
babdhāṃ tē hari dhānāh

1. Refer to derivational details of sagdhi 'eating together' and babdhām 'third person dual active imperative of bhas 'to eat' in the appendix (II:410–12) of rule 1.1.58 na padānta . . . Note that penultimate deletion (upadhālopa) is subsequent (para) and obligatory (nitya) in comparison with iteration (dvirvacana). But, because of the usage being Vedic (chāndasatvatā), it is accomplished subsequent to the application of iteration and operations relative to abhyāsa.

Kāśikā offers bapsati as an example for the condition of ajādi 'when a vowel-initial affix follows'. Thus, bhas + \( \text{LIT} \to (jh\to at(ī)) \to bhas + (ŚaP\to ŚLU) + atī\to babhas + atī. \) We finally get babh(\( a\to φ \) s + atī\to ba(bh\to p) s + atī = bapsati, through penultimate deletion and cartua (8.4.54 khari ca). A derivate with singular \( tiP \) will be babhasti. For, penultimate deletion will be blocked because of \( P \) as an it in \( tiP \). That is, it cannot be accepted as marked with \( K \) and \( N \) as an it.

6.4.101 द्वशत्वीय हेतर्खः:

hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ
\( / \text{hujhalbhyoḥ} 5/2 = huś ca jhalas ca \) (itar. dv.), tehhyāḥ; heḥ 6/1/
(\( \text{āṅgasya} \#1 \) hali \#100)
'hu' ity etasmat jhalantebhyaś cottarasya halāder heḥ sthāne dhir ādeśo bhavati
A consonant-initial hi, which occurs after hu, or after a form ending in a sound denoted by jhaL (cf. Śs: 8–14), is replaced with dhi.

Examples:

juhudhi 'second person singular active LOT-derivate of hu 'to call out'
bhindhi ‘second person singular middle LOT-derivate of bhid ‘to split’
chindhi ‘second person singular middle LOT-derivate of chid ‘to cut’

1. This rule allows a consonant-initial hi which either occurs after hu, or after a form which ends in a sound denoted by jhaL, to be replaced with dhi. Recall that hi is offered as a replacement of siP (3.4.87 ser hy apic ca) in the imperative (LOT). It is also treated as ‘not marked with P as an it (apit). Derivational details of jhuddhi can be found in the appendix (3.3.166 adhiśte ca). Deriving bhindhi and chindhi, from bhid + (siP→hi) and chid + (siP→hi), requires introduction of ŚnaM (3.1.78 rudhādīhyāḥ śnam). This rule replaces hi with dhi and 6.4.111 śnasor allopah deletes the a of ŚnaM.

2. Recall that hi is allowed to be replaced with dhi after forms which end in a sound denoted by jhaL. That is why, tām is not replaced with dhi in juhutām. This replacement in dhi is also conditioned with halādi ‘that which begins with a consonant’. Notice that hi begins with a consonant. Why did Pāṇini have to restate this condition? Obviously to block this replacement where hi, because of the introduction of it, may not remain consonant-initial. This is what happens in rudhīhi and svapīhi, where it (rudādīhyāḥ sārvadhātuke ... ) is introduced. The augment is treated as part of hi (Pari (12): yad āgamā ... ).

It is stated that an optional tātAN (7.1.35 tuhyos tātāni) blocks dhi, as a replacement for hi, on the basis of paratva. Thus, we get juhutāi and bhintāi, the two derivate of hu and bhid. Furthermore, dhi, which has gone through blocking under vipratisedha once, will remain blocked forever (Paribh (Pā: 41): sakrī gatau vipratisedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva). That is, application of dhi, once blocked, was not possible (asambhavāt). But then consider bhindhaki and chindhaki where akAC (5.3.71 aravyasārvaśāmnāṃ akac ...) was blocked on the basis of paratva. It was, however, introduced subsequently in consonance with: (Paribh (40): punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham).

6.4.102 śrūṣṇapūrṇabhyaṣaṇadāsa
śrūṣṇupikṛtprbhyaṣaṇadāsa
/śrūṣṇu-pṛ-kr-vṛbhyaḥ 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 her dhiḥ #101)
śrū, śṛṇu, pṛ, kr, vr ṛty ete bhya uttarasya her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi
visaye
A hi which occurs after śru, śṛṇu, pṛ, kr, and vr is replaced with dhi when the usage is Vedic.

Examples:
śradhī havāmindra ‘listen to the invocation, O Indra’
śṛṇudhī girāḥ ‘listen carefully to the speech’
pūrddhi ‘fulfill’
urunāskṛdhī ‘make . . . wide’
apāvṛdhī ‘uncover’

1. This rule replaces hi with dhī, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after śru, śṛṇu, pṛ, kṛ and vṛ. Note that, except for śṛṇudhi, all other examples receive ŚaP, via bāhulaka (3.21.85 vyatyaya bahulam). This ŠaP is subsequently deleted by LUK (2.4.73 bahulaṃ chandasi). The i of śṛṇudhi is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.137 anyesām api dṛṣṭaye. Thus, śru + (LOT→hi→dhī) = śru + dh(i→i) = śṛṇdhī. Remember that Śnu is not introduced here because of bāhulaka. We, however, do find Śnu in śṛṇudhi. Note that pūrddhi is optional to pūrdhi, both deriving from pṛ + (LOT→siP→hi→dhī). Rule 7.1.102 ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya replaces ū with u, followed by r. This u is replaced with its long counterpart by 8.2.77 hali ca. The dh of pūrddhi goes through optional iteration (8.4.46 aco rahābhāyām dvie) and subsequent replacement in d (dh→d; jaśṭva). Thus, pūr(dh→d) + dhi = pūrddhi. Similar rules apply in deriving skṛdhi and apāvṛdhi.

6.4.103 अडित्वच

anitāś ca

/ anitah 6/1 = ēti yasya (bv.); na ēti (nav.), tasya; ca φ/

(her dhīh #101 chandasi #102)
anitāś ca her dhir ādēso bhavati chandasi viṣaye

A hi which is not marked with ṇ as an it is also replaced with dhi when the usage is Vedic.

Examples:

sūmaṃ rārandhi
asmabhāyam tadāhṛyaśva prayāndhi
yuṣydhyagmasajjñurāṇamēnāh

1. A hi, when not marked with ṇ as an it, is replaced with dhi in the Vedic. Recall that 3.4.88 vā chandasi assigns the optional non-pit status to hi. That is, if the non-pit option is not accepted then 1.2.4 sāravadhātukam apit will treat it as marked with ṇ as an it. Thus, if ṇit status of hi is not accepted, this rule will apply on the basis of ṇit status of hi. Consider rārandhi, the second person LOT-derivate of ramU ‘to sport, please’ where parasmaipada is used on the basis of vyatyaya ‘transposition’. Rule 2.4.76 bahulaṃ chandasi is responsible for ŚLU-deletion of ŠaP. The abhyāsa also goes through lengthening after iteration (6.1.7 tujādīnām dṛgho bhyaśasya). The m of ramU is not deleted because hi is not marked with ṇ as an it (ṇit; 6.4.37 anudāttopadeśa . . .). The ŠaP which occurs after yam ‘to strive’ goes through deletion by LUK (2.4.73 bahulaṃ chandasi). The ŠaP after yudh ‘to fight’ goes through deletion by ŚLU. This causes iteration and optional pit and non-ṇit status of hi. An application of guna yields yuyodhi.
6.4.104 चिणो लुक्

\( cīṇa \) luk\( /cīṇah \, 5/1 \, \) luk \, 1/1\( /\)
(aṅgasya #1)

\( cīṇa \) uttarasya pratyayasya lug bhavati
An affix which occurs after \( CīN \) is deleted by means of \( LUK \).

**Examples:**

- \( akāri \, \ldots \) made'
- \( ahāri \, \ldots \) fetched'
- \( alāvī \, \ldots \) cut'
- \( apāri \, \ldots \) cooked'

1. Note that \( LUK \) is used as a term for \( adarśana \, \) 'non-appearance' of an affix (1.1.61 \( pratyayasya \, \ldots \)). That is, this rule offers deletion of an affix which occurs after \( CīN \). Refer to derivational details of \( akāri \) under the appendix of rule 3.1.66 \( cīṇ bhāvakarmanoḥ \). Similar rules apply in deriving \( ahāri \), etc. This rule deletes \( ta \) which occurs after \( CīN \) in \( kr + (LUN→ta)→aT + kr + (CLI→CīN) + ta→aT + kār + CīN + (ta→φ) = akāri \). But consider \( akāri + tarām = akārītarām \), where \( ta \)-deletion becomes \( asiddha \) in view of deletion of \( tarām \).

This is done by interpreting 6.4.104 \( cīṇa \, luk \) differently in view of contextual requirements. Yet another suggestion is made to bring \( kuśita \) from \( anuvṛtti \) and changing \( cīṇabh, \) the ablative, into genitive. This makes it possible for deletion of affixes which are marked with \( k \) and \( N \) as \( it \). It saves \( taraP \) and \( tamaP \) from deletion since they are marked with \( P \) as an \( it \).

6.4.105 अतो हे:

\( aṭo \) heḥ
\( /aṭah \, 5/1 \, heḥ \, 6/1\)
(aṅgasya #1 luk #104)

\( akārāntād \) aṅgād uttarasya her lug bhavati
A \( hi \) which occurs after an \( aṅga \) ending in \( a \) is deleted by means of \( LUK \).

**Examples:**

- \( paca \, \) 'cook!' 
- \( patha \, \) 'study!' 
- \( gaccha \, \) 'go!' 
- \( dhāva \, \) 'run!'

1. This rule offers deletion of \( hi \) which may occur after an \( aṅga \) ending in \( a \). Note that the genitive of \( aṅgasya \) is here changed into ablative (\( pañcamī \)) for facilitating proper interpretation of this rule.
2. Kāśikā offers yuhi ‘... mix’ and ruhi ‘... grow’ as counter-examples to the condition of an aṅga ending in a. Obviously, the aṅga here ends in u. Thus, deletion of si→hi, after yu and ru, is blocked. The specification of a with t (aT; taparakaraṇa) is also significant. Thus, given lunā + hi and punā + hi, we do not get deletion. The aṅga here ends in a long ā. Recall that the final derivates are lunīhi and punīhi where, given lunā + hi and punā + hi, 6.4.113 īhāy aghoh replaces the long ā of lunā with ī. This ī is treated as asiddha in view of deletion of this rule. That is, the aṅga is still considered as ending in long ā, and not a short.

6.4.106 उत्तरच प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्

utraś ca pratayād asamyaṣṭapūrṇāt
/utraḥ 5/1 caḥ pratayāt 5/1 asamyaṣṭapūrṇāt 5/1 = avidyāmānāḥ samyogah
pūrṇaḥ yasya (bv.), tasmāt/
(aṅgasya #1 luk #104 heḥ #105)
ukṛto yo' asamyaṣṭapūrvas tadantāḥ pratayād uttarasya her lug bhavati
A hi, when occurring after an affix which (i) occurs at the end of an aṅga and (ii) terminates in an u not used after a conjunct, is also deleted by means of LUK.

Examples:

cinu 'heap!'
sunu 'listen!'
kuru 'do!'

1. This rule deletes a hi which occurs after an aṅga, provided the aṅga terminates in an affix ending in u, and there is no conjunct occurring before u. Thus, consider cinu and sunu where, given ci+ (LOT→si→hi) and su + (LOT→si→hi), Śnu is introduced as a vikaraṇa (3.1.73 svādhīyaḥ śnuḥ). The vikaraṇa in case of kr of kuru is u (3.1.79 tanādikṛśtya . . . ). Our present rule deletes hi. We thus get cinu and sunu. Recall that kr+ u+ hi goes through guṇa to produce k(r→ar) + u + hi. The a of ar, in addition to deletion of hi, is replaced with u (6.4.110 at ut sārvadātuke).

Kāśikā offers rādhnuhi and prāpnuhi as counter-examples where deletion of hi is blocked because u occurs after a conjunct. Consider lunīhi ‘cut!’ and punīhi ‘cleanse!’ as counter-examples where deletion of hi is blocked because hi occurs after ā. Similar counter-examples are ruhi and yuhi where hi occurs after u which is part of the base and not of an affix.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to make this deletion optional in the Vedic. That is, this deletion of hi applies sometimes. But on occasions it also does not. Thus, consider ātanuhi ‘extend (it) properly’, dhinuhi ‘please!’ and kṛnuhi ‘do!’ where this deletion does not apply.
6.4.107 लोपञ्चान्तरस्यां न्योः:

lopaś cānyatarasyāṁ muho
/lopaḥ 1/1 ca ṣ anyatarasyāṁ 7/1 muho 7/2 = maś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.),
tayoh/
(aṅgasya #1 utah pratayād asamyogapūrṇāś #106/
yo' yam ukāro' samyogapūrṇah tadantasya pratayasyānyatarasyāṁ lopo bhavati vakāramakārādau prataye parataḥ

An affix which ends in u and does not occur after a conjunct is optionally deleted by means of LOPA, provided an affix beginning with m or v follows.

Examples:

sunvah ‘first person dual active LOT of sUṆ ‘to press out’
sunvah ‘ibidem’
sunmah ‘first person plural . . .’
sunumah ‘ibidem’
tanvah ‘first person dual LOT of tanU ‘to extend’
tanuvah ‘ibidem’
tanmah ‘first person plural . . .’
tanumah ‘ibidem’

1. Notice how all derivates end in vah and mah in consonance with the affixal condition of muho. Note also that asamyogapūrṇa is here interpreted as an adjective to u, and not to the affix which may end in u. The vikarana in these examples is Śnu. This deletion applies only to an u which belongs to an affix. Thus, there is no deletion in yuvah and yumah where u is part of verbal roots. Now consider sakhuvah and sakhnumah where these derivates end in vas and mas but their u occurs after a conjunct. This u can also not be deleted.

2. Why is LOPA used here explicitly? Why could LUK not be brought via anuvṛtā? So that the final u of an affix alone could be deleted. If LOPA was not used, deletion would have applied to an affix terminating in u.

6.4.108 नित्यं करोते:

nityam karoteḥ
/ nityam ṣ karoteḥ 5/1/
(aṅgasya #1 utah pratayāt #106 lopah muho #107)
karoṭa uttarasya ukāraṇaḥ pratayasya vakāramakārādau prataye parato nityam lopo bhavati

Affix u which occurs after an aṅga, namely kr, is obligatorily deleted by means of LOPA, when an affix beginning with m or v follows.
6.4.109 येच

ye ca
/yə 7/1 ca ϕ/

(aṅgasya #1 uthaḥ pratyayāḥ #106 lopah #107 nityām karoteḥ #108)
yakārādau ca pratyaye parataḥ karote uttarasyokārāpratayasya nityām lopo bhavati

Affix u which occurs after an aṅga, namely kṛ, is obligatorily deleted by means of LOPA also when an affix beginning with y follows.

6.4.110 अत उत्तसार्भधातुके

ata ut sārvadhātuke
/ataḥ 6/1 ut 1/1 sārvadhātuke 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 kniṭi #98 uthaḥ pratyayāḥ #106 lopah #107 karoteḥ #108)
ukārāpratayāntasya karote akārasya sthāne ukārā ādeśo bhavati sārvadhātuke kniṭi parataḥ

The a of an aṅga which is constituted by kṛ, and ends in an affix ending in u, is replaced with uT (1.1.70 tapās tatkālasya) when a sārvadhātuka affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

kurutaḥ 'third person dual active LAT-derivate of kṛ'
kuruanti 'third person plural . . .'

1. Refer to the appendix of 1.2.4 sārurvātukam aput for derivational details of kuruṇa and kuruṇi. This rule introduces a as a replacement for the a of an anīga, namely kr, when the same ends in u, provided a sārurvātukā affix marked with K and N follows. Thus, k(t→ar) + u + tas→k(u→ar) + u + tas→k(a→u) r + u + tas = kuruṇa(s→r→h) = kuruṇa.

1. Why do we have to use sārurvātuke? So that this replacement can take palce even under the condition of a previously existing sārurvātuka. Thus, consider kura which I derive under 6.4.106 utaś ca . . .. Recall that hi, a sārurvātuka, is deleted after kar + u. The utva of this rule, because of the express mention of sārurvātuke, can now take place under the condition of the removed hi. Recall also that a hi-replacement of si is also considered as not marked with P (3.4.87 ser hy apanic ca). This enables hi to be accepted as marked with K and N. It is still argued that the utva can be accomplished even without the express mention of sārurvātuke? How? The deletion of hi will be considered as asiddha (PM: asiddho hi, tasyāsidhavād utvam bhavisyati). Thus, hi being there, utva cannot be blocked. In that case, an express mention of sārurvātuke can be accepted as made for clarity (vispaśārtham).

Why is u specified here with a following t (tapatkarana)? So that the penultimate guna (laghu padhaguna; 7.3.84 sārurvātukārdha . . .) of u can be blocked. A replacement specified with a following t cannot allow any further replacement.

Finally the condition of marked with K and N is still valid. Consider karoti, karosi and karomi where tiP, siP and miP are marked with P as an it. This utva does not apply there since the condition of kniti is not satisfied.

6.4.111 तन्नासारक्रोषः:

śnasor allopah
/śnasoh 6/2 = śnaś ca aś ca = śnasau (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; allopah = ato lopah (śaś. tat.) /
(āṅgasya #1 kniti #98 sārurvātuke #110)
śasyāsteś cākārasya lopo bhavati sārurvātuke kniti parataḥ

The a of ŚnaM, and that of verbal root as as well, is deleted by means of LOPA when a sārurvātuka affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

rundhāḥ 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of rudh 'to obstruct''
rundhantī 'third person plural . . .'
bhintāḥ 'third person singular active LOT-derivate of bhid 'to split''
bhindantī 'third person plural . . .'
santi 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of as 'to be''

1. This rule allows deletion of a of ŚnaM and as. Consider rudhIR +
(LAT→tas)→ru + ŠnaM + dh + tas, where ŠnaM is introduced after u of rudh (1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ). Refer to ruṇaddhi (appendix, 3.1.78 rudhādi-bhyah . . .) for further derivational details. Our present rule deletes the a of ŠnaM. The n then goes through replacements in anusvāra (8.3.24 mo’ nusvāraḥ) and back to n again via parasavarna (8.4.58 anusvārasya . . .). This n cannot be replaced with n because of asiddhatva (8.2.1 pūrvarāsiddham). Examples such as bhintah and bhindanti follow similar rules. Refer to derivational details of stah under the appendix of 1.1.58 na padāṇa. . . Deriving santi from: as + (LAT→jhi→anti) should then become easier.

Note that this deletion is also available before an affix marked with Kor Ṋ as an it. It does not apply in bhinatti and asti since tiP is marked with P as an it.

2. How do we get the specification of śnasoh. It should be śna + asoh = śnāsoh. The a of śna goes through pararūpa because of the listing of śakandhvādi (cf. ut ad 6.1.94 eñi pararūpaṃ).

6.4.112 इनाध्यात्मयेऽरतः:
śnābhayastyor ātah
śnā-abhayastayah 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; ātah 6/1/
(angasya #1 kniti #98 lopaḥ #107 sārvadhātuke #110)
śnā‘ ity etasyābhayaśānām cāṅgānām ākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kniti paratah
The ā of an aṅga which ends in Śnā, or of one which is termed abhyasta, is deleted by means of LOPA, when a sārvadhātuka affix marked with K or Ṋ as an it follows.

Examples:
lunate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of lūṆ‘to cut’
lunatāṃ ‘third person dual middle LOT-derivate of lūṆ’
alunata ‘third person plural middle LAN-derivate of lūṆ’
mimate ‘third singular middle LAT-derivate of māṆ‘to measure’
mimataḥ ‘third person dual middle LOT-derivate of māṆ’
amimata ‘third person plural middle LAN-derivate of māṆ’
saṃjihate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of OhāṆ‘to go’
used with the preverb sam‘
saṃjihatāṃ ‘third person dual middle LOT-derivate . . .
samajihata ‘third person plural middle LAN-derivate . . .’

1. Note that our next rule proposes a replacement in ī under the condition of a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with K and Ṋ. By inference, we have to accept this rule’s provision under the condition of a similar sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel (ajādi).

Refer to derivational details of vyatilunate (appendix, II:468); 1.3.14
hartari . . .) for deriving lunate. The e of the derivate of LOT gets ām (3.4.90 ām etah). Thus we get lunatām. The third plural middle form alunata is derived with LAN and introduction of augment aT. We find mimate, mimatām, and amimata as examples for items termed abhyasta. Recall that māN ‘to measure’ is a root of the juhotyādi class. A ŚaP introduced after it goes through deletion by ŚLU. This starts the process of iteration (ditva; 6.1.10 ślau). The ā of abhyāsa goes through shortening and its a is replaced with i (7.4.76 bhrnām it). The ā of abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam) goes through deletion of this rule. The rest of operational steps are similar to many atmanepada derivates of LAT, LOT and LAN. Derivational details of sañjihate, sañjihatām and samajihata are not very different. These are examples of verbal root OhāN, used with the preverb sam. The m of sam goes through anusvāra and parasavarna ‘homogeneous with the following’.

2. Recall that this deletion is limited to derivates with Śnā and abhyasta. That is why we do not get it in yānti and vānti. This deletion is also available only when an affix marked with K and N follows. That is why this deletion is blocked before tiP in alunāt, ajahāt. A mit and śīt status is not allowable in the context of tiP.

3. Why was this specification made with ā used with t (taparakarana? That is, a specification with a should have accounted for it. A specification with āt is made for clarity (spaṭārtham).

6.4.113 इ हल्ययोः:

ī haly aghoh
/i (1/1 deleted) hali 7/1 aghoh 6/1 = na ghuh (nañ.), tasya/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #110 śnābhasthayor ātah #122)
śnāntānām aṅgānām abhyāstānām ca ghuvarjītanām āta ikārādeśo bhavati
halādu sārvadhātuke kniti paratah
The final ā of an aṅga which ends in Śnā, or else, is termed an abhyasta but is not termed ghu, is replaced with i when a sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

lunītah ‘third person dual active LAT-derivate of lūN’
punītah ‘third person dual . . . of pūN ‘to cleanse’
lunīthaḥ ‘second person dual active LAT of lūN’
punīthaḥ ‘. . . of pūN’
punīte ‘third person singular middle LAT of pūN’
mimīte ‘. . . of māN’
mimīse ‘second person singular . . .’
mimīdive ‘second person plural . . .’
sañjihite ‘third person singular middle LAT of OhāN used with the
preverb sam’
  sanjīhīse ‘second person singular . . .’
  sanjīhidhve ‘second person plural . . .’

1. Refer to derivational details of pariṅīte (appendix, 1.3.18 pariṁvayevahyāh . . .) for deriving lunīte and punīte from lū + LAT and pū + LAT. Deriving lunītah and lunīthah with active (parasmātipada) sārvadhātuka affixes tas ‘third dual’ and thas ‘second dual’ should not present any difficulty. Recall that these affixes are termed Nit by 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit. Derivates such as mimīte, mimśe, etc., will involve iteration as usual. Derivates of OhāN, used with sam, are not very difficult to derive.

2. A condition of halādi ‘beginning with a consonant’ is imposed so that this replacement in i is blocked in deriving lunānti and punānti where jhi is replaced with anti. The condition of aghoh is needed to block this i in deriving datṭah and dhattah. Recall that dā and dhā, with the exception of dāp, are termed ghu (1.1.20 dādhiḥv adāp). The condition of kniti is again valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in lunāti and jahāti where tīp is marked with P as an it.

6.4.114 इद दरिद्रस्य
id daridrasya
/it 1/1 daridrasya 6/1

(angasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #110 atāh #112 hali #113)
daridrāte halādau sārvadhātuke kniti parata ikārādeśo bhavati

The final ā of daridrā is replaced with i when a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

daridritah ‘third person dual active LAT-derivate of daridrā ‘to be poor’
daridritah ‘second person dual . . .’
daridrivah ‘first person dual . . .’
daridrimah ‘first person plural . . .’

1. This rule offers i as a replacement for the ā of daridrā. Of course, when a sārvadhātuka affix marked with K and N follows. We get daridritah, daridritah, daridrivah and daridrimah, where daridrā occurs before LAT replaced with the active endings tas, thas, vas and mas. Note that daridrā is a root of the adādi class. A SaP which occurs after it is thus deleted (2.4.72 adiprabhṛṭibhyāḥ . . .).

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving daridrati and daridrāti because of the twin conditions of halādi and kniti, respectively.

3. A vārttika proposal is made for deletion of ā of daridrā when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows (vt: daridrāter ārdhadhātuke lopo vaktavṛyayāḥ). Additionally, it is stated that ā-deletion remains valid in affixal operations (vt:
siddhās ca pratyayavidhau bhavatīti vaktavyam). Thus, daridrātīti = daridraḥ ‘poor’.

The following verse of the Mahābhāṣya summarizes:

na daridrāyake lopo daridrāne ca nesyate/
didaridrāsatīty eke didaridrāsatīti vā/ /
‘there is no deletion in daridrāyakaḥ; no deletion is also desired in
daridrānaḥ; some accept optional deletion in didaridrāsati and
didaridrīṣati’

6.4.115 भियोन्यातरस्याम्

bhiyō nṛatarasyām
/bhiyāḥ 6/1 anyātarasyām 7/1/
(anāgasya #1 knīti #98 sārvadātuḥke #110 hali #113 it #114)
‘bhi’ ity etasyāṅgasyāntarasām ikārādeo bhavatī halādau knīti sārvadātuḥke
parataḥ

The final i of an anāga, namely bhī, is optionally replaced with i when an
affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with K or N an an it,
follows.

Examples:

bibhitāḥ ‘third person dual active LA T-derivate of Nībhī ‘to fear’
bibhitāḥ ‘ibidem’

bibhīthāḥ ‘second person dual . . .’
bibhīthāḥ ‘ibidem’

bibhīvāḥ ‘first person dual . . .’
bibhīvāḥ ‘ibidem’

bibhīmāḥ ‘first person plural . . .’
bibhīmāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. The i-replacement of the preceding rule is made optional (anyā-
atarasyām) in case of verbal root bhī. Thus, we get two forms. Note that exam-
ple derivates all involve iteration and operations relative to abhyāsa. This
replacement in short i comes in place of the final i of bhi + bhī. The first i goes
through shortening.

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving bibhīyati where jh of jhi is re-
placed with at. That is, a consonant-initial affix does not follow. The final i is
thus replacement with yaN. A lack of meeting the condition of knīti again
blocks this replacement in bibhēti. This example goes through a replace-
ment in guna. The condition of sārvadātuḥke similarly does not allow this
replacement in bhīyate. Affix yaK is obviously an ārdhadātuḥa.
6.4.116 जहातेर्च

jahāteś ca
/jahāteh 6/1 ca φ/
(āngasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #110 hali #113 it #114 anyatarasyām #115)
jahāteś ca ikārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām halādeva kniti sārvadhātuke parataḥ

The final á of an āṅga, namely OhāK 'to abandon', is also optionally replaced with i, when an affix which begins with a consonant and is marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

jahitah 'third person dual active LAT-derivate of OhāK'
jahitah 'ibidem'
jahithah 'second person dual . . .'  
jahithah 'ibidem'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended so that, in subsequent rules, only jahāteḥ could be carried (prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham).

2. Refer to derivational details of juhoti (appendix, 1.1.61 pratyayasya . . .) for operations relative to iteration and abhyāsa. Recall that 6.4.113 i hali aghoh offers i as an obligatory (nitya) replacement for the final á of abhyāsa. That i becomes applicable if this optional i is not accepted. This replacement option is again not available where a non-sārvadhātuka affix follows. Thus, we get hiyate and jehūyate where affixes yaK and yaN are termed ārdhadhātuka.

6.4.117 आ च है

ā ca hau
/ā ca φ hau 7/1/
(āngasya #1 it #114 anyatarasyām #115 jahāteh #116)
jahāte ākāraś cāntādeśo bhavati ikāraś cānyatarasyām hau parataḥ

The final á of an āṅga, namely OhāK, is optionally replaced with à, in addition to an optional i, when affix hi follows.

Examples:

jahāhi 'second person singular active LOT-derivate of OhāK 'to abandon''
jahiihi 'ibidem'
jahiihi 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers ā as an optional replacement for an āṅga in há. The optional i of the preceding rule is also applicable. The ca is used here to attract anyatarasyām and i both (Nyāsa: cakāra ittvanyatarasyāmgrahanayor
anukarṣanārthak). Since these two options are both made against ī of 6.4.113 hāy aghoh, we will end up with three forms: jahāhi, jahihi and jahihi. Operations relative to deletion by ŚLU (of SaP) and iteration all obtain as usual.

6.4.118 लोपो यि

lopo yi
\lopsah 1/1 yi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #100 jahāteh #116)
lopo bhavati jahāter yakārādau kniti sārvadhātuke paratah
The final ā of an aṅga, namely OhāK, is deleted by means of LOPA when a sārvadhātuka affix which begins with y and is marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

jahyāt ‘third person singular active LIN-derivate of OhāK’
jahyātām ‘third person dual . . .’
jahyāi ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule offers deletion of ā when hā is followed by a sārvadhātuka affix marked with K and N. Additionally, this sārvadhātuka affix must begin with y (yakārādi). Incidentally, the deletion applies to a final ā (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya). Refer to many LIN-derivates in the appendix where operational steps common to these examples, i.e., SaP, ŚLU-deletion, doubling, introduction of yāsUT, and tām and us, have been explained.

6.4.119 भसोरेद्वाभ्यासतोऽपकारच

ghusor edd hāv abhyāsalopaś ca
\ghusosah 6/2 (itar. dv.); et 1/1 hau 7/1 abhyāsa-lopah 1/1 (śaṣ. tat.); ca
\phi/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98)
ghusamjñānakānām aṅgānām āsteś ca ekārādeśo bhavati hau parato bhyaśalopaś ca
The final sound segment of an aṅga termed ghu, or of an aṅga constituted by as, is replaced with e when affix hi follows, with an additional provision that the abhyāsa be deleted by means of LOPA.

Examples:

dehi ‘second person singular active LOT-derivate of dā ‘to give’’
dhehi ‘. . . of dhā ‘to place’’
edhi ‘. . . of as ‘to be’’

1. This rule offers e as a replacement for an aṅga constituted by roots termed ghu, and as as well. Additionally, these aṅga also go through deletion
of their abhyāsa. Refer to the appendix (II: 352–54) of 1.1.20 dādhāgyu adāp for general derivational direction for imperative forms of dā ‘to give’ (dehi), dhā ‘to place’ (dhehi) and as ‘to be’ (edhi). Rule 6.4.22 asiddhavad atrābhāṭ shows derivational details of edhi.

2. Commentators explain that this lopa is here intended as marked with Ś (Kāś: śid ayam lopah). Consequently, deletion applies to an abhyāsa, in toto (1.1.55 anekālīṣīt sarvasya). This provision now becomes an exception to deletion of the final sound segment (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya).

6.4.120 अत एकहलमध्ये स नादेशादेशिनिः

ata ekahalmadhye nādesāder liṇi
/atah 6/1 ekahalmadhye 7/1 = ekaś ca ekaś ca = ekau; ekaś ca tau halau ca = ekahalau (karmadhāraya); ekahalor madhyah (saś. tat.), tasmin; anādesādeś 6/1 = avidyamāna ādesā ādir yasya (bu.), tasya; liṇi 7/1/
(angasya #1 kniti #98 eta abhyāsalopaś ca #119)
liṇi parata ādesā ādir yasyāngasya nāsti tasya ekahalmadhye asahāyayor halor madhye yo’ kāras tasya ekārēdēśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṇi kniti parataḥ
An a which occurs in between two single consonants of an aṅga whose initial sound has not replaced through a replacement is replaced with e, with an additional provision of deletion of abhyāsa, when a LIṬ affix marked with K or N as an it follows.

Examples:

renatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of raṇ ‘to be happy’
renuh ‘third person plural . . .’
yematuḥ ‘third dual active LIṬ-derivate of yamA ‘to be indifferent’
yemuh ‘third person plural . . .’
pecatuḥ ‘third dual active LIṬ-derivate of pac’
pecuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
dematuḥ ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of damU ‘to control, suppress’
demuh ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule replaces the a of an aṅga with e, provided this a occurs in between two consonants. Additionally, the abhyāsa of this aṅga is also deleted. These two operations apply to an aṅga which does not go through deletion of its initial sound, and which occurs followed by a LIṬ affix marked with K and N as an it. Thus, consider raṇ + atus where atus is a replacement of LIṬ, via tiP (3.4.82 parasmaipadānāṃ nalatusus . . .). This string produces ra + raṇ + atus after iteration (dvitva) and halādiśa (7.4.60). Our present rule replaces the a of ra with e and deletes ra. We thus get renatu(s→r→h = renatuḥ).

Notice how the aṅga, i.e., ra + raṇ, meets the condition of anādesādi ‘that
of which there is no replacement at the beginning’. The a of ra meets the condition of ekahalmadhya because the two r sounds in between which it occurs are not conjuncts. Similar derivational details apply in deriving renuh from ra + ran + (LIȚ -> tas -> us). Other examples follow similar derivational applications.

The word eka is not used here in the sense of a number (sāmkhyā). It is, instead, used here in the sense of asahāya ‘without an accompanying consonant, non-conjunct’. This interpretation of eka is valid in view of the specification of madhya ‘in between’. Obviously, ‘in between’ is a relative notion and, hence, is impossible to make sense in the context of eka interpreted as a number. Commentators explain that this eka is derived from ekas ca ekaś ca, a dvandva paraphrase, where only one eka is retained (ekaśeṣa).

2. Note that e comes as a replacement for a. Thus, we get didivatuḥ and didivuḥ from div + LIȚ, where e and deletion of abhyāsa do not apply. Obviously, because there is no a. Since this a is specified with taparakaḷaṇa ‘marking with T’, our present rule does not apply on the string yielded by rās + LIȚ -> rārāse / rārāṣe / rārāṣire. That is, the replacement and deletion of this rule applies only when the aṅga has a short a, occurring in between two single consonants.

Why is the specification made with ekahalmadhya ‘in between two non-conjunct consonants’. So that this rule does not apply on derivates of tsar ‘to hide, move’, i.e., tatsuṣatuḥ and tatsuṣuḥ. A condition of anādeśa blocks the application of this rule on cakanaṭuḥ and cakanaḥ, etc., where the initial k of kanaḥ goes through a replacement in e.

3. Note that the negation of anādeśādeḥ is also construed with liṭi. That is, liṭi of this rule is read twice via repetition (avṛtti). One liṭi is thus read with anādeśādeḥ and the other with kniti, constrained by the condition of a following LIȚ. Thus, replacements which may block the application of this rule must result under the condition of a following LIȚ. Consider nematuḥ / nemuḥ; and sehe / sehāte. These sets of examples involve a replacement of n and s with n and s, respectively. These consonants, n and s, are replaced with s and n when occurring as initial of a verbal root (6.1.64 dhātvaḍeh . . . ; 6.1.65 no nah). Obviously, they are replaced prior to the introduction of LIȚ and are thus not conditioned (animitika) by LIȚ. The negation of anādeśādeḥ does not apply to these examples.

Commentators explain that there are two types of replacements: (a) where a replacement causes formal difference (bhedas) and (b) where no such difference (abheda) results. Our present rule applies only where the first kind of replacement is involved. Consider 6.4.126 na sasadāvatīdugunāṇām which negates etva ‘replacement in e’ and abhyāsalopa ‘deletion of abhyāsa’ in viṣāsasatuḥ and viṣāsasauḥ, etc. Now consider 8.1.54 abhyāse ca which replaces sounds denoted by caR and jaŚ, in an abhyāsa, with corresponding caR and jaŚ. This results in non-difference of forms such as śas and dād. If the
negation of anādesādih does not make a difference in replacements depending on formal difference or a lack of it, śas and dad will become ādesādi. This rule itself will be able to block evta and abhyāsalopa. What is the need of formulating 6.4.126 na šasadavādi . . ? This, in turn, indicates that our present rule considers a replacement resulting in formal difference.

Finally, the condition of kītī is also valid. Consider aham papaca and aham papatha where NaL, of pac + (LIṬ → miP → NaL) and paṭh + (LIṬ → miP → NaL), cannot be considered as knīt (1.2.4 sārvadhatukam api). That is, it will still be accepted as marked with P as an it, via sthānivadhava ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’. A replacement in e, with concurrent deletion of abhyāsa, is blocked.

4. There are four vārttiika proposals under this rule:

(i) A replacement in e (etva) and deletion of abhyāsa should also be stated for dambhi, i.e., in debhatuḥ and debhuh. This vārttiika is necessitated because deletion of m in dambh becomes asisāda, thereby impairing the condition of ekahalmadhya.

(ii) A replacement in e should also be stated for naś and man when followed by a non-LIṬ. Thus, we get aneśam and menakā, derivates of LUN and vuK, respectively.

(iii) A replacement in e should be stated for am and pac in the Vedic when a non-LIṬ affix follows. Consider (vi-am + (CanaŚ) + sU → vyemānam, where augment mUK is not introduced. Examples of pac in LIṬ: pac + a + sīyUT + (LIṬ → jha → ran) = peciran.

(iv) An evta must also be stated for yaj and vac, in the Vedic. Thus, we get (āy(a→e)i(a + i→e)) = āyeje and āvepe, both derivates of LAN, where augment āT is introduced by 6.4.73 chandasya api dṛṣṭaye. Note that this āT is introduced to anajādi ‘that which does not begin with a vowel’.

6.4.121 थलि च सेटि

thali ca seti
/ thali 7/1 ca φ seti 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ed abhyāsalopaś ca #119 ekahalmadhye nādesāder liṭi #120)

thali ca seti parato nādesāder aṅgasya ekahalmadyagatasyātath sthāne ekāra ādeso bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca

An a which occurs in between two single consonants of an aṅga whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is also replaced with e, with an additional provision of deletion of abhyāsa, when affix thal used with iṬ follows.

Examples:

pecitha ‘second person singular active LIṬ-derivate of pac ‘to cook’
śekitha 'second person singular active LIṬ-derivate of śak 'to be able to’

1. Note that thaL is not an affix marked with K and N as an it. This rule is thus formulated for allowing etva, and concurrent deletion of abhyāsa, in contexts outside of kniti. Consider pecitha and śekitha (appendix (III:787), 3.4.115 liṭ ca) where etva and deletion of abhyāsa apply before LIṬ. A condition of seti is imposed so that, in case of the non-iT option of 7.2.63 rī to bhāradvājasya, we can get papaktha with no etva and concurrent deletion of abhyāsa.

It is stated that thaL need not be stated in this rule. For, this rule is needed for contexts not covered by kniti. The condition of seti, outside the context of kniti, can only be met by thaL. Why then make an explicit mention of thaL? It is made for clarity (Kāś: thalgraṇhaṇām vispaṭārtham).

The conditions of at, ekahalmadhya and anādesādi are also valid. Thus, consider didēvitha where i is not replaced with i. The deletion of the abhyāsa also does not apply. Now consider tatākṣitha where replacement does not apply because the vowel does not happen to be used in between two single consonants. Finally, consider cakanitha and babhanitha where we do have the replacement at the beginning. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in e. We also do not get deletion of the abhyāsa.

6.4.122 तृप्फलब्धज्ञापयत

tīphalabhajatraṇpaś ca
/tī-phala-bhaja-trap-aḥ 6/1 (sam. dv.), tasya; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 ed abhyāsalopaś ca #119 atah liti #120 thali ca seti #121)
‘tī phala, bhaja, trapa ity eteṣām aṅgānām ata ekāraḍeso bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liti kniti paratas thali ca seti

The final a of an aṅga, namely tī ‘to float’, phal ‘to be fruitful’, bhaj ‘to serve’, and trap ‘to be ashamed, be shameful’, is also replaced with e, with an additional provision of deletion of abhyāsa, when a LIṬ affix marked with K or N as an it, or else, affix thaL used with iT follows.

Examples:

teratuh ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of tī’
teruh ‘third person plural . . .’
teritha ‘second person plural . . .’
phelatuh ‘third person dual . . . of phal’
pheluh ‘third person plural . . .’
phelitha ‘second person singular . . .’
bhejatuh ‘third person dual . . . of bhaj’
bhejuh ‘third person plural . . .’
bhejitha ‘second person singular . . .’
trepe 'third person singular middle LIT-derivate of trap'
trepāte 'third person dual . . .'
trepire 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule allows etva, and deletion of abhyāsa, where a LIT affix marked with \( K \) and \( N \), or a thal, with \( iT \), follows. Note that \( i \) of \( \tilde{t} \) goes through a replacement in guna, i.e., ar (7.4.11 r̥chātyātām). We thus get \( (ta→ϕ) + (a→e) r + atus = teratu(s→h) = teratuḥ\). This etva and deletion of abhyāsa is negated by 6.4.126 na āśadāda . . . Our present rule makes it available. Examples such as phelatuḥ/pheluḥ/phelītāḥ; and bhelatuḥ/bhehuḥ/bheliṭāḥ involve doubling and a replacement in \( p \) and \( b \) for initial \( ph \) and \( bh \). This, in turn, could have blocked etva, and deletion of abhyāsa, in accord with the negation of anādesādi. Our present rule makes these operations both possible. A similar explanation can be offered for etva and deletion in trepe/trepāte and trepire where \( tr \) impairs the condition of ekahalmaṭhya. This rule again facilitates etva and deletion.

2. A vārttika proposal recommends that etva and deletion should also be stated for śranthi, i.e., in śrethatuḥ and śrethuḥ.

6.4.123 राधो हिमसायम्

\[ \text{rādho himsāyām} \]
\[ /rādhaḥ 6/1 himsāyām 7/1/ \]
\[ (āṅgasya #1 kniṭi #98 ed abhyāsalopaś ca #119 atah liṭi #120 thali ca seti #121) \]

\[ \text{rādho himsāyām arthe' varṇasya ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kniṭi} \]
\[ \text{ paraphas thali ca seti} \]

The \( a \) of an āṅga, i.e., rādha, signifying himsā 'wishing harm to' is replaced with \( e \) with the additional provision of deletion of its abhyāsa when a LIT affix marked with \( K \) or \( N \) as an \( it \), or else, affix thal used with \( iT \) follows.

Examples:

aparedhatuh ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of rādha used with the preverb ap’
aparedhuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
aparedhīthā ‘second person singular . . .’

1. This rule allows etva, and deletion of abhyāsa as well, when rādha is used with the signification of himsā 'harm'. All other conditions remain similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, consider aparedhatuh/aparedhuḥ and aparedhīthā. This etva and deletion of abhyāsa is not available to rarādhatuh/rarādhuḥ and rarādīthā, mainly because this rādha is not used with the signification of himsā.
2. Note that *atah* is still carried. It thus requires *e* as a replacement in place of the short *a*. What we find in *rådh* is a long. Commentators state that *atah* is indeed carried. It, however, is interpreted as denoting *a* in general. That is, it also includes *ā*. Some suggest that, because of the specification of *rådh*, we must carry *ātaḥ* from 6.4.112 śnābhastayor *ātaḥ*. Others say that this is not necessary. Since a specification for *etvā* and deletion of *abhyaśa* is made with express mention of *rådh*, there is no problem in replacing *ā* with *e*. Since the vowel which is to be replaced must meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya* and also since it is not possible to find any vowel other than *ā* here, *etvā* applies to *ā*.

6.4.124 वा जुध्वुनसाम्

\[\text{vā jībhramatrasām} \]
\[\text{/vā [jībhramu-trasām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśām/} \]
\[\text{(āṅgasya #1 kniti #98 ed abhyāsaloṣaḥ ca #119 atah liṭi #120 thali ca seṭi #121)} \]

'jī, bhramu, trasa ity eteśām aṅgānām atah sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati
abhyāsaloṣaḥ ca liṭi kniti paratas thali ca seṭi
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely jī ‘to decay, be old’, bhramU ‘to ramble, err’
and trasA ‘to tremble’, is optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional
 provision of deletion of their *abhyaśa* when a *LIṬ*-affix marked with *K*
or *N* as an *i*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

**Examples:**

*jeratuh/* *jajaratuh* ‘third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *jī’
*jeruh/* *jajaruh* ‘third person plur.? ...
*jeritha/* *jajaritha* ‘second person singular ...
*bhrematuh/* *babhramatuh* ‘third person dual ... of *bhram’
*bhremuh/* *babhramuh* ‘third person plural ...
*bhremitha/* *babhramitha* ‘second person singular ...
*tresatuh/* *tatasatuh* ‘third person dual ... of *tras’
*tresuh/* *tatasuh* ‘third person plural ...
*tresitha/* *tatasitha* ‘second person singular ...

1. This is an optional rule. It offers *etvā* and concurrent deletion of *abhyaśa*
to an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *jī*, *bhramU* and *tras*. All other conditions,
namely *atah*, *liṭi*, *thali ca seṭi* and *kniti*, also remain in force. Thus, consider
*jajaratuh*, etc., where *ī* goes through *guna* (7.4.11 *rechatyṛtām*) and yields *a*
followed by *r*. Consequently, *etvā* and deletion, both get blocked in view of
negation of 6.4.126 na *śasadavādīguṇānām*. Our present rule allows it in case
of *a* of *jar*. Derivatives of verbal root *bhramU* involve a replacement at the
beginning and do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. Derivatives of verbal
root *tras* also do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. Our present
rule makes it possible for etva and deletion of abhyāsa to apply. Since this rule is optional, we also get examples with no etva and deletion of abhyāsa.

6.4.125 फणां च सङ्गानाम्

phaṇāṁ ca saptānāṁ
/phaṇāṁ 6/3 ca ṣaptānāṁ 6/3/
(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 ed abhyāsalopāś ca #119 aṭaḥ liṭi #120 thali ca seṭī #121 vā #124)
phaṇādīnāṁ saptānāṁ dhātūnāṁ avaraṇasya sthāne vā ekāra ādeso bhavati abhyāsalopāś ca liṭi kniti pāraṇas thali ca seṭī
The a of an aṅga, namely one constituted by one of the seven verbal roots beginning with phaṇA 'to move, go', is also optionally replaced with e, with the additional provision of deletion of their abhyāsa, when a LIT affix marked with K or N as an it, or else, affix thaL used with iT, follows.

Examples:

phaṇatuh/paphaṇatuh 'third person dual active optional LIT-derivates of phaṇi'
phaṇhu/paphaṇhu 'third person plural . . .'
phaṇitha/paphaṇitha 'second person singular . . .'
rejatuh/rarājatuh 'third person dual active optional LIT-derivates of rāj 'shine''
rejhu/rarājuh 'third person plural . . .'
rejitha/rarājitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhreje/babhṛēje 'third person singular middle optional LIT-derivates of bhrāj 'to shine''
bhrejāte/babhṛējāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhrejīre/babhṛējīre 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhreśe/babhṛēśe 'third person singular middle optional LIT-derivates of bhrās 'to shine''
bhreśāte/babhṛēśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhreśīre/babhṛēśīre 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhleśe/babhṛēśe 'third person singular middle optional LIT-derivates of bhlās 'to shine''
bhleśāte/babhṛēśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhleśīre/babhṛēśīre 'third person plural middle . . .'
syematuḥ/sasyamatuḥ 'third person dual active optional LIT-derivates of syaṃ 'to sound''
syemuḥ/sasyamuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
syemitha/sasyamitha 'second person singular . . .'
svenatuḥ/sasvanatuḥ 'third person dual active optional LIT-derivates of svaṃ 'to sound''
svenuh/sasvanuh ‘third person plural active . . .’
svenitha/sasvanitha ‘second person singular . . .’

1. Note that a specification with the genitive plural of phanām is made to indicate the meaning of ādi ‘a set of verbs beginning with phan’. We get the meaning of ‘seven roots beginning with phan’ when phanām sapānām is read together. Recall that pha is listed as a root in the bhūḍi class. This listing pha, rājR, TUbhrājR, TUbhāŚR, TUbhlāŚR, syamU and svanA.

An aṅga constituted by these verbal roots may not qualify for etva and deletion, mainly because of not meeting the conditions of anādesādiḥ, eahalmadhyā and atāḥ. This rule expressly provides for etva and concurrent deletion against such requirements, optionally. Thus, pheṇatuh/pheṇuh/phemitha and paphaṇatuh, paphanuh and paphanitha, etc.

2. Derivational details of these examples are not hard to comprehend. That is, if one applies doubling and operations relative to abhyāsa. Refer to many derivations already discussed.

6.4.126 न शस्तद्वादिगुणानामः

na śasadadadaviguṇānām
/ na φ śasa-dada-vaḍi-guṇānām 6/3 vakāra ādir yasya sa vādiḥ (bv.); śasaś ca dadaś ca vaḍiś ca guṇaś ca (ilar. dv.); teśām/
(angasya #1 kniti #98 ed abhyāsaloṣṭa ca #119 atāḥ liṭi #120 thali ca seṭi #121)

’sasa, dada’ ity etayor vakārādīnām ca dhātiṇāṃ guṇa ity evam abhinirvṛtti-tasya ca yo’ ukāras tasya sthāne ekāraḍeśo na bhavati

The a of an aṅga, namely śas, dad, vaḍi ‘that which has v as its initial’, and that which has a guṇa-replacement in a, is not replaced with e, with the additional provision of non-deletion to their abhyāsa, when a LIT affix marked with K or N as an it, or else, affix thaL used with iT, follows.

Examples:

viśaśasatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of verbal root šas ‘to cut’ used with the preverb vi’
viśaśasuḥ ‘third person plural active . . .’
viśaśasitha ‘second person singular active . . .’
dadate ‘third person singular middle LIT-derivate of verbal root dā ‘to give’
dadadāte ‘third person dual middle . . .’
dadadāre ‘third person plural middle . . .’
vavamatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of verbal root vama
‘to vomit’
vavamuḥ ‘third person plural active . . .’
vavamitha 'second person singular active . . .'
viśaṃaratuh 'third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of verbal root śṛ ‘to harm’ used with the preverb vi’
viśaṃaruh ‘third person plural active . . .’
viśaṃartha ‘second person singular active . . .’
lulavitha ‘second person singular active LIṬ-derivate of verbal root lū ‘to cut’

1. This is a negation (pratiṣedha) rule. It blocks eva and deletion of abhyāsa in contexts where an aṅga involves saśU‘to harm’, dadA ‘to give’, or a verbal root beginning with v, or else, an aṅga where a replacement in guṇa has applied. Consider viśaṃaratuh, etc., where saś is used with vi before LIṬ. This rule negates eva for a of viśaśa + atus. This same is also true in case of dadade, where ta of dad + (LIṬ→ta) is replaced with eś (3.4.81 litaṣṭhajyor . . .). Other examples of dadA are similarly derived with doubling and related operations. This rule blocks eva and deletion of abhyāsa. An example where the aṅga involves vam, a verbal root beginning with v, is: vavamatumuh. Derivatives such as viśaṃaratuh and lulavitha illustrate instances where eva gets a guṇa-replacement in a as its focus. Thus, viś + (LIṬ→tas→atus), where ṭ yields ar through application of guṇa (7.4.11 ṭchahṛtyām). The lū of lū + (LIṬ→siP→thā) also goes through guṇa, though followed by a replacement in av before iT. Commentators point out that the a which forms the focus of eva must result out of an application of expressly mentioned guṇa. Thus, we get a of ṭ→ar and ā→o→av as the focus.

6.4.127 अवर्णस्तःसावनः:

arvanas ṭṛ asāv anaṇah
/arvanah 6/1 ṭṛ (1/1 deleted) asau 1/2 (naṇ); anaṇah 5/1 (naṇ)/ (aṅgasya #1)

‘arvan’ ity etasya aṅgasya ‘ṛ’ ity ayan ādeśo bhavati suṣ cet tataḥ paro na bhavati sa ca naṇ uttarā na bhavati

The final sound segment of arvan is replaced with tṛ, provided arvan is not combined after naṇ and sU does not follow.

Examples:

arvantaṇau ‘nominative dual of arvan ‘courser’’
arvantaṁ ‘nominative plural . . .’
arvantaṃ ‘accusative singular . . .’
arvantaṇau ‘accusative dual . . .’
arvantaḥ ‘accusative plural . . .’
arvati ‘nominative singular (feminine with NiP)’
ārvataṁ ‘a derivate of aṉ denoting apatiya ‘offspring’’
1. This rule allows $tR$ as a replacement for an an̄ga constituted by arvan, provided it does not occur after naN and is also not followed by sU. This replacement in $tR$ comes in place of the final n (1.1.52 alo' ntyasa) of arvan. Thus, arua(n→tR) + au. Recall that augment nUM is introduced here as a result of R as an it (7.1.70 ugid acām...), before an affix termed sarvanāmasthāna (1.1.43 suḍ anapumsakasya). Thus, arva + (n→tR) + au→arva + nUM + t + au = arvantau. Other forms, i.e., arvantah, arvantam, arvantau, arvantah, follow similar rules. Affix NiP (4.1.6 ugiatan ca) is introduced in deriving feminine forms, also as a result of R as an it. Thus, we get arvati. Our last example, i.e., ārvata, is derived from arvat, through initial vṛddhi, with affix aN (4.1.104 anṣyā' nantarye...) denoting apatya ‘offspring’.

2. Note that sU of asau ‘when sU does not follow’ is here interpreted as the nominative singular. It cannot be accepted as the locative plural (PM: .. prathamaikavacanasya cātra grahanam, na saptamibahuvacanasya). This condition of asau blocks tR, and yields arvā, through penultimate vṛddhi, sU-deletion and deletion of n. Thus, arv(a→ā)n + sU→arvān + (sU→φ)→ arvā(n→φ) = arvā. The restriction of anañah ‘not used after naN’ also blocks tR. We thus get anarvānau and anarvānah, where anarvan is interpreted as na arvā ‘non-arvan’.

6.4.128 मघवा बहुलम्

maghavā bahulam
/maghavā 1/1 bahulam 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 ṭṛ #127)
‘maghavan’ ity etasyāṅgasya bahulam ‘ṛ’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an an̄ga, namely maghavan, is variously replaced with tR.

EXAMPLES:

maghavan ‘nominative singular of maghavan ‘Indra’"
maghavantau ‘nominative dual . . .’
maghavantah ‘nominative plural . . .’
maghavantam ‘accusative singular . . .’
maghavantau ‘accusative dual . . .’
maghavatāh ‘accusative plural . . .’

1. Note that maghavan is derived from maghavan + sU, where n gets replaced with tR to yield maghavat (R→φ) = maghavat + sU. Augment nUM is now introduced (7.1.70 ugidacām . . .) to derive maghavant + sU. We can now derive maghavan by deleting sU (6.1.66 halābbhyo . . .) and the conjunct final t (samyogānta; 8.2.25 samyogāntasya lopaḥ). Our final form maghavan is derived by replacing the penultimate a by its vṛddhi counterpart (6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne cā’ sambuddhau). Remember that the conjunct-final dele-
tion of $t$ is not treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing this penultimate *vṛddhi*. It is to accomplish this, and also non-deletion of $n$, that *bahulam* ‘variously’ is used in this rule.

The use of *bahulam* also suggests that $tR$ does not have to be accepted as a replacement. We thus get forms such as *maghavā*, etc., parallel to *rājā* (appendix, 1.1.43 sud anapurnasakṣaya): *maghavā/maghavānau/maghavānaḥ*, in the nominative, and *maghavanam/maghavānau/maghonaḥ*, in the accusative. Our accusative plural form involves *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.133 svayuvarmaghaṇām . . .), thereby yielding: *magha(v→u) + an + (Ś) as = magha + uan + as*. The $u$ and $a$ of *uan* is then replaced with $u$ (6.1.104 samprasāraṇāc ca). We thus get *magha + u + n + as*. Rule 6.1.84 ād guṇā then replaces the $a + u$ sequence of *magha + u* with a single guṇa vowel $o$. We thus get *magh(a + u→o) n + as→maghon + a(s→h) = maghonāḥ*. Recall that augment $nUM$ is not introduced when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* ending follows. Derivational details of *maghavat* and *māghavatam* are similar to those of *arvati* and *āravat* of the previous rule. Deriving *maghoni* from *maghavan + ṇiP* will again involve *samprasāraṇa*, etc. Deriving *māghavanam* from *maghavan + ṇas + aN*, with initial *vṛddhi*, should pose no problem.

6.4.129 भस्य

*bhasya
/bhasya 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1)

‘*bhasya*’ ity ayam adhikāra ā adhyāyaparismāpteḥ
Of the *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) of an *aṅga* . . .

**Examples:**

*dvipadaḥ* (*paśya*) ‘accusative plural of *dvipād* ‘biped’’
*dvipadā* (*kṛtam*) ‘instrumental singular . . .’

1. This is a governing (*adhikāra*) rule. One should consider *bhasya* present in whatever is stated till the end of this quarter (*āpādāparismāpteḥ*). Thus, the following rule offers *patas* as a replacement for *pād*. The word *bhasya*, when read with the following rule, yields this interpretation: ‘*pād*, which occurs as final of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is replaced with *pat*’.

Recall that 1.4.18 *yaci bham* assigns the term *bha* to a string which occurs before a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix beginning with $y$, or a vowel. An affix before which the term *bha* is assigned must also be one enumerated within the list headed by $sU$ (*svāḍī*). This covers affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 svaujasmaut . . . through 5.4.151 urah prabhṛtibhṛḥ kap. Thus, a *non-sarvanāmasthāna* affix which is listed as part of *svāḍī* and which begins either with a $y$, or a vowel, conditions the assignment of the term *bha*. A string which does not occur before an affix specified for *bha* is termed *pada*. Whether or
not a string is assigned the term \textit{pada} and \textit{bha} also depends on whether or not an affix is assigned the term \textit{sarvanāmasthāna}. A Śī replacement of nominative and accusative plural endings \textit{jas} and \textit{śas} (7.1.20 \textit{jaśasoh śi}) is termed \textit{sarvanāmasthāna} (1.1.42 \textit{śi sarvanāmasthānam}). Affixes \textit{su}, \textit{au}, \textit{jas}, \textit{am} and \textit{auT} (\textit{sUT}) are also termed \textit{sarvanāmasthāna} when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem (1.1.43 \textit{su} \textit{anapumśakasya}). A non-neuter string which occurs before a \textit{sarvanāmasthāna} affix is neither termed \textit{pada}, nor \textit{bha}. A neuter which occurs before \textit{su} is termed \textit{pada}. It is termed \textit{bha} when occurring before \textit{au} and \textit{am}. Since a \textit{jas} and \textit{śas} is replaced with Śi which, in turn, is termed \textit{sarvanāmasthāna}, we do not get \textit{pada} or \textit{bha} before them. The term \textit{bha} is also assigned before affixes \textit{Śas}, \textit{Tā}, \textit{Ne}, \textit{Nasl}, \textit{Nas}, \textit{os} and \textit{Ni}, obviously because they begin with a vowel. A string before the genitive plural \textit{ām} can also be termed \textit{bha}, provided it has not receive augment \textit{nUT}. Note that \textit{nUT} impairs the vowel-initial status of \textit{ām} which, in turn, occasions the assignment of the term \textit{pada}. Similar reasoning applies in assigning the terms \textit{pada} and \textit{bha}, outside the domain of nominal endings.

6.4.130 पादः: पत्

\textit{pādah} \textit{pat}

\textit{pādah} 6/1 \textit{pat} 1/1/

(\textit{āngasya} #1 \textit{bhasya} #129)

\textit{pādah} iti \textit{pādaśabdo luptākāro gṛhyate, tadantasyāṅgasya bhasya ‘pat’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati}

The final \textit{pād} of an \textit{ānga} termed \textit{bha} is replaced with \textit{pat}.

**Examples:**

\textit{dvipadah} (\textit{paśya}) ‘accusative plural . . .’

\textit{dvipadā} ‘instrumental singular . . .’

\textit{dvipade} ‘dative singular of \textit{dvipadā’}

\textit{dvipadikām} (\textit{dadāti}) ‘gives two quarters each’

\textit{vaiyāghrapadyah} ‘offspring of Vaiyāghrapād’

1. The base in \textit{pādah} is specified with its final \textit{a} deleted (\textit{luptākāra}). Since such a deletion takes place only in a compound, \textit{pādah} is interpreted as referring to ‘that which ends in \textit{pād} (\textit{tadantasya})’. Note that \textit{pat} will come in place of \textit{pād}, since a replacement is introduced in place of that which is specified (\textit{nirdīṣyamānasūryadeśā bhavanti}). That is, \textit{pat} will not replace the final \textit{d} of \textit{pād}. Nor will it replace the \textit{ānga} which ends in \textit{pād}.

Note that \textit{dvipat}, of \textit{dvipadah paśya}, is a bahuvrīhi (2.2.24 \textit{anekam anyapadārthe}), where 5.4.140 \textit{saṃkhyāśūpūrvasya} deletes the final \textit{a} of \textit{pāda}. Our present rule replaces this \textit{pād} with \textit{pat}. The word \textit{dvipadikā}, parallel to \textit{dvau dvau pāda}, is derived with affix \textit{vuN} (5.4.1 \textit{pādaśatasya . . .}) introduced after \textit{dvipāda}. A deletion of the final \textit{a}, and subsequent replacement of \textit{pād}
with pāt, produces dvipat + vuN. Rule 7.1.1 yuvor anākau then replaces vu with aka. An introduction of TāP, followed by i as a replacement for a of aka, produces dvipad(a→i)ikā. A replacement of pād, in pat, is also seen in vayāghryapadyah, derived parallel to vayāghrasyeva pādāv asya, tasyāpatyam ‘a son of he whose feet are similar to that of a tiger’s’, with suffix yaN introduced after the bahuvrihi compound vayāghrapāda (4.1.105 gargādibhyo yaN). The a of pāda is deleted by 5.4.138 pādasya lopo. . . . The ā of vayāghra gets replaced with aiC in accord with 7.3.3 na yvābhyaṁ. . . .

6.4.131 वसोः सम्प्रसारणम्

vasoh samprasanahnam
\( /\)vasoh 6/1 samprasanahnam 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)
vasvantasya bhasya samprasanahnam bhavati
An aṅga termed bha which ends in vasu goes through samprasāraṇa.

Examples:

viduṣah ‘accusative singular of vidvas ‘scholar’’
viduṣā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
viduse ‘dative singular . . .’
pecuṣah ‘accusative singular of pecvas ‘he who has cooked’’
pecuṣā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
pecuse ‘dative singular . . .’
papuṣah ‘nominative singular of pecvas’

1. Note that viduṣah is derived from vidvas + Śas, where vidvas itself derives with ŚatR (3.2.124 laṭaḥ satrānapācā . . .), introduced after vid as a replacement of LAT. A replacement in vasU is then introduced for ŚatR as per 7.1.36 videh satuvasuh. An application of samprasāraṇa on vidvas + (Ś)as, followed by the pūrvarūpa of resultant u+a, produces vid(u→u) + as + (Ś) as→vid (u+a→u) s + (Ś) as = vidus + as. Our final form viduṣah results from the application of s→s (sauta; 8.3.59 ādesa pratayayoh) and s→r→h (rutava-visarga). Our next examples are derivates of LIT, introduced after pac, where LIT gets replaced with KvasU (3.2.107 kvasus ca). An application of doubling and related operations then produces pac + (LIT→KvasU)→papac + vas. Rule 6.4.120 ata ekahalambhya . . . then orders e and deletion of abhyāsa, thereby yielding pecvas. We get pecvas + Śas→pecuṣah, through samprasāraṇa, sauta and rutva-visarga. The singular instrumental and dative forms, i.e., pecuṣā and pecuse, are similarly derived by introducing Tā and āne after pecvas. Deriving yayuṣah, from yā + (LIT→KvasU) + (Ś) as, yields yayā + us + as, through application of doubling, samprasāraṇa and related operations. The ā of yayā + us + as, under the condition of KvasU marked with Kas it, is deleted (6.4.64
āto lopa iti ca). Recall that samprasāraṇa impairs the condition of valādi, and hence, iṬ is not introduced (7.2.67 vasvekājād ...).

2. Why is the samprasāraṇa of vas not treated as asiddha 'suspended' in view of deletion of ə? These two operations both have different conditions (nimitta; Kāś: ākāralohe karttave vasusamprasāraṇasya vyāśrayatvād asiddhatvam na bhavati). Note that a specification with vasU is also desired to include a reference to KvasU (Kāś: vasugrahaṇe kvasor api grahaṇam iyate).

6.4.132 वाह ुिः

vāha ुः
vāha 6/1/ुः 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 samprasāraṇam #131)
‘vāh’ ity evam antasya bhasya ‘ुः’ ity etai samprasāraṇam bhavati
A form termed samprasāraṇa, namely ुः, comes in place of the final vāh of an aṅga termed bha.

EXAMPLES:

praśṭhauhaḥ ‘accusative plural of praśṭhavāḥ ‘a calf under training’’
praśṭhauhā ‘instrumental singular ...’
praśṭhauhe ‘dative singular ...’
dityauhaḥ ‘accusative plural of dityavāḥ ‘... who carries a demon’’
dityauhā ‘instrumental singular ...’
dityauhe ‘dative singular ...’

1. Note that vāhaḥ specifies a derivate of vah used with affix ू (3.2.64 vahaś ca). The assignment of the term samprasāraṇa to ुः facilitates its introduction in place of ु, a sound denoted by yaN (1.1.45 ig yaṇah ...). That is, ुः does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasa). Refer to derivational details under notes of 6.1.86 etyedhatyūṭhau. Our example dityavāḥ follows derivational patterns similar to praśṭhavāḥ.

2. Why do we have to introduce the samprasāraṇa as ुः? Why can we simply not introduce the samprasāraṇa vowel u? This general u can then be replaced with o (guna; 7.2.88 puganta ...), under the condition of ू (revised via 1.1.62 prayayalohe ...). This can easily offer us desired results after the vrddhi of o. But specifying a general samprasāraṇa will render ुः vacuous (vyārtha). This, in turn, indicates that the antaraṅga ‘internally conditioned’ rule of interpretation is valid here. That is, a guna-replacement conditioned by ू is internally conditioned (antaraṅga), as opposed to assignment of the term bha which is externally conditioned (bahiranga) by vowel-initial affixes. This will render the samprasāraṇa as asiddha in replacing u with o. The question of any vrddhi or guna will thus not arise. It is for this reason that ुः, and subsequent vrddhi by 6.1.89 etyedhaty ... , is necessary.
6.4.133 स्वयुवमघोनामतद्विते

śavyuvamaghonāṁ ataddhite
/śva-yuva-maghonāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśāṁ, ataddhite 7/1 (nañ.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 samprasāraṇam #131)
‘śvan, yuwan, maghavan’ ity eteśām aṅgānāṁ ataddhite pratyaye parataḥ
samprasāraṇam bhavati
An aṅga termed bha, namely śvan ‘dog’, yuwan ‘young’, and maghavan
‘Indra’, goes through samprasāraṇa when a non-taddhita affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

śunah ‘accusative plural of śvan ‘dog’’
śunā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
śune ‘dative singular . . .’
yūnah ‘accusative plural of yuwan ‘young’’
yūnā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
yūne ‘dative singular . . .’
maghonāḥ ‘accusative plural of maghavan ‘Indra’’
maghonā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
maghone ‘dative singular . . .’

1. Derive śunah from śvan + Śas with samprasāraṇa, pūrvarūpa of a and
rutva-visarga. The instrumental and dative singular forms, i.e., śunā and śune,
offer nothing new. Deriving yūnah, from yuwan + Śas, involves savarṇadīrgha,
in addition to samprasāraṇa and pūrvarūpa. Thus, yu(u→u)an + (Ś)as→yu(u
+a→u)n + as→y(u + u→ū)n + as = yūna(s→h) = yūnah. Refer to derivational
details of maghonāḥ under notes of 6.4.128 maghavaḥ bahulam.

Why do we have the condition of a non-taddhita affix? Consider sauvam
of sauvam māmsam ‘dog’s meat’. This derivate of aN (4.3.154 prāṇirajatā-
dībhya . . .) produces sauvan, where au is introduced as an augment (7.3.4
dvārādīnaṁ ca). Rule 6.4.144 nas taddhite then requires ti-deletion of an of
sau + v(an→φ) + a = sauvā. This ti-deletion, however, is blocked by 6.4.167
an in deriving yauvan with aN (5.1.130 hāyanānta . . .). Thus, y(u→au)van
+ Nās + aN = yauvana ‘youth’.

2. The Mahābhāṣya notes that samprasāraṇa of śvā, etc., is desired only
when the derivatives denote feminine, or end in n. Thus, consider yuvaṭh
paśya where yuwan is used with affix ti with the signification of feminine.
Examples with no denotation of feminine are: maghavataḥ, maghavatā and
maghavate.

6.4.134 अलोपोनः:
alopō’ nah
/ alopah 1/1 = ato lopah (śas. tat.); anah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)
‘an’ ity evam antasya bhasya akāralopo bhavati
The aT of an āṅga termed bha which ends in an is deleted by means of LOPA.

Examples:

rājñāḥ ‘accusative plural of rājan ‘king’
rājñā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
rājñe ‘dative singular . . .’
takṣṇāḥ ‘accusative plural of takṣan ‘carpenter’
takṣṇā ‘instrumental singular . . .’
takṣṇe ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule deletes a of an āṅga termed bha which ends in an. Thus, rājñāḥ from rājan + (Ś) as where deletion of a applies. Rule 8.4.39 stoś cunā ścaḥ now applies on raj(a->ϕ) n + as = rāj + n + as to yield rāj + (n→n) + as = rājnas. Similar deletion of a also applies on takṣan + (Ś) as to yield takṣṇāḥ, through n→n (nata).  

2. Note that this deletion applies only to an an which retains its n at the end. Thus, this a-deletion cannot apply in deriving rājñāḥ idam = rājakyam ‘regal’, where n gets replaced with k (4.2.140 rājñāḥ ka ca).

6.4.135 पूर्वांत-धृतराज्जामणि

ṣapūrvasanantarājñāṃ anī
/ṣapūrva-han-dhrtarājñām 6/3 = śakārah pūrvo yasmāt (bh.); ṣapūrvaś ca han ca dhrtarājā ca = ṣapūrvasamantarājñān (itar. dv.), tešām;
anī 7/1 (naṃ). /
śakārapūrvo yo’ n hano dhṛtarājñās ca tasyākāralopo bhavati anī parātah
The a of an occurring after ś at the end of an āṅga termed bha, and the a of an of han and dhṛtarājan as well, is deleted by means of LOPA when affix aN follows.

Examples:

auksṇāḥ ‘offspring of Ukṣan’
tāksṇāḥ ‘offspring of Takṣan’
bhruaṅaghnaḥ ‘he who killed a fetus’
dhṛtarājñāḥ ‘offspring of Dhṛtarājan’

1. Note that the ‘as is’ (prakrtibhāva) provision of 6.4.167 an would block the provision of a-deletion of our preceding rule. This rule is then formulated to facilitate it. Thus, consider ukṣan + aN→auksṇa and takṣan + aN→tāksṇa, where ś occurs before an. Note that the base which is used in deriving bhruaṅaghna with aN (3.1.92 tasyāpatyam) is bhruṣṇahan, a compound termed upapada paraphrased as bhruṣṇam hatavān ‘killed a fetus’. Affix KvIP (3.2.87 brahmabhṛṣṇa . . .) which occurs after bhruṣṇahan is deleted as usual.
Our final form bhraunaghna is derived with initial vrddhi, a-deletion and h→gh (kutva; 7.4.54 ho hanter . . .). Deriving dhārtarājña, from dhṛtarājan + Nas + aN, involves n→ñ (scutva; 8.4.39 stoś cunā ścuh). That is, in addition to initial vrddhi and deletion of a.

2. This a-deletion is constrained by conditions of sapūrva, etc., so that, elsewhere, an could be retained (6.4.67 an). That is, deletion of a or ti, i.e., an, is blocked. Thus, we get sāmanaḥ and vāmanaḥ with no deletion of a. That this deletion applies to specified boha only when an follows is also important. Consider täkṣanyah where this deletion is not allowed because Nyā (4.1.151 kurvādibhyo yahi) follows. A retention of an in this case is in consonance with 6.4.168 ye cābhāvakarmanoḥ.

6.4.136 विभाषा डिस्योः:

vibhāśā nisyoḥ
/ vibhāśā 1/1 nī-syoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.)/
(āṅgasya #1 allopo' nah #134)

ŋau paratāḥ sīsābe ca ano vibhāśā akāralopo bhavati
The a of an which occurs at the end of an āṅga is optionally deleted by means of LOPA when affixes Nī and Śī follow.

EXaMPLES:

rājñī 'locative singular of rājan 'king''

rājani 'ibidem'

sāmni 'locative singular of sāman 'chant''

sāmani 'ibidem'

sāmani 'nominative/accusative neuter dual of sāman'

sāmani 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of a, provided Nī and Śī follow. Recall that Śī here refers to a replacement of Jas (7.1.17 jasaś śi) and aN (au and auT'; 7.1.18 auṇ āpah). Thus, we get rājan + Nī = rājñī, with a-deletion and n→ñ (scutva). We will get rājani if the optional deletion of a is not applied. Similar deletion is seen in deriving sāman + Nī = sāmnī, or else, sāmani. Now consider sāmnī and sāmanī, where the nominative accusative dual endings au and auT, when occurring after a neuter, are replaced with Śī (7.1.19 napumsakāc ca).

6.4.137 न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्

na samyogād vamantāt
/ na φ samyogāt 5/1 vamantāt 5/1 = vaś ca maś ca = vamau (itar. dv.);

vamāv ante yasya (bv. with int. dv.), tasmāt/

(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 allopo' nah #134)

vakāramakārāntāt samyogād uttarasyāno' kārasya lopo na bhavati
The \( a \) of \( an \) which occurs at the end of an \( aṅga \) termed \( bha \) after a conjunct ending in \( v \) or \( m \) is not deleted by means of \( LOPA \).

**Examples:**

\[ \text{parvaṇā 'instrumental singular of parvan 'junction, section'} \]
\[ \text{parvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'} \]
\[ \text{atharvaṇā 'instrumental singular of atharvan 'fire-priest'} \]
\[ \text{atharvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'} \]

1. This rule is a negation (\( pratisedha \)). It blocks \( a \)-deletion when \( an \) occurs after a conjunct formed with \( v \) or \( m \) as its final. Thus, we get \( \text{parvan} + Tā→parvaṇā, \) with \( a \)-deletion and \( n→n \) (\( natva \)). An example where \( m \) forms the final of a conjunct is \( \text{carmāṇā 'instrumental singular'} \) of \( \text{carmān 'skin, hide'} \).

2. The condition of \( \text{samyogāt 'after a conjunct consonant'} \) is imposed so that \( a \)-deletion cannot be blocked in \( \text{pratīdivan} + Tā→\text{pratīdiv(a→ϕ) n + Tā = pratīdivān 'instrumental singular'} \) of \( \text{pratīdivan 'sun'} \). Incidentally, the penultimate \( i \) of \( \text{pratīdiv} + \text{ā} \) is replaced with \( i \) (8.2.77 \( hāli ca \)). That the conjunct must end in \( v \) or \( m \) is also important. Thus, consider \( \text{taksṇā} \) and \( \text{taksne} \) where, because of an absence of \( v \) and \( m \), deletion of \( a \) cannot be blocked.

3. The word \( \text{antar} \) is used for clarity (\( \text{vispaśṭārtham} \)). For, \( v \) and \( m \) are used as qualifiers to \( \text{samyoga} \), and consequently, the sense of \( \text{antar} \) could have been available via \( \text{tadantavidhi 'treating x as that which ends in x'} \). That is, a specification with \( \text{vamah} \) should have been enough.

6.4.138 अचः

\[ \text{acah} \]
\[ \text{//acah 6/1/} \]
\[ (\text{aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 allopah #134}) \]
\[ '\text{acah'} \text{ ity ayam aṅcatir luptanakāro grhyate, tadantasya bhasya akārasya lopo bhavati} \]

The \( a \) of \( ac \) of an \( aṅga \) termed \( bha \) is deleted by means of \( LOPA \).

**Examples:**

\[ \text{dadhipcaḥ 'accusative plural of dadhip 'he who loves yogurt'} \]
\[ \text{dadhipcā 'instrumental singular . . .'} \]
\[ \text{dadhipce 'dative singular . . .'} \]
\[ \text{madhipcaḥ 'accusative plural of madhip 'he who loves honey'} \]
\[ \text{madhipcā 'instrumental singular . . .'} \]
\[ \text{madhipce 'dative singular . . .'} \]

1. This rule allows \( a \)-deletion to a \( bha \) which ends in \( ac \). Commentators explain that this \( ac \) refers to verbal root \( aṅc \). Our rule has specified \( aṅc \) with deleted \( ñ \). Why can this \( ac \) not be interpreted as referring to vowels? It will
not make sense. For, the context is a-deletion, and a is part of the listing denoted by aC. Why can we not interpret ac as denoting vowels and make it a qualifier to aṅga. This way, we can accomplish deletion of an a which occurs at the end of an aṅga ending in a vowel. The deletion offered by 6.4.148 yasyetī ca will then not make any sense.

Refer to preceding rules, and also rule 6.3.137 cau, for derivational details.

6.4.139 उद इति

udā it

/ udāḥ 5/1 īt 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 acaḥ #138)

udā uttarasya ac īkārādēśo bhavati

The a of ac of an aṅga termed bha which occurs after the preverb ud is replaced with ī.

Examples:

udicah ‘accusative plural of udić ‘north-bound’’

udicā ‘instrumental singular . . .’

udīce ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule replaces the a of ac with ī, provided ac occurs after the preverb ud. Consider udić + (Ś) as = udicah, where ud is a preverb and udić is an upapada compound with KoIN introduced after aṅc. The ī-replacement for the a of ac, in ud + ac + as, thus blocks a-deletion. Incidentally, ī comes in place of the a of ac in consonance with 1.1.54 ādeh parasya.

6.4.140 आतो धातोः:

ātō dhātoḥ

/ ātah 6/1 dhātoh 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134)

ākārāntasya dhātōr bhasya lopo bhavati

The final ā of an aṅga termed bha which ends in a verbal root ending in ā is deleted by means of LOPA.

Examples:

kilālapah ‘accusative plural of kilālapā ‘protector of honey’’

kilālapā ‘instrumental singular . . .’

kilālapē ‘dative singular . . .’

śubhamyakah ‘accusative plural of śubhamyā ‘auspiciously inclined’’

śubhamyā ‘instrumental singular . . .’

śubhamye ‘dative singular . . .’
1. This rule allows deletion of an ā which occurs as final (1.1.52 alo' ntyasya) of a verbal root. Note that kilālapā and śubhamyā are upapada compounds with affix v/C (3.2.74 āto manin . . . ). Affix v/C is, as usual, deleted. Thus, kilālap(ā→ϕ) + as = kilālapah, klālap(ā→ϕ) + (T) ā = kilālapā and kilālap(ā→ϕ) + (N) ē = kilālapē, etc.

3. It is because of the twin condition of ātah and dhātoh that niyā 'instrumental singular of nī 'lead(er)' and niye 'dative singular'; and khatvāh 'accusative plural' of khaṭvā 'cot' and mālāh 'accusative plural' of mālā 'gar- land' cannot avail this ā-deletion. The first set of two derivates contains verbal root nī. The second contains non-root bases.

4. Commentators explain that a split-interpretation (yogavibhāga) of this rule, i.e., ātah, enables ā-deletion also where a root is not used. This is how ā-deletion of kvān ā and ṣnā, in the wording of rules 7.1.37 kvō lyap and 3.1.83 halaḥ śnāḥ . . . , can be justified.

6.4.141 मन्त्रेश्वरायादेशरामन:

mantreśv āṇy āder ātmanah
/ mantreśu 7/1 āṇi 7/1 ādeh 6/1/
(arāgaśya #1 bhasya #129 lopāh #134)

mantreśv āni parata ātmana āder lopo bhavati

The initial ā of an anāga termed bha, namely ātman, is deleted by means of LOPA in the usage of the mantra when āN, i.e., Tā, follows.

Examples:

ātmanā 'instrumental singular of ātman 'self, soul’

1. Note that āN is used for Tā 'instrumental singular' by earlier grammarians (pruvaścārayaiḥ). Thus, āN does not refer here to a preverb (yapaśarga).

2. The ādi, of ādeh 'of initial', is used for subsequent rules (uttarārtham). Recall that ātah is carried, and hence, ā-deletion could only apply to initial ā of ātman.

3. The condition of mantreśv āṇy does not permit ā-deletion in ātmanā of the classical usage. It blocks ā-deletion also in ātmanah of the mantra, where ātman occurs before the genitive singular ending ānas. This, however, does not rule out usage such as tmanah, etc., found before non-Tā endings in the Rgveda. Thus, consider tmani where ā-deletion of ātman is seen before Nī 'locative singular’.

6.4.142 ति विङ्कतेन्दिति
ti vimśater ḍiti
/ti (6/1 deleted) vimśateh 6/1 ḍiti 7/1/
(arāgaśya #1 bhasya #129 lopāh #134)
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bhasya vimśates tiśabdasya diti prataye parato lopo bhavati

The ti of an anuga termed bha, namely of vimśati, is deleted by means of LOPA, when an affix marked with Ḟ as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

vimśakāḥ = vimśatī kṛitāḥ 'purchased for a twenty . . .'
vīsāṃ śatam 'one hundred twenty'
eka vimśaḥ 'twenty-one'

1. This rule offers ti-deletion to a bha constituted by vimśati, provided an affix marked with Ḟ as an it follows. Thus, we get vimśa(ti→ϕ) + ḷuN→vimśa + (ḥuN→aka) = vimśa + aka. An application of 6.1.87 ad guṇah produces vimś(a + a→a)ka, paraphrased as vimśatī kṛitah 'purchased for a twenty'. Similar applications are also involved in deriving vimśa from vimśati + ḷaT (5.2.48 tasya prae ṃa).

The condition of a following affix marked with Ḟ is imposed so that ti-deletion does not apply where an affix is marked otherwise. Consider vimśati + ṭā = vimśatī kā 'instrumental singular of vimśati' where ṭā is marked with ṭ as an it.

6.4.143 Ḟ:

ṭeh
ṭeh 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134 diti #142)
tiśamjñakasya diti prataye parato lopo bhavati

The ti (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ti) of an anuga termed bha is deleted by means of LOPA when an affix marked with Ḟ as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

kumudvān 'that (a place) which abounds in lilies'
naḍvān 'that (a place) which abounds in reeds'
vetasvān 'that which abounds in rattan'
upasarajah 'born near a pond'
mandurajah 'born in a stable'
trimśakāḥ = trimśatā kṛitāḥ 'purchased for a thirty'

1. This rule allows ti-deletion (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ti) to a bha when an affix marked with Ḟ as an it follows. Consider kumudvān, naḍvān and vetasvān, where affix ḷmatUP (4.2.87 kumudanaḍvetasebhyo ḷmatUP) follows kumuda, naḍa and vetasa. The m of kumud(a→ϕ) + mat and naḍ (a→ϕ) + mat is replaced with v after ti-deletion. The m of vetas(a→ϕ) + mat is replaced with v by 5.4.111 jhayah. Refer to derivational details of upasarajah and mandurajah under the appendix of rule 1.3.7 cuṭū. Similar ti-deletion applies in deriving
from \(trimiṣ( at→ϕ) + (DvūN→aka) = trimiṣaka\). Note that, at the strength of affinal D as an it, even a non-bha can go through deletion of its \(ti\) (Kāś. anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyat tilopo bhavati).

6.4.144 nas taddhite

\(nah 6/1 taddhite 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134 teh #143)

nakārāntasya bhasya ter lopo bhavati taddhite parataḥ

The \(ti\) of an aṅga termed bha which ends in \(n\) is deleted by means of LOPA when a taddhita affix follows.

Examples:

āgniśarmih ‘offspring of Agniśarman’
audilomih ‘offspring of Uḍuloman’

1. The \(ti\) of a bha which ends in \(n\) is also deleted when a taddhita affix follows. Thus, consider (a→ā) gniśarmi (an→ϕ) + iN = āgniśarmi ‘son of Agniśarman’ and (u→au) dūlom (an→ϕ) + iN = audilommi ‘son of Uḍuloman’, where iN is introduced with the signification of apatyā ‘offspring’ (4.1.96 bāhvādibhyas ca).

2. The condition of nānta ‘ending in \(n\)’ is imposed so that ti-deletion does not apply elsewhere. Consider satvataḥ apatyaṁ = sātvataḥ where a taddhita affix, i.e., aN, follows. But satvat does not end in \(n\). The condition of taddhite similarly blocks ti-deletion, elsewhere. Thus, consider sarmanā and sarmanē where the following affixes, i.e., Tā and ōNe, are non-taddhita.

3. A series of vārttika proposals have also been made under this rule:

(i) The following should also be listed in the context of ti-deletion of a bha: sabrahmacārin, pīthasārupin, kalāpin, kuthumin, taitalín, lāṅgalin, šīlālin, sīkhandin, sukaśaddaman, and suparvan.

Note that rule 6.4.164 ināny anapatyē allows retention of an to bases which end in in. Such a retention to bases which end in an is allowed by 6.4.167 an.

(ii) A derivate denoting modification (vikāra) of āsman ‘rock’ should also go through ti-deletion. Thus, āsmah, as against āsmanah.

(iii) A derivate of carman ‘hide’, when denoting kośa ‘sheath’, should also go through ti-deletion. Thus, cārmah koṣah.

(iv) Deletion of ti is also recommended for a derivate of śvan ‘dog’ when samkōca ‘contraction’ is denoted. Thus, sāuvah, as against sāuvanam.

(v) Indeclinables, when sāyamprātikā, etc., are to be derived, should also go through ti-deletion.
Thus, sāyamprātah bhavah = sāyamprātikah 'that which occurs at dusk and dawn'.

6.4.145 अहोप्रेक्षेरव
ahnoś ṭakhor eva
/aḥnah 6/1 ṭakhoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; eva ϕ/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134 teḥ #143 taddhite 144)
‘ahan’ ity etasya ṭakhor eva paraś tilopo bhavati

The ṭi of an aṅga termed bha, namely ahan ‘day’, is deleted by means of LOPA only when the taddhita affixes ṭa and kha follow.

Examples:

dvrayah = dve ahanī samāḥṛte ‘a period of two days’
tryahah ‘a period of three days’
dvrayihinah = dve ahanī adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā ‘he who was hired for two days, etc.’
tryahinah ‘he who was . . . for three days’
ahinah = aḥnāṃ samūḥah kratuḥ

1. This rule allows ṭi-deletion of ahan only when affixes ṭa and kha follow. The nature of this rule is restrictive (niyamārtha). That is, if ṭi-deletion of ahan occurs, it must occur before the two specified affixes only. Refer to derivational details of dvrayahāḥ and tryahāḥ under the appendix of 2.1.24 dvigus ca. Deriving dvrayihīna with affix kha (5.1.87 rātryahāḥ . . .) with a replacement in ina (7.1.2 ṭyaneṇṭiniyih . . .) and ṭi-deletion of bha is easy. Deriving ahinā from ahan + kha should not present any difficulty.

2. It is stated that eva is used here for clarity (vispaśṭārtham). For, when a new proposal is offered against an already existing one, it becomes restrictive. Thus, eva does not have to be stated. The ṭi-deletion of ahan is already made available. This new proposal restricts it to the right context of affixes ṭa and kha only. Commentators warn that an opposite restrictive interpretation of this rule should not be resorted to avail the meaning: ‘ṭi-deletion applies to ahan only, when affixes ṭa and kha follow’. For, ṭi-deletion to other bases are also available when ṭa and kha follow. Rule 6.4.169 ātmādhuṇānu khe will also become vacuous if it offers retention of an of ātmān ‘self, soul’ and adhvan ‘road’. What is the purpose of offering retention when ahan alone would go through deletion of its ṭi.

6.4.146 अर्गुणः

or guṇah
/oḥ 6/1 guṇah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 taddhite #144)
uvarṇāntasya bhasya guṇo bhavati taddhite parataḥ
The final sound segment of an *āṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṇ guṇah*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows.

**Examples:**

*bābhraṇyaḥ* 'descendant of Babhru'

*māṇḍavyaḥ* 'descendant of Maṇḍu'

*sāṅkavyaṁ dāru* 'wood fit for making a ritual peg'

*picaṇḍyaḥ kārpaśaḥ* 'beneficial for cotton'

*kamaṇḍalavāyaḥ mṛttikā* 'lump of clay fit for making a kamaṇḍalu'

*paraśyam ayaḥ* 'iron fit for making an axe'

*aupagavaḥ* 'descendant of Upagu'

*kāpaṇavaḥ* 'descendant of Kapatu'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *guṇa* to the final *u* of a *bha*. Of course, when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, we get *bābhraṇya* and *māṇḍavya* from *babhru + yaN* (4.1.106 *madhubabhvoro* . . . ) and *maṇḍu + yaN* (4.1.105 *gargādibhīyā yaṁ*), respectively. A replacement in *av* for the resultant *guṇa* vowel *o* is offered by 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Other examples follow similar derivational steps, in addition to initial *vṛddhi*. Thus, *sāṅkavya, picaṇḍya, kamaṇḍalavāya* and *sāṅkavya* are derivates of *yaT* (5.1.2 *ugādibhīyā yāt*). Refer to derivational details of *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṇavaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādeic*.

2. Why use the technical term (*saṁjñā) guṇa* in this rule? Why not simply formulate the rule as or *ot* ‘o comes in place of *u*'? The use of the technical term (*saṁjñā) guṇa* indicates that ‘an operation specified with a technical term is non-obligatory’ (*anītya; Kāś: su.njñāpūrvako vidhir anītyāḥ; cf. PS (94)*). One derives *svāyambhuvah* to indicate this. We derive *svayambhū*, parallel to *svayam bhavati* ‘he who comes about by himself’ with affix *KuIP*. Affix *aN* is then introduced with the denotatum of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* ‘this is his’, i.e., *svayambhuvah idam*, where *uvAñ*, and no *guṇa*, comes as a replacement for *u*.

6.4.147 दे लोपोँ कद्रवः:

*dhe lopo' kadrvāḥ*

/ *dhe 7/1 lopah 1/1 akadrvāḥ 6/1 (nañ.) /

(angasya #1 bhaya #129 taddhite #144 oḥ #146)

*dhe parata uvāṁnāntasya bhāṣyākadravā lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *āṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is, with the exception of *kadrū*, deleted by means of *LOPA* when the *taddhita* affix *dha* follows.

**Examples:**

*kamaṇḍaleyaḥ* 'offspring of Kamaṇḍalu'
śaitabāheyah ‘offspring of Śitabāhu’
jāmbeyah ‘offspring of Jambu’
mādrabāheyah ‘offspring of Madrabāhu’

1. This rule offers deletion of a bha which ends in u, provided affix ḍha follows. Note that kadṛu is made an exception to this deletion. Thus, kadṛ(ū→o→av) + (ḍhaK→eya) = kādṛaveya does not go through deletion. Deriving kāmandaḷeya, jāmbeya, mādrabāhey and śaitibāhey from kāmandaḷu + ḍhaṉ, jambu + ḍhaṉ, madrabāhu + ḍhaṉ and śitibāhu + ḍhaṉ, with initial urddhi and ḍha→eya, is straightforward.

6.4.148 सत्तेति च

yasyeti ca

/yasya 6/1 = iś ca aś ca = yam (sam. dv.), tasya; iti 7/1 ca φ/
(anigasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134 taddhite #147)
ivarṇāntasyāivarṇāntasya ca bhasya ikāre pare taddhite ca lopo bhavati
The final sound segment of an aṅga termed bha which ends in i and a is deleted by means of LOPA when i or a a taddhita affix follows.

Examples:

dākṣi ‘female descendant of Dakṣa’
plākṣi ‘female descendant of Plakṣa’
sakhi ‘female friend, companion’
dauleyah ‘descendant of Duli’
aṛtreyah ‘descendant of Atri’
kumārī ‘girl’
sāṅgaravi ‘Śiva’s consort’
dākṣiḥ ‘male descendant of Dakṣa’
plākṣiḥ ‘male descendant of Plakṣa’

1. This rule allows deletion of the final i and a of an aṅga termed bha, provided i, or a a taddhita affix, follows. Note that the ya of yasya could not refer to ya. For, our next rule uses ya explicitly. If this rule had ya, our next rule could have carried the same, via anuṛṣṭṭi. The yae→i + a of this rule refers to i and y. Since a specification made by means of a sound segment generally involves taddantavidhi, Kāśikā states ‘... of that which ends in i and u (ivarṇāntasyāivarṇāntasya ca)’.

Note that dākṣi, plākṣi and sakhi illustrate instances where i of dākṣi, plākṣi and sakhi occur before i of Niś (4.1.65 ito manusyaajāteḥ; 4.1.52 sakhy...). Needless to say that dākṣi and plākṣi are taddhita-derivatives with affix iṉ (4.1.95 ata in) signifying an offspring (apatyā). Commentators warn that deriving these forms with savarṇāṅgha, as against i-deletion, will create problems. For example, we will encounter negation of assignment of the term ghi (1.4.7 īesō ghy asakhi), and guṇa, in atisakhaḥ, parallel to atisakhim atikramya.
Affix \textit{dha}K (4.1.122 \textit{itāś cāniṇaḥ}) is used in deriving \textit{duli} + \textit{dha}K → \textit{dauleya}, \textit{vali} + \textit{dha}K → \textit{vāleya} and \textit{atri} + \textit{dha}K → \textit{ātryeya}. The examples all go through deletion of \textit{i} before the \textit{taddhita} affix \textit{dha}K. Refer to derivational details of \textit{kumāri}, \textit{gaurī} and \textit{sārṅgaravī} under the appendix (IV: 764–67) of 4.1.2 svaujasmau. . . These illustrate the deletion of \textit{a} before \textit{i}. Derivatives of \textit{iN} (4.1.95 \textit{ata iṇ}), such as \textit{dāksi}, \textit{plāksi}, \textit{cavuḍī}, \textit{bāḷāki} and \textit{saumitrī}, illustrate instances where \textit{a} is deleted before a \textit{taddhita} affix. Incidentally, the \textit{iN} of \textit{bāḷāki} and \textit{saumitrī} is introduced by 4.1.96 \textit{bāhvādibhyayā} \textit{ca}.

2. A \textit{vārttika} proposal negates deletion of \textit{i} and \textit{a} where \textit{auN} gets replaced with \textit{Śī} (7.1.18 \textit{auṇa āpah}; 7.1.19 \textit{napuṃsakāc ca}). Thus, this proposal negates deletion of \textit{a} before \textit{Śī} of \textit{kāṇḍa} + (\textit{au} → \textit{Śī}) and \textit{kudya} + (\textit{au} → \textit{Śī}). We derive \textit{kāṇḍa} and \textit{kudya} with \textit{a} → \textit{i} → \textit{e}, instead. We similarly get \textit{saurye} from \textit{saurya} + (\textit{au} → \textit{Śī}). The end of \textit{a}, at the end of \textit{saurya} before \textit{i}, would also have occasioned deletion of \textit{y} (6.4.149 \textit{sūryatisyāgastya} . . .). Refer to the appendix (IV: 763–90) for derivational insights on feminine and \textit{taddhita} derivatives.

How come \textit{iyaN} and \textit{uvāN} are not introduced in deriving \textit{vatsapreyā} and \textit{laikhābhreyā} from \textit{vatsapri} + \textit{dha} and \textit{lekhābhṛu} + \textit{dha}, respectively? Deletion of \textit{a} blocks \textit{iyaN} and \textit{uvāN} on the basis of \textit{paratva} ‘subsequent in order’ (1.4.2 \textit{vipraṭiśedhe} . . .).

6.4.149 \textit{sūryatisyāgastya-matsyānām ya upadhāyāḥ}

/\textit{sūrya-tisyā-agastya-matsyānām 6/3 (itar. dv.); yah 1/1 upadhāyāḥ 6/1/}

(\textit{aniṣya} #1 bhasya #129 taddhite #147 iti #148)

‘\textit{sūrya, tisyā, agastya, matsyā}’ ity eteśām yakārasya upadhāyāḥ bhasya lopo bhavati iti paratas taddhite ca

The penultimate \textit{y} of an \textit{aṅga} termed \textit{bha}, namely \textit{sūrya, tisyā, agastya} and \textit{matsyā}, is also deleted by means of \textit{LOPĀ} when \textit{i} or a \textit{taddhita} affix follows.

**Examples:**

\textit{saurī balākā} = \textit{sūreyenaikadik} ‘unidirectional with sun, a crane going in the direction of sun’

\textit{taśamākah} ‘a day when moon may be in the constellation Tiṣya’

\textit{taśiṣā rāṭrih} ‘a night when moon may be . . .’

\textit{agastī} = \textit{agastyasāḥpatyam stri}

\textit{agastī ‘a female descendant of Agastya’}

\textit{matsī} ‘fish’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate \textit{y} of an \textit{aṅga} termed \textit{bha}, provided \textit{i} or a \textit{taddhita} affix follows, and the \textit{y} is part of \textit{sūrya}, \textit{tisyā} and \textit{agastya}. Note that this deletion of \textit{y} will follow after the deletion of \textit{a} (6.4.148 \textit{yasyeti ca}). The word \textit{upadhā} is specified here to facilitate deletion of \textit{y}. For,
$y$ could not be found before $i$, or before a $taddhita$, when $a$-deletion is treated as $asiddha$ (6.4.22 asiddhavād atrābhaṭ). This condition of $upadhā$ blocks deletion in $matsya + caraT + ēni = matsyacari$, a derivate of affix $caraT$ with the denotation of $bhūtapūrva$ ‘formerly’.

2. It is stated that $yah$ of this rule is intended for subsequent rules ($uttarārtham$). A series of proposals are then made under this rule to exactly specify the scope of this deletion:

(i) A deletion of $y$ of $matsya$ must apply when $ēni$ ‘feminine affix’ follows. Thus, we get deletion in $matsya + ēni → matsī$, but not in $matsyasya māmsam = mātsyam$ ‘fish-meat’.

(ii) The $y$ of $sūrya$ and $āgastya$ gets deleted only when $cha$ and $ēni$ follow. Thus, we get deletion in $sūrya + aN = > saurya + ēni → saurī$ and $āgastya + ēni → ēgastī$, but not in $saurīm$ and $āgastyah$.

(iii) The $y$ of $tīṣya$ and $pūṣya$ goes through deletion when $aN$ follows and a constellation is denoted. Thus, we get deletion in $tīṣyena yuktah kālah = taisah and pauṣah$. Incidentally, $tīṣya$ and $pūṣya$ are synonyms.

(iv) The $t$ and $k$ of $antika$ is deleted before affix $tasl$. Thus, $antitāḥ$ ‘from nearby’ of $antito na dūrāt$.

(v) The $tika$ and $ka$ of $antika$ is deleted before $tamaP$. Thus, $atiśayena antikāh = antamaḥ$ and $antitamaḥ$.

(vi) This deletion of $ka$ applies variously ($bahulam$). That is, deletion of $y$ is also seen. Thus, we get $antike sidati = antiṣad$.

(vii) This deletion of $ka$ is also seen after $ya$. Thus, $antike bhavaḥ = antiyāḥ$.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of many of these examples.

6.4.150 हलस्तद्धितस्य

$halas$ taddhitasya

$halah 5/1 taddhitasya 6/1/$

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iti #149 ya upadhāyāḥ #149)

$halā uttaraśya taddhitayakārasya upadhāyā iti parato lopo bhavati$

A penultimate $y$ which occurs after a consonant, as part of a $taddhita$ affix of an aṅga termed $bha$, is deleted by means of $LOPA$ when $i$ follows.

Examples:

gārgī ‘female descendant of Garga’
vāṭśi ‘female descendant of Vatsa’

1. Refer to derivational details of gārgī and vāṭśi under the appendix of rule 4.1.16 $yaṇaś ca$. Note that the $a$ at the end of gārgya and vāṭsyya is deleted. This deleted $a$ is treated as $asiddha$ (6.4.22 asiddhavād atrābhaṭ) in
applying y-deletion. This is how y qualifies for its status as penultimate (upadhā).

2. This deletion of y does not apply in \( \text{kārikā} + (\text{dhaK} \rightarrow \text{eya}) \) + \( \text{NiP} = \text{kārikeya} + i \), since y does not occur after a consonant. It also does not apply in \( \text{vaidyasya patni} = \text{vaidya} + \text{NiP} = \text{vaidyi} \), since y is not part of a taddhita affix.

3. Why is taddhita specified in this rule when it could have been gotten via anuvṛtī from 6.4.144 nas taddhite? This anuvṛtī is suspended. Our next rule should not have used taddhite again if the anuvṛtī was valid (PM: uttarasūtre punas taddhitagrahanañāti).

6.4.151 आपत्यस्य च तद्विते सनाति

\( \text{āpatyasya ca taddhite nāti} \)

\( /\text{āpatyasya} 6/1 \text{ ca } \phi \text{ taddhite} 7/1 \text{ anāti} 7/1 = \text{na āt} (\text{nañ}, \text{ tasmin/}) \)

\( \text{(angasya \#1 bhasya \#129 lopah \#147 yah \#148 halah \#150)} \)

\( \text{apatyayakārasya hala uttarasya taddhite anakārādau yalopo bhavati} \)

A y which occurs after a consonant and is part of a taddhita affix signifying an apatyā ‘off-spring’ of an ānga termed bha, is deleted by means of LOPA, when a taddhita affix not beginning with ā follows.

Examples:

gārgakām = gargaṇāṃ samūhāḥ ‘a gathering of the descendants of Garga’
vatsakām ‘a gathering of the descendants of Vatsa’

1. This rule deletes a y which occurs after a consonant as part of a taddhita affix signifying an apatyā, provided a taddhita affix not beginning with ā follows. Consider gārgakām and vatsakām which derive from gārgya + (vuN → aka) and vātsya + (vuN → aka). Affix vuN is here introduced with the signification of samūha ‘group’ (4.2.39 gotroksosthrī ...). The yaN of gārgya and vātsya denotes an apatyā, where y also occurs after g, a consonant. Here again, this rule deletes y, subsequent to deletion of its following a.

2. This deletion cannot apply on kāmpilya + vuN = kāmpilyaka and sāṅkāṣya + vuN = sāṅkāṣyaka, where kāmpilya and sāṅkāṣya are derivatives of Nya (4.2.80 vuñchankathā ...), a taddhita affix not used with the signification of apatyā. Incidentally, affix vuN (4.2.121 dhanveyopadhād ...) here denotes the sense of tatra jātah ‘born there’. Now consider gārgyāṇa and vātsyāṇa, where y-deletion cannot apply since the following affix begins with ā (āyana → phaK; 2.4.64 yanayo cā). That this deletion cannot apply where y does not occur after a consonant is illustrated by kārikeyasapatyam = (kārikeya + iN) + sU → kārikeyiḥ.

3. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) presents a detailed discussion on why taddhite is explicitly stated in this rule. He states that taddhita is specified here to facilitate deletion of y in (soma + ṭyaN) + NiP (6.4.150 halas taddhitasya), even when an apatyā is not denoted. Recall that ṇyaN does not denote an
apatya. If taddhita is carried via anuvṛtti from the preceding rule, items associated with that anuvṛtti will also be carried. If both of these rule were associated, y-deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rules. Formulating this rule when the preceding could account for its function will turn it into a restrictive provision (niyama). It will thus read: 'the y of a taddhita denoting an apatya alone is deleted when a taddhita, not beginning with ā, or an i, follow' (āpatyasyaivānākārādau taddhite iti ca). This interpretation will block y-deletion in saumī īṣṭih. An explicit specification with taddhita of this rule cancels the anuvṛtti of taddhita of the earlier rule. Thus, deletion could now apply to y, irrespective of whether or not it is part of a taddhita affix denoting an apatya (taddhitagrahaṇe tu sati tena pūrvayoge taddhitagrahaṇasya nivṛttir āḥyātety āpatyānāpatayoyor dvayor api pūrveṇa iti lopo vidhiyata iti saumī īṣṭir ity atrāpi yalopah Siddhyaty atas taddhitagrahaṇam).

6.4.152 क्यच्योशच

kyacroś ca
/kya-cyroh 7/2 (itar. du.), tayok; ca .ipv/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147 yah #148 halah #150 āpatyasya #151)
‘kya, cvi’ ity etayoś ca parata āpatyasyakārasya hala uttarasya lopo bhavati
A y which occurs after a consonant and is part of a taddhita affix signifying an apatya ‘offspring’ of an aṅga termed bha is deleted by means of LOPA when affixes Kya and Cvi follow.

Examples:

vātśiyati ‘... wishes a vātsya for his son’
gārgiyati ‘... wishes a gārgya for his son’
gārgāyate ‘he acts as if he was a Gārgya’
vātśāyate ‘he acts as if he was a Vātsya’
vātśibhūtaḥ ‘he who was not a Vātsya became one’
gārgibhūtaḥ ‘he who was not a Gārgya became one’

1. This rule is formulated to facilitate y-deletion when a non-taddhita affix follows (PM: ataddhitārtho ‘yam ārambahā). A specification with Kya includes references to KyaC and KyaN both. Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 3.1.8 supa ātmanāḥ... and 3.1.11 kartuh kyaṇ salopaś ca. Note here that vātśiyati and gārgiyati are derivatives of LAT, where LAT is introduced after derivatives of KyaC, i.e., gārgiya and vātśiya. Thus, gārgya + KyaC and vātśya + KyaC yield gārg(y→ā) a + ya and vātś(y→ī) a + ya. The a which follows y is then replaced with i (7.4.33 kya ci ca). The a of derivatives of KyaN, i.e., vātśāyate and gārgāyate, is similarly replaced with ā (7.4.25 akṛtasaṃvadāttukayoḥ). A similar a of gārgibhūtaḥ and vātśibhūtaḥ is replaced with i (7.4.22 asya evau) after deletion of y. Note that these are both examples of Cvi, introduced by 5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve... , prior to affix Kta.
2. This deletion applies to y of an affix which denotes an *apatya* ‘offspring’. Thus, *sāṇkāṣyate* and *sāṇkāṣyabhūtah* do not go through deletion of their y. The condition of *halaḥ* is also applicable. We thus do not get this deletion in *kārikeyiṇi* and *kārikeyiḥbhūtah*.

6.4.153 बिलवकादिभिःत्त्य सुक
*bilvakādibhyāṣ chasya luk*
// *bilvakādibhyāṣ 5/3 = bilvaka ādir yeṣām (bu.); chasya 6/1 luk 1/1//
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 taddhite #144)
*bilvakādibhyā uttarasya chasya bhasya taddhite parato lug bhavati*
The cha which, of an anģa termed bha, occurs after *bilvaka*, etc., is deleted by means of *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

**Examples:**

*bilvakīyāḥ = bilvā yasyāṃ santi; tasyāṃ bhavāḥ = bailvakāḥ ‘... found in a Bilva grove’*

*vṛṇukīyāḥ = vairukāḥ ‘... found in a bamboo forest’*

*vētrakiyāḥ = vairakāḥ ‘found in a cane forest’*

*tṛṇakiyāḥ = tāṃnakāḥ ‘found in straw’*

1. Note that the *bilvakādi* nominals are read as part of the *naḍādi* group. Rule 4.2.91 *naḍādinām kuk ca* introduces augment *kUK* to these nominals. This rule specifies *bilva* with *bilvaka*, obviously with augment *kUK*. It deletes a *cha* which occurs after the nominal thus specified. Thus, *(bilva + kUK + (cha→iya)) + TāP = bilvakiyā; bilvakiyā + aN = bailvakiyāḥ, paraphrased as bilvāḥ yasyāṃ santi = bilvakiyā; tasyāṃ bhavāḥ = bailvakiyāḥ.* Other examples are similarly derived. Affix *aN* which forms the condition of deletion of *cha* is introduced by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavah*.

2. Recall that *cha* is introduced concurrently with augment *kUK*. This deletion of *cha* is specified with express mention of *chasya* so that *kUK* can be saved from deletion. It becomes necessary since *sanniyogaśīstānāṁ anyatarāpāyey ubhāyor apty apāyāḥ* ‘removal of one means removal of both if two elements were introduced concurrently’. The word *LUK* is used so that this deletion applies to the affix, and not just to y.

3. A *ganasūtra* informs that *kruṇcā* also goes through shortening of its final ā when *kruṇcakiyāḥ* and *krauṇcakāḥ* are derived.

6.4.154 तुरिष्ठेमेवस्यसु
*tur īṣṭemeyassu*
// *tuh 6/1 iṣṭha-imā-īyassu 7/3 = iṣṭhaś ca imā ca īyāṃ ca = iṣṭhemeyāṃsah (itar. dv.), teṣu//
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147)
‘iṣṭhan, imanic, īyasun’ ity eteṣu parataḥ tṛṣabdasya lopo bhavati
The \( t\)r of an a\( ŭ \)ga termed bha is deleted by means of LOPA when affixes i\( ŭ \)tha\( N \), iman\( IC \) and i\( ŭ \)asUN follow.

**Examples:**

\( āsutim kari\( ŭ \)thaḥ 'most active among those pressing out'

vijayi\( ŭ \)thaḥ 'most winning'

vahi\( ŭ \)thaḥ 'most carrying'

dohi\( ŭ \)yas\( i \) dhenuḥ 'most milk-giving cow'

1. Note that \( t\)r specifies both \( t\)r\( N \) and \( t\)r\( C \). This rule is formed separately from the following to accomplish total deletion of \( t\)r. A deletion of final \( r \) could have thus been accomplished by the following rule. The anuvṛtti of LUK is not valid here. For, 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya would then have blocked guna of ji in vijayi\( ŭ \)thah, etc. It is for this reason that this deletion is accomplished by LOPA. Why is iman\( IC \) stated in this rule when this affix (cf. 5.1.122 prthu\( v \)ādibhyaḥ . . .; 5.1.123 varna\( r \)ḍhādibhyaḥ śya\( ū \) ca) is not found after \( t\)r? This specification is made here for use in subsequent rules (uttarārtham). Refer to derivational details of kari\( ŭ \)thaḥ and dohi\( ŭ \)yas under notes of 5.3.59 tuṣ chandasi.

Note that \( h\) → \( dh \) (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho \( dh \)aḥ) becomes suspended in applying deletion of \( t\)r. Thus, \( t\)r-deletion applies first. Consequently, dhatva does not apply. For, the conditions under which dhatva applies are removed. We thus get vah + i\( ŭ \)tha\( N \) = vahi\( ŭ \)tha. A similar suspension of gh (ghatva) is also found in deriving dohi\( ŭ \)yas from (dogyi\( r \) + IyasUN) + NīP. Deriving vi\( ji\)ıt\( r \) + i\( ŭ \)tha\( N \) involves guna and ay-replacements.

6.4.155 ę:

\( ṭeh\)
/ ṭeh 6/1/

(a\( ŭ \)gasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147 i\( ŭ \)themyassu #154)

bhasya \( ā \) r lopoh bhavati i\( ŭ \)themyassu paratah

The \( ū \) part of an a\( ŭ \)ga termed bha is deleted by means of LOPA when affixes i\( ŭ \)tha\( N \), iman\( IC \) and i\( ŭ \)asUN follow.

**Examples:**

pa\( ŭ \)i\( ŭ \)thaḥ 'most clever'

pa\( ŭ \)imā 'cleverness'

pa\( ŭ \)iyān 'clever'

laghi\( ŭ \)staḥ 'shortest, smallest'

laghima 'shortness, smallness'

laghi\( ŭ \)yān 'shortest, smallest'

1. This rule allows \( ū \)-deletion (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi \( ū \)) of a bha which occurs
before isthaN, imaniC and iyasUN. Refer to derivational details under notes of 5.3.58 ajudi gunavacananad eva. Derivatives of iyasUN will involve augment nUM and operations similar to citavān (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaie).

2. It is proposed that a nominal stem (prātipadika), when followed by ̄N, goes through operations similar to when the same is followed by istha (vt: nāv iṣṭavat prātipadikasya). Commentators enumerate following operations as part of iṣṭavāddhāva:

(i) pumvāddhāva ‘masculine transformation’, as is stated before the tasilādi affixes (6.3.35 tasilādiṣu ākṛtivasucah) which also include ̄isthaN.

Consider enim ācaṣte = etayati, where NiC is introduced by a statement of the Mahābhāṣya, i.e., tat karoti tadācaṣte (ad 7.4.97 i ca ganaḥ). Thus, etad + NiP (4.1.39 varam ad anudaṭṭat . . .) produces enim, through ti-deletion and a replacement of t with n. One can now derive etayati, paraphrased as enim karoti enim ācaṣte, form (eni + am + NiC) + LAT, where, as a result of removal of NiP (pumvāddhāva) and sup-deletion, we get e(n→t) + i = eti + LAT. Recall here that the t of etad was replaced with n concurrently with the introduction of NiP. A removal of NiP will thus also cause removal of n as a replacement of t. It should be remembered here that pumvāddhāva also applies before NiC, as it does before ̄isthaN. Similar derivational details can also be offered for śyetayati and haritayati, parallel to śyenin karoti śyenin ācaṣte = śyetayati and harinīn karoti hariṇīm ācaṣte = haritayati.

(ii) rabhāva ‘change of r to r’, as is stated by 6.4.161 ra rto halāder laghoḥ.

Consider (prthu + am + NiC) + LAT→prathayati, (mrdu + am + NiC) + LAT = mradayati, etc., where r is replaced with r and ti-deletion, guna and ay-replacements produce desired derivates.

(iii) ti-deletion, as is stated by 6.4.155 teh.

Consider patayati and laghayati from (putu + NiC) + LAT and (laghu + NiC) + LAT, parallel to (patum/ laghum) ācaṣte, through ti-deletion, guna and replacements of e with ay (ayādesa).

(iv) yanādilopa ‘deletion of that which occurs subsequent to a preceding sound denoted by yaN’, as is stated by 6.4.156 sthuladūra . . ., whereby an iK which precedes yaN also goes through a replacement in guna.

Consider sthulam ācaṣte = sthavayati from (sthula + am + NiC) + LAT, where la is deleted and its preceding ū goes through a replacement in guna. Thus, sth(u→o) (la→φ) + i = sth(o→av) + i + LAT = sthavayati, again with guna of i and ay of the resultant e.
(v) *vinmatublopa* 'deletion of *vinI* and *matUP*’, as is stated by 5.3.63
*vinmator luk*.

Consider *sragvinam ācaṣṭe = srajayati* from (*sragvin + am + NiC) + LAT, where *sragvin* is derived with *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā . . .*). A similar derivate with deletion of *matUP* will be: *vasumantam ācaṣṭe = vasayati* from (*vasumat + am) + LAT, where deletion of *matUP* and ti-deletion apply.

(vi) *kan* as a replacement of *yuvan* and *alpa*, as is stated by 5.3.64
*yuvālpayoh. . . .*

Consider *yuvānam ācaṣṭe = kanayati*, from (*yuvan + am + NiC) + LAT, where *yuvan* gets optionally replaced with *kan*. Recall that our next rule will produce *yavayati*, through *yanādiłopa*, *guna* and *au*-replacement.

3. Yet another proposal desires *iṣṭhavadbhāva* for replacements in *pra*, etc., as is stated by 6.4.157 *priyasthira. . . .*

Consider *priyam ācaṣṭe = prāpayati*, from (*priya + am + NiC) + LAT, where *pra* replaces *priya* and augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *ariṭhrivā . . .*) is introduced subsequently. Thus, (*priya → pra*) + *NiC → pr(a → ā) + pUK + NiC; *prāpi + LAT = prāpayati.*

6.4.156 स्थूलदृशयुवहस्वकप्रक्ष्युणां याणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः:

*sthūladūravyavahrasvaksipraksudrānāṁ yanādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ /
sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrānāṁ 6/3 (star. dv.), teṣām;
yanādiparam 1/1 yaṅ ādir yasya (bv.); yanādi ca adaś ca paraṇ ca
(karmadhāraya); pūrvasya 6/1 ca φ guṇaḥ 1/1/
(anāgasa #1 bhāsa #129 lopa #147 iṣṭhemeyassu #154)
’s *sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, kṣudra*’ īty eteṣāṃ yanādiparam lupyate
iṣṭhemeyassu paratāḥ, pūrvasya ca guṇo bhavati

The yaṇ-initial part at the end of an aṅga termed bha, namely *sthūla*,
dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, and kṣudra, is deleted by means of LOPA with
an additional provision that the preceding vowel be replaced with guṇa,
when affixes iṣṭhaN, imanIC and iyasUN follow.

Examples:

*sthaviṣṭhah* ‘fatest of all’
*sthaviyān* ‘ibidem’
*daviṣṭhah* ‘farthest’
*daviyān* ‘ibidem’
*yaviṣṭhah* ‘youngest, smallest’
*yaviyān* ‘ibidem’
*hraṣiṣṭhah* ‘smallest’
*hraṣiyyān* ‘ibidem’
*hraṣimā* ‘smallness’
1. This rule allows deletion of a yaN-initial part at the end of an aṅga termed bha, with the additional provision that the iK vowel which precedes yaN goes through a replacement in guṇa. These operations both take place when a bha, namely sthūla ‘huge, fat’, dūra ‘far’, yuva ‘young’, hrasva ‘short’, kṣipra ‘fast’ and kṣudra ‘little’, is followed by affixes iṣṭhaN, iyaśUN and imanIC. Thus we get deletion of la/ra followed by guṇa of their preceding vowels. Consider sthūla + iṣṭhaN → sth(ū→o) + (la→a) + iṣṭhaN = sthaviṣṭha, etc. Similar applications are seen in deriving daviṣṭha, yaviṣṭha, etc. Examples of iyaśUN are sthaviṣṭas + sU → sthaviṣṭaN, daviṣṭaN, etc., where nUM is introduced before sU.

Note that examples of imanIC are offered only for hrasva, kṣipra and kṣudra because 5.1.121 pṛthvādibhyah... introduces imanIC under the condition of a listing under the pṛthvādī group of nominals. Others fall outside this listing, and hence, do not qualify for this affix. The condition of a following yanādi is imposed so that a preceding yanādi such as ya and ra of yava and hrasva could be saved from deletion. That is, the va of yava and hrasva alone gets deleted. There is no concurrent guṇa-replacement in derivates of yava and hrasva since there is no iK before va. The word pūrva is used for clarity (vispaśṭārtham). For, subsequent to deletion of yanādi, guṇa could only apply to what precedes.

6.4.157 प्रियास्थिरस्फोटेऽहुलुभुलुक्तुपद्विन्दूप्रियास्थिरस्फोटेऽहुलुभुलुक्तुपद्विन्दूप्रियास्थिरस्फोटेऽहुलुभुलुक्तुपद्विन्दूप्रियास्थिरस्फोटेऽहुलुभुलुक्तुपद्विन्दू:—

priyasthirasphironrubahulaguruvarddhatrpradīrghavṛṇḍārakānām prasthaspha-
varbanhmigavarsitrapdrāgivṛṇḍāh

/priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-varṛdha-trpā-dīrgha-vṛṇḍārakānām 6/
3 (itar. dv.); pr-stha-spha-var-bamhi-gar-varśi-trap-drāghi-vṛṇḍāh 1/3 (itar.
dv.) /

(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemyassu #154)
‘priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha, trpā, dīrgha, vṛṇḍāraka’
ity etesām ‘pra, stha, spha, var, bamhi, gar, varśi, trap, drāghi, vṛṇḍa’ ity ete
yathāsāmkhyam ādeśā bhavanti iṣṭhemyassu pariṭhah
An aṅga termed bha, namely priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha,
trpā, dīrgha and vṛṇḍāraka is replaced with pra, stha, spha, var, bamhi,
gar, varśi, trap, drāghi, and vṛṇḍa, respectively, when affixes iṣṭhaN, imanIC
and iyaśUN follow.
Examples:

preṣṭhaḥ/ premā/ preyān ‘dearest’
stheṣṭhaḥ/ stheyān ‘most stable’
sphreṣṭhaḥ/ spheyān ‘more than any’
variṣṭhaḥ/ varimā/ variyān ‘best of all’
bamhiṣṭhaḥ/ bamhimā/ bamhiyān ‘more than any’
gariṣṭhaḥ/ gariṃā/ gariyān ‘biggest’
variṣṭiṣṭhaḥ/ varṣiṣyān ‘oldest’
trapiṣṭhaḥ/ trapiyān ‘fastest’
drāghiṣṭhaḥ/ drāghiyān ‘fastest among all’
drāghimā ‘fastness’
vrndiṣṭhaḥ/ vrndiyyān ‘the biggest herd’

1. This rule offers pra, etc., as replacements for priya, etc. Their order of enumeration determines assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 yathāsam-khyam . . .). Thus, priya→pra, sthira→sītha, sphira→spha, etc. Examples of imaniC are found only after priya, uru, guru, bahula, and dīrgha, for reasons, that imaniC is not introduced after bases not listed in the prthvādi group (5.1.121 prthvādībhyaḥ . . .) of nominals. The i of bāmhi gets deleted by 6.4.155 tēh. This application of 6.4.155 tēh is not valid in deriving preṣṭha, since 6.4.163 prakṛtyaikāc approves retention of the original in case of a monosyllabic bha. That is why we get the application of 6.1.84 ād gunah to yield pra(a + i→e) sītha = preṣṭha.

6.4.158 बहोरोपौ भू च बहो:

bahor lopo bhū ca bahoh
/bahoh 5/1 lopah 1/1 bhū (1/1 deleted) ca ē̄ bahoh 6/1/
(angasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemyassu #154)
bahor uttareśām iṣṭhemyasām lopo bhavati tasya ca bahoh sthane ‘bhū’ ity ayam ādeso bhavati
Affixes iṣṭhaN, imaniCand iyasUN, when occurring after an anuga termed bha, namely bahu, are deleted by means of LOPA, with an additional provision that bahu be also replaced with bhū.

Examples:

bhūyān ‘most’
bhūmā ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers deletion of iṣṭhaN, imaniCand iyasUN, when they occur after bahu. Additionally, bahu gets replaced with bhū. Note that bahu is specified twice in this rule. The first specification is interpreted as made with ablative (paṇcam). Consequently, deletion applies only to the initial sound segment of affixes (1.1.54 ādeh parasya). The second specification with bahu
is interpreted as made with शाठि ‘genitive’ to specify what gets replaced (स्थानि). A replacement in place of affixes may, otherwise, have applied. That is, if this second specification was not made. Since भुि consists of more than one sound segment, it will replace बहु in toto (१.१.५५ anekāl śit sarvasya).

6.4.159 ॥स्थायि धिद्धु ॥

िर्धास्य यित का
/िर्धास्य ६/१ यित १/१ का फ़

(अंगस्या १ भास्या १ बाहोह भुि का बाहोह १५८)
बाहोर उत्तरस्या इष्ठास्या यिद अगामो बहवति बाहोस का भुि अदेशो भवति

Affix इष्ठान, when occurring after an अंगa termed भा, namely बहु, is also introduced with augment यि।

Examples:

भुििष्ठाह ‘most’

1. This rule introduces augment यि to इष्ठा when the same occurs after बहु. Additionally, बहु is replaced with भुि. Thus we get (बहु→भुि) + यि। + इष्ठा = भुििष्ठा. The I of यि। is used for ease of articulation (०ट्टारानरथम्). Augment यि। is here introduced as an exception to deletion (का: lopaपवादो यिदागामह।). Deletion cannot apply since यि। intervenes between ज्या and इयास।

6.4.160 ज्यादादीयसः:

ज्याद अि इयासः
/ज्याठ ५/१ अि १/१ इयासः ६/१/

(अंगस्या १ भास्या १२९)
ज्याठ utरस्या इयासा अकारा अदेशो भवति

A long अ comes in place of the initial sound segment of इयासUN when it follows an अंगa termed भा, namely ज्या.

Examples:

ज्यायान ‘biggest of them all’

1. The अ of इयास is replaced with अ when the affix occurs after ज्या. Thus, we get प्राशस्या + इयासUN→(प्राशस्या→ज्या) + इयासUN→ज्या + (अ→अ) यास(UN) = ज्या + अयास = ज्यायास. Deriving ज्यायान from ज्यायास + sU with nUM, etc., is not difficult.

Note that अ would have been deleted if the anuvṛtti of LOPA was valid here. The yās after ज्या would have then caused lengthening of its final अ. We could have then gotten the form ज्यायान। Commentators state that this operational procedure is canceled in view of the पारििहासा (९३): अंगaवृित्ते punar vṛttāv avidhiि ‘an operation applied in this अंगa section cancels another equally applicable operation of this section’. Incidentally, ज्या is introduced as a replacement of प्राशस्या by ५.३.६१ ज्या का.
6.4.161 र चक्तो हलादेल्लंः

ra tto halāder laghoḥ
d /raḥ 1/1 ṛtah 6/1 halādeḥ 6/1 = hal ādir yasya (dv.), tasya; laghoḥ 6/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 Ṽiṣṭheṃeyassu #154)
rasabda ādeśa bhavati ṭkārasya halāder laghor Ṽiṣṭheṃeyassu parataḥ
A r which forms a light (laghu) syllable with a preceding consonant in
an anga termed bha is replaced with ra when affixes ṼiṣṭhaN, imanIC
and ēyasUN follow.

Examples:

prathīṣṭhaḥ/ prathimā/ prathīyān ‘widest of them all’
mrādiṣṭhaḥ/ mṛadimā/ mṛadiyān ‘softest of them all’

1. This rule introduces ra as a replacement for a laghu ‘short’ (1.4.110
hrasvaṃ laghu) r of a bha, where r occurs after a consonant, and ṼiṣṭhaN, imanIC
and ēyasUN follow bha. Thus we get p(r→ra) thu + ṼiṣṭhaN→prath(u→ϕ) = Ṽrathīṣṭha,
through t-deletion. Similar rules apply in deriving mṛadīṣṭha. Examples
of imanIC and ēyasUN can be similarly derived as prathimāṇ, prathīyās,
and mṛadīman, mṛadiyaṇ. Refer to further derivational details in notes of
5.1.120 ā ca tvāt.

2. Why is ra allowed only for r. So that this replacement does not apply in
paṭiṣṭhaḥ, paṭimā and paṭiṣṭhān. Why do we have the condition of halādi ‘conso-
nant-initial’? So that we do not get replacements in Ṽrjūṣṭhaḥ, Ṽrjimā and Ṽrjīyān,
where Ṽṛu ‘straight, upright’ does not begin with a consonant. Why do we
have this condition of laghoḥ? So that ra does not replace a short r used
before a conjunct. Thus, we cannot get this replacement in kṛṣṇiṣṭhaḥ
‘balkest’, kṛṣṇiṣṭhān and kṛṣṇimā, etc., where r will be termed guru (1.4.111
samyogā guru) before the conjunct Ṽṇ.

3. A proposal is made to enumerate the derivates of this rule as follows:

prathuṃ mṛduṃ bhṛṣāṃ caiva kṛṣāṃ ca dhṛham eva ca/
paripūrvam vṛdham caiva sad etān ravidhau smaret//
plus vṛdha ‘covered, enclosed’ when used with the preverb pari, these
six should be remembered in this operational context of ra’

It is for this reason that we do not get ra-replacement in kṛtayati ‘calls,
done’, mātayati ‘calls, mother’ and bhrātayati ‘calls, brother’.

6.4.162 विभाष्योपदेशस्तिसि

vihāṣarjoś chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 rjoh 6/1 chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 Ṽiṣṭheṃeyassu #154 ra ṛtah #161)
\textit{ṛju} ity etasya \textit{ṛtah} sthāne vibhāṣā repha ādeśo bhavev \textit{iṣṭhe\textsuperscript{y}e\textsuperscript{y}assu} parata\textit{ṣ} chandasi visaye

A replacement in \textit{ro}ptionally comes in place of the \textit{ṛ} of an \textit{aṅga} termed \textit{bha}, namely \textit{ṛju} 'straight, upright' in the Vedic, when affixes \textit{iṣṭhaN}, \textit{imānIC} and \textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN} follow.

**Examples:**

\textit{raj\textit{iṣṭhga\textit{m}a\textit{n}}y na\textit{ṣi} pān\textit{ṭhām}}
\textit{tvama\textit{ṛj\textit{iṣṭh\textit{h}}}a\textit{ḥ}}

1. This rule allows \textit{ra} as a replacement for the \textit{ṛ} of \textit{ṛju}, in the Vedic, optionally, when \textit{iṣṭhaN}, \textit{imānIC} and \textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN} follow. Thus, we get (\textit{ṛ}→\textit{ra}) \textit{j}(u→\textit{φ}) + \textit{iṣṭhaN} = \textit{ra}ˈ\textit{iṣṭh\textit{ha}}a. This optional \textit{ra}, if not accepted, will yield \textit{iṣṭh\textit{ha}}a. Examples for other affixes are not available.

6.4.163 \textit{प्रकृत्यैकाच}

\textit{prak\textit{ṛtyaikāc}}

\textit{/prak\textit{ṛtya 3/1 ekā\textit{c}} 1/1 = eko' c yasm\textit{in} (bv.)/}
\textit{(aṅg\textit{āsya 1# bhas\textit{y\textit{a} 1#129 iṣṭhe\textit{y}e\textit{y}assu 1#154})}
\textit{ekāj yad bhasam\textit{jānakām tadiṣṭhe\textit{y}e\textit{y}assu parat\textit{āh} prak\textit{ṛtyā bhavati}}}
An \textit{aṅga} termed \textit{bh\textit{a} which contains one vowel (ekāc) remains as is when affixes \textit{iṣṭhaN}, \textit{imānIC} and \textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN} follow.

**Examples:**

\textit{sra\textit{j\textit{iṣṭh\textit{h}}}a' possessing most garlands'}
\textit{sra\textit{jī\textit{yān}} 'ibidem'}
\textit{sra\textit{j\textit{ayāt}i 'third singular causal active present of sra\textit{j}'}}
\textit{sruci\textit{s\textit{iṣṭh\textit{h}}}a' possessing most ritual ladles'}
\textit{sruci\textit{yān} 'ibidem'}
\textit{sruc\textit{ayāt}i 'third singular causal active present of sruci' }

1. This rule allows a monosyllabic \textit{bha} to retain its original form when affixes \textit{iṣṭhaN}, \textit{imānIC} and \textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN} follow. That is, \textit{ti}-deletion does not apply. Thus, consider \textit{sra\textit{j\textit{iṣṭh\textit{h}}}a, sra\textit{jī\textit{yān}} and sra\textit{j\textit{ayāt}i}, where \textit{sraj} is retained against \textit{ti}-deletion. Note in this connection that \textit{ti}-deletion becomes applicable twice. Thus, we first get \textit{sraj} + \textit{vinl} (5.2.121 asmāyāmedhā . . .) where \textit{vinl} gets deleted (5.3.65 \textit{vinm\textit{at\textit{or l}}uk}). We do not get any \textit{ti}-deletion. This deletion is again blocked here in \textit{sraj} + (\textit{iṣṭhaN}/\textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN}). The first \textit{ti}-deletion can be blocked by \textit{LUK}-deletion of \textit{vinl}. This retention of the original \textit{bha} is thus needed to block the second \textit{ti}-deletion. A similar \textit{ti}-deletion in favor of retention of original form is also blocked in derivatives of \textit{matUP}. Thus, \textit{srug\textit{ast\textit{i yas\textit{a} = srug\textit{vat}; srug(vat→φ) + iṣṭha = sruci\textit{s\textit{ṭh}}}a. Similar applications are found in deriving \textit{sruci\textit{yān}} with \textit{i\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{S}UN} and sra\textit{j\textit{ayāt}i and sru\textit{cay\textit{a}}} with \textit{NīC}, through iṣṭhavādābhāva 'operations similar to when iṣṭha follows'.}
2. The condition of ekāc is imposed so that vasīṣṭhāḥ ‘most wealthy’ and vāsiṭyāṇ could be blocked from retaining their original form vasu ‘wealth’, a non-mono-syllabic.

3. A vārttīka proposal is made to allow rājanya ‘kṣatriya, royalty’, manusya ‘human’ and yuvan ‘young’ to retain their original form when aka follows. Thus, rājanya + (vuN→aka) = rājanyaka ‘group of kings’ and manusya + (vuN→aka) = mānusyaka ‘group of men’, where vuN is introduced with the signification of samūha ‘group’ (4.2.39 gotrokṣoṣṭor . . .). The ya of these derivates is saved from deletion (6.4.151 āpatyasya ca taddhīte nāti) by this rule. The ti-deletion of yuvan, available from 6.4.144 nas taddhīte, is blocked in deriving yauvanikā with vuN (5.1.133 dvandvamanojñādibhyāṣ ca)

6.4.164 इनण्णपत्ये

in any anāpatye

/ in 1/1 anī 7/1 anāpatye 7/1 (nañ.) /

(aṅgasya #1 bhāya #129 prakṛtyā #163)

innanīm anāपatyārthe ny parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati

An aṅga termed bhā which ends in in remains as is when suffix aN follows with the denotatum of something other than an āpatya ‘offspring’.

Examples:

sāmkuṭinam ‘burning all around’

sāmṛāvinam ‘noisy all around’

sāmmanārinam ‘cleansing all around’

svāgvinam ‘belonging to one who possesses garlands’

1. Refer to derivational details of sāmkuṭinam and sāmṛāvinam (cf. appendix of 3.3.44 abhividhau bāvā inuñ). A derivate of mṛj, i.e., sāmmanārinam, is similarly derived. This rule allows a bhā which ends in in to retain its original form, provided suffix aN follows with no denotation of āpatya ‘offspring’. The aN of the first three examples denotes bhāvā. The aN of the first three examples denotes the sense of ‘that is his’ (4.3.120 tasyedam). This rule goes against ti-deletion of 6.4.144 nas taddhīte.

2. This retention of the original (prakṛtibhāva) is not available to daṇḍinām samūhah = dāṇḍam ‘a group of shaft-carrying ascetics’, where suffix aN (4.2.44 anudāttāder aṅ) follows. It is also not available to medhāvināḥ āpatyam = maiddhāvah ‘son of an intelligent person’, because aN follows medhāvin with the signification of āpatya.

6.4.165 गाथिविद्विद्यकेशिर्गणिपाणिनः

gāthividadvikašīrjanpanīnāś ca

/ gāthi-vidadhik-keśi-gani-paninaḥ 1/3 = gāthī ca vidadhī ca keśī ca gani ca pani ca (itar. dv.); ca φ/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 in anī #164)
gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin, paṇin' ity ete cāni prakṛtyā bhavanti
Ananga termed bha which ends in in, namely gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin and paṇin, remains as is when affix aN follows.

EXAMPLES:

gāthināḥ = gāthinō' patyam 'descendant of Gāthin'
vaidathināḥ 'descendant of Vidathin'
kaiśināḥ 'descendant of Keśin'
gaṇināḥ 'descendant of Gaṇin'
paṇināḥ 'descendant of Paṇin'

1. This rule allows prakṛtibhāva 'retention of the original' even when affix aN with the denotation of apatya follows. These derivates all include inī of 5.2.115 ata iniṁhanau. This prakṛtibhāva was available to them from the previous rule. This rule allows it before aN signifying an apatya. Nyāsa states that this rule is formulated for derivates denoting a patya (Nyāsa: a patyārtho' yam ārambhāḥ). The aN of these derivates is introduced by 4.1.92 tasyāpatyam. This rule again goes against ti-deletion of 6.4.144 nas taddhite.

6.4.166 संयोगादिप्रच

samyogādiś ca

/samyogādiḥ 1/1 = samyoga ādir yasya (bu.); ca φ/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #1 prakṛtyā #163 in anī #164)
samyogādiś ca in anī prakṛtyā bhavati
Ananga termed iḥa which end in in and begins with a conjunct (samyoga), also remains as is when affix aN follows.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkhināḥ = śaṅkhino' patyam 'descendant of Śaṅkhin'
mādrināḥ 'descendant of Mādrin'
vājrīnāḥ 'descendant of Varjin'

1. This provision of prakṛtibhāva, once again, is made before aN, used with the signification of a patya. This provision also goes against ti-deletion of 6.4.144 nas taddhite.

6.4.167 अनु

an

/an 1/1/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 anī #164)
annantam anī prakṛtyā bhavati a patye cānapatye ca
Ananga termed bha which ends in an remains as is, when affix aN,
irrespective of whether used with the signification of an apatya, follows.

Examples:

sāmanah ‘relating to a sāman hymn’
vaimanah ‘relating to Viman’
sautvanah ‘descendant of Sutvan’
jaitvanah ‘descendant of Jitvan’

1. This rule allows prakṛtibhāva of a bha which ends in an, irrespective of whether aN denotes an apatya. Thus, sāmanah and vaimanah have their aN with the signification of ‘that is his’ (4.3.120 tasyedam). The aN of sautvanah denotes an apatya. Incidentally, sutvan is derived with affix ṇvanIP (3.2.103 suyajo . . .), introduced after suN. Augment tUK is also introduced subsequently. Similar applications are followed in deriving jitvan of jaitvanah from ji + KvanIP (3.2.75 anyeḇhyo’ pi drṣyaṇte). This rule again goes against ṛi-deletion of 6.4.144 nas taddhite.

6.4.168 ये चाभावकर्मणोऽ

ye cābhāvakarmāṇoh
/ye 7/1 ca φ abhāvakarmāṇoh = bhāvaṣ ca karma ca = bhāvakarmanī, na bhāvakarmanī (naṅ with int. dv.), tayoḥ/
(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 an #167)
yakārādau ca taddhite’ bhāvakarmanor arthayor an prakṛtyā bhavati
An anga termed bha which ends in an also remains as is when a taddhita affix beginning with y, and denoting something other than bhāva and karmān, follows.

Examples:

sāmanyah = sāmasu sādhuh ‘skilled in the sāman hymns’
vemanyah ‘skilled in distinguishing’

1. This rule allows prakṛtibhāva to a bha which ends in an and occurs before a taddhita affix beginning with y, provided the same does not denote bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karmān ‘object’. The examples both involve yaT with the signification of ‘skilled in that’ (4.4.98 tatra sādhuh). A similar yaT, for reasons of denoting bhāva and karmān (5.1.128 patyantāt . . .), blocks prakṛtibhāva in rājan + yaT = rājyam ‘rule, kingdom’, paraphrased as rājṇah bhāvah karma vā. We thus get ṛi-deletion as a result.

6.4.169 आत्माध्वनानि खे

ātmādhvānau khe
/ātmādhvānau 1/2 = ātmā ca adhvā ca (itar. dv.); khe 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #1 prakṛtyā #163)
\‘ātmān, adhvān’ ity etau khe paratāḥ prakṛtyā bhavataḥ
An āṅga termed bha, namely ātmā ‘self’ and adhvā ‘road’, remains as is when affix kha follows.

Examples:

ātmmanināḥ = ātmane hitah ‘beneficial for one’s self’
adhvānīnāḥ = adhvāmān alamgāmī ‘traveler’

1. This rule again offers prakṛtibhāva against ti-deletion. The bha bases are ātmān and adhvān when occurring before affix kha. Thus, ātmmanināḥ and adhvānīnāḥ, where kha→īna is introduced by 5.1.9 ātmmanīśva . . . and 5.2.16 adhvāno yathkau, respectively.

2. A condition of khe is imposed so that pratyātmam and prādhyvam could not avail prakṛtibhāva. These derives involve TaC (5.4.108 anaś ca) and aC (5.4.85 upasargād adhvānāḥ), respectively. These examples both go through ti-deletion.

6.4.170 न मपूर्वसप्त्येःवर्वणं:

na mapūrvo ‘patye’ varmanah
/na φ mapūroh 1/1 = makārah pūrvo yasya (bu.); apatye 7/1 avarmanah
1/1 na varmā = avarmā (nañ.), tasya/
(anāngasa #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 ani #164 an #167)
mapūro ‘n avarmano’ nī parato ‘patye’ rthe na prakṛtyā bhavati
The final an of an āṅga termed bha which occurs after m, but is not that of varman, remains as is when affix aN, used with the signification of apatya ‘offspring’ follows.

Examples:

sauṣāmaḥ = sauṣāmno ‘patyam ‘descendant of Suṣāman’
candrāṣāmaḥ ‘descendant of Candrasāman’

1. This rule is a negation (pratiṣedha). It does not allow prakṛtibhāva to a bha which ends in an preceded with m, provided it is not varman, and is followed by aNsignifying an apatya. Thus, suṣāmaḥ apatya = sauṣāmaḥ and candrasāmnaḥ apatya = candrāṣāmaḥ. The an of suṣāman and candrasāman thus goes through ti-deletion.

2. Note that prakṛtibhāva can not be blocked in sutvanah apatya = sauṭvanah since m does not occur before an of sutvan. A similar prakṛtibhāva can also not be blocked in deriving carmanā pariṣṭo rathah = cārmanah, since aN does not denote an apatya. An exclusion of varman is made to allow prakṛtibhāva, against ti-deletion, in cakravarmanah apatya = cākra varmanah ‘son of Cakravarman’. 
3. A proposal is made to make this negation optional in case of hitanāman. Thus, hitanāmnaḥ apatyam = haitanāmnaḥ ‘descendant of Hitanāman’, with ti-deletion and haitanāmanah with no ti-deletion.

6.4.171 भार्मोरजातिः

brāhmaḥ jāτau
/brāhmaḥ 1/1 ajātau 7/1 = na jātiḥ (nañ.), tasyām/
(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 apatye #170)
‘brāhmaḥ ity etad apatyādhiṣṭhikāre pi sāmarthyaḥ apatyād anyatrāṇi ter lopārtham nipātaye
The word brāhma is derived, though not with the signification of jāti ‘class’, via nipātana.

Examples:

brāhma garbhah ‘the golden embryo’
brāhmanam astram ‘weapon of the Brahman’
brāhmanam haviḥ ‘oblation to Brahman’

1. This sūtra is read as two, via split-interpretation (yogavibhāga). Thus, (i) brāhmaḥ: ‘ti-deletion, against prakṛtibhāva, applies in deriving brāhma, when aN with no signification of apatya follows. We get examples such as brāhmaḥ garbhah, brāhmanam astram and brāhmanam haviḥ, where aNis introduced by 4.3.120 tasyedam ‘this is his’ and 4.2.24 sā’ sya devatā ‘...is the divinity of’. The second split-interpretation is (ii) ajātau ‘ti-deletion does not apply on brahma when an offspring as a class is denoted’. Note that ajātau is interpreted as a negation of the prasajya type. That is, naN is construed with the verb: jātau na bhavati ‘does not apply when class is denoted’. Thus, we get brahmaṇo pātyam = brāhmanah. The Bālamanoranā (ad SK) reads this sūtra as brāhma jātau, where it carries the anuvṛtti of aN, the Mahābhāṣya and SK retain a (naN) as part of the rule, but interpret it as the negation of prasajya type.

6.4.172 कार्मस्ताच्छीत्ये

kārmas tācchilye
/kārmaḥ 1/1 tācchilye 7/1/
(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)
‘kārmaḥ’ iti tācchilye tilopo nipātyate
The word kārma is derived via nipātana when the singification is tācchilya ‘characteristic habit of...’.

Examples:

kārmaḥ = karmaśīlaḥ ‘diligent worker’

1. This rule allows ti-deletion of an in deriving kārma from karman + Na,
where Na is introduced by 4.4.62 chartrādībhya naḥ with the signification of tācchālyā 'characteristic nature'.

2. What is the need for this rule when 6.4.144 nas taddhīte can itself accomplish ti-deletion. This rule is formulated for indicating (jñāpaka) that operations similar to aN also apply when Na follows with the signification of tācchālyā. This is how suffix NiP (4.1.15 tiḍḍhānaḥ . . .) could be introduced in deriving caurī and tāpas. A condition of tācchālyā is necessary so that ti-deletion could not take place in karmāna idam = kārmaṇah 'something relating to one who works diligently', where aN denotes sambandha 'relation'.

6.4.173 औक्षमपत्ये

auksam anapaty e
/auksam 1/1 anapaty e7/1 (nañ.)/
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)
‘auksam’ ity anapaty e ni ti̲lo̲po ni̲p̲ātyate

The word auksam ‘beneficial for a bull’ is derived, via nipātana, when the signification is something other than apaty a ‘offspring’.

EXAMPLES:

auksam padam 'footprint of a bull'

1. This rule allows ti-deletion in auksam, derived from (uksan + aN) + sU where aN does not denote an apaty a ‘descendant’. This aN is introduced by 4.3.120 tasyedam ‘this is his’. Note that this ti-deletion will be blocked where aN denotes an apaty a. Thus, uksañah apatyaṃ = auksañah ‘a descendant of Uksana’, where a is deleted, instead, by 6.4.135 śaśūrvahan. . . .

6.4.174 दाणिनयानाहस्तिनयानाथरवानिकाश्रुत्स्विंसनायनिष्णुण्यत्वेत्याविकारश्रव्याक-मैत्रेयहिरणयानिः

dāṇiṇiṇayānāhāṣṭiṇiṇayānāthāravānikajaihmāśineyavāsiniṇayaniḥbhrauṇa-hatyadhaiṇyāsāravaikśvākamaitreyahirāṃmayāni
/daṇḍināyana-hāṣṭināyaṇa-āṭharvanikajaihmāśineyavāsiniṇayaniḥbhrauṇa-hatyadhāiṇyāsāravā-aiśvāka-maitreyahirāṃmayāni 1/3 (itar. dv.)
‘daṇḍināyana, hāṣṭināyana, āṭharvanika, jaihmāśineya, vāsiniṇayani, bhrauṇahatyā, dhaiṇyā, sāravā, aiśvāka, maitreyā, hiraṃmayā’ ity etāni nipātyante

The words dāṇiṇiṇayana, hāṣṭināyana, āṭharvanika, jaihmāśineya, vāsiniṇayani, bhrauṇahatyā, dhaiṇyā, sāravā, aiśvāka, maitreyā, and hiraṃmayā are derived via nipātana.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇiṇiṇayanaḥ ‘descendant of Dāṇḍin’
hāṣṭināyanaḥ ‘descendant of Hastin’
ātharvanikaḥ ‘he who studies atharvan’
jaihmāśineyāḥ ‘descendant of Jihmāśin’
vāsināyaniḥ ‘a descendant of Vāsin’
bhraunahatyaḥ ‘killing of a fetus’
dhaviatyah ‘intelligence’
sāravam ‘water of river Sarayū’
aiksvākaḥ ‘descendant of Ikšvāku; born in the country of the Ikšvākus’
maitreyah ‘descendant of Mitrayu’
hiraṇmayah ‘golden; gold ornament’

1. This rule derives dāḍināyana, etc., via nipātana. Thus, dāṇḍin and hastin are read in the naḍādi class of nominals (4.1.99 naḍādivibhyah pha), whereby affix phaK is introduced. This rule blocks ti-deletion of naḍin before phaK→āyana. Some claim that phaK is also introduced via nipātana. Thus, dāṇḍināyana ‘an offspring of Dāṇḍin’ and hāstināyana ‘an offspring of Hastin’. The next nominal, i.e., atharvan, is read in the vasantādi class (4.2.63 vasantādivibhyah thak) where ti-deletion of atharvan is blocked before thaK→ika. Thus, atharvānām adhitē = ātharvanikaḥ. The next jihmāśin is read in the suhrādi class (4.1.123 subhrādivibhyā ca), where affix dhak is introduced. The ti-deletion of jihmāśin is blocked, again before dhak→eya. Thus, jihmāśinō patyam = jaihmāśineyāḥ. Affix phiN gets similarly introduced after vāsin, where ti-deletion is also blocked before phāyan i. Thus, we get vāsināyaniḥ. The next two bases, i.e., bhruṇahan and dhīvan, get t as a replacement for their final n, again via nipātana. But the affix is SyaN (5.1.123 varadyādhāvibhyah syaṇ). Thus, bhruṇahanā n→t + SyaN→bhruṇahatyā, similarly, dhaiatyā. Now consider sarayvām bhavam = sārum where, given sarayu + aN (4.3.35 tatra bhavah), we get yu replaced with va, again via nipātana. We similarly get ikšvākuṣu janapadesu bhavah = aiksvākah, where given ikšvāku + aN (4.1.166 janapada-sabdād . . .), ū is deleted via nipātana. The yu of mitrayu + dhakN (4.1.136 grṣyādivibhyā ca) is also deleted, via nipātana, against the iy-replacement of 7.3.2 kekayamitravyu . . .). Thus, we get mitra(yu→φ) + (dhak→eya)→m(i→ai)tr(a→φ) + eya = maitreya. Finally, ya of hiranya is also deleted, via nipātana, before mayat to produce hiraṇmayā.

6.4.175 ाभावस्त्वस्त्यावस्त्वात्मग्यावीहिरण्यायानि चाननि

rtvavāstravāstravāstra-mādhvihiraṇayāni chandasi
/ rtvya-vāstrya-vāstrva-mādhv-hiraṇayāni 1/3 (itar. dv.); chandasi 7/1/ ‘rtvya, vāstrya, vāstrva, mādhv, hiraṇya’ ity etāni nipātyante chandasi viśaye
The words rtvya, vāstrya, vāstrva, mādhv and hiraṇaya are derived via nipātana in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

rtvya ‘found in seasons’
vāstryam ‘found in things’
vāstvah ‘ibidem’
mādhuḥ ‘... honey ...’
hiranyayam ‘gold ornament’

1. This rule derives ṛtvya, vāntyva, mādhvī and hiranyaya, in the Vedic, via nipātana. Given ṛt + yāT (4.4.110 bhave chandasi) and vastu + aN, the ṛ is replaced with v, via nipātana. A replacement in yaN is also allowed in deriving mādhvī from (madhu + aN) + NīP. The ma of mayaT is also, via nipātana, deleted after hiranyaya. Thus, hiranya + (ma→ϕ) yāT = hiranyaya.
APPENDIX
Derivalional History of Examples

6.1.1 ekāco dve prathamasya
6.1.2 ajāder dvītyasya
6.1.3 na ndrāh saṁyogādayāh
6.1.5 pūrvo' bhyaśaḥ
6.1.6 ubhe abhyastam

(1) jajāgāra  (3) āra
(2) iyāya

This set of rules prepares necessary background for iteration (dvitva). The first rule offers iteration to the first (prathamasya) syllable of a monosyllabic (ekā) root. The second offers iteration to the second (dvītyasya) syllable of a root which begins with a vowel (ajādi). The third rule offers exception to iteration in the context of roots containing consonant clusters with n, d, and r at the beginning. The fourth rule assigns the term abhyāsa to the first element of an iterated string. The last set of this rule assigns the term abhyāsta to both elements of an iterated string. Obviously, these term assignments are intended to facilitate operations relative to the terms abhyāsa and abhyāsta (hereafter abhyāsa-kārya).

Consider (1) jajāgāra ‘third singular active perfect’ of jāgr where LIT is replaced with tiP. This tiP is further replaced with NaL (5.4.82 parasmai-padānām . . .). The jāg of jāgr + a then goes through iteration (dvitva; 6.1.9 ekāco dve . . .). We thus get jāg + jāgr + a, where the first jāg is termed abhyāsa and jājāg is together termed abhyāsta. Rule 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṇaḥ states that an abhyāsa is allowed to retain only that unit which is formed with its first consonant. We thus get jā(g→ϕ) + jāgr + a. A further application of 7.4.59 hrasvaḥ replaces the long ā of the abhyāsa with short (hrasva). This gives us: j(ā→a) + jāgr + a = jajāg + a. Rule 7.2.115 aco īniti now applies to replace the ṛ of jajāg with ār, its vyādhi-counterpart. We thus get jajāg(r→ār) + a = jajāgāra. We similarly derive pac + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→papāca (III:781), iN + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→iyāya and r + (LIT→tiP→NaL) = āra. Note here that pac of pac + a will itself (as against its pa) go through iteration at the strength of vyāpadēśivadhāvā (Paribh.31): vyāpadeśivad ekasmin. One resorts to vyāpadēśivadhāvā because pac, i and r are ekāc by themselves. That is, they are not part of a whole where 6.1.1 ekācо dve prathasya applies. It is to accept the part-whole relationship even in one, or else, to treat one with no part as principal that vyāpadēśivadhāvā is invoked here. The vyādhi of the second a of pa(c→ϕ) + p(a→ā)c + a = papāca will be accomplished by 7.2.116 ata upadāyāh. Note that iyāya follows similar derivational details. We get iN + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→i + a where the i goes through vyādhi (7.2.115 aco īniti)
and subsequent replacement in āy (āyādeśa; 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah). We thus get (i→ai→āy) + a = āya. We now apply iteration where we end up getting i as the abhyāsa of i + āy + a, basically through ‘formal extension of i (riṣṭādeśa)’ with reference to 1.1.58 dvirvacane’ ci. The i of the abhyāsa then receives iyAN (6.4.78 abhyāsasyāsavarte) as a replacement especially in view of 1.1.52 nic ca. We thus get (i→iyAN) + āy + a→(2) iyāya. Our last example derives from r + (LIT→tiP→NaL) where we get (r→ār) + a through vṛddhi (7.2.115 aco īñiti). The extensional provision of form in cosonance with 1.1.52 dvirvacane’ aci also applies here in iteration. The result is: r + ār + a. An application of 7.4.66 ur at produces (r→ar) + ār + a which, through the application of 7.4.60 halādi šeṣah, yields a(r→φ) + ār + a = a + āra. The a of the abhyāsa is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 ata ādeḥ). The final derivate is produced by the application of 6.1.100 akah savartne dirghah. Thus (ā + ā→ā) ra→(3) āra. Derivates of this rule illustrate three operations relative to abhyāsakāra, namely halādiśeṣa (7.4.66), hrasva (7.4.59) and replacement of r in at (7.4.66) and dirgha (7.4.70).

6.1.3 na ndraḥ samyogādayah

(4) undidīṣati (6) arcīcīṣati

(5) addidiṣati

This rule negates iteration of the initial of a consonant cluster occurring as part of the second vocalic unit of a vowel-initial root. Examples such as (4) undidīṣati, (5) addidiṣati and (6) arcīcīṣati involve roots derived with affix saN (3.1.7 dhātōh . . .). Affix LAT, subsequently replaced with tiP, is then introduced after verbal roots arcīṣa ‘to wish to respect’, undiṣa ‘to wish to be wet’ and addiṣa. The r, n and d of the clusters cannot get iterated. This negation facilitates iteration of cīṣ, dīṣ, and diṣ only. The desired derivates are produced through application of 7.4.60 halādiśeṣah

6.1.6 jakṣa ityādayah sat

(7) jakṣati (11) śāsati

(8) jāgrati (12) didhyate

(9) daridrati (13) veryāte

(10) cacāsati (14) didhyat

Example (7) jakṣati derives from jakṣ + ŠaP + jhi where ŠaP gets deleted (2.4.72 adiprabṛṭihīyah šaPah). Rule 6.1.6 identifies jakṣa as abhyāsta, whereby 7.1.4 ad abhyāstāt replaces jh of jhi with at. We thus get jakṣ + (jh→at)i = jakṣati. We similarly get jāgr + ŠaP + jhi→jāgr + ati, where r of jāgr goes through a replacement in yaN. We thus get jāg(r→r) + ati = (8) jāgrati. Deriving (9) daridrati, from daridr + ŠaP + jhi→ati, involves the application of 6.4.112 śnābhastayor ātah. This rule deletes the ā of daridrā. We thus get daridr (ā→φ) + ati = daridrati. We similarly get (10) cacāsati from cacāsr + ŠaP + (jhi→ati)
and (11) šāsati from sās + ŠaP + tiP. Now consider (12) didhyate which derives from didhi + ŠaP + jha→didhi + (ŠaP→ϕ) + (jh→at) a) = didhi + ata, where ŠaP goes through deletion and the third plural middle ending jha gets replaced with at. An application of yaN (6.4.82 er anekāco . . .), followed by etva (3.4.79 tit atmane padānām . . .), produces didhyate(a→e) = didhyate.

Recall that 7.1.5 atmanepadesv anatath replaces jh with at. This replacement is not dependent upon the process of iteration, and subsequent assignments of the terms abhyāsa and abhyasta. We, however, need the term abhyasta for accent. The initial i of didhi, an abhyasta, is marked with udātta in view of the application of 6.1.186 abhyastānām ādiḥ. We get didhyate through interaction of rules 6.1.155 anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjaman and 8.4.66 udāttānu
dāttasya svaritāḥ. Of course, also with reference to 1.2.39 svaritāt samhitāyāṃ anudāttah. We see that assignment of the term abhyasta has accentual consequences. This same also applies to (13) veryāte.

Now consider (14) didhyat which is a derivate of didhiN + ŠaP + (LAT→SatR)→didhi + (ŠaP→ϕ) + at. Note that SatR could not be introduced after didhiN since it is an atmanepada verbal root. It should accept SānaC, especially in view of 1.4.100 taṇānāv atmane padam. This introduction of SatR is then to be accepted as the expatiation (praṇaṇa) of 3.1.85 vyatyaṇo bahulam. Note that augment nUM (7.1.70 ugaścāṃ sarvanāmā . . .) cannot be introduced to didhyat + sU, especially since 7.1.78 nābhystāc chatuḥ will negate it. This blocking is also one of the consequences of assigning the term abhyasta.

6.1.7 tuajānām dirgho' bhyāsasya
6.1.8 liśi dhātor anabhyaśasya

(15) tūtujaṇah    (18) māmāya
(16) māmahānāh   (19) tūtāva
(17) dādhānāh    (20) dādhāra

We derive (15) tūtujaṇah and māmahānāh from tuj + (LAT→KānaC)→tūtujaṇa + sU and mah + (LAT→KānaC)→māmahāna + sU. Note that KānaC optionally replaces LIT (3.2.106 liś kāṇaj vā) when the denotation is past and the usage is Vedic. Iteration of tuj (6.1.8 liśi dhātor . . .) is facilitated via sthāniva śadbhāva by treating KānaCas if it was LIT. An application of halādiseṣa (7.4.66) followed by a long replacement for the short of the abhyāsa by this rule produces tūtujaṇa. Similar rules apply in deriving (16) māmahānāh. Deriving (17) dādhānāh from dhā + dhā + (LAT→KānaC)→dādhāna + sU, involves iteration followed by d as a replacement for dh of the abhyāsa (8.4.54 abhyāse car ca). Now consider (18) māmāya, a LIT-derivate of DuUMiN, where tiP (3.4.78 tiptoṣhjī . . .) is replaced with NaL (3.4.82 parasmai padānām . . .). This yields mi + (N)a(L) which, through applications of vydhī (7.2.115 aco' ŋnitī) and replacement in āy (ayādeśa; 6.1.78 eco' yavyāvah) produces m(i→ai→āy) + a = māy + a. We now apply iteration with reference to 1.1.58
dvirvacane' ā whereby we get mi as the abhyāsa. That is, we get \( mi + māy + a \) where \( mi \) comes by as abhyāsa by way of extension of the form (rūpātidesā) of verbal root \( mi \). Our present rule will now apply to yield \( m(i→ī) + māy + a = mīmāya \), through a long replacement (dirgha). Note that a replacement in ā for \( i \) of \( mi \) (6.1.49 mīnātintonidūnām . . .) is not accomplished. Such exceptions are not hard to find in the Vedic. Similar rules also apply in deriving (19) tūtāva from tu + NaL→tū + tau + a and (20) dādhāra from dhṛN + NaL.

6.1.9 sanyāṇoh
6.1.10 ślau
6.1.22 cani

(21) pipaksati
(22) pipatisati
(23) aririsati
(24) pāpacaye
(25) yāyajyate
(26) atātyate
(27) arāryate
(28) prornonūyate
(29) āśisat
(30) ārdidat
(31) āpipacat
(32) āpipathat

Deriving (21) pipaksati from (pac + saN) + LAT requires iteration, halādīśeṣa, i-replacement of the a of pa (abhyāsa) and no introduction of iT. Recall that pac is a root which does not allow augment iT (anī). We get a derived verbal root with the form of pipakṣa where c of pac is replaced with k (8.2.30 coh kuh). The s of saN goes through a replacement in s (ṣatva) as has been shown in many examples. We similarly derive (22) pipatisati and (23) aririsati from (pat + saN) + LAT and (ra + saN) + LAT where the derived roots are pāṭiṣa and ariṣa. Both these roots receive augment iT. The r of ariṣa also goes through gūna followed by r. Their affinal s is also replaced with s (8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh). Operations relative to iteration and abhyāsa finally produce desired derivates.

Note that (24) pāpacaye derives from pāpacya + (LAT→ta) where LAT is replaced with the third singular ātmanepada affix ta. Verbal root pāpacya (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ) is derived from pac + yaN where what is iterated in view of our present rule is pac. The a of the abhyāsa is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.83 dīrga' kitaḥ). Of course, this applies subsequent to the application of halādīśeṣa. Thus, \( pa(c→ϕ)pac + ya→p(a→ā)pac + ya→pāpacya + (LAT→ta)→pāpacya + (Ś) a(P) + ta→pāpacya + a + t(a→e) = pāpacya (a + a→a) + te = pāpacaye \). The last two steps illustrate etva (3.4.79 īt ātmanepadānāṁ ter e) and pararūpa (6.1.97 ato gune), respectively. Similar steps apply in deriving (25) yāyajyate.

Deriving (26) atātyate with (at + yaN) + LAT requires the help of a vārttika to introduce yaN (vt. sūtrimūtryayartya . . .; ad 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco . . .). Iteration applies here with reference to the second syllable formed with tya of at + ya(N). Here again we find the application of halādīśeṣa (7.4.60; at(y→ϕ) a + tya) and dīrga' kitaḥ (7.4.83; at(a→ā) + tya = atātya). Deriving atātyate
from atātya + ŠaP + (LAT→ta) follows patterns similar to (24) pāpacayate.

Note that (27) arāryate also derives with a root ending in yaN, via the same vārṭtika proposal. The r of the root goes through guna of 7.4.30 yañi ca. Rule 7.3.84 sārvadātākārdha . . . could not apply since 1.1.5 knītī ca blocks it on account of N of yaN as an it. Iteration applies to ar + ya but with an exception made again by a vārṭtika (ad 6.1.3 na nārāh samyogādayāh . . .; vt yakāraprasya rephasya prātiśedho na bhavati). We thus get a + rya + rya. An application of halādiśeṣa and dārgho’ kitāh (7.4.83) then produces: ar(y→ϕ) a + rya→ar(a→ā) + rya = arārya. Deriving arāryate from arārya + ŠaP+ ta is easy.

Now consider (28) prōmōṇuṣṭe where affix yaN is also introduced after verbal root pra-ūrṇuN under the same vārṭtika proposal. We find that the focus of iteration is nu. The root ūrṇu must here be excluded because of 6.1.3 na nārāh. . . . The guna of the abhyāsa, i.e., nu, followed by dīrgha of the second nū is then accomplished by rules 7.4.82 guṇo yanilukoḥ and 7.4.25 akṛtisārvadātākāryaḥ, respectively. We thus get: pra-ūrṇu + ya(N)→pra-ūr + nu + nu + ya→pra-ūr + n(u→o) + nu + ya→pra-ūr + no + n(u→i) + ya = prōmōṇuṣṭe. Follow derivational steps of earlier examples for deriving prōmōṇuṣṭe from prōmōṇuṣṭe + ŠaP+ (LAT→ta). Note, however, that the n of prōnmo is replaced with n (nātva; 8.4.1 rāṣābhyaṁ no nāḥ . . .).

Note that (29) āśisat and (30) ārdidat follow derivational patterns of ātītat, in the appendix of rule 1.1.59 dvīrvaracane’ ā (II:416-17). The r of ārd in ārdidat will be excluded from iteration on account of 6.1.3 nandrāh samyogādayāh. The next two derivatives are causative. Thus, (31) apiṇacat and (32) apiṇaṭhat derive from (pac + NiC) + LUN and (paṭh + NiC) + LUN, respectively. We first get pāci from pac + NiC through applications of 3.1.26 hetumati ca and 7.2.116 ata uparāhāyaḥ. Thus, pac + (N) i(C)→p(a) c + i = pāci. Applications of rules such as 3.2.110 luni, 3.1.43 cī luni and 3.1.48 niśridrusrubhyaḥ . . . produce pāci + LUN→pāci + CLI + LUN→pāci + (CLI→CaN) + LUN→pāci + (C) a(N) + LUN. A replacement in ti(P) for LUN, followed by i-deletion (3.4.100 itaś ca) and introduction of augmentation aT(6.4.71 lunišnṛṇi . . .), yields pāci + a + (LUN→ti(P)→pāci + a + t(i→ϕ)→a(T) + pāci + a + t. Deletion of NiC (6.4.51 ṇer anīta) and shortening of the penultimate (upadāh-hrasva; 7.4.1 nāu cani . . .) then follow. We thus get a + pāci(i→ϕ) + a + t→a + p(ā→a)c + a + t = a + pac + a + t. Rule 6.1.11 canī then applies for iteration to yield a + pac + pac + a + t. An application of halādiśeṣa then produces: a + pa + pac + a + t. The a of the abhyāsa then goes through a replacement in i (7.4.79 samy atāh) under the provision of sanvadbhāva ‘treatment as if affix saN followed’. The short vowel i of the abhyāsa is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.94 dārgho lāghoh). We thus get a + p(a→i) + pac + a + t→a + p(i→i) + pac + a + t→apiṇacat. Similar rules apply in deriving (32) apiṇaṭhat.

6.1.15 vācśvāpiyājādīnām . . .

(33) uktāh

(34) uktavān
This section of rules deals with samprásāraṇa (1.1.45 ig yaṇah samprasāraṇam), a replacement in yaN (y/v/r/l) for vowles denoted by iK (i/u/r/l). The term samprasāraṇa refers to both: (i) the process whereby a sound denoted by yaN is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by iK and (ii) vowels which are denoted by iK and which replace a corresponding sound denoted by yaN. An application of replacement in a samprasāraṇa vowel also, where applicable, leads to a single replacement of a vocalic sequence similar to what precedes (pūrvarūpa). The second vowel of the sequence must be occurring after the samprasāraṇa vowel (6.1.107 samprasāraṇāc ca).

The examples are all derivatives of the (niṣṭhā) suffixes Kta and KlavaU (1.1.26 ktaktavatū niṣṭhā). Consider vac + (K) ta→(v→u) ac + ta→(u + a→u) c + ta→u(c→k) + ta = ukta + sU→(34) uktah, where v of vac is replaced with its samprasāraṇa counterpart u. Rule 6.1.107 samprasāraṇāc ca replaces the vocalic sequence u + a with u, similar in form to the preceding vowel termed samprasāraṇa. Rule 8.2.30 coh kuh then replaces the c with k (kutva). This same also applies to vac + KlavaU→uk + tavat = ukta + sU = (35) uktaV. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 kniti ca for additional derivational details (II: 336–37), especially for applications on derivatives with tavat. Deriving ūdhah from (vah + Kia) + sU, requires h to be replaced with dh (8.2.31 hōdhah) subsequent to samprasāraṇa and pūrvarūpa. Rule 8.2.40 jhaṣastathor... then replaces the t of ta with dh. This dh then goes through a replacement in dh (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). Rule 8.3.15 ṣho ḍhe lopah then requires the preceding dh to be deleted. The short u which precedes is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 dhralop pūrvasya...). We thus get: (v→u) a + h + (K) ta→(u + a→u) + h + ta→(h→dh) + tu→udh + (t→dh→dh) a→u(dh→d) + dh + a→(u→ü) + dh + a→ūdha + sU→(40) ūdhah. Similar rules apply in deriving vah + KlavaU→ūdh + (K) tavat(U) sU = (42) ūdhavān. Examples (42) and (43) (vas + Kia) + sU→usitah and (vas + KlavaU) + sU = usitavān, require a s to replace s (ṣatva; 8.3.60 śāśivasī...). Our last two examples, i.e., (45) (śwan + Kia) + sU→śūnah and (46) (śwan + KlavaU) + sU→śūnāvān, require that the t of the niṣṭhā suffix be replaced with n (niṣṭhā-natva; 8.2.45 odiś ca).

6.1.16 grahiyāvayi...

(47) grhitah
(48) grhitavān
(49) grhnāti
(50) jarigrhyate
Derivational History of Examples

(51) jínah
(52) jínāti
(53) jejiye
tate
(54) úyatuñ
(55) úyuñ
(56) viddhañ
(57) vṛkñah
(58) vṛknavān
(59) varivṛścyate
(60) pāripṛchhyate
(61) bhrjjati
(62) baribhrjjyate

Examples (47) grhitāḥ derives from (grah + iT + Kta) + sU where iT is replaced with its long counterpart (7.2.37 graho' liti dirghāh). This same also applies to (48) grhitavān. Our example (49) grhnāti is a derivate of grah + LAT where LAT is replaced with iTP. An introduction of Šnā (3.1.81 kṛyādibhyāh śnā) and its subsequent treatment as marked with N (nit; 1.2.4 sārvadāhātukam apit) produces: grah + nā + ti. An application of samprasāraṇa, pūrvarūpa and natva (8.4.2 atkupvān . . .) then produces g(r—a)r ah + nā + ti→g(r+a—a)r h + nā + ti→grh + (n→n)ā + ti = grhnāti. Refer to (25) pāpacyate (under 6.1.9 sanyānaḥ) for derivational details of (50) jarighrhyate. This derivate requires introduction of augment nīK (7.4.90 ṛg ṛdupadhasya ca) to the abhyāsa. An application of samprasāraṇa then follows under the condition of affix yaN. We thus get g(r—a)r + grah + iT + ŠaP + ta, through an additional application of 7.4.66 ur at. The g of ga is then replaced with j with the application of 7.4.62 kuhōś cuh.

Note that (51) jínah, (52) jínāti and (53) jejiye all are derivate of verbal root jyā. The t of the nīṣṭhā suffix ta is replaced with n (8.2.44 hādibhyāh) in jyā + Kta. Of course, subsequent to the samprasāraṇa of jyā. The i of ji + na of jínah is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 halah. Our next examples, jínāti and jejiye, are derivate of LAT where the second carries a derived root with affix yaN. The first derives with the introduction of Šnā. Derivational histories of (54) úyatuñ and (55) úyuñ are discussed in the appendix (III: 698). Our next example (56) (vyañdh + Kta) + sU→viddhah illustrates that v of the root does not go through samprasāraṇa because y, another samprasāraṇa, follows (6.1.36 na samprasāraṇa . . .). Thus, we get the samprasāraṇa of y followed by replacing t of Ktawith dh (8.2.40 jhāstathor . . .). The dh of the root is then replaced with d (8.4.52 jhalām jāś jhaśi). Thus, v(y→i)dh + Kta→vidh + (t→dh)a→vi(dh→d) + dha = viddha + sU→viddhah.

The next two derivate of nīṣṭhā illustrate samprasāraṇa on vṛśc of (57) (vraśc + Kta) + sU and (58) (vṛśc + KivatU) + sU where samprasāraṇa yields vṛśc + ta. The t of the nīṣṭhā is replaced with n (8.2.45 odtas ca). The s of the conjunct at the end is deleted (8.2.29 skoh samyog . . .) and c is replaced with k (kutva, 8.2.30 coñ kuñ). The n of na of vṛk + na is then replaced with n (ṇañva). Recall here that the š of vṛśc is technically s which, before c, gets replaced with š (8.4.39 skoh ścuñā šcuñ). Its deletion by 8.2.29 skoh samyog . . . is accomplished with the understanding that it is s.

Derivational details of (59) varivṛścyate are similar to many derivate of
yañ already discussed. Note that augment niKis here introduced to the abhyāsa (7.4.90 īgṛdūpadhasya ca). Since there being no r in the upadhā ‘penultimate position’, a vārītika proposal is made (ad 7.4.90: vt. rīgṛtvata iti vaktavyam). Similar rules apply in deriving (60) pariṣṭihyate. Recall that augment tUKis here introduced by 6.1.71 che ca. Examples (61) bhrījati and (62) bariḥbhrījyate involve similar operational steps. Note, however, that s of bhrasja is replaced with d (jaśṭva; 8.4.52 jhalām jaś jhaśī). This d is then replaced with j (scutva; 8.4.39 stoh scunā scuh). Thus, bhra(s→d→j) j + ŠaP + tiP→bh(ra→r) jj + a + ti = bhrījati.

6.1.36 apasprdhethām . . .

(63) apasprdhethām
(64) ānṛcuḥ
(65) ānṛhuḥ
(66) cicuṣe
(67) tityāja
(68) śrātā
(69) śrītam
(70) āśīr
(71) āśīrta

These, still again, are derivates where both bāhulaka and nipātana are invoked. Our first example, i.e., (64) apasprdhethām, derives from spardh + LAN, where LAN is replaced with the second person dual middle ending athām. Iteration, samprasārana of r and deletion of a is all accomplished via nipātana. Our next two examples, i.e., (65) ānṛcuḥ and (66) ānṛhuḥ, are derivates of LIT introduced after verbal roots archA. These are third personal active plural forms where LIT is subsequently replaced with us. An application of samprasārana and deletion of a is accomplished via nipātana. Iteration and operations relative to abhyāsa then follow. Note that lengthening of a and augment nUT are accomplished by 7.4.70 ata ādeḥ and 7.4.71 tasmān nuḍ . . . respectively.

Examples (66) cicuṣe and (67) tityāja derive from cu + (LIT→thās→se) and yaj + (LIT→NāI), where iteration, samprasārana of y (in the abhyāsa) are major applications. The first also involves a replacement in s (ṣatva). The second involves a vyddhi replacement similar to the preceding a of the vocalic sequence. Note also that augment iT in cicuṣe is also blocked by nipātana. Example (68) śrātā derives from śrīN + Kta where śrā is introduced as a replacement via nipātana. Example (69) śrītam replaces long i of śrī by its short counterpart, again via nipātana. The last two examples, i.e., (70) āśīr and (71) āśīrta, both have śrīN with the preverb āN. They both get śrī replaced with śrī. The first is a derivate of KuIP before which śrī replaces śrī. The second is a derivate of niṣṭhā suffix Kta where t of Kta is saved from being replaced with n, again via nipātana.

6.1.66 lopo vyor vali

(72) didīvān
(73) didīvāmsau
Derivational History of Examples

(74) didivāṃsaḥ
(75) gaudherah
(76) paceran
(77) jiradānuḥ
(78) āśremāṇam

Note that (72) didivān, (73) didivāṃsa and (74) didivāṃsaḥ are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of didivas, a derivate of KvasU introduced after div. Follow derivational patterns of papivān and jakṣivān under the appendix of 3.2.107 kvasus ca (III: 745). Refer to the appendix (II: 418–20) under 1.1.59 dvirvacane' ci for derivational details of (75) gaudherah, (76) paceran, (77) jiradānuḥ and (78) āśremāṇam.

6.1.68 halinyābbhyo dirghāt...

(79) abibhar
(80) ajāgar
(81) abhinar
(82) abhino' tra

Example (79) derives from bhṛ́N + SaP + (LA-N→tiP), where SaP goes through deletion (2.4.75 jhutoyādibhyah...), bhṛ goes through iteration (6.1.10 īlau) and operations relative to abhyāsa. This yields: bhṛ + bhṛ + t. The i of tiP is, of course, deleted by 3.4.100 itāś ca. An application of 7.4.66 ur at is followed by 7.4.60 halādi śesaḥ to produce bh(ṛ→ar) + bhṛ + t→bh(a)(ṛ→φ) + bh + t. Rule 7.4.76 bhṛṇām it then introduces i to replace a of the abhyāsa. This gives us bhī + bhṛ + t where guna (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha...). The ṛ and introduction of aT produces a(T) + bhī + bh(ṛ→ar) + t. Rule 8.4.53 abhyāse car ca then applies to replace the bh of bhī with b. Thus, a + (bh→b)i + bhār + t. Our present rule then deletes t and we get (79) abibhar. Example (80) ajāgar follows similar applications except for iteration. For, this root belongs to the adādi class. The guna of jāgr is accomplished by 7.3.85 jāgro' vicin... The last example, i.e., (81) abhinar, derives from aT + bhid + ŠnaM + (LA-N→siP). Our present rule deletes the s of siP. The final d of a + bh(ŠnaM)d + (s→φ) is then replaced with rU (8.2.75 daś ca). The r is further replaced with u (6.1.112 ato ror...), followed by its guna (6.1.87 ad gunah) before atra of (82) abhino' tra. The a of abhino atra will then be subjected to the pūrvarūpa of 6.1.108 eṇāḥ padāntād ati.

6.1.75 dirghāt

(83) apacācchāyate
(84) vicācchāyate

The examples are two derivate of cho 'to cut, pierce' in LAT where the roots cāchāya and vichāya end in yaN and are used with the prevers apa and vi, respectively. Recall that, given cho + yaN (3.1.22 dhātor ekāco...), the root-final o is replaced with ā (6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe...). Iteration (dvitva) and shortening (7.4.59 hrasvah) of the abhyāsa then produce ch(ā→a) + chā + ya. The ch of the abhyāsa then goes through a replacement in c (cartva;
8.4.55 *khari ca*. We thus get *cachāya*. The *a* of the *abhyaśa* is then replaced with long of 7.4.83 *dirgho’ kitaḥ*. We derive *cāchāya + (LāṬ → ta) → apa + cācchāyate = (83) apacācchāyate*, with introduction of *iUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*) before *ch*. Similar rules apply in deriving (84) *vicācchāyate*.

6.4.55 *ayāmantālavāyyetviniśnuṣu*

(85) *gaṇḍayantah*  
(86) *maṇḍayantah*  
(87) *sprhāyāluḥ*  
(88) *grhāyāluḥ*  
(89) *sprhayāyyah*  
(90) *grhayāyyah*  
(91) *stanayitnuḥ*  
(92) *posayiṣṇavah*

Refer to derivational details of *kārayāṇacakāra* and *hārayāṇacakāra* under the appendix of rule 3.1.40 *kṛcāṇuprayiṣyate liti* (III: 717–18). Our first two examples, i.e., (85) *gaṇḍayantah* and (86) *maṇḍayantah*, are derived from (*gaḍl + NiC*) + *jhaC* and (*maḍl + NiC*) + *jhaC* where the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* (3.18: *trbhūvahihbas . . .*) is replaced with *anta* (7.1.3 *jho’ naḥ*). Note that the root is marked with *I* as an *it* (*idit*). Consequently, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhāloḥ*. An application of non-deletion of *NiC*, followed by a replacement in *ay* of this rule, produces *ga(nUM)d + (N)i(C) + (jha → ata) → ga(n → n)d + (i → ay) + ata = gaṇḍayata + sU → (84) gaṇḍayataḥ* and *maḍl + NiC + jhaC → ma(n → n)d ayata = maṇḍayata + sU → (86) maṇḍayataḥ*.

Deriving (87) *sprhāyāluḥ* and (88) *grhāyāluḥ* from (*sprhi + āluC*) + *sU → sprhāyāluḥ*, and (*grhi + āluC*) + *sU → grhāyāluḥ*, also involves non-deletion of *NiC* and a replacement in *ay*. Note here that *sprha* and *grha* are accepted as roots of the cur-ādi class ending in *a* (*ad-anta*). This *a*, at the end of *sprha* and *grha* before *NiC*, is subsequently deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Affix *āluC* is introduced by 3.2.158 *sprhigṛhipati . . .* with the signification of *tācchīya* ‘characteristic nature’. Examples (89) *sprhayāyyah* and (90) *grhayāyyah* are similarly derived with the introduction of affix *āyya* after *sprhi* and *grhi* (*Uṇādi 3.93: tanudaksisprhi . . .*). Affix *NiC* is saved from deletion and *ay* again comes as a replacement. Example (91) *stanayitnuḥ* is derived from (*stana + NiC*) + *itnu → stan(a → φ) + (i → ay) + itnu = stanayitnu + sU → stanayitnuḥ*. Here again we find *a*-deletion and replacement in *ay*. Refer to derivational details of *pārayiṣṇavah* under the appendix (III: 754) of 3.2.137 *nēs chandasi*. Example (92) *posayiṣṇavah* follows applications similar to *pārayiṣṇavah*.

6.4.62 *syasicsūyttāśisu . . .*

(93) *cāyisyate*  
(94) *cesyate*  
(95) *acāyisyata*  
(96) *acesyata*  
(97) *dāyisyate*  
(98) *dāsyate*  
(99) *adāyisyata*  
(100) *adāsyata*  
(101) *sāmisyate*  
(102) *sāmisyate*  
(103) *śamayisyate*  
(104) *āsāmisyata*
Refer to derivational details of karisati (I: 511–12) and kārisate (III: 728) under the appendices of rules 1.4.13 yasmāt pratyayavidhis... and 3.1.87 karnavat karmanā..., respectively. Derivate (93) cāyisate differs from karisati in the sense that its $\text{LRT} \rightarrow \text{ta}$ denotes bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’. A middle suffix, as against an active, is introduced with the signification of bhāva and karman of 1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoh. Of course, kārisate is a derivate of NiC ‘causative’. Thus, $\text{ci} + (\text{LRT} \rightarrow \text{ta}) \rightarrow \text{c}(i \rightarrow a\text{i}) + i\text{T} + \text{sya} + \text{ta} \rightarrow c(\text{ai} \rightarrow \text{āy}) \rightarrow (\text{a} \rightarrow \text{e}) + \text{cāyisate}$, where we get the application of cinvadbhāva, $i\text{T}$, vṛddhi and subsequent replacement in āy. We will not get $i\text{T}$ if the option of cinvadbhāva is not accepted. Thus, $\text{ci} + \text{sya} + \text{i}(\text{a} \rightarrow \text{e}) \rightarrow \text{c}(i \rightarrow \text{e}) + \text{sya} + \text{te} = (\text{94})$ cesyate, with guna and replacement in $s$ (śatva). Derivates of $\text{LRN}$, (95) $\text{ci} + (\text{LR} \rightarrow \text{ta}) = \text{acāyisata}$ and (96) acesyata, can be similarly derived, with augment $a\text{T}$ and no replacement in $e$ (etva) of $\text{ti}$. Forms such as (97) dāyisate, (98) dāsyate and (99) adāyisata, (100) adāsyata are sets of optional middle derivates of $\text{LRT}$ and $\text{LRN}$, respectively, introduced after dā. Note that, in addition to sya, we also get augment $\text{yUK}$ (7.3.35 āto yok cinkrtol) when the option of cinvadbhāva is accepted. Thus, daraṣyate/adāṣyata and dāṣyate/adāṣyata in each set. Now consider (101) sāmi + (LRT → ta) = sāmisate and (102) sāmisate where verbal root sāmi ends in NiC. This affix is deleted by 6.4.51 ṇer anīti before the optional application of cinvadbhāva is accepted. It is also because of cinvadbhāva that 6.4.93 cinnumul’ nyatarasāyām offers an optional long replacement for the short (6.4.92 mitām hrusvah) penultimate vowel of the anāga. We thus get form one (101) sāmisate. No optional long replacement will give us form two (102) sāmisate. No optional cinvadbhāva will bring augment $i\text{T}$ of 7.2.35 ārdhāhatukasye dvādaś, and will produce (103) sāmasiṣyate with guna and āy of $i$. One can similarly derive the three
derivatives of LR\textsubscript{N}: (104) aśāmisyata, (105) aśāmisyata and (106) aśāmayisyata.

Now consider (107) ghānisyate, (108) hanisyate; and (109) aghānisyata, (110) ahanisyata, the two derivational sets of han with sya in (LRT→ta) and (LR\textsubscript{N}→ta), respectively. Derivatives of LRT, when opting for cinvadbhāva, will go through a replacement in gh for h of han (7.3.54 ho hanter . . .). Additionally, we also get a replacement in vrddhi, due mainly to N as an it of ciN (cinvadbhāva). Derivatives of LT will, additionally, have augment aT. Thus, aghanisyata and ahanisyata. Now consider (111) grāhisyate and (112) grāhisyate where we get optional cinvadbhāva, augment iT and penultimate vrddhi similar to preceding examples. A replacement in s for s of sya produces grāhisyate. But we also get grāhisyate where iT, in the absence of the option of cinvadbhāva, is introduced by 7.3.35 ārdhadhātukasye\textsubscript{d} valāde\textsubscript{h}. An absence of cinvadbhāva and upadhā- vrddhi is here compensated by long replacement for the short of i of iT (7.2.37 graho ‘li‘i ti dirgha). Corresponding forms of LR\textsubscript{N}, i.e., (113) agrahisyata and (114) agrahisyata, offer nothing new. Examples (115) darāsīsyate, (116) drakṣyate; and (117) adarāsīsyata, (118) adrakṣyata illustrate examples of LRT and LR\textsubscript{N} with sya, respectively. Option of cinvadbhāva and iT offers guṇa, followed by τ (rapara). Thus we will get d(r→ar)s + iT + (s→s)ya + t(a→e) = darāsīsyate. No option of cinvadbhāva will produce drakṣyate with augment aM (6.1.58 srjdrśor jhāy am akīt). The s of dṛś will then be replaced with τ (yaN). Its s will similarly be replaced with s (8.2.36 vruśabhrasajra . . .). Rule 8.2.41 saṭhoḥ kaḥ si then replaces the s with k. Finally, 8.3.57 inkoḥ replaces the s of sya with s to produce: dṛ + a(M)š + sya + te→d(r→r) + a(š→s→k) + sya + te→drak + (s→s)ya + te = drakṣyate.

Forms of LR\textsubscript{N}, (117) adarāsīsyata and (118) adrakṣyata, will, of course, derive with augment aT.

Examples (119) acāyisātām and (120) acēsātām illustrate optional examples of third dual middle (ātām; 3.4.78 tiptaṣji . . .) of (LUN→ātām) where CLI is replaced with sIC and augment aT is introduced. Thus we get aT + ci(N) + (CLI→sIC) + (LUN→ātām)→aci + s + ātām, where the option of cinvadbhāva introduces augment iT and i of ci is replaced with āyvia its vrddhi replacement in ai. Thus, ac(i→ai→āy) + i(T) + s + ātām = acāy + i + (s→s) + ātām = acāyisātām. We will get acēsātām with a replacement in guṇa if the option of cinvadbhāva is not accepted. We will similarly get derivatives of dā such as (121) adāyisātām and (122) adiśātām. The first is derived from dā + (LUN→ātām)→aT + dā + sIC + ātām→a + dā + iT + yUK + s + ātām. We will get the ā of dā replaced with i (1.2.27 sthāghvora ic ca). The guṇa of i will be negated because of K as an it status of sIC. We will thus get adiśātām.

Examples (123) aśāmīsātām, (124) aśāmīsātām (125) aśāmayisātām are derivatives of LUN, introduced after verbal root šami ending in NiC. An optional cinvadhāva, optional penultimate lengthening and deletion of NiC will produce aśāmīsātām and aśāmīsātām. No cinvadhāva will bring iT of 7.3.37 ārdhadhātukasye\textsubscript{d} valāde\textsubscript{h}, guṇa and replacement in ay, thereby pro-
ducing aṣamayiṣṭātām. These forms are similar to (104) aṣāmiṣyata, (105) aṣamisyaṭa and (106) aṣamayisyata. We will similarly get examples of han such as (126) aghanisātām, (127) avadhishātām and (128) ahasātām where the first will go through kutva, etc., similar to (109) aghanisyata. The second and third forms will have optional replacement of han with vadha. We will thus get avadhishātām and ahasātām. Note that ahasātām will have deletion of n (6.4.37 anudattopadesavānati . . . ) because of the kit status of sIC (1.2.14 hanah śic).

Our LUN derivates of graḥ, i.e., (129) agrāhiṣṭātām and (130) agrahāṣṭātām, will opt for cinvadhāva and vṛddhi of the penultimate vowel. Example (129) agrahāṣṭātām will have the long i-replacement of 7.2.37 graho' litī dirghah. Refer to earlier forms of these verbal roots for particular operations with or without the option of cinvadhāva. Examples (133) sāmisyāṭa, (134) śamisyāṭa and (135) śamayiṣṭāṣṭa illustrate derivates of sīyUT (cf: II: 436–37). The last two examples, i.e., (136) cāyitā and (137) cētā are derivates of tās.

6.4.72 ṛaḍ ajāḍinām

(138) aikṣiṣṭa
(139) aihista
(140) aubjīt
(141) aumbhīt
(142) aikṣata
(143) aihata
(144) aubjat
(145) aumbhath
(146) aikṣiṣṭyata
(147) aihisṭa
(148) aubjīṣyat
(149) aumbhīṣyat
(150) aijyata
(151) aubjyata
(152) aubhyata

An aṅga which begins with a vowel and occurs before LUN, LAN and LRN receives augment āṬ at the beginning. Thus, ikṣ + (LUN→ta)→ikṣ + iṬ + sIC + ta→āṬ + ikṣ + i + s + ta→(ā + i→a)ksi + i (s→s) + (t→i) a = (138) aikṣiṣṭa. Rule 6.1.90 āṭaḥ ca will offer a single replacement in vṛddhi for ā and i, thereby yielding: (ā + i→a)ksi + i + s + ta. Refer to kṛṣīṣṭa (II: 339–40) for additional details. Example (139) aihista is derived from iḥ + (LUN→ta) with similar applications. Our active (parasmaiṇḍa) derivates ubj + (LUN→t(i→ϕ)) = (140) aubjīt and umbh + (LUN→t(i→ϕ)) = (141) aumbhīt will receive iṬ (7.3.96 astīśico' prkте) in addition to āṬ. Their sIC will then be deleted by 8.2.28 iṭ īṭi. A savarṇa-dīrgha application on (ā + u→au) bj + i + (sIC→ϕ) + i + t→aubj(i + i→i) + t and (ā + u→au) meh + i + (sIC→ϕ) + i + t→aumbh (i + i→i) + t will finally produce aubjīt and aumbhīt. Examples of LAN, i.e., (142) aikṣata and (143) aihata, derive from ikṣ + (LAN→ta)→āṬ + ikṣ + ŠaP + ta and iḥ + (LAN→ta) = āṬ + iḥ + ŠaP + ta. The ā of āṬ and i of roots will yield a single replacement in vṛddhi (6.1.90 āṭaḥ ca). This same also applies to active derivates (144) aubjat and (145) aumbhath, where i of ti gets deleted by 3.4.100 itāś ca.
The middle derivates of \textit{LRN}, i.e., \textit{(146) aikṣisyata}, \textit{(147) aihisyata}, will receive \textit{āT} and a single replacement in \textit{vrddhi}. They will also receive the usual \textit{sy} and \textit{iT}. Their active counterparts, i.e., \textit{(148) aubhisyat} and \textit{(149) aumbhisyat} are not any different. They will, of course, have the application of \textit{3.4.100 itaś ca}.

Our last three examples, i.e., \textit{(150) aiyyata}, \textit{(151) auypyata} and \textit{(152) auyhyata}, are third person singular middle derivates of \textit{LAN} introduced after \textit{yaj}, \textit{uap} and \textit{vah}. \textit{Kāśikā} offers operational steps as follows: \textit{ta} as a replacement of \textit{LAN} (lādeśa), \textit{yaK}, \textit{samprasārana} and \textit{āT}. Refer to my notes under this rule concerning obligatory and non-obligatory (nityānitya) aspects of rule applications.

\textit{6.4.77 aciśnudhāṭubhruvāṃ yvoryaṇuvanāvau}

\begin{align*}
(153) \text{āpnuvantī} &\quad (160) \text{niyau} \\
(154) \text{rādhnuvantī} &\quad (161) \text{niyah} \\
(155) \text{śaknuvantī} &\quad (162) \text{luvau} \\
(156) \text{ciṣiyatuh} &\quad (163) \text{luvah} \\
(157) \text{ciṣiyuh} &\quad (164) \text{bhruvau} \\
(158) \text{luluvatuh} &\quad (165) \text{bhruvah} \\
(159) \text{luluvuh} &
\end{align*}

This rule introduces \textit{iyaN} and \textit{uvuN} as replacements for the final \textit{i} and \textit{u} of an \textit{aṅga} which ends in \textit{ṣnu} (\textit{3.1.73 svādibhyah śnuḥ}), or of a \textit{dhātu}, or else, the \textit{ū} of \textit{bhrū}. Of course, when a vowel-initial affix, follows. The first three examples derive from \textit{āp} + (\textit{LAT} + \textit{jhi}) \rightarrow \textit{āp} + (\textit{Ś} nu + (\textit{jh} \rightarrow \textit{anti}) \textit{i} \rightarrow \textit{āp} + n(\textit{u} \rightarrow \textit{uvuN}) + \textit{anti} = (\textit{152}) \textit{āpnuvantī}. Similar applications are witnessed in (\textit{154}) rādhnuvantī from rādh + Šnu + jhi and (\textit{155}) śaknuvantī from śak + Šnu + jhi.

Recall that \textit{atus} and \textit{us} are third person dual and plural active replacements of \textit{LĪT} (\textit{3.4.82 parasmaipadānāṃ . . . }). Examples (\textit{156}) ciṣiyatuh and (\textit{157}) ciṣiyuh thus derive from kṣi + (\textit{LĪT} \rightarrow \textit{atus}) and kṣi + (\textit{LĪT} \rightarrow \textit{us}), where \textit{i} of ciṣi + \textit{atus} and kṣi + \textit{us} are replaced with \textit{uvuN} after iteration and related operations. Thus, \textit{ciṣi}(i \rightarrow \textit{iyA}) + \textit{atus} \rightarrow \textit{ciṣiyatuh} (s \rightarrow h) and \textit{ciṣi}(i \rightarrow \textit{iyA}) + \textit{us} \rightarrow \textit{ciṣiy} + u(s \rightarrow h) = \textit{ciṣiyuh}. Examples (\textit{158}) luluvatuh and (\textit{159}) luluvuh illustrate a replacement in \textit{uvuN} for \textit{u} of lulu. Our next four derivates of nī and lū end in affix \textit{KuP} (\textit{3.2.61 satsūdviṣa . . . ; 3.2.76 kuṇ ca}). Note here that \textit{KuP} goes through total deletion (\textit{saṃpāhāriṇa}) and an item which ends in a \textit{KuP} does not abandon its status as a \textit{dhātu} (cf. \textit{kuṇantā dhātuvāṃ na jahati}). Thus, n(ī \rightarrow \textit{iyA}) + au \rightarrow (\textit{160}) niyau and n(ī \rightarrow \textit{iyA}) + \textit{Ja}(s \rightarrow h) \rightarrow (\textit{161}) niyah. We similarly get (\textit{162}) luvau and (\textit{163}) luvah with a replacement in \textit{uvuN}. This rule makes a special mention of \textit{bhrū} because it is a nominal stem. We thus get \textit{bhrū}(ū \rightarrow \textit{uvuN} + au) = (\textit{164}) bhruvau and \textit{bhrū}(ū \rightarrow \textit{uvuN} + (j) as) = (\textit{165}) bhruvah.
6.4.149 sūryatisyamatsyāṇāṁ ya upadhāyāḥ

(166) saurī balākā
(167) taiśam ahaḥ
(168) taiśi rātriḥ

(169) āgastī
(170) āgastiyāḥ
(171) matsī
derivation history of examples

This rule offers deletion of the penultimate y of a bha, namely sūrya, tisyā, agastya and matsya, provided i or a taddha follows. We derive (166) saurī from saurya + NīP, where saurya derives from sūrya + Nas + aN → s(ū→ au) rya + a → saury(ā→ φ) + a = saurya with initial vṛddhi and deletion of a (6.4.148 yasyeti ca). Note here that yet another deletion of a is accomplished when deriving saurī from saury(ā→ φ) + NīP → saury + ā. The y of saury is then deleted by our present rule. This deletion of y is accomplished by treating deletion of a as asiddha ‘suspended’ (6.4.22 asiddhavada atrabhā). For, if a-deletion is not treated as asiddha, y-deletion cannot apply. That is, y will then be final, and not penultimate. The first deletion of a cannot be treated as asiddha because it is conditioned by affix aN. The deletion of y is conditioned by i of the feminine affix. Deletion of the second a, and the penultimate deletion of y, both have similar locus (samāṇāśraya). This a is treated as asiddha. Deriving (167) taiśam from taisa + sU and (168) taiśi from taisi + sU is easy. Note, however, that taisa derives from tisyā + aN with initial vṛddhi. We also find deletion of a and y of taisya before aN. Another a-deletion is accomplished when affix Nīṣ (4.1.15 tīḍhānaṇaḥ . . . ) follows taisa. We similarly derive (169) āgastī from (agastya + Nas + aN) + NIP, with the signification ‘a female offspring of Agastya, a sage’ (4.1.114 ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi . . . ). Here again, we find a and y deletions before affix aN. We derive (170) āgastiyāḥ by further introducing affix cha, again with a and y deletions. The word (171) matsī ends in a Nīṣ (4.1.41 sid gaurādibhyaḥ ca) introduced after matsya. This derivate also involves a-deletion which, in turn, facilitates y-deletion via asiddhatva.
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