The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

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 AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ 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

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त्रिपाठिवर्याय मुदान्विताय
रामप्रसादाय सुसज्जनाय।
समर्प्य ग्रन्थं गुरवेऽहिताय
मोदं समाप्नोति ममाद्य चेतः ॥

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Preface

This present is the fifth of a planned six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyayī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the fourth of the five translated volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* 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 relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatāraḥ* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti,* with the commentaries Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjarī of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadaraja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Saraswatī and the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kaśikāvṛtti* with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī for explanatory notes. Nyāsa, Padamañjarī and *Siddhāntakaumudī* 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 Padamañjarī, 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.

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Honolulu, Hawaii (USA)
16 March 2001

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
cat tat	*caturthī-tatpuruṣa*
DP	*Dhātupāṭha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
dvi tat	*dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa*
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya with Padamañjarī (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the Pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and the Udyota of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Pai	*Paippalāda Saṃhitā*
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*
sam	*samāhāra*

sg	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
Tai	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tr/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary Ambākartrī of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Six

Pāda One

6.1.1 एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य

ekāco dve prathamasya
/ekācaḥ 6/1 = *ekaḥ ac yasya (bv.), tasya;*
dve 1/2 *prathamasya* 6/1/
ekācaḥ prathamasya iti dve vaktavyaḥ
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 *śyaṅ 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 (*kāryin*; *prathamasya ekācaḥ*) as well as an operation (*kārya*; *dve*)? 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 *liṭi dhātor* . . . vacuous (*vyartha*). A restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of 6.1.8, i.e., *liṭi 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 jyāyān* '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 *liṭi 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

(*vyadhikaraṇa*), qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. If it is accepted as a coreferential qualifier, iteration will then be permitted only in connection with monosyllabic roots such as *paṭh* and *pac*, etc. For, *dhātoḥ*, when qualified with *ekācaḥ*, will yield the interpretation: 'of a root which consists of a single vowel'. Iteration, with this interpretation, will be blocked in connection with *jāgṛ* 'to wake up' and *daridrā* 'to be poor', etc., which consist of more than a single vowel. It is to remove such difficulties that the genitive in *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting the part (*avayava*) of a whole (*avayavin*). That is, *ekācaḥ* will be interpreted as a unit constituted by a single vowel which, in turn, forms part of a root. Of course, *ekācaḥ* 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 *jāgṛ*, etc. To conclude, genitive of *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting a part-whole relationship (*avayavāvayavabhāva*). Additionally, *ekācaḥ* is not accepted as a coreferential qualifier.

The compound in *ekācaḥ* cannot be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* with the analyzed form: *ekaś cāsau 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 *iṄ* '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 *papāca*, etc. It is to remove this difficulty that *ekāc* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form: *eka ac yasmin* 'that in which there is only one vowel'. Application of rules such as 7.4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ* also attest to this. For, retention of a unit constituted by the first vowel, and deletion of the others, is possible only when a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is accepted. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block application of 7..4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ*.

The *bahuvrīhi* of *ekāc* is further interpreted as a *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna*. Consider the following sentences:

(*i*) *citravāsasam ānaya*
'bring one who wears colorful clothes'

(*ii*) *citragum ānaya*
'bring one who owns brindled cows'

The first is a type of *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where its constituent *citra* of *citravāsas* is paraphrased with the verb. That is, when the person is brought, colorful (clothes) are also brought. The second sentence is a type of *atadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* 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 *ekāc*, when interpreted as an *atadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi*, 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 *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* interpretation is favored because it will

permit *aC* of *ekāC* to be paraphrased with the verb. *Kāśikā*, therefore, states that *sāckasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ bhavati* 'iteration applies only to that which consists of an *aC*'. The part-whole relationship of the genitive in *dhātoḥ* further strengthens this interpretation (*Kāś.: abhyantaraś ca samudāye' vayavo bhavatīti sāckasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ 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 (*yugapat*), it will not be possible to accomplish iteration simultaneously. It is in view of this that *Kāśikā* states: *sakṛc chāstrapravṛtyā sāvayavaḥ 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 *ṇenekti*, *ṇeniktaḥ* and *ṇenijati*, the third singular, dual and plural present indicative active forms of *ṇij* 'to nourish', derived from: *ṇij* + *Śap* + *ti*, *ṇij* + *Śap* + *tas* and *ṇij* + *Śap* + *jhi*, respectively. The focus of iteration in case of *ṇij* should be correctly accepted as *ṇij*. If (*ṇ*→*n*) *i*, as against *ṇij*, is accepted as focus of iteration, deriving the first two forms will not pose any problem. We will thus get: (*ṇ*→*n*) *ij* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *nij* + *ŚaP* + *ti*(*P*→ϕ) = *nij* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ti*→(*ni* + *nij*) + ϕ + *ti* = *ninijti*→*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 *nini*. 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, (*ṇ*→*n*) *ij* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*)) →*nij* + *jhi*→*nij* + (*ŚaP*) + *jhi*→*nij* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *jhi*→*nij* + *nij* + *jhi*→*ni*(*j*→ϕ) + *nij* + *jhi* = *ninij* + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *ninij* + *at* + *i* = *n*(*i*→*e*) *nij* + *at* + *i* = *nenijati*. Note that, in addition to deletion of *Śap* by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*), and iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*; 6.1.1

ekāco dve prathamasya) with assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*), we also apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.75 *ṇijāṃ trayāṇāṃ guṇaślau*. Thus, *nij* + *nij*→*ni*(*j*=ϕ) + *nij* = *ninij* and *ninij*→*n* (*i*→*e*) *nij* = *nenij*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.2 अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य

ajāder dvitīyasya
/ajādeḥ 6/1 = *aj ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*;
dvitīyasya 6/1/
(*ekācaḥ dve* #1)
ac ādir yasya dhātoḥ tadavayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ
That which is constituted by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel is iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

aṭiṭiṣati '. . . wishes to constantly wander about'
aṣiṣiṣati '. . . wishes to eat'
aririṣati 'wishes to go'

1. This rule offers iteration of a formal unit which may be constituted by the second vowel (*dvitīyasya*) of a verbal root beginning with a vowel (*ajādeḥ*). 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 (*ubhayaprasaṅga*). 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 *anabhyāsasya* of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* will negate it.

2. Consider *aṭiṭiṣati* '. . . wishes to constantly wander about', where verbal root *aṭiṭiṣa* derives from *aṭ* + *saN*, via augment *iṬ*, replacement of *s* of *saN* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*) and iteration of *ṭiṣ* of *aṭ* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a*(*N*)) = *aṭiṣa*, to produce *aṭiṭiṣa* subsequent to the application 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same is also true of *aṣiṣiṣati* '. . . wishes to eat', where iteration of 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* 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 *ṛ* + *saN*, where *ṛ* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *a* followed immediately with *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). We then derive *ar* + *iṬ* + *sa* = *ariṣa*, where rule 7.2.74 *smipūṅrañjasāṃ sani* orders augment *iṬ* 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 *ṛ* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *ar*, and hence, *ṛ* 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 *ṛ*, or its replacement in *ar*. Rule 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* orders this iteration with reference to a unit ending in *saN*. One may also argue here in favor of treating augment *iṬ* 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 *iṬ* 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 *iṣ*, 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 kāryī nimittatvenāśrīyate;* also see *paribhāṣā* (11): *kāryam anubhavan hi kāryī na nimittatvenāśrīyate*). This is why the negation of *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, as per 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, does not apply on *śayitā*. For, *śīN* cannot be treated as *nimitta* for its own *guṇa*.

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 bhāvaḥ*). Augment *iṬ* here does not follow. It is included within the operand (*kāryī*), instead.

3. Note that *Kāśikā* accepts *ajādeḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. It thus serves as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* and yields the interpretation: *ajāder dhātor avayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco 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 *Mahābhāṣya*, yields the interpretation: *ajāder uttarasya ekāco 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 *dvitīyasya* useless. Or else, *dvitīyasya* can then be accepted as used for clarity (*Kāś.*: *teṣāṃ 'dvitīyasya' iti vispaṣṭārthaṃ draṣṭavyam*).

6.1.3 न न्द्राः संयोगादयः

na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ
/na ϕ ndrāḥ 1/3 = *naś ca daś ca raś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *saṃyogādayaḥ* 1/3 = *saṃyogasya ādayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)*/*
(*ekācaḥ dve* #1 *dvitīyasya* #2)

nakāra-dakāra-rephā dvitīyaikāco' vayavabhūtāḥ saṃyogādayo na dvir 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:

undidiṣati '. . . wishes to make (it) wet'
aḍḍiḍiṣati '. . . wishes to press charges'
arcicișati '. . . 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, *undidiṣati* '. . . wishes to make (it) wet' is derived from (*undi* + *sa*) + *LAṬ,* 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 *saṃyogādi* 'initial of a conjunct' and *ajādi* 'that which begins with a vowel' are both important. Consequently, this negation will not be applicable in deriving *prāṇiṇiṣati,* where *n* of *pra* + *an* + *iṬ* + *saN*→*prāṇiṣa* does not occur at the beginning of a conjunct. Though it does occur after a vowel. What goes through iteration is *ṇiṣ,* a form constituted by the second vowel *i,* where *n* is also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Some also bring *ajādeḥ* from the previous rule and interpret it as a *karmadhāraya* (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) compound ending in *pañcamī* '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 *pañcamī* 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, *indidrīyiṣati* '. . . wishes to wish for Indra' derives from *indidrīyiṣa* + *LAṬ.* Verbal root *indidrīyiṣa* itself derives from *indrīya* + *saN,* where *indrīya* is paraphrased as *indram icchati,* parallel to (*indra* + *am*) + *KyaC.* Deriving *indidrīyiṣa,* from *indrīya* + *saN,* involves introducing augment *iṬ,* deleting *a* of *indrīya* (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) and iteration of *drī of indrīyiṣa.* The *n* of the root cannot be accepted as part of *ndrī,* a unit formed by *ī,* the second vowel of *indrīyiṣa.* For, *n* happens to occur immediately after *i,* a unit beginning with a vowel. Since *d* of *drī* is intervened by *n, drī* is treated as a unit fit for iteration. See the appendix for additional derivational details.

Note that a *karmadhāraya* interpretation of *ajādeḥ* is favored over a *bahuvrīhi* so that a desired form such as *indidrīyiṣati* can be derived. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses these interpretations both. *Kāśikā* seems to be favoring the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*: *ādibhūtād acaḥ parasya dve na staḥ*) prefers the *karmadhāraya* interpretation.

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

(*i*) Iteration of a *b* occurring at the beginning of a conjunct must also be negated (*bakārasyāpy ayaṃ pratiṣedho vktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *ubjijiṣati*. 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 *udj*, with *d* in its *upadhā*. But then its *d* must be replaced with *b* to derive forms such as *ubjitā* and *ubjitum* (cf.: *bakārasya pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ. yadā bakāropadha ubjir upadiśyate tadāyaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ. dakāropadhopadeśe tu na vaktavyaḥ. batvaṃ tu tadā dakārasya vidhātavyam*).

(*ii*) Iteration of a *r* which is followed by *y* should not be stated (*yakāraparasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavatīti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get *arāryate* where iteration finds its scope in *arya*, derived from *ṛ+ yaṄ* (cf. *atyartiśūrṇotīnām upasaṃkhyānam*) through *guṇa* (7.4.30 *yaṅi ca*). Note that *r* occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (*ry*) 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 tṛtīyasya dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). But a question remains: iteration of the third of what? Some say of the third consonant (*vyañjanasya*). This would then yield an example such as: *īrṣyiyiṣati*. But others state that iteration affects a unit formed with the third vowel (*tṛtīyasyaikācaḥ*). This would then yield *īrṣyiṣiṣati*, etc.

(*iv*) A *vārttika* recommends iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel when verbal roots listed in the *kaṇvādi* group are involved (*kaṇvādīnāṃ tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will give us *kaṇḍūyiyiṣati* and *asūyiyiṣati*.

(*v*) Yet another *vārttika* allows iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel of a denominative, only optionally (*vā nāmadhātūnāṃ tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will offer us: *aśvīyiṣati* and *aśiśvīyiṣati*.

(*vi*) Yet others claim that iteration applies as desired in connection with denominatives (*yatheṣṭam nāmadhātuṣv iti vaktavyam*). Thus observe: *puputrīyiṣati, putitrīyiṣati, putrīyiyiṣati, puputitrīyiyiṣati* (*doubtful) and *putrīyiṣiṣati*.

6.1.4 पूर्वोऽभ्यासः

pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ
/pūrvaḥ 1/1 *abhyāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*dve* #1)
asmin prakaraṇe ye dve vihite tayor yaḥ pūrvo' vayavaḥ so' bhyāsasaṃjño bhavati
The first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed *abhyāsa.*

EXAMPLES:

papāca 'he cooked'
pipakṣati '. . . wishes to cook'?
pāpacyate '. . . cooks over and over again'?
juhoti '. . . offers ritual sacrifice'
apīpacat '. . . 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: abhyāsaśabdo'yam āvṛttivacano loke prasiddha eva. sa cāvṛttiḥ prathamasya nāstīty abhyāsapradeśeṣu parasyagrahaṇe prāpte pūrvasya grahaṇaṃ yathā syād ity evam arthaṃ tasyābhyāsasaṃjñā vidhīyate*). This word is here used in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole' as we find in expressions such as *pūrvaṃ kāyasya paśoḥ* '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 *dve.* 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 *ṣaṣṭhi* marking the relationship understood by the genitive in *vṛkṣasya,* as in *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of a tree'. The nominative of *dve* cannot mark such a relationship.

Commentators state that the nominative of *dve* will be transformed into genitive for availing this desired meaning (*Nyāsa: arthād vibhaktivipariṇāmo bhavati*). That is, the genitive of *dvayoḥ* will enable us to interpret the rule as: *dvayor yaḥ pūrvas tasyābhyāsasaṃjñā vidhīyate* '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 dve.* Commentators state that this can be blocked in view of close contextual proximity (*pratyāsatti*). 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-prakaraṇe ye dve vihite tayor yaḥ pūrvo' vayavaḥ so' bhyāsasaṃjño bhavati*). Inci-

dentally, the maxim (*nyāya*) of *vyāpti* 'pervasion' will focus on instances of iteration. The maxim of *pratyāsatti* 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 śeṣaḥ*, 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*, 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*, 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni . . .*, 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*, 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*, etc. Thus, 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* 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 *kuhoś cuḥ* 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 *dīrgho' kitaḥ* 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 *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .*; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). 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 *abyāse 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 abhyastasaṃjñe bhavataḥ
The two thus obtained via iteration are together termed *abhyasta*.

EXAMPLES:

dadati 'third plural active *LAṬ* of *dā* (to give)'
dadat 'nominative singular of *dā* ending in *ŚatṚ*'
dadhatu 'third plural active *LOṬ* of *dhā* (to place, hold)'

1. Jinendrabuddhi states that *ubhe* is specified so that the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) of the term *abhyasta* could be clearly specified (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.*: *iha ubhegrahaṇaṃ saṃjñinirdeśārthaṃ kriyate*). Haradatta strongly objects to this interpretation. He states that bringing *dve*, via *anuvṛtti*, itself specifies the nominatum (*PM*: . . . *na tu saṃjñānirdeśārtham. dve ity asyānuvṛtyaiva saṃjñinirdeśasya siddhatvād ity arthaḥ*). 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 ānīyetām* '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 abhyastasaṃjñā pravartate. pratyekam api hi tayoḥ pravartamānāsau pravṛttaiva bhavati tathā hi dvāv ānīyetām ity ukte pratyekam apy ānayanena tāv ānītau bhavataḥ. tasmāt samudāye saṃjñāyāḥ pravṛttir yathā syād ekaikasya mā bhūd ity evam artham ubhe grahaṇam*).

6.1.6 जक्षित्यादयः षट्

jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ
/jakṣa (1/1 deleted) *ityādayaḥ = ity ādiḥ yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ṣaṭ* 1/1/ (*abhyastam* #5)
jakṣa ity ayaṃ dhātur ity ādayaś ca ṣaṭ dhātavo' bhyastasaṃjñā bhavanti. seyaṃ saptānāṃ dhātūnām abhyastasaṃjñā vidhīyate
Verbal root *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', and an additional six roots enumerated thereafter, are also termed *abhyasta.*

EXAMPLES:

jakṣati 'they eat'
jāgrati 'they are awake'
daridrati 'they are poor'
cakāsati 'they glow'
śāsati 'they instruct'
(These examples are all third personal plural derivates of present indicative active)

1. The expression *jakṣityādayaḥ 'jakṣA* and roots enumerated thereafter' refers to seven verbs, namely *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', *jāgṛ* 'loss of sleep, to remain awake', *daridrā* 'state of things going bad, be poor,' *cakāsṚ* 'to glow', *śāsṚ* 'to instruct', *dīdhīṄ* 'to glow' and *vevīṄ* 'to move'. Assigning the term *abhyasta* serves diverse purposes. For example, an item termed *abhyasta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.189 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*). It also ends up losing its *ā* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* (6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*). It can also prove instrumental in blocking augment *nUM* (7.1.78 *nābhyastāc 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 *abhyasta* 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 तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य

tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya
/ tujādīnām 6/3 = *tuja ādir yeṣām* (*bv*);
dīrghaḥ 1/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
tujādīnām abhyāsasya dīrghaḥ sādhur bhavati
A long (*dīrgha*) comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of *tujA* and other roots of its kind.

EXAMPLES:

tūtújānaḥ 'quick, eager'
'nominative singular of *tuj* + (*LIṬ→KānaC*) = *tūtujāna*)'
māmahā̲naḥ
'nominative singular of *maha* + (*LIṬ→KānaC*) = *māmahāna*'
a̲na̲ḍvān dâdhāra
dādhāra 'third singular of *dhṛ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*)'
sva̲dhāṃ mîmāya̲
'third singular of *mi* + (*LIṬ→tiP→NaL*) = *mīmāya*'
. . . *tūtāva* 'third singular of *tu* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*)'
tutoja . . . 'a form of classical usage'

1. The word *ādi* is here used in the sense of *prakāra* 'kind'. That is, a *vyavasthā* '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 *abhyāsa* is not subjected to lengthening (*dīrgha*) by any specific rule application (*na vihitaḥ*) but is seen in usage (*dṛśyate*). Such seen-in-usage lengthening is accepted as correct (*sādhu*). Thus, consider *tūtujānaḥ* 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 *abhyāsa* specification of this rule. For, that is where iteration and assignment of the term *abhyāsa* is possible. Incidentally, a long vowel in the Vedic forms of these roots in seen only when some particular affix follows (*Kāś.: dīrghaś caiṣām chandasi pratyayaviśeṣe eva dṛśyate, 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

vyatyaya, other than that of a *sUP,* can thus be accepted as an expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam.*

6.1.8 लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य

liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya
/liṭi 7/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *anabhyāsasya* (*nañ tat.*) 6/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2)
liṭi parato anābhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve 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 *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

papāca 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *pac*'
papāṭha 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *paṭh*'
prorṇunāva 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *pra-ūrṇu* (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 *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 *papāca* which derives from *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) = *pac* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *pac* + *a*→*pac* + *pac* + *a*→*pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *pac* + *a*→*pa* + *p*(*a*→*ā*) *c* + *a* = *papāca,* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *ṆaL,* via *tiP,* and iteration with the assignment of the term *abhyāsa* to first *pac* yields *papac,* through *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of a unit of *abhyāsa* constituted by its intitial consonant'. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the penultimate vowel of *papac* + *a* finally yields *papāca.* This same also is followed in deriving *papāṭha.* Deriving *prorṇunāva* from *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) = *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *pra* + *ūrnu* + *nu* + *a* involves iteration of the second syllable of the root, i.e., *nu* (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasa*). The *ṇu* of *urṇu* is here treated as *nu* (cf. *vācya ūrṇor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*). This *ṇuvadbhāva* blocks introduction of affix *ām* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca . . .*). Note that iteration cannot apply to *u* since the root begins with a vowel. It cannot apply to *r* since 6.1.3 *ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* will block it. The *u* + *a* sequence of *pra* + *ūrnu* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*), yielding *pror* + *nu* + *a.* We will arrive at the string *pror* + *nu* + *nu* + *a* after iteration, where the *u* of the second *nu* will be replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). Incidentally, a form such as **prorṇuvāñcakāra* cannot be derived here because affix *ām* (3.1.37 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nṛcchaḥ*) is negated in this context of *ūrṇu* (cf. *vt: ūrṇoteś ca pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*).

Why can we not apply 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti* to replace the *u* of *nu* of *pror* + *nu* before *ṆaL*? Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block this vocalic replacement.

Thus, a replacement in *vṛddhi* will apply to the *u* of the second *nu* of *pror* + *nu* + *nu*. Now the question. How could this *vṛddhi* apply on the second *nu* when it is not an *aṅga* ending in a vowel? This *nu* comes from iteration and hence is not the *nu* after which *ṆaL* was introduced (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .*). Commentators accept *dvirvacana* as *dviprayoga* 'repetition'. It is not accepted as *sthāne dvirvacana* 'two utterances in place of one'. That is, the same *nu* after which *ṆaL* was introduced is repeated.

Yet another question. Why *vṛddhi*? Why not *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*? An application of *vṛddhi* will be favored since *ṆaL* is marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. This will block *guṇa* on the basis of *śīghropasthitikāntaraṅgatva* 'immediately available internal conditioning' and *alpāpekṣatva* 'minimum dependency'. This same conflict will appear in *papāca* and *papāṭha* where *vṛddhi* will obtain from 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will again block *ajādeśa* 'vocalic replacement', i.e., *vṛddhi*. This kind of interaction between 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will appear everywhere in connection with derivates of *LIṬ*.

2. Why do we have to state 'when *LIṬ* follows'? So that given *kṛ* + *LUṬ* and *hṛ* + *LUṬ*, from which one derives *kartā* and *hartā*, we do not end up applying iteration. Why is iteration restricted to apply only to a root (*dhātoḥ*)? Consider *somam indrāya sunvire* where *sunvire* is a derivate of verbal root *ṣuÑ* 'to press out juice' used with *LIṬ*. The final form of *sunvire* is derived with augment *Śnu*. Iteration is blocked here since a root such as *ṣu*, when used with *Śnu*, is not accepted as a root (*dhātu*). Iteration will here be blocked because of interruption (*vyavadhāna*) caused by the augment (*vikaraṇa*). One may also invoke *chandasi bahulam* 'variously in the Vedic' (see *Nyāsa*) to block this iteration. The restriction that only a root not gone through iteration should go through iteration before *LIṬ* is also important. For, *nonū* + *LIṬ* where *nonū* derives from *n*(*u*→*o*) + *n*(*n*→*ū*) + (*yaṄ*→*LUK*) with affixal denotatum of repeated action (*paunaḥpunya*), will not qualify. Incidentally, *yaṄ* is deleted by 2.4.74 *guṇo yaṅ luki*. Our final derivate *nonāva* also entails *tiP*→*ṆaL* where, given *nonū* + *a*, *ū* is replaced with *āv* via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au*. Recall that iteration has already been accomplished in deriving *nonū*. Since the root has already gone through assignment of the term *abhyāsa*, iteration again cannot be allowed in *nonū* + *LIṬ*.

3. The following *kārikā* verse has consequences for derivates of this rule:

> *nakārajāv anusvārapañcamau jhali dhātuṣu/*
> *sakārajaḥ śakāraś ca rasāṭ ṭavargaḥ tavargajaḥ//*
> '*anusvāra* and nasals which occur in a root before a sound denoted by *jhaL* are understood as having their origin in *n*.
> A palatal *ś* before *c* is to be understood as having its origin in a dental *s*. A retroflex stop of the *ṭ*-series which occurs after *r* and *ṣ* should be accepted as having its origin in the stop of the dental *t*-series.'

Note that the iteration of *nu* of *urṇu*, especially after its impaired association with *r* results in *ṇ* replaced with *n*, can be accomplished with the help of this *kārikā*. One thus does not have to resort to a statement such as *vācya ūrṇor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*.

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

6.1.9 **सन्यङोः**

sanyaṅoḥ
/sanyaṅoḥ 6/2/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
sanantasya yaṅantasya cānabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya
prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve 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 the root ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

pipakṣati 'third singular active present of *pac* + *saN* = *pipakṣa*'
pipatiṣati 'third singular active present of *pat* + *saN*
aririṣati 'third singular active present of *ṛ* + *saN* = *aririṣa*'
undidiṣati 'third singular active present of *undī* + *saN* = *undidiṣa*'
pāpacyate 'third singular present middle of *pac* + *yaṄ* = *pāpacya*'
aṭāṭyate 'third singular present middle of *aṭ* + *yaṄ* = *aṭāṭya*'
yāyajyate 'third singular present middle of *yaj* + *yaṄ* = *yāyajya*'
arāryate 'third singular present middle of *ṝ* + *yaṄ* = *arārya*'
prorṇonūyate 'third singular present middle of *prorṇonūya*'
lolūyiṣate 'third singular present middle of *lūÑ* + *yaṄ* = *lolūya*'

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

2. Note that *sanyaṅoḥ* is interpreted as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and not in the locative (*saptamī*). This, in consonance with *pratyayagrahaṇe*

tadantagrahaṇam (Paribh. 24) yields the interpretation '. . . the root which ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*'. A locative interpretation will yield the following meaning: '. . . the root when affixes *saN* and *yaṄ* follow'. Clearly then the locative interpretation will permit iteration, for example, in *aṭ* + *sa*(*N*→ϕ) = *aṭ* + *sa*. The result will be a wrong string: **aṭ* + *aṭ* + *sa*. Our correct string should be *aṭi* + *aṭ* + *sa* which results from iteration of a unit formed with the second vowel of the root. For, verbal root *aṭ* begins with a vowel. This second vowel of the root is gotten from introduction of augment *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*). We thus get *aṭ* + *saN*→*aṭ* + *i* + *sa*→*aṭi* + *ṭi* + *sa*. If one accepts the locative interpretation then the base, i.e., *aṭ*, will form the focus of iteration under the condition of following suffixes, i.e., *saN* and *yaṄ*. Consequently, augment *iṬ*, because it will then be intervened by affix *saN*, cannot be part of iteration (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saptamīpakṣe tu sanyaṅoḥ parataḥ pūrvasya dhātor dvirvacanaṃ bhavaty ity ayam arthaḥ syāt, tataś ca sanbhaktasyeṭo dvirvacanaṃ na syāt* . . .). Iteration will be blocked here since augment *iṬ*, the second vowel before *saN*, will no longer be available. The *i* of *iṬ* 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 *yaṄ*, 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 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*)' since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block it. Invoking *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in case of a genitive interpretation to introduce *iṬ* to a base which has lost its *yaṄ* does not create any problem. For, that base, through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, will still have *yaṄ* as its final part. Refer to the *Tattvabodhinī* 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 *yaṄ*. Shall we then establish some kind of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration of equal number of elements in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*)?'. Should we say that a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base is iterated when affix *saN* is involved; and a formal unit constituted by the second vowel is iterated when affix *yaṄ* is involved? Since such an interpretation will yield many wrong derivations, especially in examples where affix *yaṄ* is involved, the idea of *yathāsaṃkhya* must be abandoned. For, accepting *yathāsaṃkhya* will block introduction of augment *nīK* to *vañcU*, etc. (7.4.84 *nīgvañcu-sraṃsudhvaṃsubhraṃsu* . . .) when a deleted *yaṄ* follows (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *yadi hy atra yathāsaṃkhyam abhipretaṃ syāt tadā 'nīgvañcu' ityādinā 'vañcuprabhṛtīnām abhyāsasya yaṅluko nīgāgamavidhānaṃ nopapadyate*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.10 श्लौ

ślau
/ślau 7/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
ślau paratao' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve 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 *ŚLU* follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

juhoti 'third singular active present of *hu* (to call)'
bibheti 'third singular active present of *ÑIbhī* (to fear)'
jihreti 'third singular active present of *hrīÑ* (to be shy)'

1. This rule allows iteration of a unit formed with the first or second vowel of a root when *ŚLU* follows. Recall that roots such as *hu* 'to call', *ÑIbhī* 'to fear' and *hrīN* 'to blush' are classed in the *juhotyādi* group. As such, *ŚLU* comes in place of *ŚaP* which follows these roots (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). But how can *ŚLU* form a right condition for iteration when it has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*). How could *ŚaP* which has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*) be still made to reappear and follow? It is possible via *upacāra* 'assumed application' which will enable a replacement (*ādeśa*), in our present context *ŚLU*, to be acceptable as the item it replaced (*sthānin*), i.e., *ŚaP*. *ŚLU* can thus form the right condition of iteration by way of *ŚAP* it replaced (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sthāninaḥ paratvāt tasyāpi taddvāreṇa paurvāparyam aupacārikaṃ gṛhītvaiva yuktam uktam ity adoṣaḥ*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.11 चङि

caṅi
/caṅi 7/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
caṅi parato'nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve 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 *CaṄ* follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

apīpacat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *pāci*'
apīpaṭhat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *pāṭhi*'
āṭiṭat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *āṭi*'

āśisat '. . . of *āśi*'
ārdidat '. . . of *ārdi*'

1. This rule orders iteration when *CaṄ* follows. Consider the derivation of *apīpacat*, a derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after verbal root *pac* used with *ṆiC*. Thus we get: *pac* + *ṆiC* = *pāc* + *i* = *pāci* where affix *ṆiC* is introduced after vebal root *pac* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The long replacement (*dīrgha*) for the short *a* of *pac* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Affix *LUṄ* can now be introduced after a newly derived verbal root *pāci* (3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). A subsequent introduction of augment *aṬ* will yield *aṬ* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) + *LUṄ* = *a* + *pāc* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*, where *CLI* is introduced after *pāci* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*) when *LUṄ* follows. This *CLI* is then replaced with *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrumbhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) under the right condition of *LUṄ* with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Iteration now becomes applicable under the provision of this rule. However, deletion of the causal affix *i* (*ṆiC*; *ṇilopa*) is also available under the provision of rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. Both these operations are obligatory (*nitya*). The deletion of *ṆiC* will apply even when iteration does not apply. Iteration itself will apply even when deletion of *ṆiC* does not apply. We find a conflict of equal strength between these two operations, especially since their obligatory nature is established based upon *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga*, 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 *ṆiC*, since it is to be accomplished by a rule subsequent in order (*para*), will take precedence. Thus we get: *a* + *pāc* + (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *LUṄ*. What follows now is shortening of the penultimate vowel (*upadhāhrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ*) *ā* in *pāc*, yielding *a* + *p*(*ā*→*a*)*c* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*. An application of our present rule for iteration and a subsequent application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will produce: *a* + *pac* + *pac* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *pac* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* reminds that *upadhāhrasva* and *dvirvacana* are both obligatorily available again, based upon the same notion of *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga*. Here again the decision is made on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of a rule in conflict'. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* will replace the *a* of *pa* with *i* (*itva*). The short *i* will then be replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*. We thus get: *a* + *p*(*a*→*i*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *p*(*i*→*ī*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ*.

2. *Kāśikā* recommends that operations on *pac*, etc., when ending in *ṆiC*, and subsequent to when *CLI* is replaced with *CaṄ*, should be performed in the order of (*i*) *ṇilopa* 'deletion of *ṆiC*, (*ii*) *upadhāhrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate vowel' and (*iii*) *dvirvacana* 'iteration' ('*pacādīnāṃ ṇyantānāṃ caṅikṛte ṇilopa upadhāhrasvatvaṃ dvirvacanam' ity eṣāṃ kāryāṇāṃ pravṛttikramaḥ*). Such a recommendation is made in view of the application of rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṅpare' naglope*, whereby *sanvadbhāva* '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* + *LUṄ*, provided *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows, and deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* has not occurred in the *aṅga*. 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* + *LUṄ* 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 laghoḥ*. 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 ādeśo' nalvidhau*), 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 pūrvavidhau* that such a *sthānivadbhāva* is permitted only relative to an operand which occurs before a non-replacement (*anādiṣṭa*) vowel (*Kāś.*: *yo hy anādiṣṭād 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* + *LUṄ* cannot yield *pī* through *itva* and *dīrgha*. A *dvirvacana* 'iteration' performed before *upadhāhrasva* 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 (*upadhāhrasva*). Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *āṭitat* if this particular operational order is not followed. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.12 दाश्वान्साह्वान्मीढ्वांश्च

dāśvān sāhvān mīḍhvāṃś ca
/dāsvān 1/1/ *sāhvān* 1/1/ *mīḍhvān* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
dāśvān, sāhvān, mīḍhvān ity ete śabdāś chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ cāviśeṣeṇa nipātyante
Forms such as *dāśvān, sāhvān* and *mīḍhvān* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

dāśvān 'generous'
sāhvān balāhakaḥ 'victorious cloud'
miḍhvas tokāya 'generous for offsprings'

1. Forms such as *dāśvān, sāhvān* and *mīḍhvān* are all derived in the Vedic, as well as in the Classical usage, via *nipātana*. Our first example *dāśvān* is derived by introducing affix *LIṬ* after verbal root *dāśṚ* '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 *iṬ* (7.2.67 *vasvekājād*...). Additional operations follow the pattern of *citavān*. Deriving *sāhvān* also involves *KvasU*, followed by lack of iteration and *iṬ*, again via *nipātana*. In addition, *parasmaipada*, as against the required *ātmanepada* after *ṣah* 'to endure, be angry' and lengthening of the penultimate *a* of the root, are both accomplished via *nipātana*. Deriving *mīḍhvān* from *mih* + *KvasU* involves similar lack of operations via *nipātana*. The lengthening of the short *i* of the root, and the *ḍh*-replacement for *h* is also accomplished via *nipātana*.

2. Following *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:
   (*i*) Verbal roots *kṛÑ*, etc., go through iteration when affix *Ka* follows. We thus get *cakram* and *ciklidam* where affix *Ka* is introduced with the significations of *ghañ* (cf. (*vt.*): *ghañarthe kavidhānam*)). A sequence *kṛ* + *a* yields *kar* + *kṛ* + *a*, through iteration and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will then produced *ka* + *kṛ* + *a*. The *k* of *ka* is replaced with *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. An application of *yaÑ* on *ṛ* will produce *cak*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *a* = *cakra*. Note that a replacement in *yaÑ* cannot be accomplished before iteration. For, 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block it. A derivate of *klid*, i.e., *ciklida*, is similarly derived;
   (*ii*) Verbal roots *carI*, *callI*, *patI* and *vadI* go through iteration before affix *aC*. The *abhyāsa* of these verbal roots also gets augment *āK*. The application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* is then blocked since introducing augment *āK* and applying 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* removes the difference between the replacement and augment. Affix *aC* is introduced with the denotatum of *kartṛ* of 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*.... A string such as *car* + *a* will yield *car* + *ā* + *car* + *a* = *carācara*, through iteration and introduction of augment *ā* to the *abhyāsa*. Note that specifying the augment with long *ā* blocks shortening and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same applies to other examples such as *calācalaḥ*, *patāpataḥ* and *vadāvadaḥ*;
   (*iii*) These preceding derivates are also made optional through yet another *vārttika* proposal. That is, an absence of iteration, etc., will produce *caraḥ* 'goer', *calaḥ*, *pataḥ* and *vadaḥ* (*veti vaktavyam*);
   (*iv*) A *vārttika* proposal is also made to derive *ghanāghanaḥ* with the introduction of affix *aC* after verbal root *han* 'to kill'. This *vārttika* especially provides for a *gh*-replacement for *h* of the *abhyāsa*. The following *h* is replaced with *gh* by 7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*. Thus, *han* + *han* + *a*→*han* + *ā*(*K*) + *han* + *a*→(*h*→*gh*)*an* + *ā* + *han* + *a*→*ghan* + *ā* + (*h*→*gh*)*an* + *a* = *ghanāghana*, through iteration and introduction of augment *āK*;
   (*v*) A derivate of causal verbal root *pāṭi* is derived as *pāṭūpaṭaḥ* by introducing affix *aC*. Deletion of *Ṇi* and iteration, followed by augment *ūK* introduced to the *abhyāsa* and a subsequent lengthening, will

produce the desired derivate. Thus, *paṭ + ū + paṭ + a→pāṭ + ū + paṭ +a = pāṭūpaṭa* (*vt. pāṭer ṇiluk cok ca dīrghaś cābhyāsasya*).

6.1.13 ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे

ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ putrapatyos tatpuruṣe
/ṣyaṅaḥ 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *putrapatyoḥ = putraś ca patiś ca = putrapatī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/
'putra, pati'ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
ṢyaṄ goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *putra* and *pati* follow in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhīputraḥ
'son of Kārīṣagandhyā, a woman who smells like dried cowdung'
kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of Kārīṣagandhyā . . .'
kaumudagandhīputraḥ
'son of a woman who smells like water-lily'
kaumudagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of a woman . . .'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇam* carries over through 6.1.44 *vibhāṣa pareḥ.*

2. This rule orders *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* 'a sound denoted by *iK* comes in place of a corresponding sound denoted by *yaṆ*') for *SyaṄ* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with *putra* and *pati* as following (final) constitutents. Let us consider *kārīṣagandhīputraḥ* which is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *kārīṣagandhyāyāḥ putraḥ.* The first constituent of this compound, i.e., *kārīṣagandhyā*, is a derivate of the feminine affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*) introduced after *kārīṣagandhya*, ending in *ṢyaṄ*, itself a replacement for the *aṆ* introduced after *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas.* The word *karīṣagandhi* derives from *karīṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*, parallel to *karīṣasya iva gandhaḥ asya*, a *bahuvrīhi* where rule 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca*, read with 5.4.135 *gandhasyed . . .*, orders *i* to replace the final *a* of *karīṣagandha.* Affix *aṆ* is then introduced after *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas* to be further replaced with *ṢyaṄ.* The *i* of *karīṣagandhi* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the *a* of *aṆ.* It is *kārīṣagandhya* which then receives affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāP*). The *a* of *ya* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the feminine affix *CāP.* The son of this *kārīṣagandhyā* will then be characterized with the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *kārīṣagandhīputraḥ* where, given the compound *kārīṣagandhyāputra, samprasāraṇa* applies. The result obtained through this process then goes through a replacement in *i* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) of *i* + *ā* of *kārīṣagandh*(*y→i*)*ā*)). . . . An application of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya* will then replace the short *i* of *kārīṣagandhiputra* with a long

ī to yield: *kārīṣagandhīputra.* Similar rules apply in deriving *kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of a woman who smells like dried cowdung', *kaumudagandhīputraḥ* 'son of a woman who smells like a lily' and *kaumudagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of a woman who smells like a lily'.

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

4. The word *ṢyaṄ* is here interpreted as an affix via *sthānivadbhāva* 'substitute 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 derivate other than one termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Thus, *kārīṣagandhi* is a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituent of the compound after which *ṢyaṄ* is introduced. The application of *samprasāraṇa* thus cannot be blocked. It can also not be blocked in examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* where *kārīṣagandhyā* does not occur at the beginning. That is, the *samprasāraṇa* cannot be blocked based upon the *tadādiniyama* of the *paribhāṣā* (27) *na strīpratyaye cānupasarjane* (*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 *kārīṣagandhi* after which affix *ṢyaṄ* is introduced occurs as the initial constituent of the compound. It is the non-applicability of *tādādiniyama* that *samprasāraṇa* is permitted in examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* which obviously do not begin with *kārīṣagandhi.* Incidentally, a constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ* here does not become secondary in meaning after forming a compound with *parama.*

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

5. The condition of *ṣyaṅaḥ* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* applies only to the *y* of *ṢyaṄ.* Thus, it will not apply to the *y* of *ibhyāputraḥ* 'son of a woman who deserves an elephant' and *kṣatriyāputraḥ* 'son of a kṣatriya woman' where it is introduced by rules 5.1.66 *daṇḍādibhyo yat* and 4.1.138 *kṣatrād ghaḥ,* respectively. Recall that a replacement is only introduced in place of that for which it is specified (*paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*).

A similar condition of *putrapatyoḥ* is imposed so that this *samprasāraṇa* is

also blocked in examples such as *kārīṣagandhyākulam* '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 *ṢyaṄ*, and not when they combine as initial, or final, constituent of the compound. Thus, the *samprasāraṇa* will again be blocked in examples such as *kārīṣagandhyāputrakulam* 'the family of the son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung' and *kārīṣagandhyāputraparamaḥ* 'the excellent son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung'.

Finally, this *samprasāraṇa* is constrained also with the condition of *tatpuruṣe*. For, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kārīṣagandhyāpatiḥ*, parallel to *kārīṣagandhyā patir asya grāmasya* 'the village of which Kārīṣagandhyā is the leader' will not come under the scope of this rule.

6.1.14 बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ

bandhuni bahuvrīhau
/bandhuni 7/1 *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(*ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* #13)
bandhuśabda uttarapade bahuvrīhau samāse ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati ṢyaṄ, in a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *bandhu* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhībandhuḥ 'friend of the woman who smells like dried cowdung'
kaumudagandhībandhuḥ 'friend of the woman who smells like a lily'

1. This rule allows *samprasāraṇa* also when *bandhu*, preceded by the constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ*, is combined as a final constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Thus, we get examples such as *kārīṣagandhībandhuḥ*. The compound must be a *bahuvrīhi* so that a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *kārīṣagandhyābandhuḥ* 'a friend of she who smells like dried cowdung' can be excluded from the scope of this rule. Our constituent *kārīṣagandhyā* is here an *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Recall that *samprasāraṇa* is applicable to non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituents. Examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhyābandhudhanaḥ* and *kārīṣagandhyāparamabandhuḥ* will also be blocked from availing *samprasāraṇa* for reason that, in the first example, *bandhu* alone is not used as final. Instead, we have *bandhudhanaḥ*. The second example has *bandhu* occurring after *kārīṣagandhyā* 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 *vārttika* proposal favors an optional *samprasāraṇa* also when *mātaC*, *mātṛka* and *mātṛ* occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound following a constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ*. Consider *karīṣagandhyāmātā* and *kārīṣagandhīmātā* as optional examples parallel to *kārīṣagandhyā mātā asya* 'he whose mother is one who smells as dried cowdung'. A similar set of two optional forms each for *mātaC* and *mātṛka* are: *kārīṣagandhyāmātaḥ/kārīṣagandhīmātaḥ*; *kārīṣagandhyāmātṛkaḥ/kārīṣagandhīmātṛkaḥ*. Remember that *mātṛ* and *mātṛka* are specified here as separate options. Consequently, affix *KaP* of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca* is also made optional. An optional *mātaC* also mandates final *udātta* accent of 6.1.163 *citaḥ*, as against the retention of original accent of initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

6.1.15 वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति

vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kiti
/vaci-svapi-yajādīnām 6/3 = *yaja ādir yesāṃ te* = *yajādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *vaciś ca svapiś ca yajādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *kiti* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
vaci-svapi-yajādīnāṃ kiti pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal roots *vac* 'to speak', *ṆIsvap* 'to sleep', and also roots headed by *yaj*, go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uktaḥ 'spoken, said'
uktavān 'said'
suptaḥ 'fallen asleep'
suptavān 'slept'
iṣṭaḥ 'performed sacrifice'
iṣṭavān 'ibidem'
uptaḥ 'sown'
uptavān 'ibidem'
ūḍhaḥ 'carried, brought'
ūḍhavān 'ibidem'
uṣitaḥ 'dwelt'
uṣitavān 'ibidem'
utaḥ 'woven'
utavān 'ibidem'
saṃvītaḥ 'properly covered'
saṃvītavān 'ibidem'
āhūtaḥ 'called'
āhūtavān 'ibidem'
uditaḥ 'uttered'

uditavān 'ibidem'
śūnaḥ 'enlarged, grown'
śūnavān 'ibidem'
*Examples are all derivates of *Kta* and *KtavatU.*

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *Syaṅaḥ* 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 *vacI* and *svapI*. How do we know this? From the order of enumeration of roots in the *gaṇa* in general, and the enumeration of *svapI* after *vacI*, in particular. There was no need for specifying *svapI* after *vacI* if a reference was intended to be made to *svapI* as one of the roots included in the set headed by *vacI*. For *svapI* is listed in the *adādi* group after *vacI*, intervened by four roots. A reference with *ādi* associated with *vacI* could thus have also accounted for *svapI*. 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 *brūÑ* (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 svarūpagrahaṇe tatpratyaye kāryaṃ vijñāyate*). The existence of this *paribhāṣā* is inferred from the derivation of *bhrauṇahatyam* 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 *Ṣ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows (7.3.32 *hanas . . .*), this *taddhita* derivate cannot avail this provision. It must then receive this *t*-replacement via *nipātana* (6.4.174 *dāṇḍināyanahāstināyana . . .*). 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 derivates such as *vācyati* 'wishes to speak' and *vācikaḥ* 'relating to speech' where the first is a derivate of *KyaC* and the second of *ṭhaK* introduced after *vāc*, a derivate of *KvIP*. The first will be treated as a root by 3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. 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 *KvIP* do not abandon their status as a root. The first is denied *samprasāraṇa* because *KyaC* is introduced after an item ending in a *sUP* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). The second is denied *samprasāraṇa* expressly by an *Uṇādi* affix (II.57). Besides, *ṭhaK* is introduced in the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt.*

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.16 ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां ङिति च

grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicativṛścatipṛcchatibhṛjjatīnāṃ ṅiti ca

/grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vṛścati-pṛcchati-bhṛjjatīnām (*itar. dv.*) 6/3 *ṅiti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *kiti* #15)
'*graha upādāne, jyā vayohānau, veño vayiḥ, vyadha tāḍane, vaśa kāntau, vyaca vyājīkaraṇe, ovraścū chedane, praccha jñīpsāyām, bhrasja pāke'ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ ṅiti pratyaye parataś cakārāt kiti ca samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
Verbal roots *grahA* 'to grab, seize', *jyā* 'to decay, grow old', *vay* (a replacement of *veÑ* 'to weave'; 2.4.41 *veño vayiḥ*), *vyadhA* 'to pierce, hurt', *vaśA* 'to shine', *vyacA* 'to deceive', *OvraścŪ* 'to cut', *pracchA* 'to ask, enquire' and *bhrasjA* 'to cook' also go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhītaḥ 'seized'
gṛhitavān 'he seized'
gṛhṇāti 'he seizes . . .'
jarīgṛhyate '. . . is seized again and again'
jīnaḥ 'decayed, grown old'
jīnavān 'he grew old'
jināti 'he grows old'
jetīyate 'grows older'
ūyatuḥ 'they (two) wove . . .'
ūyuḥ 'they (all) wove'
viddhaḥ '. . . pierced'
viddhavān 'he pierced'
vidhyati 'he pierces'
vevidhyate 'pierces again and again'
uśitaḥ '. . . desired; dazzled'
uśitavān 'he desired; glowed'
uṣṭaḥ 'desired'
uśanti 'they desire'
vicitaḥ '. . . deceived'
vicitavān 'he deceived'
vicati '. . . creates an illusion'
vevicyate '. . . deceives again and again'
udvicitā 'he who will deceive'
udvicitum 'for deceiving'
udvicitavyam 'to be deceived'
vṛkṇaḥ 'cut'
vṛkṇavān 'he cut'
vṛścati 'he cuts'
varīvṛścyate 'he cuts over and over again'
pṛṣṭaḥ 'asked'

pṛṣṭavān 'he asked (a question)'
pṛcchati 'he inquires'
parīpṛcchyate 'he asks over and over again'
bhṛṣṭaḥ 'cooked'
bhṛṣṭavān 'he cooked . . .'
bhṛjjati 'he cooks'
barībhṛjjyate 'he cooks over and over again'

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

2. What is *vayI*? It is interpreted as a replacement of *veÑ* 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 (*ātmanepada*), i.e., *veÑ*. Of course, via its replacement (*ādeśadvāreṇa*) due basically to its association (*sāhacarya*) here with *grahA*.

Why do we not have any examples of *vay* occurring before an affix marked with *Ñ*? Because rule 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit* 'as if marked with *K*' status to a replacement of *LIṬ*.

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 *samprasāraṇa*. Offering *samprasāraṇa* 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 *sthānivadbhāva*, be treated as the item (*sthānī*) it replaced. That is, *vayI* of this rule can be treated as *veÑ* of the *yajādi* listing. This way one does not need to provide *samprasāraṇa* which is already available.

Commentators state that this separate listing is made so that *samprasāraṇa* in *vayI* is not blocked by 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. It is argued that *sthānivadbhāva* will operate in connection with a negative provision (*niṣedha*) in a manner similar to one made in connection with a positive (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yathā sthānivadbhāvād vidhiḥ prāpyate tathā pratiṣedho'pi prāpnoti*). Thus, rules 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kiti* and 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . will both invoke *sthānivadbhāva* in connection with the *samprasāraṇa* of *vayI*. That is, if *sthānivadbhāva* is offered as the basis for rejecting inclusion of *vayI* in rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . . A separate listing of *vayI* is made here so that it can be saved from the negation of 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. The process of *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not accepted. Besides, Pāṇini's listing of *vayI*, as against *veÑ* particularly in this rule in contradistinction with the negation of 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*, must serve some special purpose. That purpose must be accepted as blocking of negation via cancellation of *sthānivadbhāva*. It is further stated that situations of conflict between *vidhi* and *pratiṣedha* favor *vidhi* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *vidhipratiṣedhayor virodhād ekatra vidhir eva bhaviṣyati na pratiṣedha iti*). Consequently, we get two sets of third personal singular/dual/plural forms in perfect (*LIṬ*) of *vayI*: *uvāya/ūyatuḥ/*

ūyuḥ; and *vavau/ vavatuḥ/ vavuḥ*.

Now consider rule 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* 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 *samporasāraṇa* 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 *veÑ*. A separate negation is provided by 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. *Kāśikā* thus rightly remarks: '*liṭi vayo yaḥ' iti yakārasya samprasāraṇapratiṣedhād vayer vidhau grahaṇaṃ pratiṣedhe cāgrahaṇam anumāsyate* 'it is assumed on the basis of the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *y* in 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* that *vayI* is included in *vidhi* and excluded from *pratiṣedha*'.

4. Note that derivates of *vyac*, for example *udvicitā/ udvicitum/ udvicitavyam*, all involve *samprasāraṇa* when an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows. This operational provision is facilitated by a *vārttika* proposal (under 1.2.1 *gāṅkluṭādibhyo . . .*) whereby *vyac* is treated similar to the *kuṭādi* group of roots before an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*.

5. Let us briefly consider the derivation of *vṛkṇaḥ* and *vṛkṇavān* from *vraśc* + (*K*→ϕ) *ta* and *vraśc* + (*K*→ϕ) *tavat*(*U*→ϕ), respectively. These strings will both go through *samprasāraṇa* (*v*(*r*→*ṛ*) *aśc . . .*), *pūrvarūpa* (*v*(*ṛ*+ *a*→*ṛ*) *śc . . .*) and *kutva* (*vṛś*(*c*→*k*)*. . .*). Why is *c* of *vraśc* replaced with *k* against the provision of *ṣ* made by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja . . .*? Commentators argue that a replacement in *ṣ* is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhAL* (*Śs.* 8-14; *jh, bh, gh, ḍh,* etc.). The *niṣṭhā* affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*, in *vṛkṇaḥ* and *vṛkṇavān*, can no longer be accepted as beginning with a *jhAL* since the same gets replaced with *n* of 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto. . . .* Consequently, *c* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. Rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām . . .* cannot be treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasja . . .* because of a *vārttika* proposal (*vt.*: *niṣṭhādeśaḥ ṣatvasvarapratyayavidhīḍvidhiṣu siddho vaktavyaḥ* 'a replacement of *niṣṭhā* should be declared effective (*siddha*) in operations relative to: *ṣ*-replacement (*ṣatva*), accent (*svara*), affix (*pratyayavidhi*) and augment *iṬ* (*iḍvidhi*)'. Since this *vārttika* proposal renders *n*-replacement (*natva*) of a *niṣṭhā* affix as *siddha* in view of a *ṣ*-replacement (*ṣatva*), the *ś* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. A replacement in *k* for *c* of *vraśc* cannot be blocked since *n*-replacement (*natva*) of 8.2.42 *radābhyām . . .*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.

6.1.17 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्

liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām
/ liṭi 7/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *ubhayeṣām* 6/3/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
ubhayeṣāṃ vacyādīnāṃ grhyādīnāṃ ca liṭi parato'bhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
The *abhyāsa* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with both *vacI* 'to speak' (6.1.15) and *grahI* 'to hold, seize' (6.1.16) goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvāca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vac*'
uvacitha 'second person singular . . .'
suṣvāpa 'third person singular *LIṬ* of *svap* 'to sleep''
suṣvapitha 'second person singular . . .'
iyāja 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *yaj*'
iyajitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāpa 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vap* 'to sow''
uvapitha 'second person singular . . .'
jagrāha 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of
grah 'to hold, seize''
jagrahitha 'second person singular . . .'
jijyau 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *jyā* 'to grow old''
jijyitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāyu 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *veÑ* to weave'
uvayitha 'second person singular . . .'
vivyādha 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vyadh* 'to pierce' used with the preverb *vi*'
vivyadhitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāśa 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vaś* 'to desire''
uvaśitha 'second person singular . . .'
vivyāca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vyac* 'to deceive''
vivyacitha 'second person singular . . .'
vavraśca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vraśc* 'to cut''
vavraścitha 'second person singular . . .'
ūcatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ* of *vac* 'to speak''
ūcuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
vivyādha

1. Note that 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . allows *samprasāraṇa* within the right context of an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *Kīt*-status to a replacement of *LIṬ* is extended by 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*. Given this, why state our present rule when the *samprasāraṇa* required by it can be accomplished by 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . . . It is argued that rule 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit*-status to only those replacements of *LIṬ* which are not marked with *P* (*apit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This rule is then needed to allow *samprasāraṇa* in contexts where a replacement of *LIṬ* may be marked with *P*.

Consider, for example, affixes *ṆaL* and *thaL* which replace *tiP* and *siP*, the third and second person singular replacements of *LIṬ*. Affixes *ṆaL* and *thaL* are extended *pit*-status via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of a replacement (*ādeśa*) as if it was the item (*sthānin*) it replaced'. Our present rule facilitates *samprasāraṇa* even when a non-*Kit*, in the present context a *pit*, follows. Thus we get *uvāca* and *uvacitha* from *vac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *vac* + *a* and *vac* + (*LIṬ*→*siP* →*thaL*) = *vac* + *tha*, respectively, through *dvirvacana* 'iteration' and *samprasāraṇa*.

2. It is argued that forms of *grah*, *pracch* and *bhrasj* can be derived even without this rule. That is, we can get *grah* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) = *grah* + *a*→*grah* + *grah* + *a*→*gra* + *grah* + *a*→*ga* + *grah* + *a*, through iteration and operations specific to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Our string *ga* + *grah* + *a* will eventually produce *jagrāha* through the *j* replacement of *g* and *vṛddhi* of *a* in *grah*. This same form can also be derived through iteration (*grah* + *grah* + *a*); *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* (*g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *grah* + *a*→*g*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ṛ*) *h* + *grah* + *a*; *uradatva* (7.4.66 *ur at* #1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) *g*(*ṛ*→*ar*) *h* + *a* + *grah* + *a* and *halādiśeṣaḥ* (*ga*(*rh*→ϕ)) + *grah* + *a* = *gagraha*. Similar derivational cases can be made for derivates for *praccha* and *bhrasj*, with or without the application of *samprasāraṇa* of this rule. One avails *samprasāraṇa* without iteration (*dvirvacana*) with regard to an affix not marked with *K* as an *it* (*Kāś.*: *akidarthaṃ ced anabhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ vidhīyate*). In case of an affix marked with *K*, *samprasāraṇa* will be availed prior to iteration on account of being subsequent (*paratvāt*). Iteration can then follow in view of *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 40): *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham* 'a previously set aside rule applies when its operational context reappears'. Incidentally, the *Tattvabodhinī* reminds that rules apply like clouds which rain indiscriminately (*parjanyaval lakṣaṇaṃ pravartate*). That is, our present rule still applies in the context of cited verbs even if one can do without.

3. The case of *vraśc* is special. If one believes that this rule is not needed for *vraśc* then *vavraśca* can be derived through iteration and *halādiśeṣa*. That is, *vraśc* + *vraśc* + *a*→*vra* + *vraśc* + *a*→*va* + *vraśc* + *a* = *vavraśca*. This is basically the view of the *Kāśikā*. Patañjali feels that this rule is still needed for *vavraśca*. If one accepts this then *samprasāraṇa* must precede iteration. We will thus get *vraśc* + *a*→*vṛaśc* + *a*→*vṛśc* + *a*. If iteration precedes *samprasāraṇa* then, given *va* + *vraśc* + *a*, our present rule will demand the *samprasāraṇa* of initial *v*, thereby producing an undesired form (*v*→*u*) *a* + *vraśc* + *a*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vraśc* + *a*→**uvraśca*. If *samprasāraṇa* precedes iteration then we get *vṛ* + *vraśc* + *a*. The *ṛ* will then be replaced with *ar* and the *r* will be dropped under the provisions of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Thus, *v*(*ṛ*→*ar*→*va*(*r*→ϕ)) + *vraśc* + *a* = *vavraśca*. The initial *v* of *vavraśca* can then be saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* under the protection of *sthānivadbhāva*. That is, the *a* after *v* of *va* will then be treated as if it was *ṛ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will block this *samprasāraṇa*, especially when another *samprasāraṇa* followed.

4. Since Pāṇini uses *ubhayeṣām* explicitly even when reference to the two groups of *vacyādi* and *grahyādi* roots can be easily made by the context, this explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* 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 *ubhayeṣām*. Consider the derivation of *vivyādha* from *vyadh* + *vyadh* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) = *v*(*y*→*ia*) *dh* + *vyadh* + *a*→*vidh* + *vyadh* + *a*→*vi*(*dh*→ϕ) + *vyadh* + *a*→*vi* + *vy*(*a*→*ā*) *dh* + *a* = *vivyādha*. 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*) + *vy*(*a*→*ā*) *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 *ubhayeṣām* 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 *samprasāraṇaṃ tadāśrayaṃ ca kāryaṃ balavat* '*samprasāraṇa* and operations related to that are treated as stronger'.

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

6.1.18 स्वापेश्चङि

svāpeś caṅi
/svāpeḥ 6/1 *caṅi* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
svāper iti svaper ṇyantasya grahaṇam, tasya caṅi parataḥ
samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *svāpi* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *caṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

asūṣupat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *svap* 'to sleep' used with causal *ṆIC*'
asuṣupan 'third person plural active . . .'

1. This rule specifies verbal root *svap* in its causal form (*ṇijanta*). We know it from *caṅi*, a right context which is not possible to obtain without the root ending in *ṆiC* (*Nyāsa*: *na hy aṇyantāc caṅ sambhavati*). Note also that one cannot here interpret *svāpi* as specifying non-causal verbal root *āpLṚ* 'to pervade' used with *su*. For, *caṅi* 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 *samprasāraṇaṃ tadāśrayaṃ ca balavat* (*PŚ*: 129). A *guṇa*-replacement of the

short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and shortening (*hrasva*) of its result (7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) follow. Iteration (*dvirvacana*) 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 *caṅi*? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked in examples such as *svāpyate* and *svāpitaḥ* where both are derivates of *ṆiC*. The first is a third person singular present passive and the second a derivate of *Kta*. Needless to say, these examples cannot involve *CaṄ*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtras* as *svāpeś ca* with *ṅiti* carried via *anuvṛtti*? Such a formulation would confuse about whether the *anuvṛtti* of *ṅiti* was still valid? Answering it in the affirmative will raise the question whether the *anuvṛtti* of *kiti* was dropped. Besides, *ṅiti* would have offered a much wider right context. It is for clarity then that Pāṇini used *caṅi*.

Consider the derivation of *asūṣupat* 'third singular active causal past imperfect of *svap*'. Thus, *svap* + *ṆiC* (3.1.27 *hetumati ca*) = *sv*(*a*→*ā*)*p* + *i* + *LUṄ* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*; 3.1.23 *sanādyantā . . .*; 3.2.110 *luṅ*) = *svāp* + *i* + *CLI* + *LUṄ* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*) = *svāp* + *i* + (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) + *LUṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridusrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) = *svāp* + *i* + (*C*)*a*(*Ṅ*) + *LUṄ* = *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a*(*Ṭ*) + *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*)→*a* + *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *svāp* + (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*) = *a* + *svāp* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *sv*(*ā*→*a*)*p* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.1 *caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) = *a* + *svap* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*v*→*u*)*ap* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.18 *svāṣpeś caṅi*) = *a* + *suap* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*u* + *a*→*u*)*p* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*)→*a* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* →*a* + *sup* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) = *a* + *su* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) = *a* + *su* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*u*→*ū*) + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*) = *a* + *sū* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ*.

A replacement of *LUṄ* with *tiP* yields *a* + *sū* + *sup* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.2.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* applies to yield *a* + *sū* + *s*(*u*→*o*)*p* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ* would then apply to yield *a* + *sū* + *s*(*o*→*u*)*p* + *a* + *t*. An application of *ṣatva* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) will now yield: *a* + *su* + (*s*→*ṣ*)*up* + *a* + *t* = *asūṣupat*.

6.1.19 स्वपिस्यमिव्येञां यङि

svapisyamivyeñāṃ yaṅi
/*svapisyamiveñām* (*itar. dv.*) 6/3 *yaṅi* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
'*ñiṣvap śaye, svamu svana dhvana śabde, veña saṃvaraṇe' ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ yaṅi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
Verbal roots *ÑIṣvap* 'to sleep', *syamU* 'to shout' and *vyeÑ* 'to cover' go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

soṣupyate 'third person singular middle present derivate of *svap* 'to sleep' ending in *yaṄ*'
sesimyate 'third person singular . . . of *syam* 'to cry' ending in *yaṄ*'
vevīyate 'third person singular . . . of *vyeÑ* 'to wrap' ending in *yaṄ*'

1. Note that a right context of *yaṅi* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* could be blocked from applying elsewhere. Consider, for example *svapnak*, a derivate of affix *najIṄ* introducted after verbal root *svap* (3.2.172 *svapitṛṣor najiṅ*).

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

6.1.20 **न वशः**:

na vaśaḥ
/na ϕ vaśaḥ 6/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *yaṅi* #19)
vaśer dhātor yaṅi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati
Verbal root *vaśA* 'to desire' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vāvaśyate 'third person singular middle present of *vaś* 'to desire' ending in *yaṄ*'
vāvaśyete 'third person dual . . .'
vāvaśyante 'third person plural . . .'

1. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *vaśA* when *yaṄ* followed. Recall that *vaś* can avail *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.6 *grahijyā-vayi*. . . . Derivates of this root will thus go through iteration. Thus, *vaś* + *ya*(*Ṅ*)→*vaś* + *vaś* + *ya*→*va* + *vaś* + *ya*→*v*(*a*→*ā*) + *vaś* + *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' kitaḥ*. Deriving the present active third personal singular dual and plural forms of verbal root *vaś* used with affix *yaṄ*, i.e., *vāvaśyate, vāvaśyete* and *vāvaśyante*, from *vāvaśya* + *LAṬ* with subse-

quent replacements for *LAṬ* and relevant operations, should pose no problem.

2. That this negation of *samprasāraṇa* is available only when *yaṄ* follows is important. For, the *samprasāraṇa* offered by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . applies elsewhere. Consider *uṣṭaḥ* and *uśanti* which derive from *vaś* + *Kta* and *vaś* + (*LAṬ→jhi*). Verbal root *vaś* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) here because affix *yaṄ* does not follow. Note that *uṣṭaḥ* is derived similar to *pṛṣṭaḥ* from (*uś* + *ta*) + *sU*)) where *uś* is gotten through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Our third plural present indicative active from *uśanti* also involves *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Additionally, it involves deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .) and replacement of *jh* by *ant* (7.1.3 *jho'ntaḥ*). Thus, *vaś* + *LAṬ→vaś* + (*LAṬ→jhi*) *→vaś* + *ŚaP* + *jhi→vaś* + (*ŚaP→ϕ*) + *jhi →* (*v→u*) *aś* + *jhi→v*(*ua→u*) *ś* + *jhi→uś* + (*jh→ant*) *i* = *uś* + *anti→uśanti*.

6.1.21 चायः की

cāyaḥ kī
cāyaḥ 6/1 *kī* (1/1 deleted)
(*yaṅi* #19)
'*cāyṛ pūjāniśāmanayoḥ' ity etasya dhātor yaṅi parataḥ 'kī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Verbal root *cāyṚ* 'to honor' is replaced with *kī* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cekīyate 'third person singular present middle of *cāyṚ*
'to honor' ending in *yaṄ*'
cekīyete 'third person dual . . .'
cekīyante 'third person plural . . .'
cekītaḥ 'third person dual active of *cāyṚ* with deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. Deriving *cikīyate/ cekīyete/ cekīyante* from (*cāyṚ→ki* + *ya*(*Ṅ*)) + (*LAṬ*), through iteration (*kī* + *kī* + *ya*), *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (*k*(*ī→e*)) + *ki* + *ya* and *cutva* (*k→c*) *e* + *kī* + *ya* should not pose any difficulty. Affix *LAṬ* is as usual replaced with third personal *ātmanepada* suffixes. Look for additional details in the appendix.

2. Why specify *kī* with the long *ī* when a short *i* could easily be replaced with its long counterpart via application of 7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. A specification with long *ī* is made because *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* would make this long replacement impossible. Consider *cekī* + *tas→cekītaḥ*.

6.1.22 स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्

sphāyaḥ sphī niṣṭhāyām
/*sphāyaḥ* 6/1 *sphī* (deleted 1/1) *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

'sphāyī opyāyī vṛddhau' ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ 'sphī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Verbal root *sphāyĪ* 'to swell' is replaced with *sphī* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sphītaḥ 'swollen (*Kta*)'
sphītavān '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 *striyāṃ 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 vali* will delete *y* of *sphāy* + *ti*. The long replacement for the short final *i* of *sphāti* is gotten under the right context of *CvI* (7.4.26 *cvau ca*). This *CvI* is, of course, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve . . .*, in coordination with *bhū* thereby yielding *sphātī bhavati*. The affixal *v* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*.

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

6.1.23 स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य

styaḥ prapūrvasya
/styaḥ 6/1 *prapūrvasya* 6/1 = *pra pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya/*
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)
'styā' ity etasya prapūrvasya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ 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:

prastītaḥ 'assembled, gathered (*Kta*)'
prastītavān 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'
prastīmaḥ 'ibidem (*Kta*)'
prastīmavān 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'
prasaṃstītaḥ 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *Kta*)'
prasaṃstītavān 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *KtavatU*)

1. *Kāśikā* states that *styaḥ* includes references to verbal roots *styai* and *ṣṭyai* both. For, they both yield the form *styā*. They both have their *ai* replaced with *ā* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe aśiti*. The *ṣ* of *ṣṭyai* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ*. The *ṭ* 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

prastīta is derived from *pra* + *sty*(*ai*→*ā*) + (*K*) *ta*→*pra* + *st*(*y*→*i*) *ā* + *ta* = *prast*(*i* +*a*→*ī*) + *ta* = *prast*(*i*→*ī*) + *ta*. A long replacement for the short *i* is gotten from the application of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar steps have to be followed for deriving *prastītavān*, nominative singular of *prastītavat*. The *t* of these *niṣṭhā* suffixes is optionally replaced with *n* when occurring after *styai* used with the preverb *pra* (8.2.55 *prastyo' nyatarasyām*).

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*→*n*-replacement can also be availed in examples such as *prasaṃstītaḥ* and *prasaṃstītavān*. 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 *vyadhikaraṇa-bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *pra pūrvo yasya* 'that (a root or preverb + root) whose initial is *pra*'. Given *prasaṃstītaḥ*, etc., *prapūrvasya* will refer to *samstyai* used with *pra* as its initial.

6.1.24 द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः

dravamūrttisparśayoḥ śyaḥ
/ drava-mūrtti-sparśayoḥ 7/2 = *dravasya mūrttiḥ kāṭhinyam* = *dravamūrttiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *dravamūrttiś ca sparśaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tayoḥ*; *śyaḥ* 6/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)
'*dravakāṭhinye sparśe vartamānasya 'śyaiṅ gatau'ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used in the sense of *dravamūrtti* 'solidification of liquid' and *sparśa* 'touch', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śīnaṃ ghṛtam 'solidified clear butter'
śīnā vasā 'solidified animal fat'
śīnaṃ medaḥ 'solidified fat'
śītaṃ vartate '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 *dravakāṭhinya* 'solidification of liquid'. The same is further explained by *Nyāsa* as *dravāvasthāyā uttaro' vasthāviśeṣaḥ kāṭhinyākhyaḥ* 'a subsequent state of liquid characterized as solidified'.

The word *sparśa* 'touch, contact' has been glossed as a quality accompanied with form, etc. (*rūpādisahacarito guṇaḥ*). A question is now raised concerning coreferentiality between a modifier (*guṇa*) such as *vāyu* characterised as *sparśa* and the modified such as *vāyu* 'wind', a *drvavya* 'thing'. It is ex-

plained that certain modifiers, for example *śukla* 'white' of *paṭasya śuklaḥ* 'whiteness of the cloth', based upon their inseparable relationship with corresponding modifieds, for example *śuklaḥ* of *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'the white cloth', at times can be accepted as co-referential. A modifier such as *śīta* can thus be construed in both the senses of *guṇa* 'quality' and *guṇin* 'locus of quality'.

2. Note that derivates of *niṣṭhā* with no signification of *sparśa* 'touch' will have their *t* replaced with *n* (8.2.47 *śyo'sparśe*). We will thus get *śīnaṃ ghṛtam*, etc. This also explains why the *t* of *śīto vāyuḥ* cannot be replaced with *n*. The *ai* of *śyai* goes through *ā*-replacement (*ātva*), *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *ī*-replacement similar to *styai* of the preceding rule.

3. What is the consequence of not meeting the twin conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparśa*? Lack of *samprasāraṇa*, and *n*-replacement of *t* of the affix termed *niṣṭhā* (*niṣṭhānatva*). Consider, for example, *saṃśyāno vṛścikaḥ* 'a rolled up scorpion'.

6.1.25 प्रतेश्च

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

EXAMPLES:

pratiśīnaḥ 'that which has melted; liquid'
pratiśīnavān 'that which has a tendency to melt'

1. This rule is formulated to also allow *samprasāraṇa* outside the meaning conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparśa*. Verbal root *śyaiṄ* 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 *saṃyogāder āto dhātor*. . . .

6.1.26 विभाषाऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य

vibhāṣā' bhyavapūrvasya
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *abhy-ava-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *abhiś ca avaś ca abhyavau* (*dv*); *abhyavau pūrvau yasya* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*)/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyaḥ* 24)
'abhi, ava'ity evam pūrvasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyāṃ vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ŚyaiṄ*, when used after the preverbs *abhi* and *ava*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

abhiśīnaṃ ghṛtam 'melted clarified butter'
abhiśyānam 'ibidem'
avaśīnaṃ medaḥ 'melted animal fat'
avaśyānaṃ ghṛtam 'ibidem'
abhiśīto vāyuḥ 'cold wind'
abhiśyānaḥ vāyuḥ 'ibidem'
avaśītam udakam 'cold water'
avaśyānam udakam 'ibidem'

1. Note that this option of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra*. That is, it is now available (*prāpta*) to the context of *abhi* and *ava* which it previously was not (*aprāpta*). The *samprasāraṇa* in the context of *dravamūrtti* and *psarśa*, which was not made available (*aprāpta*) by rule 6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoḥ* . . . 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 *yaṆ* (cf. 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder* . . .). A set of derivates with no application of *samprasāraṇa* will remain *yaṇvān* 'possessing a sound denoted by *yaṆ*'. 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 श्रृतं पाके

śṛtaṃ pāke
/*śṛtam* 1/1 *pāke* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)
'*śrā pāke' ity etasya dhātor ṇyantasyāṇyantasya ca pāke' bhidheye ktapratyaye parataḥ śṛbhāvo nipātyate*
Verbal root *śrā* is optionally replaced with *śṛ*, via *nipātana*, when it is used with the signification of *pāka* 'cooking', and affix *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śṛtaṃ kṣīram 'cooked milk'
śṛtaṃ haviḥ 'cooked ritual oblation of food'

1. Commentators explain that *śṛtam* here refers to verbal root *śrā*, when used with or without the causal suffix *ṆiC*. This option is explained as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* '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 *śrā*

with *śṛ*, for example, in *śrāṇā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel is cooked' and *śrapitā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel was caused to be cooked', cannot be permitted. Incidentally, *śrāṇā* is a derivate of *Kta* where *t* is replaced with *ṇ* via *n* (8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto . . .*). Feminine affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to *śrāṇa* to derive *śrāṇā*. Our next example *śrapitā* is also a derivate of *Kta* ending in *ṬāP*, though *śrā* is here used with *ṆiC*. Augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *arttihrīvlī . . .*) with a subsequent application of *hrasva* 'shortening' produces: *śrā* + *p*(*UK*) + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*) + (*K*) *ta*→*śr*(*ā*→*a*) + *p* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*) + (*K*) *ta*. Note that a *sūtra* of the *dhātupāṭha*, i.e., *ghaṭādayo mitaḥ*, recognizes *śrā* as marked with *M* as an *it*. This, in turn, enables application of shortening (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*). Affix *ṆiC* is deleted by 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi* after augment *iṬ* is introduced. Thus, *śra* + *p* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*)→ϕ)) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *ta*→*śra* + *p* + *i* + *ta* = *śrapita*. 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 *śrapitaṃ kṣīram devadattena yajñadattena* 'Devadatta had Yajñadatta cook the oblation of rice-pudding' where *yajñadatta* is the indirect instigator. Verbal root *śrā* is explained as intransitive (*akarmaka*), used here in the sense of *pac* with its object having agent as its locus (*karmakartṛviṣayaka*). Thus, consider *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ svayam eva* 'the oblation cooked by itself' and *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ 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 प्यायः पी

pyāyaḥ pī
/pyāyaḥ 1/1 *pī* (1/1 deleted)/
(*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)
'*opyāyī vṛddhau'ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ vibhāṣā* '*pī'ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Verbal root *OpyāyĪ* 'to swell' is optionally replaced with *pī* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pīnaṃ mukham 'a swollen face; a wide face'
pīnau bāhū 'strong arms'
pīnam uraḥ 'strong chest'

1. This provision of replacement can also be labeled as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. That is, it is obligatorily available when verbal root *OpyāyĪ* 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 *āpyānaś candramāḥ* 'a full moon' where *pyā* is used with the preverb *ā*. Incidentally, *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā* is accomplished by 8.2.45 *oditaś ca*.

2. Commentators add, however, that *pyā* is replaced with *pī* when it is used with the preverb *āṄ*, and when derivates denote *andhu* 'water-well' and *ūdhas* 'udder'. Yet another instance of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. Thus, *āpīno'ndhuḥ* 'a water-well full to the brim' and *āpīnam ūdhaḥ* 'an udder full of milk'.

6.1.29 लिड्यङोश्च

liḍyaṅoś ca
/liḍ-yaṅoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pyāyaḥ pī* #28)
liṭi yaṅi ca parataḥ 'pyāyaḥ pī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Verbal root *OpyāyĪ* is replaced with *pī* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

āpipye 'third singular middle perfect (*LIṬ*) of *OpyāyĪ* (to fill)'
āpipyire 'third plural . . .'
āpepīyate 'third singular middle present of *āpepīya*'
āpepīyete 'second dual present of . . .'
āpepīyante 'third plural present . . .'

1. Note that *vibhāṣa* is not carried over, especially since *vibhāṣā* is explicitly stated in the following rule. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *pyāyaḥ pī* to facilitate the replacement in *pī*. Thus, this rule allows a replacement in *pī* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow. Consider *āpipye* and *āpipyire*, the third singular and plural middle forms of *LIṬ* which derive from *ā*(*Ṅ*) + (*pyā*→*pī*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta* →*eŚ*) and *ā*(*Ṅ*) + *pyā* + (*LIṬ*→*jha*→*ireC*), respectively. A replacement in *eŚ* and *ireC* for third person middle singular and plural affixes *ta* and *jha* is gotten from 4.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*. . . . A replacement in *pī* is accomplished prior to iteration since the rule which allows this replacement happens to be subsequent (*para*) in order. Iteration then applies because its applicational context presents itself again (*PŚ*: 40) *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*. We thus get *ā* + (*pyā*→*pī*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*eŚ*)).

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

An application of iteration produces *ā* + *pī* + *pī* + *e*. The long *ī* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with its short counterpart to produce: *āp*(*ī*→*i*) + *pī* + *e*. The following long *ī* is replaced with *y* (*yaṄ*) to yield *āpipye*. This *yaṄ*-replacement is accomplished by 6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*. The plural *āpipyire* follows similar pattern. The third personal singular, dual and plural present indicative middle (*LAṬ*) derivates with *yaṄ* also involve *pī*-replace-

ment and iteration. A *guṇa* of their *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*. Follow derivational patterns of many *yaṄ*-derivates already explained.

6.1.30 **विभाषा श्वेः**

vibhāṣā śveḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *śveḥ* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *liḍyaṅoḥ* #29)
liṭi yaṅi ca śvayater dhātor vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to swell' optionally goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

śuśāva 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *śvi* 'to swell' '
śiśvāya 'ibidem'
śuśuvatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
śiśviyatuḥ 'ibidem'
śośūyate 'third person singular middle derivate of *LAṬ* of *śvi* ending in *yaṄ*'
śeśvīyate 'ibidem'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇa*, *LIṬ* and *yaṄ*. Of course, the application of *samprasāraṇa* is optional. The option (*vibhāṣa*) itself is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Verbal root *śvi* has *samprasāraṇa* available (*prāpta*) to it obligatorily (*nitya*) before a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* (*kit*; 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .). That is, the *samprasāraṇa* is not available (*aprāpta*) to it before an affix not marked with *K* (*akit*). The *samprasāraṇa* before *yaṄ* has not yet been made available. Our present rule makes it optionally available.

The word *vibhāṣa* has been defined by 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* as denoting the sense of *na vā* 'or not'. This *na vā* is construed with a rule of *ubahayatra-vibhāṣā* 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 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . The *vā* will then make it available optionally in case of verbal root *śvi*. 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 vibhāṣā* (II:379-82) for derivational details.

6.1.31 णौ च संश्चङोः

ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ
/ṇau 7/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃścaṅoḥ* 7/2 = *saṃś ca caṅ ca, tayoḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* #30)
sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parataḥ śvayater dhātor vibhāṣa samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to swell' goes through *samprasāraṇa* provided when *ṆiC*, followed by affixes *saN* and *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

śuśāvayiṣati 'third person singular causal *saN* derivate in *LAṬ* of *śvi*'
śiśvāyayiṣati 'ibidem'
aśūśavat 'third person singular causal derivate of *śvi* in *LUṄ*'
aśiśvayat 'ibidem'

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* 'locative of right context' in *ṇau* and *saṃścaṅoḥ* denote different loci (*bhinnādhikaraṇa*). It is used in *ṇau* with reference to *śvi*. It is used in *saṃścaṅoḥ* with reference to *ṇau*. Consequently, this rule must be interpreted with two-step qualifiers to *ṬUOśvi* as follows:

(*i*) *saṅścaṅoḥ parato yo'ṇiḥ* 'the *ṆiC* which occurs when *saN* and *CaṄ* follow';
(*ii*) *tasmin ṇau parato yaḥ śvayatiḥ* 'the *śvi* which occurs when *ṆiC*, particularly of the kind of (*i*) follows'.

Thus, the interpretation: *sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parataḥ* 'when *ṆiC*, followed by *saN* and *CaṄ*, follows'.

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

Rule 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy 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 (*yaṆ*) or *j*, followed by *a*'. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that a substitution caused by *ṆiC*, 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 *śiśvāyayiṣati* where verbal root *śu* is used with the causal *ṆiC* before affix *saN*. A *vṛddhi* of *i* followed by its replacement by *āy* will yield: *śv*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *i* + *i* + (*Ṭ*→ϕ) + *sa* = *śvāyi* + *i* (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *śvāyi* + *i* + *ṣa*. An iteration on *śvāyi* where *śvi* is not treated as a root via *sthānivadbhāva* will produce wrong results: **śā* + *śvāyi* + *i* + *ṣa*. But bringing *śvi* via *sthānivadbhāva* for

purposes of iteration will offer the correct form *ś(v→ϕ)i + śvāyi + i + ṣa→ śiśvāy(i→e→ay) + i + ṣa = śiśvāyayiṣa.* Given *śvi + i + sa,* an application of *samprasāraṇa* will similarly produce *ś(v→u)i + sa→ś (u→i→u) + i + sa→ ś(u→au→āv) + i + sa = śāv + i + i + ṣa,* where iteration, if applies with reference to *śāv + i* will produce wrong results: **śā + śāv + i + i + ṣa.* The correct form should be *śu + śāv + i + ṣa* which will finally, through *śu* retrieved via *sthānivadbhāva,* augment *iṬ,* and *i→e→ay* replacements of *ṆiC,* will produce *śuśāvayiṣa* of *śuśāvayiṣati.*

Let us return to our reference to rule 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare* which becomes an indicator for applying iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* when *ṆiC* follows. It also means that *samprasāraṇa* blocks iteration initially. For, in its absence, the question of *śāvi* forming the focus of iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* does not arise. It also makes known that internally conditioned *vṛddhi,* etc., are also blocked by *samprasāraṇa.* Consequently, *vṛddhi* and replacement in *āv* (*āv-ādeśa*) also apply subsequent to the application of *samprasāraṇa* (*Kāś.: . . . kṛte tu samprasāraṇe vṛddhir āvādeśaś ca. tataḥ 'oḥ puyaṇjy apare* (7.4.80)' *ity etad vacanaṃ jñāpakam-ṇau kṛtasthānivadbhāvasya itis sthānivadbhāvāt śuśabdo dvirucyate*). Derivates of *CaṆ* have to be handled accordingly. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.1.32 ह्वः सम्प्रसारणम्

hvaḥ samprasāraṇam
/hvaḥ 1/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
(*ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ* #31)
sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parato hvaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *ṆiC,* followed by affix *saN* or *CaṆ,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

juhāvayiṣati 'he wishes to challenge'
juhāvayiṣataḥ 'those two whish to . . .'
juhāvayiṣanti 'those all wish to . . .'
ajūhavat 'he challenged'
ajuhavatām 'they two challenged . . .'
ajūhavan 'they all challenged'

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating *samprasāraṇam* when we already have the same available through *anuvṛtti.* Pāṇini uses *samprasāraṇa* so that he can drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* which happens to be associated with the earlier *samprasāraṇa.* This *samprasāraṇa* is used to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* and hence is not optional. Look for derivational details in the appendix.

2. Once again, since *samprasāraṇa* and operations related to it enjoy greater strength, *vṛddhi,* etc., are again initially put on hold in favor of

samprasāraṇa. This is also the reason why augment *yUK* (7.3.37 *śācchāsāhvāvyāvepāṃ yuk*) is also blocked in favor of *samprasāraṇa*.

3. Why can we not have a single formulation of this rule as *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya*. This way we do not need a separate 6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*. A split formulation is made to indicate that *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished only when an affix conditioning *abhyāsa* intervenes. One can not accomplish *samprasāraṇa* when an affix which did not condition *abhyāsa* intervenes (*Kāś.*: *'hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya'ity ekayogen siddhe pṛthag yogakaraṇam anabhyastanimittapratyayena vyavadhāne samprasāraṇābhāvajñāpanārtham*). It is for this reason that *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished in examples such as *hvāyakīyati* parallel to *hvāyakam icchati* '. . .wishes for . . .'. This same is also true of a corresponding derivate of *saN*, i.e., *jihvāyakīyiṣati*.

6.1.33 अभ्यस्तस्य च

abhyastasya ca
/abhyastasya 6/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)
abhyastasya kāraṇasya hvayateḥ prāg eva dvirvacanāt samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
The *hveÑ* which constitutes the source of an *abhyasta* also goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

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 *samprasāraṇa* will apply to what is termed an *abhyasta*. That means it will apply to both the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *prathamo' bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*).

Note that *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* both end in the genitive. But this dual genitive cannot establish a coreferential relationship (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ*. That is, we cannot interpret the strings *abhyastasya hvaḥ* as 'the *hva* which is (also) termed *abhyasta*'. For, this will then require iteration whereby the term *abhyasta* can be assigned. But *samprasāraṇa* cannot be applied now since 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will not permit it. It is in view of this difficulty that the relationship between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* is accepted as *vyadhikaraṇa*, i.e., that which involves different loci. The phrase is then interpreted as: *abhyastasya tu hveñ* 'the *hveñ* of *abhyasta*'. *Kāśikā* interprets it as that *hveÑ* which is the *kāraṇa* 'basis, source' for the assignment of the term *abhyasta*. The *Mahābhāṣya* simply calls it the base (*prakṛti*; *abhyastasya prakṛter iti*) which forms as the source for assignment of the term *abhyasta*. This makes it possible for *samprasāraṇa* 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*, derivates of *LIṬ, yaṄ* and *saN*, respectively, for illustration. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.34 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/bahulaṃ 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)
chandasi viṣaye hvayater dhātor bahulaṃ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* in the Vedic, variously.

EXAMPLES:

indrāgnī huve 'I invoke the presence of Indra and Agni'
devīṃ sarasvatīṃ huve 'I invoke the presence of Sarasvatī, the divine'
hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān 'I invoke the presence of benevolent winds'

1. It is because of this provision of *bāhulaka* 'variously' that we get *samprasāraṇa* and *uvAṄ* in an example such as *huve* 'first person singular present indicative middle' of *hu* 'to call'. But one can also find an example such as *hvayāmi*, 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 की

cāyaḥ kī
/cāyaḥ 6/1 *kī* (deleted 1/1)/
(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #33)
cāyater dhātoś chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ 'kī'ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Verbal root *cāyṚ* 'to honor' is variously replaced with *kī* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

viyantā nyanyaṃ cikyur na nicikyur anyam
'they did not worship any other'
agnir jyotir nicāyam

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

6.1.36 अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः

apaspṛdhethām-ānṛcur-ānṛhuś-cicyuṣe-tityāja-śrātāḥ śritam-āśīrāśīrttāḥ

/apaspṛdhethām (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛcuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛhuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *cicyuṣe* (a form in *tiṄ*); *tityāja* (a form in *tiṄ*); *śrātāḥ* 1/3 *śritam* 1/1 *āśīḥ* 1/1 *āśīrttaḥ* 1/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #32 *chandasi* #34)
'*apaspṛdhethām'ity ete śabdāḥ chandasi viṣaye nipātyante*
The following are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic:
apaspṛdhethām, ānṛcuḥ, anṛhuḥ, cicyuṣe, tityāja, śrātāḥ, śritam, āśīḥ, and *āśīrttaḥ*.

EXAMPLES:

apaspṛdhethām 'second person dual middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *apa-spardh* 'to compete''
ānṛcuḥ 'this person plural active *LIṬ* of *ān-arc* 'to worship, respect''
ānṛhuḥ 'third person . . . of *ān-arh* 'to respect''
cicyuṣe
tityāja 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *tyaj* 'abandon'
śrātāḥ '*Kta*-derivate of *śrīÑ* 'to cook''
śritam 'ibidem'
āśīḥ '(*āṄ-śrī* + *Kta* + *KviP*) + *Kta*'
āśīrttaḥ '(*āṄ-*(*śrā*→*śīr*) + *Kta*'

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

6.1.37 न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम्

na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam
/na ϕ samprasāraṇe 7/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
samprasāraṇe parataḥ pūrvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* is not replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* when *samprasāraṇa* follows *yaṆ*.

EXAMPLES:

viddhaḥ 'pierced'
vicitaḥ 'deceived'
samvītaḥ 'properly covered; (*sam-vyeÑ*) + *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 *yaṆ*. Consider the derivation of *viddhaḥ* from *vyadh* + (*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 *samprasāraṇa* cannot be gotten if *samprasāraṇa* did not apply to a *yaṆ* that occurred subsequent to another *yaṆ*.

One cannot invoke the *alo' ntya-paribhāṣā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) to restrict application of *samprasāraṇa* to the final *yaṆ* of a given form. For, that will render the *samprasāraṇa* provision of 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . . vacuous. One can also not invoke the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 104): *anantyavikāre' ntyasadeśasya*, thereby restricting the application of *samprasāraṇa* to a *yaṆ* which is next to the final sound segment of a given form.

The formation of rule 6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī* also indicates that not every *yaṆ* should be replaced with *samprasāraṇa*. For, if all occurrences of sounds denoted by *yaṆ* could be replaced with *samprasāraṇa* in a form then specification of *pī* as a replacement for *pyāy* was unnecessary. For, *pīna* of *pīnam mukham* could have then been derived without *pī* as a replacement. Thus, given *pyāy* + (*K*) *ta*, *samprasāraṇa*, if applied to both *y*-elements, could yield: *p*(*y*→*i*) *ā*(*y*→*i*) → *p*(*iā*→*i*) + *i* + *ta* through *pūrvarūpa*. An application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, followed by that of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*, could produce: *p*(*i* + *i*→*i*) + *ta*→*p*(*i*→*ī*) + *ta* = *pīta*. The *t* could be then replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*) to yield *pī* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *pīna*. Why can *samprasāraṇa*, 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 *samprasāraṇa* on the final *y* is possible if the genitive, in *pyāyaḥ* of *pyāyaḥ pī*, is interpreted as denoting 'in place of' (*sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī*; 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). But this genitive when interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*) cannot block *samprasāraṇa* from applying to both *y*-elements of *pyāyaḥ*. For purposes of *samprasāraṇa*, it will yield the interpretation: 'the *y* forming a part of *pyāy*'. This again indicates that *samprasāraṇa* does not apply to all sounds denoted by *yaṆ*. It applies only to a subsequent *yaṆ* and not to any preceding. This application of *samprasāraṇa* only applicable to a subsequent *yaṆ* is not possible to be known from *vidhyaty adhanuṣā*, etc. For, *vidhyati* can be derived also by applying *samprasāraṇa* in turn (*paryāya*). This rule is then needed (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *na sarvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati; tatra kuta etat-parasyaiva bhavati na pūrvasyeti; na ca vidhyatītyādinirdeśāt parasyaiveti śakyam avagantum. paryāyeṇa pravṛttāv api tadutpatteḥ. tasmād ārabhyam evaitat*).

Some still argue that there is nothing in the specification of of *samprasāraṇa* which can stop it from not applying indescriminately to both the preceding and following elements of *yaṆ*. It will then become very difficult to comprehend this negation. How could you stop someone from eating when he is already eating (*yo hi bhuktavantaṃ brūyād mā bhuṅkthā iti kiṃ tena kṛtaṃ syāt*). It is to remove this difficulty that the locative in *samprasāraṇe* is interpreted as denoting *nimitta* 'cause'. Note, however, that *samprasāraṇa* itself is not accepted as the *nimitta*. Instead, it is the *iK* which is to be brought about (*tadbhāvī*), via *samprasāraṇa*, that becomes the *nimitta* for this negation.

2. Why is *samprasāraṇa* used here explicitly when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that, in the absence of explicitly using *samprasāraṇam, paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation, or its negation, applies only to the most proximate' will apply. Consider the derivation of *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + (*Ś*) *as* = *yuvan* + *as*, where 6.1.133 *śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite* requires *samprasāraṇa* to yield *yu*(*v*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yu*(*ua*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yuun* + *as*→*y*(*u* + *u*→*ū*) *na* + *as* = *yūna* + *as* through *samprasāraṇa, pūrvarūpa* and *dīrgha* (6.4.2 *halaḥ*). The argument that *y* of *yūna* must also go through *samprasāraṇa* because it is most proximate to *v*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad*...), 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 (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*, 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana*...). The notion of proximity via *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not valid. To still insist that examples such as *yūnaḥ* can be derived via *nipātana* and hence, *samprasāraṇa* 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 *samprasāraṇa*, as against its acceptance via *anuvṛtti*, makes it understood that *samprasāraṇa* on a preceding *yaN* sound is negated even when the following *yaN* sound does not occur contiguously after it.

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

(*i*) An application of *samprasāraṇa*, in addition to deletion of the initial sound of what follows, is recommended for *tri* when followed by *ṛc*. Thus *t*(*r*→*ṛ*) *i* + *ṛc* = *t*(*ṛi*→*ṛ*) + *ṛc* = *tṛ* + (*ṛ*→ϕ) *c* = *tṛc*. A derivate such as *tṛca* of *tṛcaṃ sūktam* is derived by introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe*). This proposal of *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa* is made only for the Vedic. The classical language will still have *tr*(*i*→*y*) + *ṛca* = *tryṛca*, derived via *yaN* with no *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa*, parallel to *tisraḥ ṛcaḥ yasmin* 'that in which there are three hymns'.

(*ii*) A *samprasāraṇa* 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 *samprasāraṇa*.

6.1.38 लिटि वयो यः

liṭi vayo yaḥ
/*liṭi* 7/1 *vayaḥ* 1/1/ *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37)
liṭi parato vayo yakārasya samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
The *y* of *vay* is not replaced with *samprasāraṇa* when *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvāya 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *veÑ* 'to weave' '
ūyatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
ūyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. Note that *uvāya* derives from (*veÑ*→*vay*) + *LIṬ* = (*vay* + *vay*) + *LIṬ* = *va*(*y*→ϕ) + *vay* + *LIṬ*→(*v*→*u*)*a* + *vay* + *LIṬ*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vay* + *LIṬ*→*u* + *v*(*a*→*ā*)*y* + *LIṬ*→*uvāy* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*a*) = *uvāya*. There are two rules which offer *samprasāraṇa* relative to *veÑ*→*vay*: 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . and 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*. 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 *yaÑ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe* . . . 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 *grahijyāvayi*. . . . The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*.

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

6.1.39 वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति

vaś cāsyānyatarasyāṃ kiti
/*vaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *kiti* 7/1/
(*liṭi vayo yaḥ* #38)
asya vayo yakārasya kiti liṭi parato vakārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *y* of *vay* is optionally replaced with *v* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate'
ūvuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
ūyatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
ūyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This optional replacement is applicable only before a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K*. It can, thus, not be availed by *uvāya* and *uvayitha* which are derivates of *tiP* and *siP*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

2. The word *asya* refers to the *y* (of *vay*) whose *samprasāraṇa* is negated. This interpretation also facilitates blocking of *samprasāraṇa* of a *v*. Patañjali thinks that the *sūtra* should have been simply formulated as *anyatarasyāṃ kiti veñaḥ*. That is, without *vaścāsya*. For, the intended derivates can all be accounted for without using *vaścāsya*. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.40 **वेञः**:

veñaḥ
/veñaḥ 6/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *liṭi* #38)
'veñ tantusantāne'ity asya dhātor liṭi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
Verbal root *veÑ* 'to weave' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vavau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *veÑ* (to weave)'
vavatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
vavuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyaj* . . . before an affix marked with *K*. It also negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* in connection with *ṆaL* and *thaL*, replacements of *tiP* and *siP*, marked with *P*, respectively.

6.1.41 **ल्यपि च**

lyapi ca
/lyapi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #36 *veñaḥ* #40)
lyapi ca parato vyeñaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
Verbal root *veÑ* does not go through *samprasāraṇa* also when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pravāya
upavāya

1. This rule negates the provision of *samprasāraṇa* available to *veÑ* from 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *lyapi* alone could be carried over subsequently. A joint formulation with the preceding rule would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *veÑ* in the succeeding rule.

6.1.42 **ज्यश्च**

jyaś ca
/jyaḥ 6/1 *ca* 1/1/
(*na samprasāraṇaṃ* #37 *lyapi* #41)
'jyā vayohānau' ity asya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ 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 *grahijyāvayi. . . .* Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as: *lyapi vyo jyaś ca.* This way he did not have to formulate three rules with additional use of two *ca.* First of all, *lyapi* cannot be brought here because it separately negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *veÑ.* Bringing *lyapi* here would also necessitate bringing *veÑ* which is not desired. Secondly, an optional *samprasāraṇa* allowed for *vyeÑ* is not allowed for *jyā.* Thus, all these separate formulations are intended for subsequent rules.

6.1.43 **व्यश्च**

vyaś ca
/vyaḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*na samprasāraṇaṃ* #37 *lyapi* #41)
'vyeñ saṃvaraṇe' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
Verbal root *vyeÑ* 'to cover' also does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LyaP* 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 परेः**

vibhāṣā pareḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *pareḥ* 5/1/
(*na samprasāraṇaṃ* #37 *lyapi* #41 *vyaḥ* #43)
parer uttarasya 'vyeñ' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parato vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
Verbal root *vyeÑ* used with the preverb *pari* does not go through *samprasāraṇa,* optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

parivīya yūpam 'having wrapped around'
parivyāya 'ibidem'

1. Given *pari* + *vye* + (*Ktvā→LyaP*)= *pari* + *vy*(*e→ā*; *ātva*; 6.1.45 *ād eca upadeśe* . .) + *ya* = *pari* + *v*(*y→i*) *ā* + *ya* = *pari* + *v*(*i* + *ā→i*); *pūrvarūpa*) = *pari* + *v*(*i→ī* (*dīrgha*; 6.4.2 *halaḥ*), we get *parivīya*. We will get *parivyāya* when the option of applying *samprasāraṇa* is not accepted. Note also that when the option of *samprasāraṇa* 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 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

6.1.45 आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति

ād eca upadeśe' śiti
/*āt* 1/1 *ecaḥ* 6/1 *upadeśe* 7/1 *aśiti* 7/1 = *sa cāsau it ca* = *śit* (*karmadhāraya*); *na śit* = *aśit*, *tasmin* (*nañ tat.* with int. *karm.*)/
(*dhātoḥ* #8)
ejanto yo dhātur upadeśe tasyākārādeśo bhavati śiti tu pratyaye na bhavati
A verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, is replaced with *ā*, but not when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

glātā '*tṛC*-derivate of *glai* 'to be weary' '
glātum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
glātavyam '*tavya*-derivate . . .'
niśātā '*tṛC*-derivate of *ni-śo* 'to cut' '
niśātum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
niśātavyam '*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 *anuvṛtti*, 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 *upadeśa*'. Of course, with *dhātoḥ* in place via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . ., we get the interpretation: '*ā* comes as a substitute in place of an *eC*-final root in *upadeśa*'. Rule 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya* 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 *karttā* and *harttā* where the roots end in *ṛ*. A condition of *upadeśa* 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 *aśiti* 'when an affix not marked with *Ś* follows'? So that *ā* can be blocked, for example in *glai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) and *mlai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*), where *ŚaP* 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 (*aśiti*). How does this replacement apply in *jagle* and *mamle*. The word *śit* of *aśiti* is not interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *skāra 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 *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will make this specification refer to the sound *Ś* (*varṇa-grahaṇa*). Once *varṇa-grahaṇa* is accepted, *aśiti* will negate an operation with reference to *Ś* as an *it* at the beginning of affixal right context (*paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*). Thus, the negation of *aśiti* applies only when the affix begins with *Ś* as an *it* (*tadāditva*; *śidādau pratyaye pratiṣedhaḥ*). Deriving *jagle* and *mamle* from *glai* + *LIṬ* and *mlai* + *LIṬ* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *eŚ*, via the *ātmanepada* affix *ta*, now becomes easier. For, the negation of *aśiti* cannot apply since *eŚ*, does not begin with *Ś*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation cannot block this negation from applying since *eŚ* will still be marked with *Ś* as an it.

4. What is the nature of negation (*pratiṣedha*) in *aśiti*? Is it *paryudāsa* or *prasajya*? A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation of *tadbhinna tatsadṛśa* 'that which is not that but is similar to that'. That is, *śitaḥ anyaḥ* = *aśit*; *tasmin aśiti* 'that which is other than (but similar to) one marked with *Ś* as an *it*; when that follows'. This *paryudāsa* interpretation will then be limited only to contexts where an affix followed. It will be difficult to derive *suglaḥ* and *sumnaḥ* without the *ā*-replacement of *ai* of these roots since there will be no *Ka* affix to follow. For, affix *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*) cannot be introduced where the roots ended in *ā*. We will be caught in a situation where one will be dependent upon the other (*itaretarāśrya*). A *prasajya* interpretation will negate *śit* only. The *ā*-replacement will take place even without the introduction of *Ka* (*Kāś.*: *aśitīti prasajyapratiṣedho' yam tenaitad ātvam anaimittikaṃ prāg eva pratyayotpatter bhavatīti*). This is how *suglānaḥ* and *sumlānaḥ* with *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*) can also be derived.

To sum up, *aśiti* will be interpreted as *itsaṃjñakaśakārādau pratyaye na bhavati* 'does not apply when an affix with *Ś* as an *it* at its beginning follows'. Recall that this interpretation will also take recourse to *varṇagrahaṇa* and *tadāditva* as explained earlier.

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

6.1.46 न व्यो लिटि

na vyo liṭi
/*na* ϕ *vyaḥ* 6/1 *liṭi* 7/1/
(*ādeca upadeśe* #45)

'vyeñ' ity etasya dhātor liṭi parata ākārādeśo na bhavati
Verbal root *veÑ* does not go through a replacement in *ā* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

saṃvivyāya 'having securely covered'
saṃvivyayitha 'you have wrapped it well'

1. Note that rule 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* orders the *samprasāraṇa* replacement for *y* of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.14 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). That is, we get *sam + vye + vye + ṆaL→sam + v(y→i)e + vye + a→sam + v(i + e→i) + vye + a* after *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*) and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). The *e* of *vye* is replaced with *ai*, its *vṛddhi* counterpart (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*), under the condition of *ṆaL*. This *ai* is then replaced with *āy* before *a*. The dual and plural forms corresponding to *saṃvivyāya* will be *saṃvivyatuḥ* and *saṃvivyuḥ*, derivates of *atus* and *us*, respectively. These both will go through reiteration of the form resulting after *samprasāraṇa*. A replacement in *yaṆ* will be subsequently required by 7.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*. Augment *iṬ* in *saṃvivyayitha* is introduced by 7.2.66 *iḍ atty-artti-vyayatīnām*.

2. Can *na* be construed with *liṭi* to give the meaning of *aliṭi* 'when something other than a *LIṬ* follows'. No, because this will be against desired derivational goals. Besides, such a negation can apply only to a restrictive (*nityama*) provision such as: *liṭi vyaḥ* '*ā* comes as a replacement only when *LIṬ* 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 *ātva*. 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 *ṆaL*. *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 स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि

sphuratisphulatyor ghañi
/ sphurati-sphulatyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ghañi* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45)
'sphur-sphul calane' ity etayor dhātvor ecaḥ sthāne ghañi parata ākārādeśo bhavati
The *eC* of verbal roots *sphur* 'to throb' and *sphul* 'ibidem' is replaced with *ā* when affix *GHaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bisphāraḥ '*GHaÑ*-derivate of *vi-sphur* 'to tremble' '
bisphālaḥ '. . . of *sphul* 'to throb' '
biṣphāraḥ 'ibidem'
biṣphālaḥ '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 *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). An optional *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) results from the application of 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor*. . . . Incidentally, the examples are all derivates of *GHaÑ* introduced by 3.3.121 *halaś ca* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense', *karaṇa* 'instrument' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

6.1.48 क्रीङ्जीनां णौ

krīṅjīnāṃ ṇau
/krīṅjīnām 6/3 = *krī ca iṅ ca jiś ca* = *krīṅjayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ṇau* 7/1/ (*ādecaḥ* #45)
'*ḍukrīñ dravyavinimaye*', '*iṅ adhyayane*', '*ji jaye*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnām ecaḥ sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* comes as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *krī* 'to barter', *iÑ* 'to study' and *ji* 'to win' when affix *ṆiC* 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 *ḌUkrīÑ* 'to buy, barter', *iÑ* 'to study' and *ji* 'to win' provided when *ṆiC* follows. This rule begins replacements with no condition of *upadeśa* (*PM*: *anupadeśārtha ārambhaḥ*). Note that forms such as *krāpayati, adhyāpayati* and *jāpayati* can be derived from verbal roots *krap* 'to find fault, move', *jap* 'to speak out' and *āpḶ* 'to pervade'. This rule uses three specific verbal roots to exclude other roots and corresponding forms, in addition to excluding the non-*ṆiC* forms of the three cited roots. Why can we not interpret *ḌUkṛīÑ* and *iÑ* as *kṛÑ* 'to do' and *īÑ* 'to go'? To interpret *ḌUkrīÑ* as *kṛÑ* is not possible because of the requirement of *eC*. *Kāśikā* reads *ecaḥ sthāne* in the *vṛtti*. Verbal root *īÑ* can also be ruled out since, verbal root *ji*, a root ending in a short vowel, is used in association (*sāhacarya*). An *iÑ* with a short *i* is to be preferred. Why can we not interpret *iÑ* as *īÑ* with a long vowel on the basis of its associated use

with *ḌUkrīÑ*, also ending in a long vowel. An *iṄ* with short *i* can be acceptable on the basis of *vipratiṣedha*? Besides, it is listed in the same group (*ekagaṇīya*). Or else, interpretation of the learned remains our only recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śaram*). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.49 सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके

sidhyater apāralaukike
/sidhyateḥ 6/1 *apāralaukike* (*nañ. tatp.*) 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *ṇau* #48)
'ṣidhu hiṃsāsamrādhyoḥ'ity asya dhātor apāralaukike' rthe vartamānasyaicaḥ sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
An *ā* comes in place of the *eC* of verbal root *ṢidhU* when it is used in the sense of something *apāralaukika* 'not pertaining to an accomplishment relative to the world beyond', and affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

annaṃ sādhayati 'he has the food cooked'
grāmaṃ sādhayati 'he has village built'

1. The condition of *apāralaukike* is imposed to that *ṣidhU* of examples such as *tapas tāpasaṃ sedhayati* 'penance has the ascetic become established' does not come under the scope of this rule. Verbal root *ṣidhU* is used here in the sense of 'accomplishing some special knowledge (*jñānaviśeṣa*)'. 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: *annaṃ sādhayati brāhmaṇebhyo dāsyāmi* '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 *niṣpatti* '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 *sidhyateḥ* has *ṣidhU* referenced with *ŚyaN*. This has been done in view of blocking any reference to *ṣidh* 'to move' of the *bhvādi*.

6.1.50 मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च

mīnātiminotidīṅāṃ lyapi ca
/mīnāti-minoti-diṅām (*itar. dv.*) 6/3; *lyapi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*ādeca upadeśe* #45)

'mīṅ kṣaye',.'ḍumiñ prakṣepaṇe', 'dīṅ kṣaye'ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ lyapi viṣaye cakārād ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva prāk pratyayotpatter alo' ntyasya sthāne ākārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of *mī* 'to injure', *miÑ* 'to scatter' and *dīṄ* 'to decay, perish' is replaced with *ā* when *LyaP* and *eC* find their scope.

EXAMPLES:

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

pramātā
pramātum
pramātavyam
pramāya
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 evātvavidhānād ivarṇāntalakṣaṇaḥ pratyayo na bhavati, ākārāntalakṣaṇaś ca bhavati*). Thus, *upadāyaḥ* 'giving away' and *udapānam* 'drinking of water' have their *dī* replaced with *dā* in *upadeśa*. Consequently, these derivates involve affixs *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*; *upa + dā + GHaÑ*) 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 *īṣadduḥsuṣu* . . .).

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 *guṇa* before affixes *tṛC* 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 *Ṅ* as an *it*. For, replacement in *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* will be negated.

6.1.51 **विभाषा लीयतेः**

vibhāṣā līyateḥ
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 *līyateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādeca upadeśe* #45 *lyapi* #50)

līyater dhātor lyapi ca ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva alo' ntyasya sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of verbal root *lī* 'to embrace, stick' is optionally replaced with *ā* in *upadeśa* when *LyaP* is to follow or *eC* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vilātā
vilātum
vilāya
vilātavyam
viletā
viletum
viletavyam
vilīya
*Derivates of *lī* with *tṛC/tumUN/tavyaT/LyaP*

1. A reference here with *lī* is made to both the *divādi* and *kryādi* verbal roots *līN* and *lī*, respectively. The word *eC* and *ādeca upadeṣe* are also understood here. The *ātva* will here again take place before *LyaP*, or in anticipation of an *eC*. That is, *lī* will yield the form *le* through *guṇa*. This *e* will be replaced with *ā* in anticipation. Refer to the appendix for further details.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates *ātva* of verbal roots *mī*, *mi* and *lī* before affixes *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu* . . .) and *aC*3.3.56 (*er ac*; 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). Thus we will get *īṣatpramayaḥ*, *īṣannimayaḥ* and *īṣadvilayaḥ*, etc. Note that negation of *ātva* amounts to *guṇa* in *e* and its subsequent replacement with *ay*.

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

6.1.52 खिदेश्छन्दसि

khideś chandasi
/khideḥ 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'khid dainye' ity asya dhātor ecaḥ sthāne 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:

cittaṃ cikhāda 'made sad'
cittaṃ cikheda 'ibidem'

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

It is argued that this *sūtra* 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 (*anekārtha*) anyway. *Nyāsa* observes that if *khād* and *khid* were to be synonymous, it will be impossible to formulate this rule.

6.1.53 अपगुरो णमुलि

apaguro ṇamuli
/ apaguraḥ 6/1 *ṇamuli* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'*gurī udyamane' ity asya dhātor apapūrvasya ṇamuli parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *eC* of *gurī* 'to strive, exert' used with the preverb *apa*, when affix *ṆamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apagāramapagāram 'brandishing their swords they fight'
apagoramapagoram 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional *ātva* when *ṆamUL* follows verbal root *gurī* used with the preverb *apa*. We will get *apa* + *gur* + (*Ṇ*→ϕ) *am* (*UL*→ϕ) = *apa* + *gur* + *am*→*apa* + *g*(*u*→*o*) *r* + *am*→*apa* + *g*(*o*→*ā*) *r* + *am* = *apagāram* through *guṇa* and *ātva*. This same can be doubled up to produce *apagāramapagāram* with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repetition, over and over again' (3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul*; also *vt.*: *ābhīkṣṇye dve bhavataḥ* (*ad* 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*). A non-application of *ātva* will produce *apagoramapagoram*, through *guṇa* and repeat occurrence of the derivate in *ābhīkṣṇya*. Yet another set of *ṆamUL* derivates can be gotten without *ābhīkṣṇya* by introducing the affix by 3.4.53 *dvitīyāyāṃ ca*. We can thus get *apagāram* and *apagoram* as in *asyapagāraṃ yudhyante* 'they are fighting with raised swords' and *asyapagoraṃ yudhyante*. These derivates require *ṆamUL* to be introduced after verbal root *gur*, used with the preverb *apa*, under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* (accusative).

6.1.54 **चिस्फुरोर्णौ**

cisphuror ṇau
/cisphuroḥ 6/2 = *ciś ca sphur ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ṇau* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'*ciñ, sphur'ity etayor dhātvor ṇau parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the *eC* of verbal roots *ciÑ* 'to heap' and *sphur* 'to quiver, throb' when affix *ṆiC* 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 *krīṅjīnāṃ ṇau*, 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 *arttihrīvlīrī*. . . . Thus, *ci* + *ṆiC*→*c*(*i*→*ai*)→*cai* + *pUK* + *i*→*c*(*ai*→*ā*) + *p* + *i*, where 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* replaces the *i* of *ci* with its *vṛddhi* counterpart. An introduction of *LAṬ*→*tiP* and *ŚaP*, with *guṇa* 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 internally conditioned (*paratvādantaraṅgatvāc ca*).

A non-option of *ātva* will produce *c*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *i* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)→ *cayayati*, with no *pUK* and *ātva*. Why can we not replace the *i* of *ci* with *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*), as against *vṛddhi*. The application of *vṛddhi* will be treated as 'internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), based upon *pūrvopasthiti* 'prior placement', of *ci* + *ṆiC*. One can similarly derive *sphārayati*, with *ātva*, and *sphorayati* with a *guṇa* replacement for the short penultimate vowel denoted by *iK* (*laghūpadha-guṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*).

6.1.55 **प्रजने वीयतेः**

prajane vīyateḥ
/prajane 7/1 *vīyateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #44 *ṇau* #54)
'*vi gatiprajanakāntyasanakhādaneṣu' ity asya dhātoḥ prajane vartamānasya ṇau parato vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *eC* of verbal root *vī* 'to conceive, be pregnant' when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

purovāto gāḥ pravāpayati 'easterly winds have cow's become pregnant'
purovāto gāḥ pravāyayati 'ibidem'

1. Note that *vī*, 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 *vī* 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 बिभेतेर्हेतुभये

bibheter hetubhaye
/ bibheteḥ 6/1 *hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* = *hetubhayam* (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51 *ṇau* 54)
hetubhaye vartamānasya 'ñibhī bhaye' ity asya dhātor ṇau parato nityam ākārādeśo 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 *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍo bhāpayate 'he, the one with shaven head, causes fear'
muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'ibidem'

1. The word *hetu* is here used in the sense of *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the *svatantrakartṛ* 'independent agent' (1.4.56 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*). The word *hetubhaye* 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., *svatantra-kartṛ* 'independent agent', must have *muṇḍa* '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 *bhīsmyor hetubhaye*). Verbal root *bhī* receives augment *ṣUK* (7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*). This augment is not available with the option of *ātva* since 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* specifies the root as *bhī*. That is, one can get *ṣUK* only when *ī* is heard in *bhī*.

Why *bhayahetuḥ*? Observe, *kuñcikayā enaṃ bhāyayati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta frightens him with the broom'. The source of fear here is the broom, a *karaṇa* 'instrument'. That is, it is not Devadatta.

6.1.57 नित्यं स्मयतेः

nityaṃ smayateḥ
/ nityam 1/1 *smayateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *hetubhaye* #56)

'smiṅ īṣadd hasane' ity asya dhātor hetubhaye' rthe ṇau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati
An *ā* comes obligatorily in place of *eC* of verbal root *smiṄ* 'to smile', when action denoted by the root entails *hetu* as source of fear, and when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍo vismāpayate 'he whose head is shaven makes (him) frightened'
jaṭilo 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 *vibhāṣā*. That is, *ātva* is now obligatory. Verbal root *ṢmiṄ* is used in the sense of *īṣaddhasana* 'smile'. The association of *smi* with *bhī* enables us to also infer *hetusmaye* 'when source of fear is a smiling instigator of an independent agent' as a condition, parallel to *hetubhaye*.

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

6.1.58 सृजिदृशोर्झल्यमकिति

sṛjidṛśor jhaly am akiti
/ sṛji-dṛśoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jhaly* 7/1 *am* 1/1 *akiti* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
'sṛja visarge', 'dṛśir prekṣaṇe' ity etayor dhātvor jhalādāv akit pratyaye parato' am āgamo bhavati
Augment *aM* is introduced to verbal roots *sṛj* 'to release, project' and *dṛśIR* '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 '*tṛC*-derivate of *sraj*'
sraṣṭum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
sraṣṭavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
draṣṭā '*tṛC*-derivate of *dṛś*'
draṣṭum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
draṣṭavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
asrākṣīt 'third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *sṛj*'
adrākṣīt 'third singular . . .of *dṛś*'

1. Augment *aM* is here introduced as an exception to the *guṇa* substitute of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya 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 brāhmaṇebhyo dīyatām takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya*).

2. *Kāśikā* states that *vṛddhi*, in aorist examples such as *asrākṣīt* and *adrākṣīt*, is accomplished by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* after augment *aM* is

introduced. That is, it is blocked initially (*pūrvaṃ tu bādhyate*). This blocking is similar to the blocking of *laghūpadhaguṇa* by *aM*. Note, however, that once *aM* is introduced, the condition for applying *laghūpadhaguṇa* is removed (*nimittasya vihatatvāt*). Consequently, *laghūpadhaguṇa* 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 (*punaḥ 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 चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम्

anudāttasya ca ṛdupadhasyānyatarasyām
/*anudāttasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *ṛdupadhasya* 6/1 = *ṛkāra upadhā yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin; anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*upadeśe* #45 *jhaly am akiti* #58)
upadeśe anudāttasya dhātor ṛkāropadhasya jhalādāv akiti pratyaye parato' nyatarasyām am āgamo bhavati
Augment *aM* is optionally introduced to a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, is *anudātta*, and which also contains *ṛT* in its *upadhā*, provided an affix beginning with *jhL*, but not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

traptā 'third person singular *LUṬ*-derivate of *tṛp* with no *aM* and no *iṬ*'
tarpitā '. . . with *iṬ* and *aM*'
tarptā '. . . with *aM* but no *iṬ*'
draptā 'third person singular active *LUṬ*-derivate of *dṛp* with no *aM* and no *iṬ*'
darpitā '. . .with *aM* and *iṬ*'
darptā '. . .with *aM* but no *iṬ*'

1. Note that verbal roots *tṛp* 'to be satisfied, pleased' and *dṛp* 'to glow, kindle, release' are both marked with *anudātta* and also have *ṛ* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Recall that *aM* is more like an exception to *laghūpadhaguṇa* 'a short penultimate replacement in *guṇa*'. But since this rule makes *aM* optional, roots covered by this rule will go through *laghūpadhaguṇa* if the option of *aM* is not availed. Verbal roots *tṛp* and *dṛp* will also receive augment *iṬ* optionally (7..2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*). Thus, we will get *traptā* and *draptā* (with *aM*, but no *guṇa* and no *iṬ*); *tarptā* and *darptā* (with *guṇa*); *tarpitā* and *darpitā* (with *guṇa* and *iṬ*).

2. A condition of *anudāttasya* is necessary so that a root such as *bṛhŪ* '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 *svaratisūti* . . . applies on the basis of *U* as an *it* (*udit*). Note that there are only eight roots (*dah-dih-duh-ṇah-nih-ruh-lih-vah*) which end in *h* and are marked with *anudātta*. Verbal root *bṛh* is not one of

them. Consequently, it receives augment *iṬ* optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .).

6.1.60 शीर्षश्छन्दसि

śīrṣaṃś chandasi
/śīrṣan 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
'śīrṣan' iti śabdāntaraṃ śiraḥśabdena samānārthaṃ chandasi viṣaye nipātyate
The word *śīrṣan* 'head' is derived in the Vedic via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

śīrṣṇā hi tatra somaṃ krītaṃ haranti 'they carry the soma bought there on their head'

1. Note that *śīrṣan* is derived separately, via *nipātana.* It is not a replacement of *śiras,* via *nipātana.* For, *śiras* is also used in the Vedic. Our examples *śīrṣṇā* and *śīrṣṇaḥ* are instrumental and genitive forms, respectively. The *a* of *śīrṣan* gets deleted by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ.*

6.1.61 ये च तद्धिते

ye ca taddhite
/ye 1/3 *ca* ϕ *taddhite* 7/1/
(*śīrṣan* #60)
yakārādau taddhite parataḥ 'śiraḥ' śabdasya 'śīrṣan' ādeśo bhavati
The word *śīrṣan* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śīrṣaṇyaḥ 'principal'

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

A *vārttika* recommends *śīrṣan* as an optional replacement in the context of *keśa* 'hair' (*vt. vā keśeṣu*). Thus we get: *śīrṣaṇyāḥ keśāḥ* and *śirasyāḥ keśāḥ* 'hair on head'.

6.1.62 अचि शीर्षः

aci śīrṣaḥ
/aci 7/1 *śīrṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*śīrṣan* #6 *taddhite* #61)
ajādau taddhite śirasaḥ śīrṣaśabda ādeśo bhavati
The word *śīrṣa* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

sthaulaśīrṣam 'pertaining to one whose head is big'
hāstiśīrṣyā 'a female descendant of Hastiśīrṣa'

1. Deriving *hāstiśīrṣi* 'male descendant of Hastiśīrṣa' from *hastiśīrṣa* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś 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 *hasti*(*śiras*→*śīrṣa*) + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*→ *hastiśīrṣa* + *i*→*h*(*a*→*ā*) *stiśīrṣa* + *i*→*hāstiśīrṣ*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* = *hāstiśīrṣi*. Our next derivate *sthaulaśīrṣa* is similarly derived from *sthūlaśiras* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, where *aṆ* is introduced under the meaning condition of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* = *sthūlaśirasaḥ idam* = *sthaulaśīrṣam* 'this belongs to one who has a big head'.

Deriving *hāstiśīrṣyā* to denote a female descendant of *hāstiśīrṣi* would require *ṢyaṄ* to replace *iÑ* (4.1.78 *aṇiñor anārṣayoḥ*). But we run into problem here. Our replacement *śīrṣa* may be accepted as *śiras*, the form it replaced, through *sthānivadbhāva*. This may occasion an application of 6.1.61 *ye ca taddhite*, 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 *ṢyaṄ* is a replacement for the *taddhita* affix *iÑ*. This will produce a wrong derivate *hāsti*(*śīrṣa* →*śīrṣan*) + (*Ṣ*)*ya*(*Ṅ*) = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + (*C*)*ā*(*P*) = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *y*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣa*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *y* + *ā* = **hāstiśīrṣaṇyā*. Incidentally, *CāP* will be introduced by 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. How could one block this undesired result. One ought to make some special effort. The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that *ṢyaṄ* should not be accepted as a replacement (*ādeśa*) of *iÑ*. It should instead be accepted as a *taddhita* affix (*pratyaya*) introduced after the base ending in *iÑ* (*iñanta*). One can then delete the *i* of *iÑ* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Accepting the affixal status (*pratyayapakṣa*) of *ṢyaṄ*, as against one of replacement (*ādeśapakṣa*), blocks undesired results. That is, this deletion (*lopa*) will be treated as *i*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, when one has to perform an operation on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*; 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). Thus, *śīrṣan* cannot replace *śīrṣa* because the condition of an immediately following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* cannot be met. The *i* of *iÑ*, brought via *sthānivadbhāva*, will intervene (*Kāś.*: . . . *kartavyo'tra yatnaḥ. aṇiñantād vā paraḥ pratyayaḥ ṣyaṅāśrayitavyaḥ, tatra yasyetilopasya sthānivadbhāvād vyavadhānam*).

2. A question is also raised in connection with the derivation of *sthaulaśīrṣam*. 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 cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

6.1.63 पद्दन्नोमास्हृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु

paddannomāshṛnniśasanyūṣandoṣanyakañchakannudannāsañ chasprabhṛtiṣu
/pad-dan-nas-mās-hṛt-niś-asan-yūṣan-doṣan-yakan-śakan-udan-āsan (each with deleted 1/1) *śasprabhṛtiṣu* 7/3 = *śas prabhṛtiḥ yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *teṣu/* (*chandasi* #60)
'*pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udak, āsana' ity eteṣāṃ śabdānāṃ sthāne śasprabhṛtipratyayeṣu parataḥ 'pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, āsan-ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhavanti*
Forms such as *pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan,* and *āsan* come as replacements, in the Vedic, for *pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udaka,* and *āsana,* respectively, when affixes *Śas,* and the like, follow.

EXAMPLES:

nipadaś caturo jahi
padā varttaya goduham
yā dato dhāváte tasyaí śyāvadan
sūkarastvākhananngasā
māsi tvā paśyāmi cakṣuṣā
hṛdā pūtaṃ manásā jātavedo
amāvāsyāyāṃ niśi yajeta
āsikto' snā' varohati
yā pātrāṇi yūṣṇa āsecánāni
yatte doṣṇó daurbhāgyam
yakno' vadyati
śakno' vadyati
udno divyasyá no dehi
āsani kiṃ 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 (*bhāṣa*) usages. Yet others carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.59 and consider these replacements optional. After all, we do get *pad,* etc., in classical usages:

vyāyāmakṣuṇṇagātrasya padbhyām udvartitasya ca
vyādhayo nopasarpanti vainateyam 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 (*śasprabhṛtiṣu*), follow. That is, a replacement enumerated here will not apply in examples such as *pādau te pratipīḍyau* '. . . your feet are to be massaged one by the other' and *nāsike te kṛśe* 'your nostrils are smaller'. An interpretation of *prabhṛti*, of *śasprabhṛtiṣu*, as *prakāra* 'kind' allows such replacements to also occur before other affixes. Thus, we get *doṣa* replaced with *dūṣan* before *au*, as in *kakuddoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ* and *śalādoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ*. Some say that *kakud doṣaṇī* and *śalā́* contain forms where *doṣa* is replaced with *doṣan* before *au*. The *au*, after the replacement, is replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Others say no. These contain *doṣaṇī*, a form ending in *ṄīP* (4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp*).

Kāśikā accepts *āsan* as the replacement for *āsana*. Bhaṭṭoji accepts *āsya* as the correct substituendum and declares *Kāśikā*'s reading as carelessness (*prāmādika*; *SK*228: *paddanomās* . . . (6.1.63): *yat tu āsanaśabdasya āsannādeśa iti kāśikāyām uktaṃ tat prāmādikam*). The *Tattvabodhinī* glosses *āsya* as *mukha* 'mouth'.

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

(*i*) *māṃsa*, *pṛtanā* and *sānu* should also be replaced with *māṃs*, *pṛt* and *snu* (*vt. māṃsapṛtanāsānūnāṃ* . . .). We thus get *māspacanyāḥ*, *pṛtsu* and *adhisnuṣu* for *māṃsapacanyāḥ*, *pṛtanāsu* and *adhisānuṣu*, respectively.

(*ii*) *nas* should replace *nāsikā*, when occurring followed by *yaT* (5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*), *tasIL* (5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ*) and *kṣudra*, to account for *nasyam*, *nastaḥ* and *naḥkṣudraḥ*, 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, *nāsikyo varṇaḥ* 'a nasal sound' and *nāsikyaṃ nagaram* 'a city named Nāsikya'.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.64 धात्वादेः षः सः

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

EXAMPLES:

sahate 'third singular present indicative middle of *ṣah* 'to endure'
siñcati 'third singular present indicative active of *ṣic* 'to water'

1. A rule to replace root-initial *ṣ* 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 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* which, additionally to requiring an affixal replacement, also requires a root-initial *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*, provided this *s* happened to be a replacement of *ṣ* in *upadeśa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* must specify exactly what root-initial *s* should be replaced with *ṣ*. That is, if rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ* is not formulated to do so with brevity (*lāghava*). For, to specify such roots in the context of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* 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 *ṣ*, provided this *s* was an original *ṣ* in *upadeśa*, of course, occurring before an *aC* or a dental sound.

Verbal roots *smiṄ* 'to smile', *svidI* 'to perspire', *svadI* 'to taste, relish', *svañjI* '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 *ṣ*, and further replacement with *ṣ*. This *ṣ*→*s*→*ṣ*-replacement, however, should not be allowed in connection with roots such as *sṛpI* 'to crawl', *sṛjI* 'to create', *stṛÑ* 'to cover', *styai* 'to gather in a heap', *sek* 'to move' and *sṛ* 'to go' which are followed by an *aC*, or a dental sound.

Obviously, formulating 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ ṣaḥ* is more economical than adding a lengthy specification to rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* with regard to what *s* of a root can be replaced with *ṣ*.

2. The condition that *ṣ* must occur initially as part of a root is needed so that nominals such as *ṣoḍaśa*, *ṣaḍika* and *ṣaṇḍa* could be blocked from availing the replacement in *s*. Roots which may have medial *ṣ* can similarly be blocked from receiving this replacement because of the requirement of initial *ṣ*. Thus, *karṣati*, *kṛṣati* cannot avail it.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to disallow *ṣ*→*s*-replacement in contexts where a denominative in general, or verbal roots *ṣṭhivU* and *ṣvaṣka* in particular, are involved. We can get two forms of *ṣṭhivU*, i.e., *teṣṭhīṣyate* and *ṭeṣṭhīṣyate*, derived via doubling. The *s* of a root with *ṭh* (*ṣṭhivU*) is replaced with *ṣ*. The *ṣ* of a root with *th* (*ṣthivU*) will cause retroflection (*ṣṭutva*). For denominative exceptions, consider *ṣoḍīyate* and *ṣaṇḍīyate*.

6.1.65 **णो नः**

ṇo naḥ
/*ṇaḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1/
(*upadeśe* #45 *dhātvādeḥ* #64)
dhātor āder ṇakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The initial *ṇ* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

nayati 'third person singular present indicative active of *ṇī* 'to lead''
namati 'third singular present indicative active of *ṇam* 'to bow down, bend''

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 *Ṇ* in *upadeśa* for reasons similar to those marked with *Ṣ* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *dhātvādeḥ* is still valid so that a root such as *aṇ* 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*→*ṇ*-replacement for roots covered by this rule. This citation of roots with *ṇ* in *upadeśa* applies to all roots beginning with *n*, except for *nṛtĪ* 'to dance', *nandI* 'to be joyous, prosperous', *nardI* 'to sound', *nakkA* 'to destruct', *nāṭI* 'to drip, ooze' and *nāthṛ/ nādhṛ* 'to beg, bless, prosper'.

6.1.66 लोपो व्योर्वलि

lopo vyor vali
/ lopaḥ 1/1 *vyoḥ* 6/2 *valiḥ* 1/1/
dhātor adhātoś ca vakāra-yakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati
A *y* and *v* is replaced with *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (*Śś.* 5–14) follows.

EXAMPLES:

didivān 'form of *div* + *LIṬ*→*KvasU*; 'he has sported''
didivāṃsau 'they (two) have sported'
didivāṃsaḥ 'they (all) have sported'
ūtam '*Kta*-derivate of *ūyĪ* 'to weave''
knūtam '*Kta*-derivate of *knūyĪ* 'to be wet, noisy''
gaudheraḥ 'lizard'
paceran 'third person plural benedictive *LIṄ*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''
yajeran '. . .of *yaj* 'to perform sacrifice''
jīradānuḥ '*jīv* + *radānuK*; he who lives'
āsremāṇam 'derivate of *manIN*; he who moves; that which becomes dry'

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 *liṭi dhātor . . .*, got suspended in view of specification by *dhātu* of 6.1.8 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ* (*Kāś.*: *dhātor iti prakṛtaṃ yat tad dhātvāder iti punar dhātugrahaṇān nivṛttam. tena dhātor adhātoś ca vakārayakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*). Refer to the appendix (II:418-20) under 1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ* 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 *aḥ* of *lopaḥ* which equals only one and one-half. Why did he use *lopaḥ* first? Did he have any special prupose in mind? Perhaps he used *lopaḥ* to indicate that this deletion takes precedence over other operations is conflict (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vidhyantarāt pūrvam evāyaṃ lopo bhavati*).

Consider, for example, the derivation of *kaṇḍūḥ* and *lolūḥ* from (*kaṇḍūya* + (*K*)*v*(*IP*)) + *sU*))) and (*lolūya* + (*K*)*v*(*IP*) + *sU*))), where subsequent to deletion of final *a* of *kaṇḍūya* and *lolūya*, rules 6.1.65 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* both become applicable. The first rule requires deletion of *y*, of *kaṇḍūy* and *lolūy*, 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 (*antaraṅga*) as against deletion of *v* which comes externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*).

What if one finds a conflict in the application of rule 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* 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 *saptamī* 'locative' of *ārdhadhātuke* (carried in 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'? But this will still not remove conflict of application between deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) and *y* (*valilopa*). For deletion of *v*, because of being *para* '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 padāntadvirvacana* . . .). 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 *valilopa*, i.e., deletion of *y*, takes precedence over deletion of *v*, i.e., *apṛktalopa*.

3. Why can the *v* of *vraścakaḥ* and *vraścanaḥ* 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* (*aupadeśika*). For, a deletion, if accomplished, will render the initial citation as vacuous (*vyartha*). The argument that since this *v* can still be heard elsewhere, i.e., in *vṛścati* and *vavraśca*, and hence, the initial citation of *v* will not become vacuous, is not acceptable. For, *samprasāraṇa* in *vṛścati* is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), based upon its dependency on an affix (*Śa*) marked with *Ṅ* (*ṅit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Similarly, *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) in *vavraśca* is externally conditioned because of its dependency on *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). The deletion of *v*, because of its dependency on a

sound segment (*varṇāśrayatvāt*), is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *v* thus should be considered *aupadeśika* and hence not be deleted.

4. Jinendrabuddhi believes that preplacement of *lopaḥ* in this rule is simply done in view of *lāghava* 'economy'. He strongly objects to accepting the reversal of order of operand (*kāryin*) and operation (*kārya*) as an indicator for preplacement of *lopaḥ* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *anyas tu pūrvaṃ kāryinirdeśo yuktaḥ paścāt kāryanirdeśa iti pūrvaṃ vyor grahaṇe kartavye kimarthaṃ lopagrahaṇaṃ kriyata iti pūrvapakṣaṃ varṇayati sa cāyuktaḥ*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.67 वेरपृक्तस्य

ver apṛktasya
/veḥ 6/1 *apṛktasya* 6/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
apṛktasya veḥ lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of a *vi* termed *apṛkta.*

EXAMPLES:

brahmahā 'killer of a brāhmaṇa'
bhrūṇahā 'killer of a fetus'
ghṛtaspṛk 'one who sips ghee'
tailaspṛk '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 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ* assigns the term *apṛkta* to an affix constituted by a single *aL.* The *vi* of *veḥ* is used to make a general reference to all affixes which share a *vi* and which, after deletion of their *it* elements, are reduced to the form of a single *aL.* Thus, we get affixes *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip*), *KvIN* (3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake kvin*), *ṆvI* (3.2.62 *bhajo ṇviḥ*), *vIṬ* (3.2.67 *janasanakhanakrama . . .*) and *vIC* (3.2.73 *vijupe chandasi*), all with a common *vi.* Refer to the appendix (II:446–48) under 1.2.41 *apṛkta . . .* for derivational details of most examples.

Note that these affixes are introduced after verbal roots (*dhātoḥ*) and, when termed *apṛkta,* 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 हल्ङ्याभ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल्

halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṃ hal
/halṅyābbhyaḥ 5/3 = *hal ca ṅī ca āp ca* = *halṅyāp* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ;*

dīrghāt 5/1 *sutisi* 1/1 = *suś ca tiś ca siś ca* = *sutisi* (*sam. dv.*) *apṛktam* 1/1 *hal* 1/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
halantād ṅyantād ābantāc ca dīrghāt paraṃ 'su, ti, si' ity etad apṛktaṃ hal lupyate
A *sU, ti* and *si*, termed *apṛkta*, when occurring after an item which ends in a *haL*, or in a long *ī* and *ā* of the feminine affixes *ṄĪ* and *āP*, is deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

rājā 'nominative singular of *rājan* 'king' '
takṣā '. . . of *takṣan* 'carpenter' '
ukhāsrat 'nominative singular of *ūkhāsrans*'
parṇadhvat 'nominative singular of *parṇadhvans*'
kumārī 'girl'
gaurī 'fair'
śārṅgaravī 'Śiva's consort'
khaṭvā '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'
abhino' tra 'derivate of *bhid* (*LAṄ→siP*)'
acchino' tra 'derivate of *chid* (*LAṄ→siP*)'

1. The word *lopaḥ* here is explained as *lupyate 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 syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) 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 *halñyābbhyaḥ* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*) as *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (1.1.49) *ṣaṣṭhī 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 (*vibhaktiviparināma*) is improper.

A qualifier-qualified relationship (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyabhāva*) between *lopaḥ* and *hal* can be established when *lopaḥ* is interpreted as denoting *karman* 'object'. The word *sutisy apṛktam* also becomes a qualifier to the same *hal*. The word *dīrghāt* is also interpreted as a qualifier to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*. How do we know that

dīrghāt is a qualifier to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*? By interpreting it as a qualifier based upon two requirements of *sambhava* 'possibility' and *vyabhicāra* 'deviation'. A form which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP* may meet the *sambhava* 'possibility' requirement of ending in a *dīrgha* '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, *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation'. The word *dīrgha* 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 *Ṅī* and *āP*, are not related to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*. 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 *Ṅī* and *āP*. Thus, we get *rājan* + *sU*, (*ukhāsrans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)), (*parṇadhvans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) and *kumārī* + *sU*, (*khaṭvā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU*)), (*kārīṣagandhya* + *āP*) + *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 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*? That is, with the understanding that *a* of *rājan* will be replaced with long *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau* and the *n* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ 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 *tripādī* 'the last three quarter chapters' and hence, as per 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, 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* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) and (*parṇadhvans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) where *n* of *srans* and *dhvans* will be deleted by 6.4.27 *aniditāṃ hal*... to yield *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Given the strings *ukhāsras* + *sU* and *parṇadhvas* + *sU*, rule 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* will delete the *s* of *sU*, thereby producing *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Now consider 8.2.72 *ksusransudhaṃsvanaḍuhāṃ 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 *ksusransu*... is subsequent to 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, 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 *abhinaḥ* 'second person singular past imperfect active' of *bhid* 'to split' as in *abhino' tra*, where *utva* of 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād aplute* will be blocked. That is, given *bhid* + (*LUṄ*→*siP*)→*bhid* + *ŚnaM* + *si*→*bhinad* + *si*→*a*(*Ṭ*) + *bhinad* + *s*(*i*→ϕ) = *abhinad* + *s*→*abhina* (*d*→*r*; 8.2.75 *daś ca*) + *s* = *abhinar* + *s*, 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* 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:

saṃyogāntasya lope hi nalopādir na siddhyati/
rāttu te naiva lopaḥ syād halas tasmād vidhīyate//

Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.69 **एङ्ह्रस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः**

eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ
/*eṅhrasvāt* 5/1 = *eṅ ca hrasvaś ca* = *eṅhrasvam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *sambuddheḥ* 6/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66 *hal* #68)
eṅantāt 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 *eṄ*, 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 *nadī*'
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 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*, read with 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

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

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

eṅantād hrasvāntāc ca parasyāḥ sambuddher lopaḥ 'a *sambuddhi* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, or ending in a *hrasva*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.'

This interpretation, however, will make deriving *he kuṇḍa* impossible. For, given *kuṇḍa* + *s*(*U*), deletion by this rule and replacement of *sU* by *am* (*ambhāva*; 7.1.24 *ato' 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 *ādeḥ 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 *kuṇḍa*. An undesired form, i.e., **kuṇḍa* + (*a*→ϕ) *m* = *kuṇḍa* + *m*→*kuṇḍ*(*a*→*ā*) + *m* = **kuṇḍām* 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 *eṅhrasvāt*, then *sambudhi* will qualify *hal* to yield the following interpretation:

> *eṅantād hrasvāntāc ca parā yā sambuddhiḥ tasyāḥ hal lupyate* 'the *haL* of a *sambuddhi* which follows a nominal stem ending in *eṄ*, or one ending in a short vowel, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.'

This interpretation will create difficulties similar to *kuṇḍa* + *s*(*U*) where, after the deletion of *a* in *kuṇḍa* + *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 *eṅantāt hrasvāntāt* and *sambuddheḥ*. The nominal inferred via *sambuddhi* will then be interpreted as 'ending in a vowel either denoted by *eṄ*, 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *he agne* 'O! Agni' and *he vāyo* 'O! Vāyu' as examples for bases ending in *eṄ*. Thus, we get *agn*(*i*→*e*) + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *agne* + *s* and *vāy*(*u*→*o*) + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *vāyo* + *s* after *it*-deletion and *guṇa* by 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*. This rule then deletes *s*. The deletion of *s* prior to *guṇa* is not accomplished since *guṇa* is considered stronger than deletion (*LOPA*). *Kāśikā* thus states: *eṅgrahaṇaṃ kriyate sambuddhiguṇabalīyastvāt* '*eṅ* is used to indicate that *guṇa* before *sambuddhi* is stronger (than deletion)'. Examples for deletion after bases ending in a short vowel are: *he devadatta* and *he nadi*, *he vadhu* and *he kuṇḍa*. The deletion after *nadi* and *vadhu* of *he nadi* and *he vadhu* is accomplished after shortening of *ī* and *ū* of *nadī* and *vadhū* by 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ*. *Kāśikā* also states that deletion in *he kuṇḍa* 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 pūrvaḥ* (*Kāś.*: *kuṇḍaśabdād 'ato' m' ity am, 'ami pūrvaḥ' iti pūrvatve kṛte halmātrasya makārasya lopaḥ*). Why this dual application of 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* when we can easily delete *s* occurring after *kuṇḍa*, a base ending in *hrasva*. The newly derived *kuṇḍa* 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 *kuṇḍa* is *kuṇḍ* and not *kuṇḍa*, the base ending in a short *a*. For, the single *a*-replacement becomes final to what precedes (*pūrvaṃ praty antavadbhāvāt*), 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 excercise in vain. One should accomplish deletion without replacement in *am*. Our last example, *he katarat*, involves *at*, i.e., *adḌ*, as a replacement for *sU*. The final *a* of *katara* is deleted by 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* because the affixal replacement is marked with *Ḍ*. The *t* 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 *ṭi* of the sentence with a *PLUTA*. That is, when the *ṭi* 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 *vākyasaṃskārapakṣa*. For, it is here alone that the required 'termination in short' (*hrasvāntatā*) is impaired. Commentators offer examples which, in turn, show their acceptance of the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*.

6.1.70 शेः छन्दसि बहुलम्

śeś chandasi bahulam
/śeḥ 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
'śi'ity etasya bahulaṃ chandasi viṣaye lopo bhavati
LOPA, in the Vedic, comes variously in place of *Śi*.
yā kṣetrā 'the fields which . . .'
ya vanā 'the forests which . . .'
yāni kṣetrāṇi '. . .'
yāni vanāni '. . .'

1. Note that *śeḥ* refers to the *Śi*-replacement of *Jas* ordered by rule 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*, under the condition of a neuter base (*napuṃsaka*). A deletion of *Śi* by this rule will still facilitate introduction of *nUM* (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ*). Thus, *yad* + (*Jas*→*Śi*)) = *yad* + *i*→*yad* + (*i*→ϕ)→*yad* + *n*(*UM*→ϕ)) = *yad* + *n* = *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *n*, where *d* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*). 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 cāsambuddhau*) and the *n* gets deleted (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). 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 *kṣetrā*/*kṣetrāṇī* and *vanā*/*vanāni*.

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

yad + (*Jas*→(*Ś*)*i*; 7.1.20 *jaś śasoḥ śi*; *yad* + *i*→
yad + (*y*(*a*→*a*); 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*; *ya* + *a* + *i*→

y(*a* + *i*→*i*) 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*; *ya* + *i*→*ya* + (*i*→(*Ḍ*) *ā*;
7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk . . .*; = *ya* + *ā*→*y*(*a* + *ā* →*ā*) = *yā*;
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

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

6.1.71 ह्रस्वस्य पितिकृति तुक्

hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk
/ hrasvasya 6/1 *piti* 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *tuk* 1/1/
piti kṛti parato hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ tug āgamo 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:

agnicit 'he who heaped the ritual fire'
somasut 'he who pressed out soma'
prakṛtya 'after having made'
prahṛtya '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 ṭakitau*).

Kāśikā offers counter-examples *ālūya* and *grāmaṇīḥ* where *tUK* cannot be introduced because verbal roots *lū* and *nī* 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 *grāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam* where the long *ī* of *grāmaṇī* is replaced with a short (1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake . . .*). For, this shortening is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) due mainly to its dependency on sound segments (*varṇāśrayatvāt*) and hence it is suspended (*asiddha*). Consequently, *tUK* cannot be introduced because *i* of *grāmaṇi* will still be viewed as its long counterpart. This is how the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* intervenes to block *tUK*.

6.1.72 संहितायाम्

saṃhitāyām
/saṃhitāyām 7/1/
adhikāro' yam 'anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam' iti yāvat. prāg etasmāt sūtrād ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmaḥ saṃhitāyām ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
When *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds' obtains . . .

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This domain of *saṃhitā* is valid up to 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ ekavarjam.*

2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *saṃhitāyām* denotes *viṣaya* 'domain'. Consequently, an operation (*kārya*) cannot be performed unless the operand (*kāryin*) and attendant conditions (*nimitta*) both fall within the scope of *saṃhitā* (*PM*: *kāryi-nimittayoḥ saṃhitāyāṃ viṣayabhūtāyāṃ vakṣyamāṇaṃ kāryaṃ bhavati*). Consider *dadhy atra* 'there is yoghurt here' and *madhv atra* 'there is honey here' where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies to yield *dadh*(*i*→*y*) + *atra* = *dadhy atra* and *madh* (*u*→*v*) + *atra* = *madhv atra.* Rule 1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* defines *saṃhitā* 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 yaṇ aci.* A pause between two sounds which exceeds the duration (*kāla*) of half of mora (*ardha-mātrā*) impairs *saṃhitā.*

6.1.73 छे च

che ca
/che 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*hrasvasya tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72)
chakāre parataḥ saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye hrasvasya tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tuk* is also introduced to a short vowel when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā.*

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 *vidibhidicchideḥ* and 7.4.41 *śācchor anyatarasyām.*

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 tadādāv* . . . 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 *āgamī* 'that which receives an augment' (*hrasva evātrāgamī na tv adantaḥ*). Incidentally, this *Kāśikā* statement should end with *na tadantaḥ* 'not ending in that' as opposed to *na tv adantaḥ* '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* (*abhyāsāvayava*). 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 (*nāvayavāyavaḥ samudāyāvayavo bhavati*). This is why *tUK* in *cicchidatuḥ* (←*chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *atus*) and *cicchiduḥ* (←*chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *us*) is not treated as part of *abhyāsa*. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *nāvayavāvayavaḥ samudāyāvayavo 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 आङ्माङोश्च

āṅmāṅoś ca
/āṅmāṅoḥ 6/1 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)
āṅo ṅita īṣadādiṣu caturṣv artheṣu vartamānasya māṅaś ca pratiṣedhavacanasya chakāre paratas tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is also introduced to *āṄ* and *māṄ* when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

ācchāyā 'slight shade'
ācchādayati 'covers . . .'
ācchāyāyāḥ '. . . slight shade'
ācchāyam 'up to the shade'
mācchaitsīt 'third singular *LUṄ*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā* 'not' '
mācchidat 'third singular *LAṄ*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā*'

1. Note that *āṄ* and *māṄ* with *Ṅ* as an *it* are specified for availing particular meanings. The first *āṄ*, a particle (*nipāta*), is used with four meanings of *īṣat* 'slight, a little', *kriyāyoga* 'in construction with that which denotes action', *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. An *āṄ* which denotes *maryādā* and *abhividhi* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.89 *āṅ maryādāvacane*). This leads to selection of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal in construction with *āṄ* (2.3.10 *apñcamy apāṇparibhiḥ*). The result with *tUK* is *ācchāyāyāḥ*. The *mā* of *māṄ* is, of course, a negative particle (*nipāta*). An optional indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāva*; 2.1.13 *āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ*) *ācchāyā*, paraphrased as *īṣac chāyā* 'slight shade' and interpretable as both *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit', derives from *āṄ* + *sU chāyā* + *ṄasI*. 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 *Ṅ*? Consider *āchāyā*/*ācchāyā*; and *pramāchandaḥ*/*pramācchandaḥ*, where this rule cannot apply because *ā* is not a *karmapravacanīya*. 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 दीर्घात्

dīrghāt
/*dīrghāt* 5/1/
(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)
dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is introduced to that long vowel (*dīrgha*) which occurs before *ch*, provided when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

hrīcchati 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hrīcch* 'to be bashful, ashamed' '
mlecchati 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *mlecch* 'to mutter, speak indistinctly' '
apacācchāyate 'continually breaks; derivate of *yaṄ* in third singular middle *LAṬ* of *apa-chā*'
vicācchāyate '. . . of *vi-chā*'

1. *Kāśikā* offers a long paraphrase of this *sūtra* as follows:

   (*i*) *dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras* '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 *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *dīrghāt*, and an anticipated *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' for the specification of an *āgamī* '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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) if the locative occurs after an ablative (*pañcamī*; cf. (*PŚ*: 71) *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo 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. *avayavāvayavaḥ samudāyāvayavo na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.76 पदान्ताद्वा

padāntād vā
/padāntāt 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt; vā* ϕ/
(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73 *dīrghāt* #75)
padāntād dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras 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:

kuṭīcchāyā 'shade of a hut'
kuṭīchāyā
kuvalīcchāyā 'shade of a particular tree'
kuvalīchāyā

1. An optional *tUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of the preceding rule. This provision of *tUK* is not made relative to *padavidhi* 'process of integrating fully inflected words' (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*). It can be best described as *padāntavidhi* '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 *kuṭīcchāya* and *kuṭīchāyā*, 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.*: *viśvajanādīnāṃ chandasi vā . . .*). Thus, *viśvajanac 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 vikalpyante*), we can still get this optional *tUK*. This statement is then intended for clarity.

6.1.77 इको यणचि

iko yaṇ aci
/ikaḥ 6/1 *yaṇ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72)
aci parata iko yaṇ ādeśo bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is replaced by corresponding sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhyatra 'there is yoghurt here'
madhvatra 'there is honey here'
kartrartham 'for he who is doing'
hartrartham 'for one who carries'
lākṛtiḥ 'one who (which) has the shape of *ḷ*; Kṛṣṇa while playing his flute'

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

2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *aci* is interpreted as *parasaptamī* 'that which specifies what follows'. When interpreted in accord with the specification of 1.1.65 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, we conclude that sounds denoted by *iK* are replaced with corresponding sounds denoted by *yaṆ* when sounds denoted by *aC* immediately (*avyavahita*) 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 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* 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.,

a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* has a wider right context denoted by *aC* which includes the denotata of *aK.* The *aK* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* also includes the denotata of *iK.* Now the question: what if an *iK* is followed by another homogeneous *iK* in *saṃhitā?* Rules 6.1.77 and 6.1.101 will both find their scope of application. Can one replace the prior *iK* with a corresponding *yaṆ?* 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 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ dīrghaḥ* 'a single long vowel in place of the sequence of a preceding and following vowel' and *savarṇe* 'when a homogeneous vowel follows in extreme proximity . . .' makes it possible for 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* to carve out its domain of application without interfering with the scope of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ.*

This notion of extreme proximity is read in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya.* A question may be raised here: why bring 1.1.66 *tasminn iti . . .* when *saṃhitāyām* itself can account for proximity. After all, two sounds in *saṃhitā* 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 (*avyavadhāna*). Consider *sudhi + upāsyaḥ* 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 *yaṆ.* Thus, the notion of contiguity brought into play on the basis of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti . . .* alone can block this *yaṆ* of *u.*

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

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

6.1.78 एचोऽयवायावः

eco' yavāyāvaḥ

/ecaḥ 6/1 *ayavāyāvaḥ* 1/3 = *ay ca av ca āy ca āv ca = ayavāyāvaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77)

ecaḥ sthāne' ci parataḥ 'ay, av, āy, āv' ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhavanti

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* is replaced by *ay, av, āy, āv'*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā.*

EXAMPLES:

cayanam 'heaping'

lavanam 'cutting'

kayete 'who are these'
yayete 'these people who . . .'
vāyāv 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 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .). The other conditions of *saṃhitāyām* and *aci* remain the same. Can one apply 1.3.3 *halantyam* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* to delete the final consonants of *cay*, etc.? No. This *sandhi* provision will then become vacuous (*vyartha*).

6.1.79 वान्तो यि प्रत्यये

vānto yi pratyaye
/*vāntaḥ* 1/1 = *vakāro' nte yasya* (*bv.*); *yi* 7/1 *pratyaye* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ecaḥ* #78)
yo' yam ecaḥ sthāne vāntādeśaḥ, 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:

bābhravyaḥ 'descendant of Babhru'
māṇḍavyaḥ 'descendant of Maṇḍu'
śaṅkavyaṃ dāru '. . . wood beneficial for spike'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'beneficial for cotton tree'
nāvyo 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* (*vt.*: *odauś ceti ca vaktavyam*).

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 *tadādividhi* 'an operation relative to that which begins with what specifies it'. How do we know that *tadādividhi* should block *tadantavidhi*? We know it from the *vārttika* (cf. 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*. It specifies that *tadādividhi* 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 *aci* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* may be involved.

4. Note that the three conditions of *vānta, yi* and *pratayaye* 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 *gavyūtiḥ* 'a herd of cows and bulls', as against *goyūtiḥ* 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 (*adhvaparimāṇe ca*). Thus, we get *g*(*o*→*av*) + *yūti* = *gavyūti* 'a distance of nearly four miles (*krośayugam*)'.

6.1.80 धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव

dhātos tannimittasyaiva
/*dhātoḥ* 6/1 *tannimittasya* 6/1 = *tad nimittaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *eva* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ecaḥ* #78 *vānto yi pratyaye* #79)
dhātor ya ec tannimitto yakārādipratyayanimittas tasya yakārādau pratyaye parato vāntādeśo 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'
avaśyalāvyam 'should indeed be cut'
avaśyapāvyam 'should indeed be cleansed'

1. The word *tannimitta* is explained as *sa* (*yādipratyayaḥ*) *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 *dhātoḥ* 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* (*yādi*) 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., *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*, are compounds termed *upapada*. They derive by introducing affix *ṆyaT* (3.1.125 *or āvaśyake*) after verbal roots *lū* and *pū* under the condition of *avaśyam*, a conjoined *pada*. Thus, *avaśya* + *am* + *lū* + *ṆyaT*→*avaśya* + *l*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *ṆyaT*→*avaśya* + *l*(*av*→*āv*) + (*Ṇ*)*yaT* = (*avaśya* + *lāvya*) + *sU* = *avaśyalāvyam*. We similarly get

avaśyapāvyam. Note that the compound is formed in consonance with 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*. The *m* of *avaśyam* gets deleted in accord with the statement *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye*(?). Rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* accomplishes the *vṛddhi* of *ū* which is subsequently replaced with *āv*. Recall here that *ṆyaT* conditions *vṛddhi* and under its condition we further get the *au* 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 *upoyate* from *upa* + *veÑ* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) where affix *yaK* is further introduced under the condition of the following *ta*, a *sārvadhātuka*. 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 **upavyate*, 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 **āvyata*, with a replacement in *āv* parallel to *āuyata* from *āṬ* + *veÑ* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*), can also not be accomplished before *yaK* for similar reasons. The *taddhita* derivates *lauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of Lūyamāna' and *pauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of Pūyamāna' can also not have their *au* replaced with *āv* since affix *yaṄ* occurring after *lū* and *pū* of *lūyamāna* and *pūyamāna* does not condition the *vṛddhi*-replacement *au* for *ū*. This *vṛddhi* is conditioned by affix *iÑ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*; 4.1.95 *ata iñ*), introduced after *lūyamāna* + *Ṅas* and *pūyamāna* + *Ṇas* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām 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 niyamaḥ* '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 (*viśeṣaṇa*). 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* + *veÑ* + *yaK* + *ta*. Recall that *yaK* is introduced with the denotatum of *karman*. Verbal root *veÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and subsequent *pūrvarūpa* of (*v*→*u*)*e*→*v*(*u* + *e*→*u*). The initial *ā* of the string alongwith resultant *u* then gets replaced with a single *guṇa*, 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

bābhravya where *eC* (*babhr*(*u*→*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 क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे

kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe
/ kṣayya-jayyau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *śakyārthe* 7/1 = *śakyaś cāsau arthaḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhatoḥ* #80)
'kṣi, ji' ity etayor dhātvor yati pratyaye parataḥ śakyārthe gamyamāne 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 *śakya* 'possible'.

EXAMPLES:

śakyaḥ kṣettum = *kṣayyaḥ* 'that which is possible to decay'
śakyo jetum = *jayyaḥ* '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 *śakyārtha* '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*. *Kāśikā* offers *kṣeyaṃ pāpam* 'sin to be destroyed' and *jeyo vṛṣalaḥ* '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 क्रय्यस्तदर्थे

krayyas tadarthe
/ krayyaḥ 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasya arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)
krīṇāter dhātos tadarthe krayārthaṃ yat tasminn abhidheye yati pratyaye parato' yādeśo nipātyate
Verbal root *krī* 'to barter' receives a substitute in *ay* when an affix beginning with *y*, particularly *yaT*, follows and the derivate denotes something on sale.

EXAMPLES:

krayyo gauḥ 'an ox on sale'
krayyaḥ kambalaḥ 'a blanket on sale'

1. Note that *krayya* is a derivate of *yaT* introduced after verbal root *ḌUkrīÑ* '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 *krayārthaṃ yaḥ prasāritaḥ* 'that which is put out for sale'. Consider now a counter-example: *kreyo no dhānyam na cāsti krayyam* '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 भय्यप्रवय्ये च च्छन्दसि

bhayyapravayye ca cchandasi
/bayya-pravayye 7/1 (*itar. dv.*) ca ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)
bibheter dhātor prapūrvasya ca 'vi' ity etasya yati pratyaye parataś chandasi viṣaye' yādeśo bhavati
Forms such as *bhayya* and *pravayya* are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

bhayyaṃ kila āsīt 'that was indeed frightening'
vatsatarī pravayyā 'a young cow ready for impregnation'

1. Note that *bhayyaḥ* is derived with *yaT* signifying *apādāna* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo . . .*). 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 aghañapoḥ*). 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

ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ
/ekaḥ 1/1 *pūrvaparayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72)
adhikāro' yam 'khyāt parasya' iti prāg etasmāt
sūtrād ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvasya parasya dvayor api sthāne ekādeśo bhavatīty etad veditavyam
One comes in place of both the preceding as well as the following when *saṃhitā* obtains.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvendraḥ 'best among cots'
mālendraḥ 'best among garlands'

1. This is an *adhikāra* valid through rules enumerated prior to 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya*.

The word *pūrvaparayoḥ* specifies a sequence of two contiguous elements as *sthānī* '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 guṇaḥ*. That is, if *pūrvaparayoḥ* is not specified. It is stated that the locative (*saptamī*) of *aci*, occurring after the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *āt*, will be transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' similar to 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* where locative *si* is transformed into genitive and receives augment *dhUṬ*. This way, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* 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 *guṇa*. It will not make clear that the *guṇa* vowel will come in place of the preceding *ā* and the vowel which follows. The word *pūrvaparayoḥ* 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 *antādivac ca*, should account for a single replacement for two contiguous vowels simaultaneously. Hence, we do not need *pūrvaparayoḥ*. If this is acceptable then *pūrvaparayoḥ* must be viewed as used for ease of comprehension (*sukhapratipatyartham*). But since proper understanding of this rule without *pūrvaparayoḥ*, though with the help of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, is possible only via a locative occurring after an ablative transformed into genitive, use of *pūrvaparayoḥ* is still economical. Doing without *pūrvaparayoḥ* 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 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ . . .*, 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 अन्तादिवच्च

antādivac ca

/ antādivat ϕ = antaś ca ādiś ca (itar. dv.), tābhyāṃ tulyam; ca ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
'ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ' iti yo' yam ekādeśo vidhīyate sa pūrvasyāntavad bhavati parasyādivad bhavati
A replacement in place of the preceding and following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as final (*anta*) of what precedes and initial (*ādi*) of what follows.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhūḥ 'a contemptible brāhmaṇa'

vṛkṣau 'nominative/accusative dual of *vṛkṣa* '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 *ādi* denote *avayava* 'part'. It is only natural that we understand them in view of their *avayavin*, the whole (*samudāya*) with reference to which they are parts. What is this *avayavin*, 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 *antādī* when prior and subsequent segments themselves are missing. The second interpretation is also problematic. Consider *vṛkṣa* + *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* + *ū*→*brahmabandhū* + *sU*, where a single long replacement comes in place of the final *u* of a nominal stem and the *ū* of the feminine affix *ūṄ*. For, the prior *u* is removed. The final *dh* of *brahmabandh* cannot be treated as the substituenda (*sthānī*) of the replaced *u* since it was not the *sthānī* to start with (*anārambhāt*). 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 *ū* of *brahmabandhū* is a single replacement in *ū* for the final *u* of *brahmabandhu* and the initial *ū* of affix *ūṄ*. Now, a *sU* is introduced after a

nominal stem, or a form that ends in the feminine affixes characterized with *Ṅī* and *āP*. Since *brahmabandhū* is not a nominal stem, and also since *ūṄ* is not one of the feminine affixes covered by *Ṅī* and *āP*, *sū* cannot be introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . How can one then derive *brahmanabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhu* + *sU*? This rule makes it possible for *ū*, a replacement of *u* + *ū*, as final of *brahmabandhu*, the nominal stem. A *sU* can now be introduced to derive *brahmabandhūḥ*.

2. Note that this *antavadbhāva* '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 *khaṭvābhiḥ* ←*khaṭvā* + *bhis*, where *bhis* cannot be replaced with *ais* (7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*). For, the *ā* of *khaṭvā*, gotten from homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*) of *a* + *ā* of *kohaṭva* + *ā*, cannot be treated as final of *khaṭva*, a form ending in *aT*. The instrumental plural of *khaṭvā* will thus be *khaṭvābhiḥ*. Now consider third singular perfect of *hveÑ*→*hvā* (4.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*. . .), i.e., *juhāva*, where given *juhu* + *ṆaL*, 7.1.34 *āt au ṇalaḥ* cannot be applied. For, *hvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*) and produces *hu* with *pūrvarūpa*. This *u* happens to be a single replacement for the vocalic sequence *u* + *ā*←*h*(*v*→*u*) *ā*. Note that *ṆaL* cannot be replaced with *au*, understanding that *hu* ended in *ā* based on *u* being a single replacement for *u* + *ā*. A *vṛddhi* replacement gotten from 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* is not considered as initial of what followed, in applying 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*. Consider *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* where *asyai* derives from *idam* + (*Ṅ*)*e* = *idam* + *e* with augment *syāṬ* (7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syāḍ* . . .) and deletion of *id* (7.2.113 *hali lopaḥ*). This gives us *am* + *syā* + *e* which yields *a* + *syā* + *e*, where *m* of (*id*→ϕ) *am* + *syā* + *e* gets replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*). The *a* + (*m*→*a*) = *a* + *a* is then replaced with a single *a* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) to offer *a* + *syā* + *e* = *asyā* + *e*. Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now apply to produce *asy*(*ā* + *e*→*ai*) = *asyai*. We cannot now apply 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* on *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* to produce a single replacement similar to the preceding *e* for *ai* + *a* of *asyai* and *aśvaḥ*, respectively. For, *ai* cannot be viewed as *e*.

Some argue that 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau* itself can account for what this rule provides. Hence this rule is unnecessary. Others argue back that extensional provision of this rule is *ānumānika* 'presumed', because it is based upon part of a replacement (*avayatva*). It is not a direct (*pratyakṣa*) replacement as may be required by the word *ādeśa* of 1.1.56 *sthānivad*. . . . 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 षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः

ṣatvatukor asiddhaḥ
/*ṣatva-tukoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *asiddhaḥ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
ṣatve tuki ca kartavye ekādeśo' siddho bhavati

A single replacement in place of the preceding and the following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as if suspended (*asiddha*) when operations relative to a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and augment *tUK* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

ko' sicat 'who watered . . .'
ko'sya '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 . . .'
adhītya 'having studied . . .'
pretya 'having returned . . .'

1. This rule suspends a single replacement (*ekādeśa*) of two contiguous sound segments when a replacement in *ṣ*, 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 (*ṣatva* and *tUK*) are to be performed. To sum up: this suspension negates operations characteristically conditioned by a single replacement (*kṛtaikādeśa-nimittaka-pratiṣedha*). It favors application of a characteristic operation conditioned by a substituendum (*sthāni-lakṣaṇa-kārya*).

What is the purpose of this provision of *asiddhatva*? Is it needed for creating 'absence' (*abhāva*) 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 a son (*putra*) who can be treated as a non-son (*aputra*) if he does not perform the duties of a son (*putrakāryakaraṇe' sāmarthyāt*). A replacement can similarly be trated as a non-replacement. If this 'statement of suspension' (*asiddhavacana*) tries to realize the absence of a single replacement, then *adhītya* 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 hantari hate punar devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhavatīty . . .*). The 'absence' interpretation of *asiddhatva* thus has to be abandoned.

This *asiddhatva* must then be interpreted as 'incapability of affecting an operation (*kāryāsāmarthya*)'. One considers a *sthānī* as not having been displaced when its corresponding *ādeśa* is treated as *asiddha* 'not having taken affect'. Let us consider *kaḥ asicat*, where *kim* of *kim* + *s*(*U*) is replaced with *r*(*U*) of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. 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 *eṅaḥ 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→o) sicat = ko' sicat.* Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* cannot apply to replace the *s* of *asicat* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), because our present rule will make *o* suspended. That is, *s* of *sicat* will be occurring after *a* of *asicat*, a sound not covered by the abbreviatory term *iṆ*. One can also cite *ko' sya, yo' sya, ko' smai* and *yo' smai* as additional examples, where *ṣatva* is negated based upon *asiddhatva* of a single replacement.

Kāśikā offers *adhītya* and *pretya* as examples where *tUK* is allowed based upon *asiddatva*. Given (*adhi + i + (Ktvā→LyaP)*) and (*pra + i + (Ktvā→LyaP)*), the two *i* vowels are replaced with a single long *ī* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). The *a + i* sequence of *pr(a + i) + ya* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *e*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti 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) *asiddhaṃ bahirańgam antarańge*. That is, a single replacement will be treated as *bahirańga* 'externally conditioned' since it applies with reference to two words. The application of *ṣatva* and *tUK* will be considered as *antarańga* 'internally conditioned' because they apply relative to a single word. What is the need for this rule when the *bahirańga* 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 *bahirańga-paribhāṣa* does not apply where contiguous vocalic sequences of a *bahirańga* or *antarańga* operation are involved. Consequently, in *akṣadyūḥ*, a replacement in *yaṆ* is treated as *siddha* 'accomplished' on account of the *asiddhatva* of externally conditioned *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*). This same also becomes a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' for existence of another *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 52) *nājānantaryaṃ bahis*. . . .

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *asiddhatva* in connection with *samprasāraṇa*, locative singular ending *Ṅi*, and the first singular *ātmanepada* ending *iṬ*, should be disallowed. Given *śaka + Śas + hu + KvIP*, we get *śakahū*, through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . .; *h(v→u)e*), *ātva* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*. . .; (*hu(e→ā)*, *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*; *h* (*u + ā→u = hu*) and *dīrgha* (6.4.2 *halaḥ*; *h(u→ū = hū)*. The application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. . .for replacing the locative plural affixal *s* in *śakahū + su* to produce *śakahūṣu* is facilitated by this *vārttika* proposal. That is, the single replacement is treated as *asiddha* because the ending is not locative singular. But consider *vṛkṣe chatram* where the *e* is considered as *siddha* because *Ṅe* is locative singular. This can then allow optional *tUK* of 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. We thus get *vṛkṣec chatram* and *vṛkṣe chatram*. The first singular *ātmanepada* form *apace* illustrates how *e* of *aṬ + pac + (ŚaP + (LUṄ→iṬ)) = 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 guṇaḥ
/āt 5/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
avarṇāt paro yo'c, aci ca pūrvo yo' varṇaḥ, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇācoḥ sthāne eko guṇādeśo bhavati
A single replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of both, a vowel (*aC*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes that vowel, in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvendraḥ = khaṭvā + indraḥ
mālendraḥ = mālā + indraḥ
tavehate = tava + īhate
khaṭvehate = khaṭvā + īhate
tavodakam = tava + udakam
khatvodakam = khaṭvā + udakam
tavarśyaḥ = tava + ṛśyaḥ
khaṭvarśyaḥ = khaṭvā + ṛśyaḥ
tavalkāraḥ = tava + ḷkāraḥ
khaṭvalkāraḥ = khaṭvā + ḷkāraḥ

1. Of course, the *a* here also refers to its homogeneous (*savarṇa*; 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya . . .*) counterparts. Note that a sequence of *a* followed by *a* gets a single *ā* replacement of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. 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, ṛ* or *ḷ*. Rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* defines *guṇa* as *aT, e* and *o*. Given *tava + idam* and *khaṭvā + indraḥ*, we get *tav* (*a + i→e*) *dam = tavedam* 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 *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, of *ḷ*, is required to be followed by *l*, similar to a replacement of *ṛ* which is required to be followed by *r* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*; *Kāśikā*: *ḷkārasya sthāne yo' ṇ tasya laparatvam iṣyate*). For, a specification of *ḷ* is considered as included within the specification of *ṛ*.

6.1.88 **वृद्धिरेचि**

vṛddhir eci
/vṛddhiḥ 1/1 *eci* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* 87)
avarṇāt paro ya ec eci ca pūrvo yo'varṇaḥ tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇaicoḥ 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 *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmaiḍakā = brahma + eḍakā
khaṭvaiḍakā = khaṭvā + eḍakā
brahmaitikāyanaḥ = brahma + aitikāyanaḥ
khaṭvaitikāyanaḥ = khaṭvā + aitikāyanaḥ
brahmaudanaḥ = brahma = odanaḥ
khaṭvaudanaḥ = khaṭvā + odanaḥ
brahmaupagavaḥ + brahma + aupagavaḥ
khaṭvaupagavaḥ = khaṭvā + aupagavaḥ

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding (*ādguṇasyāpavādaḥ*). A sequence of sounds with *a*, followed by *e, o, ai* or *au*, is replaced with a corresponding single *vṛddhi* vowel. Here again, similarity of place of articulation helps select corresponding replacements. Recall that *taparakaraṇa* in 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* is not intended for blocking *ā* from also denoting its homogeneous counterparts. For, *ā* is not included within *aṆ* (1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*). Instead, it is used for constraining *aiC*. Consequently, a replacement is limited in duration. That is, we always get replacements in *dīrgha* (*ā/ai/au*) and not in *pluta*. Incidentally, a replacement in *ā* may also be followed with *r* (6.1.91 *upasargād ṛti dhātau*).

6.1.89 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु

etyedhatyūṭhsu
/etyedhatyūṭhsu 7/3 = *etiś ca edhatiś ca ūṭh ca = etyedhatyūṭhaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* 87 *vṛddhir eci* #88)
avarṇāt paro ya iṇ gatau ity etasya ec, edha vṛddhau ūṭh ity etayoś ca yo'c, eteṣu ca pūrvo yo' varṇas tayoḥ pūrvaparayor varṇācoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo 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*, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaiti = upa + eti
upaiṣi = upa + eṣi
upaimi = upa + emi
upaidhate = upa + edhate
praidhate = pra + edhate
praṣṭhauhaḥ = praṣṭha + ūhaḥ

praṣṭhauhā = praṣṭha + ūhā
praṣṭhauhe = praṣṭha + ūhā + Ne

1. Note that *vṛddhiḥ, 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 *ūṬH*, is impossible (*asambhava*). The *i* of *iṆ* may, or may not, yield an *e*. This *e* can then be specified by *eci*. A *tadādividhi* interpretation (*paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv algrahaṇe*) will yield the following meaning: . . . when *a* occurs followed either by the *eC* of *iṆ*, or by the *aC* of *edh* or *ūṭh*.

Thus, consider *upa + eti→upaiti, upa + edhate→upaidhate* and *praṣṭha + ūhā→praṣṭhauhā*. This rule is an exception to 6.1.94 *eṅi 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 *omāṅoś ca* which also orders *pararūpa*, under fairly similar conditions. For, this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) and hence, *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* (*PŚ*: 60) 'prior exceptions block most immediate provisions and not any subsequent'.

Now consider *praṣṭhauhaḥ*, where affix *ṆvI* is introduced after *vah*, used in conjunction with *praṣṭha*. We thus get *praṣṭha + vah + (ṆvI→ ϕ)*, where affix *ṆvI* gets deleted after *vṛddhi*, yielding *praṣṭha + (v(a→āh) + (ṆvI→ ϕ)) = praṣṭhavāh*. Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh* orders *samprasāraṇa* and related operations on a string, for example, *prauṣṭhavāh + (Ṅ) as*, yielding *praṣṭha (v→ū(ṬH) āh)) + as→praṣṭha (ū + ā→ū) h + as = praṣṭha + ūh + as*. Of course, we get a single long *ū* to replace the sequence *ū + ā*, through application of 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Our present rule can now order the sequence *a + ū* to be replaced with a single *vṛddhi* substitute. We will thus get *praṣṭh (a + ū→au) h + as = praṣṭhauhas*. Deriving *praṣṭhauhaḥ* with *rutvavisarga* of *s* at the end of *praṣṭhauhas* is easy. We will similarly get *praṣṭhauhā* and *paṣṭhauhe* with nominal endings *Ṭā* and *Ṅe*, respectively.

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

Why do we have to qualify *iṆ* as *ej(ādi)* '*eC*-initial' for accomplishing *vṛddhi*? Consider *upetaḥ*, derived with a single *e*-replacement for *a + i*, of *upa + itaḥ*, where *itaḥ* could be a derivate of *i* ending in *Kta* or *tas* (*LAṬ→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 *iṆ* is required.

This same is also true of a qualified *edhA* in *pr(a + i→e) dhidhat→predidhat*, a *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *edhA*, used, for example in *mā bhavān predidhat* 'please

sir do not cause it to grow'. Our present rule cannot order *vṛddhi* to yield a wrong form **praididhat*, because *edhA* does not begin here with *e*. The negation of *mā* is used to indicate that augment *āṬ* is blocked here (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*).

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals:

(*i*) A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes as a substitute when *akṣa* follows *ūhinī*. Thus, *akṣauhiṇī*.

(*ii*) Also when *sva* is followed by *īra, īriṇa* and *īriṇī*. Thus, *svairam/ svairiṇī*, etc.

(*iii*) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when *pra* is followed by *ūḍha, ūḍhi, eṣa* and *eṣya*. Thus, *prauhaḥ, prauḍhaḥ, prauḍhiḥ, praiṣaḥ, praiṣyaḥ*.

(*iv*) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when an *a*-final word is followed by *ṛta*. Thus, *sukhena* + *ṛtaḥ* = *sukhenārttaḥ*, as against *sukhena* + *itaḥ* + *sukhenetaḥ*.

(*v*) A single *vṛddhi* substitute is also deisred when *ṛṇa* follows *pra, vatsatara, kambala* and *vasana*. Thus, *pra* + *ṛṇam*→*prārṇam, vatsatara* + *ṛṇam* = *vatsatarārṇam*, etc.

(*vi*) Also when *ṛṇa* and *daśa* are followed by *ṛṇa*. Thus, *ṛṇārṇam* and *daśārṇam*.

6.1.90 आटश्च

āṭaś ca
/āṭaḥ 5/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *vṛddhiḥ* #88)
āṭaḥ paro yo' c aci ca pūrvo ya āṭ, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor āḍacoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes in place of both, a vowel which follows *āṬ* and the *āṬ* which precedes that vowel, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

aikṣiṣṭa 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ* 'to see''
aikṣata 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derive of *īkṣ* 'to see''
aikṣiṣyata 'third person singular middle *LṚṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ*'
aubhīt 'third singular active *LUṄ* derivate of *ubh* 'to fill''
ārdhnot 'third singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *ṛdh* 'to grow''
aubjīt 'third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ubj* 'to press down, subdue''

1. Note that *eci* is no longer carired. The *āṬ* of *āṭaḥ* refers here to augment *āṬ*, introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. A single *vṛddhi* substitute replaces the *ā*, of *āṬ*, and a vowel which may follow *āṬ*. Consider *aikṣiṣṭa, aikṣata* and *aikṣiṣyata*, forms of verbal root *īkṣ* 'to see' in *LUṄ, LAṄ* and *LṚṄ*, respec-

tively, where augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. We get the initial *ai* of these forms as a single replacement of *ā* of *āṬ* and the *ī* of *īkṣ*. Refer to many derivates of *LUṄ, LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* under the appendix of volumes II-III for additional details. A similar *vṛddhi* replacement of *ā* + *u* is found in *aubhīt* and *aubjīt*. A *vṛddhi* replacement in *ār* is found in *ārdhnot*, a *LUṄ* derivate of *ṛdhU* 'to go'. All these examples would have gotten a replacement in *guṇa* if we did not have this rule.

2. The *ca* is not intended for attracting *vṛddhi* to this rule. It is for something additional (*adhikavidhānārtham*). It is used for blocking a single replacement similar to what follows (cf. 6.1.95 *omāṅoś ca* and 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*). We get *ausrīyat, aukārīyat* and *auḍhīyat*.

6.1.91 उपसर्गादृति धातौ

upasargād ṛti dhātau
/ upasargāt 5/1 *ṛti* 7/1 *dhātau* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *vṛddhiḥ* #88)
avarṇāntād upasargād ṛkārādau parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single *vṛddhi* 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 *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upārcchati = upa + ṛcchati
prārcchati = pra + ṛcchati
upārdhnoti = upa + ṛdhnoti

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

2. What is the purpose of stating *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'? Consider *khaṭvā + ṛcchati→khaṭvarcchati* and *mālā + ṛcchati→mālarcchati*, where we find *guṇa* with a following *r* (*rapara*) since there is no preverb. Now consider *prarcchakaḥ* of *prarcchako deśaḥ*, paraphrased as *pragatā ṛcchakā asmād deśāt* 'a place from where bears have departed'. There is no *vṛddhi* here. For, an *upasarga* is viewed as an *upasarga* in relation to a verb with which it is used. The *pra* of *prarcchakaḥ* is related to *gam* of *gata* and not to *ṛch*. The *ṛ* of *ṛcchaka* cannot facilitate *vṛddhi*.

The condition of a root beginning with *ṛ* is also necessary. Consider *upa + itaḥ→upetaḥ* where, because of a lack of *ṛ*, we do not get *vṛddhi*. The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛti* is used to block *vṛddhi* in examples such as *upa + ṝkārīyati→uparkārīyati*. A *ṛ* qualified with *taparakaraṇa* in short (*hrasva*). The *ṝ* or *ṝkārīyati* is long (*dīrgha*).

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 *prakṛtibhāva* 'the state of originally was; non-*sandhi*' of 6.1.128 *ṛtyakaḥ* could be blocked. That is, the *prakṛtibhāva* of *Śākalya* will be blocked in the context of *ṛ* of a *dhātu*.

6.1.92 वा सुप्यापिशलेः

vā supy āpiśaleḥ
/vā ϕ supi 7/1 *āpiśaleḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *vṛddhiḥ* #88 *upasargād ṛti dhatau* #91)
subantāvayave dhātāv ṛkārādau parato' varṇāntād upasargāt pūrvaparayor āpiśaler ācāryasya matena vā vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single *vṛddhi* replacement, in the opinion of Āpiśali, optionally comes in place of both, the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *ṛ* of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uparṣabhīyati = upa + ṛṣabhīyati
upārṣabhīyati = upa + ṛṣabhīyati
upalkārīyati = upa + ḷkārīyati
upālkārīyati = upa + ḷkārīyati

1. The word *āpiśali*, 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 *subantāvayave dhātau* '. . . when a *subanta* contained within a *dhātu* follows . . .'. We get *ṛṣabha iva ācarati = ṛṣabhīyati* and *upa + ṛṣabhīyati→ uparṣabhīyati* (*guṇa*) and *upārṣabhīyati* (*vṛddhi*). Similar interpretations apply to other examples.

3. A homogeneous relationship (*sāvarṇya*) between *ṛ* and *ḷ* is again invoked here. That is, a reference with *ṛ* also includes a reference to *ḷ*. A replacement of *ḷ*, similar to one of *ṛ* followed by *r* (*rapara*), is also followed by *l* (*lapara*) in accord with the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 1.1.50 *sthāne' taratamaḥ*).

6.1.93 औतोऽम्शसोः

auto' ṃ śasoḥ
/ā (deleted 1/1) *otaḥ* 5/1 *aṃśasoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
oto' mi śasi 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 *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gāṃ paśya 'see the cow'
gāḥ paśya 'see cows'
dyāṃ paśya 'look towards heaven'
dyāḥ 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 (*sāhacaryāt*) 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' (*LAṄ*) forms of *ciÑ* 'heap' and *suÑ* 'to press out juice', we get *am* as a replacement of *miP* 'first person singular active' (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām . . .*). We do not get a single replacement in *ā* because *am* is not the accusative singular nominal ending. Our proper examples will be *gāṃ paśya* and *gāḥ 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 *suṭ anapuṃsakasya*) which may occur after it is desired to be marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (7.1.90 *goto ṇit*). This *Ṇit* status would cause *vṛddhi*. Our present rule blocks this anticipated *vṛddhi* in favor of a replacement in *ā*. How come the *vṛddhi* of 7.1.90 *goto ṇit* does not block this *ātva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*)? This rule will be left without any scope (*niravakāśa*) of application if *ātva* is blocked by *vṛddhi*.

6.1.94 एङि पररूपम्

eṅi pararūpam
/eṅi 7/1 *pararūpam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *upasargād dhātau* #91)
avarṇāntād upasargād eṅādau dhātau pūrvaparayoḥ 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 *eṄ* (*e, o*) of a verb root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

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

1. Note that *āt* and *upasargād ṛti dhātau* 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 *vṛddhir eci*. Consider *elayati*, of *upelayati* and *prelayati*, where *il* 'to inspire' of the *curādi* group is used with causal *ṆiC* in the present (*LAṬ*). Thus, *il* + *ṆiC*→*eli*; *eli* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)→*eli* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→ *el*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *a* + *ti* = *elayati*. A single replacement in *o* can be seen in *up*(*a*+*o*→*o*) *ṣati* = *upoṣati* and *up*(*a* + *o* →*o*) *khati* = *upokhati*.

2. Some also carry *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*, via *anuvṛtti*. A single sentence interpretation (*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 *subdhātau* interpretation facilitated by the *anuvṛtti*. One must remember here that getting these two interpretations via *yogavibhāga* is not easy. Interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śraṇam*).

3. Haradatta states that *pararūpa* in this rule is used for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). For this rule, *eṅi* itself is enough. The use of the word *rūpa* does not make sense (*cintya*). Consider 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* where *pūrvaparayoḥ pūrvaḥ* itself accounts for a single substitute similar to what precedes in a sequence. That is, with no use of *rūpa* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *sūtre pararūpagrahaṇam uttarārtham. iha tv eṅīty eva siddham-eṅi parata ekādeśo bhavatīti. rūpagrahaṇaṃ cintyaprayojanam, tathā ca 'ami pūrvaḥ' ity atra rūpagrahaṇam na kṛtam*).

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

(*i*) A *pararūpa*, as against *savarṇadīrgha*, is desired in *śaka* + *andhuḥ* = *skandhuḥ*, etc.

(*ii*) A similar application is to be followed in deriving *sīmantaḥ* from (*sīma* (*n*→ϕ) + *anta*)) = *sīmanta* + *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 *otu* and *oṣṭha* follow. Thus, *sthūlotuḥ*/ *sthūlautuḥ* 'a fat cat' and *bimboṣṭhī*/ *bimbauṣṭhī* '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 tvā* + *eman*→*apāṃ tveman* and *apāṃ* + *tvā* + *odman*→*apāṃ tvodman*.

6.1.95 ओमाङोश्च

omāṅoś ca

/*omāṇoḥ* 7/2 = *om ca āṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* # 72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

avarṇāntād omi āṅi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo 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 *āṄ* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

kom ity avocat 'said, '*kā* + *om* = *kom*' '
yom ity avocat 'said, '*yā* + *om* = *yom*' '
oḍhā = *ā* + *ūḍhā*
adyoḍhā = *adya* + *oḍhā*
kadoḍhā = *kadā* + *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 *āṄ* 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*→*o*) *ḍhā*)) = *oḍhā*; *ady*(*a* + *o*→*o*) *ḍhā*)) = *adyoḍhā*, etc., which are exceptions to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Now consider *adya* + *arśyāt* = *adyarśyāt*, an exception to 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A specification with *āṄ* is needed so that *pararūpa* is not blocked by *savarṇadīrgha*.

6.1.96 उस्यपदान्तात्

usy apadāntāt
/*usi* 7/1 *apadāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ*; *na padāntaḥ* (*nañ*. with int. *ṣaṣ*. *tat*.), *tasmāt*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)
avarṇād apadāntād usi pūrvaparayor ādguṇāpavādaḥ pararūpam 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 the following *u* of *us* which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

bhindyuḥ = *bhindyā* + *us*
chindyuḥ = *chindyā* + *us*
aduḥ = *adā* + *us*
ayuḥ = *ayā* + *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 *ātaḥ*, etc.). This *pararūpa* is an exception to *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*).
2. The word *apadāntāt* qualifies *āt*. Thus, this replacement will be avail-

able when *a* will not be the final sound of a *pada*. Consider, *kā* + *usrā* and *kā* + *uṣitā* where *us* occurs after an *ā* which is occurring at the end of a *pada*. We thus get *guṇa*, in *kosrā* and *koṣitā*, instead. The use of *apadāntāt* 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 *apadāntāt* does not make much sense. If *us* is something else, for example the syllable *us*, then a counter-example such as *koṣitā* makes sense. May be *apadāntāt* is used for subsequent rules.

6.1.97 अतो गुणे

ato guṇe
/ataḥ 5/1 *guṇe* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *apadāntāt* #96)
akārād apadāntād guṇe parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam 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 *guṇa* vowel which follows the *a*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

pacanti 'third person plural *LAṬ*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''
yajanti '. . . *yaj* 'to sacrifice''
pace 'first singular middle *LAṬ*-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 *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). 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 *savarṇadīrgha*. For, this exception rule (*apavāda*) falls in between (*madhye*) 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. 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 *guṇe* in this rule enables it to also become an exception to 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. For, if *guṇa* was not mentioned for blocking 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, 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 *eṅi*, via *anuvṛtti*. The next rule could have been then formed as *jusi ca* to account for instances of *Jus* with the *anuvṛtti* of *apadāntāt*. This then would have covered everything. Note

that formulations such as these would also be economical. But Pāṇini, with explicit use of *guṇe*, chose otherwise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita 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 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. It can then, in view of *purastāpavāda*, not be an exception to 6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ . . .* (SK: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti nyāyena 'akaḥ savarṇa' ity asyaivāpavādo na tu 'prathamayoḥ . . .' ity asyāpi*).

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

Why is a *guṇa* vowel required to occur after a non-*pada*-final *a*? So that this *pararūpa* could be blocked in favor of *savarṇadīrgha*. Consider *daṇḍa* + *agram*→*daṇḍāgram*, where the *a* of *daṇḍa* is treated as occurring at the end of a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*).

6.1.98 अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ

avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau
/avyaktānukaraṇasya 6/1 = *na vyaktaḥ = avyaktaḥ; avyaktasya anukaraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasya/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94)
avyaktānukaraṇasya yo' c chabdas tasmād itau pūrvaparayoḥ 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; *avyaktānukaraṇa*) which precedes and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

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

1. The word *avyakta* of *avyaktānukaraṇa* is explained as *aparisphuṭ* '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*) *ti* = *paṭiti*. We similarly get *jhaṭ*(*at* + *i*) *ti* = *jhaṭiti*.

Why do we have the condition of *avyaktānukaraṇāt*? Consider *jagat* + *iti* =

jagad iti, where *at* + *i* cannot be replaced with *i* because *jagat* is not an inarticulate expression. Why after *at*? Consider *marat* + *iti*→*marad iti* where *i* occurs after *at*. Similar purpose is served by the following *iti*. Consider *patat* + *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 gambhīram 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 नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा

nāmreḍitasyāntasya tu vā
/ na ϕ āmreḍitasya 6/1 *antyasya* 6/1 *tu ϕ vā ϕ/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau* #98)
avyaktānukaraṇasyāmreḍitasya yo' c chabda itau tasya pararūpaṃ 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 *āmreḍita* and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope. The final *t* of the *āmreḍita*, instead, goes through optional single replacement similar to what follows in the sequence.

EXAMPLES:

paṭatpaṭad iti = *paṭatpaṭa* (*a* + *i*→*i*) *ti* =
paṭatpaṭ (*a* + *i*→*e*) *ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti karoti*
paṭatpaṭad iti karoti

1. This rule first negates the provision of the preceding rule in the context of an *āmreḍita*, the following *pada* of a repeated sequence (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*; 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*). 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 *nityavīpsayoḥ*. We will get the first derivate through the application of *pararūpa* and 6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ*. We will get *paṭatpaṭad iti*, through *jaśtva* (*t*→*d*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jas' nte*), if the option of *pararūpa* is not availed.

2. Note, however, that an imitation of a combination of words, for example *patatpaṭat*, 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 *nityam āmreḍite ḍāci* is a *vārttika* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vārttikam evedam. vṛttikṛtā sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). This *vārttika* offers obligatory (*nitya*) *pararūpa* for the *t* of an echo such as *paṭat*, when an *āmreḍita* followed by *ḌāC* follows. Thus, given *paṭat* + *paṭat* + (*Ḍ*) *ā*(*C*)

= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā* we get *paṭa*(*t* + *p*→*p*) *aṭat* + *ā*. This, through the application of *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) of the final *at*, produces *paṭapaṭ* (*at*→ϕ) + *ā* = *paṭapatā* as in *paṭapaṭā karoti*. '. . . sounds *paṭatpaṭat*'. An additional example is: *damadamā karoti*. It is important to remember that deletion of *ṭi* should follow iteration. That is, iteration is accomplished in anticipation of *ḌāC*, and *ṭi*-deletion follows after *pararūpa*. The locative of *ḍāci*, in the *vārttika* proposal, is consequently interpreted as denoting *viṣaya* 'domain'. Incidentally, *ḌāC* cannot be allowed if the echo word is followed by *iti*.

Recall that 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārdhād anitau ḍāc* introduces *ḌāC* where, in consonance with *ḍāci vivakṣite dve bahulam*, we also get doubling.

6.1.100 अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ
/ akaḥ 6/1 *savarṇe* 7/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
akaḥ savarṇe' ci parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne dīrgha ekādeśo 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 *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍāgram = *daṇḍa* + *agram*
dadhīndraḥ = *dadhi* + *indraḥ*
madhūdake = *madhu* + *udake*
hotṝṣyaḥ = *hotṛ* + *ṛṣyaḥ*

1. This rule provides for a single long replacement for both, a preceding vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* (*a*/*i*/*u*/*ṛ*/*ḷ*) and the homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel which follows. The condition of *akaḥ* is required so that, given *agni* + (*Ṅ*) *e*→*agn*(*i*→*e*) + *e* = *agne* + *e*, through *it*-deletion and application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* (read with 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), we get *agn*(*e*→*ay*) + *e* = *agnaye*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. 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*→*y*) + *atra* = *dadhyatra* through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* since *i* of *dadhi* is not homogeneous with the *a* of *atra*. This shows why we need the condition of *savarṇe*. The condition of *aci* is imposed so that the application of this rule could be blocked in examples such as *kumārī* + *śete* where 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* is brought to block homogeneous relationship between a vowel and a consonant.

2. Some claim that 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* can still not be able to block homogeneous relationship between *ī* and *ś*. For, rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya*

cāpratyayaḥ, read with 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*, allows a sound denoted by *aN*, i.e., *a/i/u/ṛ/ḷ/e/o/ai/au/h/y/v/r/l* to denote sounds homogeneous with them. The homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) between *ī* and *ś* 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 *aṇuditsavarṇasya* . . . still remains to be cognized at the time when 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* is cognized. Consequently, 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* 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 (*varṇasamāmnāya*; *Śivasūtras* 1–14), will denote only nine vowels, *a/i/u/ṛ/ḷ/e/o/ai/au*, as listed. Rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* will then have to apply, leaving aside the scope of application of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*. Furthermore, note that *sāvarṇya* 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 śete* where *ī* and *ś* can be accepted as homogeneous.

This rule is an exception to 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ*, insofar as *a* is concerned. Elsewhere, it is an exception to 6.1.74 *iko yaṇ aci*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal allows a replacement in long *ṝ* optionally with *ṛṛ*, a special sound, when a short *ṛ* is followed by its homogeneous counterpart (*savarṇadīrghatve ṛti ṛṛ vā vacanam*). Thus, *hotṛ* + *ṛkāraḥ*→*hotṝkāraḥ* and *hotṛṛkāraḥ*.

A similar *vārttika* proposal also allows for optional *ḷṛ* when *ḷ* follows. Thus we get *hotṛ* + *ḷkāraḥ*→*hotḷḷkāraḥ*. A long replacement is not possible because *ḷ* does not exist.

Incidentally, what is provided by these *vārttika* proposals consists of the duration of two moras (*mātrā*) each. There are two *r* and *l* sounds in the middle with 1/2 *mātrā* each. The vowels on each side carry 1/2 mora each. Refer to the *SK* ('*ṛti ṛṛ vā*', '*ḷ ḷḷ vā'ity ubhayatrāpi vidheyaṃ varṇadvayaṃ dvimātram. ādyasya madhye dvau rephau, tayor ekā mātrā. abhito' jbhakter aparā. dvitīyasya tu madhye dvau lakārau śeṣaṃ prāgvat*) for additional details. Such usages are very rare.

6.1.101 प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः

prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ
/prathamayoḥ 7/2 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* 1/1 = *pūrvasya savarṇaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *akaḥ dīrghaḥ* #100)
prathamāyāṃ dvitīyāyāṃ ca vibhaktāv aci akaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvasavarṇadīrgha ādeśo 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 *dvitīyā* 'second triplet, accusative' that follows this *aK*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agnī
vāyū
vṛkṣāḥ
vṛkṣān

1. The word *prathamayoḥ* 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 *prathamayoḥ* refers to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* nominal endings: *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auṬ, Śas*, respectively. The dual in *prathamayoḥ* also brings *dvitīyā* within the denotatum of *prathamā*, by association (*sāhacarya*). Or else, as Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kās*) suggests, *supi* of 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* should be carried to make *prathame* to refer to *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auṬ, Śas*, 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 *Śas* in *vṛkṣāḥ* and *vṛkṣān*, the nominative and accusative plural forms of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'. Commentators explain that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), such as the *pararūpa* of 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*, can only block the most immediate provision such as the *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and not any subsequent, for example, the *pūrvasavarṇa-dīrgha* of this rule (*PŚ*: 60) *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Our present rule will block the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* on the basis of *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application'.

The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to block a replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*), in an example such as *agni + au*. The condition of *aci* 'when *aC* follows' is required to exclude *vṛkṣa + sU→vṛkṣaḥ* and *plakṣa + sU→plakṣaḥ*, 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' yavāyāvaḥ*. The word *dīrghaḥ* 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 तस्माच्छसो: न: पुंसि

tasmāc chaso naḥ puṃsi
/tasmāt 5/1 *śasaḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *puṃsi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)
tasmāt pūrvasavarṇadīrghād uttarasya śaso' vayavasya sakārasya puṃsi 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:

vṛkṣān 'accusative plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''
agnīn '. . . *agni* 'fire''
vāyūn '. . . *vāyu* 'wind''
kartṝn '. . . *kartṛ* 'doer''
ṣaṇḍakān '. . . *ṣaṇḍaka* 'eunuch''
sthūrakān '. . . *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 *śasoḥ* 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 *vṛkṣa* + (*Ś*)*as* →*vṛkṣ*(*a* + *a*→*ā*)*s* = *vṛkṣās*, would have already been replaced as part of a single long replacement in *ā*. We will thus get *vṛkṣā*(*s*→*n*) = *vṛkṣān*. Words such as *vṛkṣān*, *agnīn*, *vāyūn*, *kartṝn*, *hartṝn*, *ṣaṇḍakān*, and *paṇḍhakān* 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 gāḥ 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 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*, a replacement in *ā* (6.1.93 *auto'ṃśasoḥ*) is to be accomplished. We will not get *natva* if *tasmāt* is read in relation to *pravasavarṇadīrgha* '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 (*bahutva*) of males (*puruṣa*) 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 *bhrukuṃsān* where *bhrukuṃsa* 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 *cañcāḥ* 'scarecrow' where *cañcā* is a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*), subsequently deleted by 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*. A deletion by *LUP* will occasion the application of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. We can still not get rid of feminine eventhough the denotatum is masculine.

The second view is not free of problems either. Consider *sthūrakān* parallel to *sthūrāyāḥ apatyāni bahūni* where *sthūrā* is feminine ending in *ṬāP*. Affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) of *sthūrā* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*. Affix *ṬāP* 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 *puṃsi* is interpreted as denoting 'when the sense of *pum* 'male' (*pumartha*) is denoted'. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers the following *ślokavārttika*:

natvaṃ puṃsāṃ bahutve cet puṃśabdād iṣyate striyām/
napuṃsake tathaiveṣṭaṃ strīśabdāc ca prasajyate//
puṃśabdād iti ced iṣṭaṃ sthūrāpatye na sidhyati/
kuṇḍinyā arakāyāḥ puṃsprādhānyāt prasidhyati//
puṃsprādhānye ta eva syur ye doṣāḥ pūrvacoditāḥ/
tasmād arthe bhaven natvaṃ vadhrikādiṣu yuktavat//

2. The condition of *Śas* is required to block *n*-replacement, for example, in *vṛkṣa* + *Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*. The denotatum of *puṃsi* similarly blocks *n*-replacement in *kumārī, dhenūḥ* and *bahvīḥ*.

6.1.103 नादिचि

nād ici
/na ϕ āt 5/1 *ici* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)
avarṇād ici pūrvasavarṇadīrgho 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 *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣau 'nominative/accusative dual of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣau '. . . of *plakṣa*'
khaṭve '. . . of *khaṭvā*'
kuṇḍe '. . . of *kuṇḍā*'

1. This rule negates a single long replacement similar to the preceding, when what precedes is an *a* or *ā*. Consider *vṛkṣa* + *au*→*vṛkṣau* 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 *auṅ āpaḥ* applies to yield *khaṭvā* + (*au*→(*Ś*)*ī*)) = *khaṭvā* + *ī*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then offers a single *guṇa* replacement to produce *khaṭv*(*ā* + *ī*→*e*) = *khaṭve*. This same applies to *kuṇḍe* where *Śī* is introduced by 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*. These illustrate how negating a *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* results into application of a single *guṇa* 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 *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* cannot be blocked in examples such as *vṛkṣa* + *Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*.

6.1.104 दीर्घाज्जसि च

dīrghāj jasi ca
/dīrghāt 5/1 *jasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101 *na ici* #103)
dīrghāj jasi ici ca parataḥ pūrvasavarṇadīrgho 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 *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryau 'nominative dual of *kumārī* 'girl' '
kumāryaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
brahmabandhvau 'nominative dual of *brahmabandhū*'
brahmabandhvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule negates *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* 'a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a vocalic sequence', also when a long vowel, other than *ā* (6.1.103 *nād ici*), is followed by *iC* and *Jas* 'nominative plural'. Consider *kumārī* + *au*→*kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *au* = *kumāryau* and *kumārī* + (*J*)*as*→*kumār* (*ī*→*y*) + *as* = *kumāryas*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *kumāryaḥ*, where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies in the absence of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*. Similar derivational provisions are also applicable to *brahmabandhū* + *au*→*brahmabandhvau* and *brahmabandhū* + *Jas*→*brahmabandhvaḥ*.

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 *ici*. The word *dīrghāt* is used so that the *guṇa* application of rules 7.3.109 *jasi ca* and 7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ* can be saved from over application (*atiprasaṅga*). The condition of *Jas* is required so that this negation does not apply to *kumārīḥ paśya* and *vadhūḥ paśya*, which both are instances of *Śas* 'accusative dual'.

6.1.105 वा छन्दसि

vā chandasi
/vā ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100
pūrvasavarṇaḥ #101 *na ici* #103 *dīrghāj jasi ca* #104)
dīrghāc chandasi viṣaye jasi ca ici ca parato vā pūrvasavaṇadīrgho 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 *saṃhitā* its finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

mārutīḥ = *māruti* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *mārutī*'
mārutyaḥ 'optional *Śas*-derivate'
piṇḍīḥ = *piṇḍī* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *piṇḍī*'
piṇḍyaḥ 'optional *śas*-derivate'
vārāhī 'modification of *varāha* = *vārāhī* + *au*
vārāhyau 'optional derivate with *au*'
upānahī 'shoe; *upānahī*
upānahyau 'derivate with *au*'

1. This Vedic option of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* is offered in favor of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our earlier rule offers negation of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, obligatorily (*nitya*).

6.1.106 अमि पूर्वः

ami pūrvaḥ
/*ami* 7/1 *pūrvaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *akaḥ* #100)
ami parato'kaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo 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 *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣam
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 *savarṇaḥ*. This can create problems in determining the quality of a replacement. Consider *kumārī* + *am*→*kumārīm*, where the *sthānīs* 'item(s) to be replaced', i.e., *ī* + *a*, together carry the duration of three *mātrās* 'moras'. Since a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces (1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*), the *ī* which replaces *ī* + *a* must also carry the duration of three *mātrās*. The correct replacement is an *ī* 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 *savaraṇa*, 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*: *yathājātīyakaḥ pūrvas tathājātīyaka eva yathā syād ity evam artham pūrvagrahaṇam*).

Why is *dīrghāt* not carried to this rule? Because *pūrvaḥ* introduces something new (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*) 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 yaṇ aci* can account for *śamīm/śamyam* and *gaurīm/gauryam* in *śamīṃ paśya/śamyaṃ paśya* and *gaurīṃ paśya/gauryaṃ 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 (*pūrvaḥ*) alone is desired.

3. It is stated that *dīrghāt* should also be carried here (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*: *dīrgha iti cehānuvarttate, anyathā hīdaṃ vacanam anarthakaṃ syāt*). Perhaps we must correct *cehānuvarttate* 'is also carried here' to read as: *nehānuvarttate* 'is not carried here'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kās*) rightly states that *dīrghāt iti nānuvarttate*... '*dīrghāt* is not carried ...'.

6.1.107 सम्प्रसारणाच्च

samprasāraṇāc ca
/samprasāraṇāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106)
samprasāraṇād aci parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding *samprasāraṇa* vowel and the vowel which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭam '(*yaj* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
uptam '(*vap* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
gṛhītam '(*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*→*i*)*j* + *ta* = *ij* + *ta*→*i*(*j*→*ṣ*) + *ta*→*iṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *a* = *iṣṭa*; (*v*→*u*) *ap* + *ta*→(*ua*→*u*)*p* + *ta* = *up* + *ta* and *grah* + *iṬ* + *ta*→*g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *i* + *ta*→*g*(*ṛa*→*ṛ*) *h* + *i* + *ta*→*gṛh* + (*i*→*ī*) + *ta* = *gṛhīta*, etc. Note that the *i* of *gṛh* + *i* + *ta* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. The *j* of *ij* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.2.36 *vaścabhrasjsṛj*.... The *t* of *iṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) = *iṣṭa* goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. How come we do not get a single replacement identical with the preceding in *śakahvau* '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 *śakahū*, from *śakahvā* + *KvIP*, where the *v*

of *śakahvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa*. The resultant, i.e., *śakah*(*v*→*u*) *ā* = *śakahuā*, gets its *uā* replaced with a long *ū* to yield *śakahū*. The *ū* of *śakahū* will be considered as *pūrvasavarṇa* in view of 6.1.85 *ántādivac ca*. This single replacement is possible because *uā* are part of the same base which contains the *samprasāraṇa* 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 aci*, instead.

6.1.108 एङः पदान्तादति

eṅaḥ padāntād ati
/*eṅaḥ* 5/1 *padāntāt* 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat., tasmāt*) *ati* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106)
eṅaḥ yaḥ padāntas tasmād ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarupam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṄ* and the *aT* which follows *eṄ*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agne' tra 'O Agni, here'
vāyo' tra 'O Vāyu, here'

1. This rule forms an exception to 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus, given *agne* + *atra* and *vāyo* + *atra*, where *e* and *o* of *agne* and *vāyo* are *guṇa* replacements (7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*) for *i* and *u* of *agni* and *vāyu*, we do not get *e* and *o* replaced with *ay* and *av*, respectively.

Since the single replacement of this rule obtains only after a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, *dadhi* + *atra* and *madhu* + *atra*, remain excluded from the scope of this rule. We get *dadhy atra* and *madhv atra*, instead. The condition of *padāntāt* as a qualification of *eṄ* 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' yavāyāvaḥ*. 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*

(*taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). This also shows why *taparakaraṇa* is also needed.

6.1.109 ङसिङसोश्च

ṅasiṅasoś ca
/ṅasi-ṅasoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca ϕ/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106 *eṅaḥ ati* #108)
eṅ uttarayor ṅasiṅasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṄ* and the *aT* of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* which follows *eṄ*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agner āgacchati
agneḥ svam
vāyor āgacchati
vāyoḥ svam

1. This rule allows single replacements under the right condition of *a* of the nominal endings *ṄasI* 'ablative singular' and *Ṅas* 'genitive singular'. Consider *agni* + (*Ṅ*) *asI*→*agni* + *as* and *vāyu* + *as*, where a *guṇa* application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* 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 *vāyoḥ svam*.

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

2. Note that since *eṄ* denotes two vowels and *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* denote an equal number of nominal endings, rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* cannot be invoked. That is, this single replacement cannot be limited only to instances where *e* constitutes the left condition for *ṄasI*, and *o* forms the left condition for *Ṅas*. For, this replacement is conditioned by the single right condition of *aT*, of course, of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas*. But *aT* is not the same. It belongs to two different endings. One can argue here that *yathāsaṃkhya* can still not be invoked. For, the compound listing of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* in *ṅasiṅasoḥ* becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that *yathāsaṃkhya* should not be invoked since Pāṇini does not formulate the rule as: *ṅasṅaseś ca* as he does elsewhere following provisions of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. This reversal of order of *Ṅas* and *ṄasI* then must serve the special purpose of impairing *yathāsaṃkhya*.

Actually, *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* do not go through provisions of this rule. It is, instead, their relatum (*sambandhī*) which does. Notice that *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* are two and are also part of the predicate. Accepting two predicates (*vidheya*) will offer an opportunity for *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assigning equivalency in the order of enumeration' to apply. Besides, *ca* will then not allow only one to be carried.

6.1.110 ऋत उत्

ṛta ut
/ṛtaḥ 5/1 *ut* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106 *ati* #108 *ṅasiṅasoḥ* #109)
ṛkārāntād uttarayor ṅasiṅasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayor ukāra ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement in *uT* comes in place of both a *ṛT* and the *aT* of *ṄasI* and *ṇas* which follows *ṛT*, provided when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

hotur āgacchati
hotuḥ svam

1. Note that a replacement specified for two in the genitive (*pūrvaparayoḥ*; *ṛtaḥ* and *ṅasiṅasoḥ*) receives attributes of either one of them (*Kāś*: *dvayoḥ ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭayoḥ sthāne yaḥ sa labhate' nyataravyapadeśam*). It is for this reason that *u*, followed by *r* as an attribute of *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), comes as a replacement. Thus, *hot*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ur*)*s*, as in *hotur āgacchati*, where the final *s* of *hoturs* is deleted (8.2.24 *rāt sasya*). The *r* can still be replaced with *visarga* when occurring either before a pause or a sound denoted by *khaR* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). Thus we can get *hotuḥ* and *hotuḥ svam*, respectively.

The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛT* and *uT* is intended for limiting the denotatum of *ṛ* and *u* to its short duration. Long *ṝ* and *ū* are thus excluded.

6.1.111 ख्यत्यात्परस्य

khyatyāt parasya
/khyatyāt 5/1 = *khyaś ca tyaś ca* = *khyatyam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *parasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *ṅasiṅasoḥ* #109 *ut* #110)
khyatyāt parasya ṅasiṅasor at ukārādeśo bhavati
An *uT* comes in place of the *aT* of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* when *aT* occurs after *khya* and *tya* and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyur āgacchati

sakhyuḥ svam
patyur āgacchati
patyuḥ 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-yaṇādeśa*). 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 *sakhyur āgacchati* and *sakhyuḥ svam* where *sakhyuḥ* can be derived from *sakhi* + (*Ṅ*)*asI* or *sakhi* + (*Ṅ*)*as*, through *sakhi* + (*a*→*u*)*s*→*sakh*(*i*→*y*) + *us*→ *sakhyu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *sakhyuḥ*. This same applies to *patyur āgacchati* and *patyuḥ svam* where *patyuḥ* can be derived from *pati* + *ṄasI* or *pati* + *Ṅas*.

Now consider the derivation of *sakhīḥ* and *sakhyuḥ* where the bases are derivates of the denominative verb *sakhīya*. Thus, *sakhaḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *khena saha varttate* (2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*). The *saha*, an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent', is then replaced with *sa* of 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya*. One now derives *sakhīya*, parallel to *sakham icchati*, with the introduction of *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). The *a* of *sakha* then goes through a long replacement in *ī* (*ītva*; 7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). An introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *KvIP* after *sakhīya* with further deletion of *a*, through *pratyayalopa*, and of *y* through 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, produces *sakhī*. Recall here that wherever 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* both obtain, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* should apply first. For, once 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* applies, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot. The nominative singular of this *sakhī* will then be *sakhīḥ*, through *rutva-visarga* of *s*(*U*). We can now get *sakhyuḥ*, a form of *sakhī* with *ṄasI* or *Ṅas*. This will be similar to forms of *sakhi*. Now consider *lūnyur āgacchati* 'the one who wishes to chop comes' and *lūnyuḥ svam* which follow similar patterns. Note, however, that given *lūnī* + (*Ṅ*)*asI* and *lūnī* + (*Ṅ*)*as*, the *n*-replacement of the *t* of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), brought about by 8.2.44 *ivādibhyaḥ*, will, in accord with 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, still be *t* in view of this rule. That is, this rule still sees *lūtī* + *Ṅas*, as against *lūnī* + *Ṅas*.

2. For reasons that *khi* and *khī* are specified here with their modified forms (*vikṛtanirdeśa*) *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*: *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena* . . . (*PŚ*: 32)), is excluded from the assignment of the term *ghi*. Consequently, one can derive *atisakhiḥ*, parallel to *atikrāntaḥ sakhā yena saḥ* 'he by who a friend is excelled', with the help of assignment of the term *ghi*. The *guṇa* replacement of *i* of *atisakhi* + *ṄasI* and *atisakhi* + (*Ṅ*)*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 अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते

ato ror aplutād aplute
/ataḥ 5/1 *roḥ* 6/1 *aplutāt* 5/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *aplute* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* 108 *ut* #110)
akārād aplutād uttarasya roḥ rephasya ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya akāre' plute parata ukārādeśo bhavati
An *uT* comes in place of a *rU* (*roḥ*) which occurs after a non-*pluta* vowel, provided a non-*pluta* vowel follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣo' tra
plakṣo' tra

1. This *uT*-replacement for *rU* is offered against *y* of 8.3.17 *bhobhago' pūrvasya yo'śi*. Thus, consider *vṛkṣas* + *atra* and *plakṣas* + *atra*, where the final *s* of *vṛkṣas* and *plakṣas* has its source in the nominative ending *sU*. This *s* is replaced with *rU* by rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. A replacement in *u* for *rU* then produces *vṛkṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*vṛkṣa* + *u* + *atra* and *plakṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*plakṣa* + *u* + *atra*. A *guṇa* application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* followed by a single *o*-replacement for (*o* + *a*)→*o* (6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*) produces *vṛkṣa*(*u*→*o*) + *atra* = *vṛkṣ*(*o* + *a*→*o*) *tra* = *vṛkṣo' tra*. This same applies also to *plakṣo' tra*.

Note that *u*-replacement of this rule is specified with reference to *rU*-replacement of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* makes 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* 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 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked here. For, if *rU* is considered suspended, *u*-replacement of this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Since this *u*-replacement is specified with *roḥ*, and also since there is no other *r* qualified with *U* as an *it* (*Nyāsa: kasyacid ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya ror asambhavāt*), 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked to render 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* suspended in view of our present rule. Besides, the *sthānī* 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 *sthānī*. The *rU*-specification of replacement in 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will become vacuous. If *r*, as against *rU*, is considered as the *sthānī*, we will also get *u* as a replacement for *r* in *bhrātar gaccha* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*).

Considering *rU* against *r* as *sthānī* will create problems in assigning the term *it* (to *U* of *rU*) and subsequently deletion impacted by it. Consider the controlled derivation of *rāmaḥ* from *rāma* + *sU*→*rāma* + *rU*. Note that the *pada*-final (*padānta*) condition of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will get transferred to

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

2. The condition of *aT* (in *ataḥ*, with *taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is intended for blocking an *uT*-replacement in examples such as *agnir atra* and *vṛkṣā*(*r*→*ḥ*) *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 *prātar atra* and *svar*+ *atra*. For, the *r* of *prātar* and *svar* is not derived. It is part of the bases, instead.

Now consider *vṛkṣar iha* where *u*-replacement cannot be accomplished because what follows is *i* of *iha*. This shows why the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* from 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* is needed. This condition will also block *u*-replacement in *vṛkṣar*+ *āśritaḥ* where what follows is a long *ā*.

The twin qualifications of *aplutād* 'after a vowel other than an extra-long (*pluta*)' and *aplute* 'before a vowel other than a *pluta*', for vowels which precede and follow *rU*, are required to block this replacement in examples such as *suśrotā3 atra nvasi* and *tiṣṭhatu paya ā3śvin* where *ā3* is a *pluta*. The argument that *ā3* will still be seen by our present rule as *a*, especially since it is ruled by rules 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* and 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy*..., and hence, *u*-replacement cannot be blocked, is not acceptable. An explicit mention of *pluta* in *aplutād* and *aplute* will block invoking suspension by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. If *pluta* is considered as suspended, this rule can apply where the context has a preceding *aT*. Why can we not block *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *pluta* with the help of *taparakaraṇa*? The *taparakaraṇa* cannot block suspension of *pluta* since it has lost its strength after setting aside the long vowel (*dīrgha*).

6.1.113 हशि च

haśi ca
/haśi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ut* #110 *ataḥ ro* #112)
haśi ca parato't uttarasya ror ukārādeśo bhavati
A *rU* which occurs after *a* is replaced with *u*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ* (*Śś* 5–10) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣo yāti
puruṣo hasati
puruṣo 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 *puruṣa* + (*s*(*U*)→*rU*→*u*)) = *puruṣ*(*u*→*o*) in *puruṣo yāti*. Similarly, *puruṣo hasati* and *puruṣo dadāti*.

2. Note that *aplutāt* is still carried. This can then block the *u*-replacement in examples such as *suśrotā*3 *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 *haśi* will be suspended. Besides, *haśi*, when carried, will not make any sense.

Incidentally, a rule is generally formulated with subject (*uddeśya*), predicate (*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 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे

prakṛtyā' ntaḥpādam avyapare
/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *antaḥpādam* ϕ = *madhye pādasya* (*avyayībhāva*), *tasmin*; *avypare* 7/1 = *na avyapare* (*nañ-tat.*); *av ca ya ca* = *avyau* (*dv. tasmin*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108)
pādamadhyastha eṇ ati pare prakṛtyā bhavati na tu vakārayakārapare' ti
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* 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 aśvámāyuñjan
te áśmiñjavamádadhuḥ
upaprayantó adhvaram
śiró apaśyam
sujáte aśvásūnṛte
adhváryó adríbhiḥ sutam

1. This rule makes the provision of *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of that which

it was; absence of *sandhi* in the middle of a *Ṛk*-verse when a sound denoted by *eṄ* occurs followed by *aT*. Thus, consider *sujāte aśvasūnṛte* where *e* of *sujāte* 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 *avyayībhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa . . .*) 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 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. It is replaced with *am* of 2.4.84 *tṛtīyāsaptamyor 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., *eṄ*, both must fall within the quarter of a *Ṛk*-verse (*Kāś*: *tau cen nimittakāryiṇāv antaḥpādam = ṛkpādamadhye bhavataḥ*). This enables blocking of *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*) and *ay*-replacement (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*) in example such as *te agre . . .* and *te asmin . . .*, etc. Incidentally, *eṅaḥ*, 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 *eṅaḥ* (6.1.108 *eṅaḥ 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 vyākhyānam eva śaraṇam*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *pāda* here should be interpreted as *ṛkpāda* 'quarter of a *Ṛk*-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 *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. This *anuvṛtti* will continue up to 6.1.121 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* whereby *prakṛtibhāva*, 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 *prakṛtibhāva* in the Vedic and classical usage.

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

6.1.115 अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च

avyādavadyādavakramuravratāyamavantvavasyuṣu ca
/ avyāt-avadyāt-avakramuḥ-avrata-ayam-avantu-avasyuṣu 7/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyāḥ antaḥpādam* #114)
'avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avrata, ayam, avantu, avasyu'ity eteṣu yakāravakārapare'py atiparato' ntaḥpādam eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* which occurs in the middle of the quarter of a verse also remains as is when the *a* of *avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avrata, ayam, avantu,* and *avasyu* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agniḥ práthamo vasúbhirno avyāt
mítramaho avadyāt
mā śívāso avákramuḥ
te no avratāḥ
śatadhāro ayaṃ maṇiḥ 'this gem has hundred facets'
te nó avantu pitaraḥ
kuśikāsó avasyaváḥ

1. This rule generally constitutes an exception to 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* and 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ.*

6.1.116 यजुष्युरः

yajuṣy uraḥ
/yajuṣi 7/1 *uraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)
uraḥśabda eṅanto yajuṣi visaye'ti prakṛtyā bhavati
The form *uraḥ* when ending in *eṄ* in the usage of the *Yajurveda* remains as is when *a* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uro antarikṣam

1. Note that *uro* ends in *eṄ* through the application of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* and 6.1.112 *ato ror. . . .* Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then requires a single replacement in *guṇa* to yield *ura*(*s*→*rU*)→*ura*(*r*→*u*)→*ur*(*a* + *u*→*o*) = *uro.* This *guṇa,* however, can be accomplished by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* if *uro* is to be interpreted as a singular address form (*sambuddhi*). Some therefore also read the *sūtra* as *yajuṣy uro.*

This *prakṛtibhāva* cannot be limited to the context of *antaḥpādam.* For, there are no verse-quarters in the *Yajurveda* (*SK: yājuṣi pādānām abhāvaḥ*). It will thus apply everywhere.

6.1.117 आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बेऽम्बालऽम्बिकेपूर्वे

āpojuṣāṇovṛṣṇovarṣiṣṭhe' mbe' mbāle' mbikepūrve
/āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe-ambe-ambāle (used without endings); *ambikepūrve* 1/2= *ambike śabdāt pūrve* (*pañc. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)

'āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe'ity ete śabdā 'ambe ambāle' ity etau ca yāv ambikeśabdāt pūrvau yajuṣi paṭhitau te ati parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti
The words *āpo, juṣāṇo, vṛṣṇo, varṣiṣṭhe,* and *ambe* and *ambāle* as well, remain as are when used before *ambike* in the usage of the *Yajurveda,* provided *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

āpó a̲smān mā̲taráḥ śundhayantu
juṣā̲ṇo a̲pturājyásya
vṛṣṇó a̲ṃśubhyā̲ṃ gabhástipūtaḥ
varṣíṣṭhe̲ adhi̲ nāke̲
ambe̲ ambā̲lyambíke

1. Haradatta states that the first word, i.e., *āpaḥ,* ends in *Jas* 'nominative plural' (obligatorily plural); the second, i.e., *juṣāṇo,* in *sU* 'nominative singular'; the third, i.e., *vṛṣṇo,* in *Śas* 'accusative plural'; and the fourth, i.e., *varṣiṣṭhe,* in *Ni* 'locative singular'. The rest are forms of *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*; *PM* ad *Kāś*: *tatra prathamaṃ jasantam; dvitīyaṃ svantam; tṛtīyaṃ śasantam; caturthaṃ ṅyantam; itare sambuddhyante*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) accepts *vṛṣṇo* as a singular ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhyekavacanāntam*).

6.1.118 अङ्ग इत्यादौ च

aṅga ityādau ca
/ aṅge 7/1 *ityādau* 7/1 = *iti = aṅgaḥ; tasyādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)
aṅgaśabdeya eṅ tadādau cākāre yaḥ pūrvaḥ sa yajuṣi viṣaye' ti prakṛtyā bhavati
The *eṄ* of an *aṅga* before *a,* and the *eṄ* of any other form before the initial *a* of an *aṅga,* remain as are, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope in the usage of the *Yajurveda.*

EXAMPLES:

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge adīdhyat
aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge nidīdhyat
aindraḥ prāṇo aṅgo aṅgo aśocisam

1. Note that the word *iti* is used here to bring yet another reading of *aṅge* in this rule (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *itikaraṇenānantarokto' ṅgaśabdaḥ pratyavamṛśyate*). 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 *eṄ* of *aṅge,* when followed by *a,* goes through *prakṛtibhāva* and

(*ii*) an *eṄ*, also when followed by the initial *a* of *aṅge*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva*.

Thus, given *prāṇo aṅge aṅge aśociṣam*, we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *aṅge aśociṣam* where *eṄ* is part of *aṅge*. We also get *prakṛtibhāva* in *prāṇo aṅge* where *eṄ* is not a part of *aṅge*. That is, it is not necessary that *eṄ* must be part of *aṅge*. Conversely, it is also not necessary that the following *a* must also be the initial *a* of *aṅge*.

6.1.119 अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे

anudātte ca kudhapare
/anudātte 7/1 *ca* ϕ *kudhapare* 7/1 = *kuś ca dhaś ca* = *kudhau* (*dv.*); *kudhau parau yasmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)
anudātte cāti kavargadhakārapare parato yajuṣi viṣaye eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* 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 *ṅ*, or *dh*, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ayaṃ so' gniḥ 'this is that same *agni*'
ayaṃ so' dhvaraḥ 'that is that same sacrifice'

1. This rule offers *prakṛtibhāva*, in the usage of *Yajurveda*, where *eṄ* 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 adhvaraḥ* where *a* of *agni* and *adhvara* is followed by *g* and *dh*, respectively. This *á* is also *anudātta*. The word *agni* is derived with affix *ni* and, hence, is marked by its affixal *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādisūtra* 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*; *Uṇādi* 1: *phiṣa antodāttaḥ*). The *g* of *agni* and *dh* of *adhvara* make their *a* meet the condition of *kudhapara*.

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* (*Uṇādisūtra* 196: *ṛjendrāgravajra . . .*). 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 sahasriyaḥ* 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 *śatadhāro ayam maṇiḥ*, in consonance with 6.1.115 *avyādavadyāt. . . .* This, however, is not possible since 6.1.114 applies under the condition of *antaḥpādam*. The examples do not come from a *pāda* of the *Yajurveda*.

6.1.120 अवपथासि च

avapathāsi ca
/avapathāsi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116 *anudātte* #119)
'avapathāḥ' śabde' nudātte' kārādau parato yajuṣi viṣaya eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ*, remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when *avapathāḥ*, with its initial *a* marked with *anudātta*, follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ

1. The *ca* is used to attract *anudātte*. The word *avapathāḥ*, of *strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*, is a derivate of *LAṄ* 'imperfect' where *LAṄ* gets replaced with the *ātmanepada* second person singular ending *thās* (4.1.77 *lasya*; 4.1.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .). Its *a*, occurring after *rudrebhyo*, remains *anudātta* in consonance with 8.1.28 *tiṅ ataṅaḥ*.

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

6.1.121 सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः

sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ
/sarvatra ϕ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *goḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)
sarvatra, chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca, ati parato gor eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati vibhāṣā
The *pada*-final *eṄ*, of *go*, optionally remains as is everywhere (*sarvatra*), when *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

go'gram
go agram
apaśavo vā anye goaśvebhyaḥ goaśvān

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 अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य

avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya
/avaṅ 1/1 *sphoṭāyanasya* 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *padāntāt* #108 *vibhāṣā goḥ* #121)
aci parato goḥ sphoṭāyanasya ācāryasya matenāvaṅ ādeśo bhavati
The *o* of a *pada*-final *go* is optionally replaced with *avaṄ*, in the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

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

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

2. The word *sphoṭāyana* is used here for expressing respect (*pūjā*). For, *vibhāṣā* itself can account for option. We will thus get *go agram* (*prakṛtibhāva* with no *avaṄ*), *go' gram* (with *pūrvarūpa*) and *gavāgram* (with *avaṄ* and *savarṇadīrgha*). We similarly get *go odanam, gavaudanam*; *go ajinam* and *gavājinam*, etc.

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

6.1.123 इन्द्रे च

indre ca
/indre 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *goḥ* #121 *avaṅ* #122)
indraśabdasthe' ci parato gor nityam avaṅādeśo bhavati
The final *o* of *go* is replaced with *avaṄ* when the *aC* of *indra* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gavendraḥ 'best among cows; lord of cattle'
gavendrayajñasvaraḥ

1. This rule offers obligatory *avaṄ* when *go* occurs followed by the *aC* of *indra*. Thus, *g(o→ava + indraḥ = gav(a + i→e) ndraḥ = gavendraḥ* and *gavendrayajñasvaraḥ*.

2. *Kāśikā* also reads *nityam* as part of this rule. But this is not needed. For, *avaṄ* is made optional by the preceding rule. This express formulation then must make *avaṄ* obligatory. Those who follow the *Kāśikāvṛtti* state that *nityam* is used for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule. The *Mahābhāṣya, Padamañjarī* 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 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम्

plutapragṛhyā aci nityam
/plutapragṛhyāḥ 1/3 = *plutāś ca pragṛhyāś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aci* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114)
plutāś ca pragṛhyāś cāci prakṛtyā bhavanti nityam
Those which are termed *pluta* and *pragṛhya* remain as are, obligatorily (*nityam*), when a vowel (*aci*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

devadattā3 atra nvasi 'Devadatta, live here'
yajñadattā3 idamānaya 'Yajñadatta, bring this'
agnī iti 'nominative/accusative dual of Agni'
vāyū iti 'nominative/accusative dual of Vāyu'
khaṭve iti 'nominative/accusative dual of *khaṭvā* 'cot''
māle 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 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam* and 1.1.27 *ūkālo'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* define *pragṛhya* and *pluta*, respectively. We thus get *prakṛtibhāva* in *agnī iti, vāyū iti* and *khaṭve iti*, where *ī, ū* and *e* are *pragṛhya*. Consider *devadattā3 atra nvasi* and *yajñadattā3 idam ānaya* as examples of *prakṛtibhāva* where *ā3* is a *pluta*, in consonance with 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*. Note that rule 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*, which assigns the *pluta*-status to *a*, is contained within the *tripādī* 'first seven and one quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. Consequently, 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, if invoked, will make it suspended in view of the application of this rule. But since Pāṇini explicitly offers *pluta* as locus (*āśraya*) of *prakṛtibhāva*

and also since suspension (*asiddhatva*) caused by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will remove this locus, *pluta*-status of *ā3*, remains intact. For, specification of *prakṛtibhāva* via *kāryin*, i.e., *ā3*, as locus will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *asmād eva prakṛtibhāve kartavye siddhaḥ plutaḥ, anyathā tasya kāryitvenāśrayaṇam 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 *jānū asya* where *a* of *asya* conditions *prakṛtibhāva*. Now consider (*jānu* + *uÑ*→*jānū*) *asya*, where *a* does not condition long replacement. A *prakṛtibhāva* in *jānu u* is thus not possible. The *uÑ* in *jānu u*(*Ñ*) *asya* is a particle (*nipāta*). The vowel which serves as a condition for single replacement with its preceding *u* does not occur after a *pragṛhya*. The vowel which follows *uÑ* 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*: *uñ nipātaḥ, tasya pūrveṇa sahaikādeśasya yan nimittaṃ na sa pragṛhyād uttaraḥ, yaś ca tataḥ paro na sa ekādeśasya nimittam iti prakṛtibhāvābhāvād ekādeśo bhavaty eva*). In fact we can also get *jān*(*u* + *u*→*ū*→*v*) *asya*, as in *jānv asya rujati*, not from 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* but from 8.3.33 *maya uño 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 *pragṛhyo'ci parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati* 'a *pragṛhya* 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 *pragṛhya* (*ādivadbhāva*). An application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can also be blocked because of this *prakṛtibhāva* (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *punar ajgrahaṇe tu na bhavati, tatraikādeśe kṛte tasyādivadbhāvāt pragṛhyagrahaṇenagrahaṇāt 'iko yaṇ aci' iti yaṇādeśaḥ prakṛtibhāvān na bhavati 'mañ uño vo vā' iti pakṣe vakāraḥ*).

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 आङोनुनासिकश्छन्दसि

āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi
/*āṅaḥ* 6/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* #144)
āṅo'ci parataḥ saṃhitāyāṃ chandasi viṣaye' nunāsikādeśo bhavati sa ca prakṛtyā bhavati
An *āÑ* is replaced with an *anunāsika*, in the Vedic, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, with an additional provision that the *anunāsika* remain as is.

EXAMPLES:

a̲bhra ā̃ a̲paḥ
gábhī̲ra ā̃ ugráputre̲ jighâṃsataḥ

1. This rule offers nasalization of *ā* of *āṄ*, of course, when a vowel follows. Furthermore, the resultant *ā̃* also goes through *prakṛtibhāva*. Some also read this *sūtra* with *bahulam* 'variously'. Consequently, *ā* does not become nasalized, for example, in *indro bāhubhyām* (*ā* + *atarat*→*ātarat*). Note that the *ā* becomes nasalized only when *ā* is used without any meaning (*anarthaka*). Thus, we get *abhra ā̃ apaḥ*. An *ā*, used as a prefix (*upasarga*) with a root (*dhātu*), does not become nasalized, and go through *prakṛtibhāva*, because it then carries meaning (*sārthaka*) as a modifier to the action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇatvāt*). Consequently, we get a long replacement in (*ā* + *atarat*)→*ātarat*. It can still remain an *ā*, as in *ā atarat*, if one accepts the reading of *bahulam*.

6.1.126 इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च

iko'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca
/ikaḥ 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 = *na savarṇaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *śākalyasya* 6/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* 114)
iko'savarṇe' ci parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matena prakṛtyā bhavanti hrasvaś ca tasyekaḥ sthāne bhavati
A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* remains as is, in the opinion of Śākalya, when *saṃhitā* obtains and a non-homogeneous vowel follows; additionally, this *iK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi atra
dadhy atra
madhu atra
madhv atra
kumāri atra
kumāry atra
kiśori atra
kiśory atra

1. Note that an *iK*, when followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*), will automatically facilitate the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our present rule, for the very reason that it is formulated (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*), could then provide for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* optionally, against the provision of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Mention of Śākalya is then made for showing respect (*pūjārtham*).

2. The *ca* in this rule should not be used for carrying *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 *dadhy 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 indescriminately over both land and water. They are *kṛtakārī* '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 (*akṛtakārī*).

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 (*nityasamāsa*) finds its scope. Thus, we get *ṛtviyaḥ*, parallel to *ṛtu* + *ghaS*, paraphrased as *ṛtu prāptaḥ asya* 'that whose season has approached'. Recall that *gh* of *ghaS* will be replaced with *iy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ . . .*) and the negation of *prakṛtibhāva* will occasion the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. That is, *ṛtu* + (*gh*→*iy*) *a*(*S*)→*ṛt*(*u*→*v*) + *iya* = *ṛtviya* + *s*(*U*)→*ṛtviyaḥ*. Rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* will here assign the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). Or else, 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* will offer application of *guṇa*. We also get obligatory compounds such as (*vi* + *ākaraṇa*) + *sU*)) → *vyākaraṇam* and (*kumārī* + *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-nityasamāsayoḥ* receives split interpretation (*ekam api dvidhā bhidyate*). It is intrepreted as denoting the right condition of what follows (*parasaptamī*) in the context of *sit*. It is interpreted as a locative denoting scope (*viṣayasaptamī*) in the context of *nityasamāsa* 'obligatory compound'.

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

6.1.127 **ऋत्यकः**

ṛty akaḥ
/*ṛti* 7/1 *akaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114 *śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* #126)
ṛkāre parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matenākaḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti, hrasvaś ca tasyākaḥ sthāne bhavati
A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* remains as is in the opinion of Sākalya, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and *ṛ* follows; additionally, this *aK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭva ṛśyaḥ
māla ṛśyaḥ
kumāri ṛśyaḥ
hotṛ ṛśyaḥ

1. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when the preceding itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. The preceding *sūtra* can accomplish *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* when an *iK* may be followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*). 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 (*savarṇa*) vowel may follow. Elsewhere, the preceding *sūtra* itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. Thus, consider *khaṭvā + ṛśyaḥ→khaṭva ṛśyaḥ* and *hotṛ + ṛśyaḥ→hotṛ ṛśyaḥ*, where *ṛ* of *hotṛ* is short.

2. Why do we need *ṛti*? So that *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* is blocked in *khaṭv(ā + i→e)ndraḥ→khaṭvendraḥ*. The condition of *akaḥ* blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *vṛkṣ(au→āv) + ṛśyaḥ = vṛkṣāv ṛśyaḥ*.

6.1.128 अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते

aplutavad upasthite
/aplutavat ϕ = na plutavat (*nañ. tat.*); *upasthite* 7/1/
upasthitaṃ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ samudāyād avacchidya padaṃ yena svarūpe' vasthāpyate tasmin paratah pluto' plutavad bhavati
A *pluta* is treated as if non-*pluta* when a non-Vedic (*anārṣa*) *iti* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

suślokā3 iti = susloketi
sumaṅgalā3 iti = sumaṅgaleti

1. The word *ārṣa* is explained as a *taddhita* derivate of *ṛṣi* 'Veda' signifying *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born or found there in'. The negative *anārṣa* may generally refer to something other than what is found in the Vedas. However, *iti*, with the qualification of *upasthite*, defines its context to *itikaraṇa* 'attaching *iti*'. Technically, *upasthita* refers to the process of splitting individual *padas* of a sentence and marking them with *iti* (*Kāś*: *upasthitaṃ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ*). Thus, *suślokā3 iti*. This is what then is viewed as *anārṣa*. The *ā3* of *suślokā3* is *pluta* (8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*). This *pluta*, in view of our present rule, becomes a non-*pluta* and, hence, blocks the *prakṛtibhāva* provision of 6.1.120 *pluta-pragṛhyā aci nityam*. We then get *suślokā3 + iti→susloketi* and *sumaṅgalā + iti→sumaṅgaleti*. These examples both involve *guṇa*-replacement, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*.

2. Why is this specification of *pluta* made with *vat*? In the absence of *vat*,

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 *pragṛhya* both, negation applies to one conditioned by *pluta*. A *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* cannot be negated. Consequently, *pluta* will be heard in *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* (*Kāś*: *apluta ity ucyamāne pluta eva pratiṣidhyeta . . . pragṛhyāśraye prakṛtibhāve plutasya śravaṇaṃ na syāt*). Examples are: *agnī3 iti, vāyū3 iti*. The *prakṛtibhāva*, consequent upon assignment of the term *pragṛhya* by 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam*, applies to *agnī3 iti* and *vāyū3 iti*. The *pluta*, of course, is retained in consonance with 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*.

6.1.129 ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य

ī3 cākravarmaṇasya
/ī3 (1/1 deleted) *cākravarmaṇasya* 6/1/
(*aci* #77 *aplutavat* #128)
ī3 kārḥ pluto' ci parataś cākravarmaṇasyācāryasya matenāplutavad bhavati
An *ī* termed *pluta* is treated as if a non-*pluta*, in the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa, when a vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

astu hītyabravīt = astu hī3 ity abravīt
cinu hīdam = cinuhī3 idam

1. Mention of Cākravarmaṇa is made for indicating option (*vikalpa*). It is intended for suspending the *anuvṛtti* of the Vedic *iti* (*tadupasthite nivṛtyartham*) 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-vibhāṣā*. Consider *astu hīty abrūtām* '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 pṛṣṭaprativacane heḥ* assigns *pluta* to *hi* and, since the specification is desired to have been made with *vat* (*aplutavadbhāva*), *prakṛtibhāva* is blocked in favor of lengthening (*dīrgha*). Thus we get *astu hīty. . . .* An option of *prakṛtibhāva* will yield *astu hī3 ity abrūtām* 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 *ī*. We thus get *vaśā3 iyam* and *vaśeyam*, where *guṇa*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, applies through *aplutavadbhāva*.

6.1.130 दिव उत्

diva ut
/divaḥ 6/1 *ut* 1/1/
(*padāntāt→padasya* #108)
divaḥ padasya ukārādeśo bhavati

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

EXAMPLES:

dyukāmaḥ '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 *it*-element *Ũ*. The condition of *div* being a *pada* is reconstructed based upon the *anuvṛtti* of *pada* from 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ 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 (*ekadeśa*). The condition of *pada* is needed so that the *v* of *diva*, as in *divau* and *divaḥ*, can be blocked from availing a replacement in *u*.

Now consider some examples: *dyukāmaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *divi kāmo yasya* 'he who wishes for heaven' and *dyumān*, paraphrased as *dyauḥ 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 *yaṆ*, yields *d*(*ī*→*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 śūḍ anunāsike*. Thus, given *akṣadyūbhyām*, where *akṣadyū* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *div* used in combination with the cooccurring *pada akṣa* + *bhis*, we get *ūṬH* for *v*. An application of *yaṆ*, on *i* of *div* before *ūṬH*, can then yield *akṣadyū* of *akṣadyūbhyām*. The *T* in *ūT* is also explained as intended for canceling *ūṬH* (*Kāś*: *taparakaraṇam ūṭho nivṛtyartham*). Since a sound brought about by application of a rule (*bhāvyamāna*) refers to sounds homogeneous with it, a *v*, when subjected through *samprasāraṇa*, will refer to a short *u* equal in duration of half a mora (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*). Why then use *taparakaraṇa* with short *u*? It is for this reason that *taparakaraṇa* is intended more for canceling *ūṬH*.

6.1.131 एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि

etattadoḥ sulopo'kor anañsamāse hali

/etattadoḥ 6/2/ = *etac ca tac ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *sulopaḥ* 1/1 = *sor lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *akoḥ* 6/2 = *na vidyate 'k' yayoḥ* (*bv.*); *anañsamāse* 7/1 = *nañaḥ samāsaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na nañsamāsaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *hali* 7/1/ (*saṃhitāyām* #72)

etattadau yāv akakārau nañsamāse na vartete tayor yaḥ suśabdaḥ tadarthena sambaddhaḥ tasya saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye 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 (*nañsamāsa*), is deleted, provided a consonant (*hali*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

eṣa dadāti 'this one gives'
sa dadāti 'he gives'
eṣa bhuṅkte 'this one eats'
sa bhuṅkte 'he eats'

1. Let us consider *eṣa dadāti* 'this one gives?' where *eṣa* is derived from *etad* + *sU*. The final *d* of *etad* is replaced with *a* by 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then orders *pararūpa*, a single replacement similar to what follows. We thus get: *eta*(*d*→*a*) + *s*(*U*)→*et*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *s*(*U*). The preceding *t* of *etat* is then replaced with *s* (7.2.106 *tadoḥ sāv anantyayoḥ*) to yield *e*(*t*→*s*)*a* + *s*(*U*). This *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. We thus get *e*(*s*→*ṣ*)*a* + *s*(*U*) = *eṣa* + *s*(*U*). Our final derivate *eṣa* 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 dadāti*, 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 *akaC*. Thus, one may derive a form such as *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *akaC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*; 5.3.71 *avayayasarvanāmnām akc prāk ṭeḥ*) 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 *eṣa*. The resultant forms with *akaC*, i.e., *etaka* + *s*(*U*) and *taka* + *s*(*U*), cannot go through deletion of *sU*. They will yield *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *s* of *esakaḥ* goes through a replacement in *ṣ*. 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 *akaC*. Such a reference is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate* '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 *akaC*.

The negation of *anañsamāse* 'when not in combination with a negative particle' is important for blocking deletion of *sU* in *aneṣo dadāti* and *aso dadāti*, where *aneṣaḥ* and *asaḥ* are paraphrased as *na eṣaḥ* and *na saḥ*. The *n* in *na eṣaḥ* 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*→*eṣa*) + *sU*→*a* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *s*(*U*) + *eṣa* + *s*(*U*) = *an* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *eṣa* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *aneṣa* + *sU*→*aneṣaḥ*. 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 *eṣaḥ* + *atra* → *eṣo' tra* and *saḥ* + *atra* → *so' tra*, where what follows is a vowel.

6.1.132 स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

syaś chandasi bahulam
/syaḥ 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ hali* #131)
'sya' iti etasya cchandasi hali parato bahulaṃ sor lopo bhavati
A *sU* which occurs after *sya*, in the Vedic, is variously deleted when a consonant (*hal*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uta sya vājī kṣipaṇiṃ túraṇyati grīvāyáṃ baddhó api kakṣa āsaní
eṣa sya té pavata indra somáḥ

1. Note that deletion of *sU* here refers to one which occurs after (*t*→*s*)*ya* = *sya* of *tyad*. That is, (*tya*(*d*→*a*)→*ty*(*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 (*anukaraṇa*) of the nominative, used with the denotatum of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā*).

6.1.133 सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम्

so' ci lope cet pādapūraṇam
/soḥ 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *lope* 7/1 *cet* ϕ *pādapūraṇam* 1/1 = *pādasya pūraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ* #131)
'saḥ'ity etasyāci parataḥ sulopo bhavati lope sati cet pādaḥ pūryate
The *sU* of *saḥ* is deleted when a vowel (*aci*) follows, provided this deletion facilitates completion of the quarter of a verse (*pādapūrṇam*).

EXAMPLES:

sedu rājā́ kṣayati carṣaṇīnām
sauṣádhīranúrudhyase

1. This rule allows deletion of *sU* with the express purpose of completing a verse quarter. Thus, given *sa* + *sU* + *idu* and *sa* + *sU* + *oṣadhi*, we get

sa + (*sU*→ϕ) + *idu*→*s*(*a* + *i*→*e*)*du* = *sedu* and *sa* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *oṣadhi*→*s*(*a* + *o*→*au*)*ṣadhi* = *sauṣadhi*, after *sU*-deletion and single *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* replacements.

2. *Kāśikā* states that some also desire *pāda* to refer to quarter of a verse. That is, in addition to referring to the quarter of a Ṛgvedic hymn (*ṛkpāda*) in view of *chandasi*:

saiṣa dāśarathī rāmaḥ/ saiṣa rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ/
saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī/ saiṣa bhīmo mahābalaḥ/ /

6.1.134 सुट्कात्पूर्वः

suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ
/suṭ 1/1 *kāt* 5/1 *pūrvaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72)
adhikāro' yam. ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra 'suṭ' iti 'kāt pūrvaḥ' iti caitad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃskarttā 'he who beautifies, etc.'
saṃskartum 'for beautifying'
saṃskartavyam 'that which is to be . . .'

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

Illustrations will be offered under individual rules.

2. Pāṇini specifies *kāt pūrvaḥ* to indicate that *sUṬ* does not become part of what contains *k* (*Kāś*: *kātpūrvagrahaṇaṃ suṭo' bhaktajñāpanārtham*). Augment *sUṬ*, because of being marked with *Ṭ*, could have been introduced as an initial element anyway (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Consider the controlled derivation of *saṃkṛṣīṣṭa*, third person singular middle form of *LIṄ*, from *sam* + *kṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*)→*sam* + *kṛ* + *ta*, where, after *sīyUṬ*, we get *sam* + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *ta*. Augment *sUṬ* is now introduced before *ta* in view of 3.4.107 *sūṭ tithoḥ*. The *y* of *sīy*, in *sam* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *ta*, is then deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Note that *sUṬ* before *kṛ* is accomplished by our present rule. If this *sUṬ*

is treated as part of *kṛ* then *skṛ* will become *saṃyogādi* 'that which has a conjunct in its initial position'. Rule 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ* will then require a *guṇa* replacement for *ṛ*. This will yield a wrong form. It is to block such applications that *sUṬ*, at the strength of its specification by *kāt pūrvaḥ*, is not treated as part of what contains *k* (*kakāravān*). A *guṇa* and *iṬ* conditioned by *saṃyogādi* (cf. 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ*) will be blocked if *sUṬ* is treated part of the conjunct (*saṃyoga*). A *sUṬ*, if treated as part of the conjunct, would also not allow *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' (cf. 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*). The word *saṃskṛṣīṣṭa* goes through *anusvāra* of *m* and *ṣ*-replacement for both of its *s* sounds.

Now consider *saṃskriyate*, a third singular present passive, derived from *sam* + *kṛ* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)→*sam* + *kṛ* + *yaK* + *te* where *yaK* is introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced with *ri* (7.4.28 *rig śayagliṅkṣu*) and augment *sUṬ* is introduced to yield *sam* + *sUṬ* + *k*(*ṛ*→*ri*) + *ya* + *te* = *saṃskriyate*. This intervening *s*, if treated as part of *kri*, would have also blocked *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*. Incidentally, in matters of accentuation, an insert consonant is treated as if not present (*avidyamānavat*).

How is a *guṇa* conditioned by initial conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) accomplished in *sañcaskaratuḥ* and *sañcaskaruḥ* if *sUṬ* is not treated as part of that which contains *k*. Actually, *sUṬ* becomes part of *sañcaskṛ*, an *aṅga*, after iteration (*PŚ* (90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate*). The *guṇa* then applies to derive *sañcask*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *atuḥ* = *sañcaskaratuḥ*. But 7.4.10 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder . . .*, even when *sUṬ* is treated as part of *kṛ*, cannot allow *guṇa* since *skṛ* with initial conjunct is not a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *guṇa* of 7.4.10 also where penultimate conjunct is involved (*saṃyogopadha*; *saṃyogopadhagrahaṇaṃ ca 'ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder guṇaḥ'ity atra vaktavyam*).

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

(*i*) *aḍvyavāya upasaṃkhyānam* '*sUṬ* is introduced before *k* also in contexts where *aṬ* intervenes' and

(*ii*) *abhyāsavyavāye' pi ca* '*sUṬ* is introduced before *k*, also where *abhyāsa* 'doubling' intervenes'.

The necessity of these proposals is explained relative to introduction of *sUṬ* on the one hand and that of *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* 'doubling' on the other. It is argued that an operation, i.e., *sUṬ*, is more powerful because it is internal (*antaraṅga*) to the preverb (*upasarga*) and the root (*dhātu*). This operation is to be performed before any external (*bahiraṅga*) operation, i.e., *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* conditioned by the affix. But since *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* and it does not become part of the form which contains *k*, *Ṭ* and *abhyāsa*, when applied, will follow *s*. This, in turn, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). It is to remove this difficulty that these express proposals are made. One has to apply *aṬ* and

abhyāsa first and then, even with them intervening, *sUṬ* is introduced before *k*. This will offer all desired results (*sarvam iṣṭaṃ siddhyati*).

Provisions of the first proposal are illustrated with *samaskarot* and *samaskārṣīt*, third person singular active imperfect (*LaṄ*) and immediate (*LUṄ*) past forms of verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *sam*. Notice how *sUṬ*, i.e., *s* after *a*, is introduced before *k*, even when *aṬ*, i.e., *a* before *s*, intervenes. We also get *sañcaskāra* and *paricaskāra*, where *ca* results out of *abhyāsa*. Augment *sUṬ* is again introduced before *k*, even when *abhyāsa* intervenes. See the appendix for full derivational details.

6.1.135 सम्पर्युपेभ्य: करोतौ भूषणे

samparyupebhyaḥ karotau bhūṣaṇe
/saṃ-pari-upebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *karotau* 7/1 *bhūṣaṇe* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134)
'*sam, pari, upa*' *ity etebhyo bhūṣaṇārthe karotau parataḥ suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', used with the preverbs *sam, pari* and *upa*, occurs with the signification of *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃskartā
saṃskartum
saṃskartavyam
pariṣkartā
pariṣkartum
pariṣkartavyam
upaskartā
upaskartum
upaskartavyam

1. This rule allows for introduction of *sUṬ* before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* is used with the preverbs *sam, pari* and *upa*, provided when the signification is *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'. Consider *saṃskartā* which is a derivate of *tṛC* introduced after *kṛ* used with *sam*. Refer to the derivation of *kartā* (II:388) in the appendix. Given *sam* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *kartā*, the *m* of *sam* is replaced with *rŨ* (8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*). We now have *sa*(*m*→*r*(*Ũ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sar* + *s* + *kartā*. The *a* of *sar* is optionally nasalized by 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*. Now we have *sār* + *s* + *kartā* and *sar* + *s* + *kartā*. Rule 8.3.4 *anunāsikāt paro'nusvāraḥ* introduces *anusvāra* after *a* before *rU*, provided *a* is non-nasalized. This application changes *sar* + *s* + *kartā* into *saṃ* + *ṛ* + *s* + *kartā*. Rule 8.3.18 *karavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* can then apply on both strings to yield: *sā*(*r*→*ḥ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sāḥ* + *s* + *kartā* and *saṃ* + (*r*→*ḥ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *saṃḥ* + *s* + *kartā*. A *vārttika* under 8.3.36 *vā śari*, i.e., *saṃpuṃkānāṃ so vaktavyaḥ*, requires the *ḥ* to be

replaced with *s*. We thus get *sā(ḥ→s) + s + kartā = sās + s + kartā* and *saṃ(ḥ→s) + s + kartā = saṃs + s + kartā*. Forms with single *s* are also used, especially when the option of *rU* which leads to an additional *s*, via *ḥ*, 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 *saṃskartum* and *saṃskartavyam*, the derivates of *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, respectively. Derivates such as *pariṣkartā*, *pariṣkartum* and *pariṣkartavyam* involve replacement of *s* by *ṣ* (8.3.70 *sutstusvañjām*). Deriving *upaskartā*, *upaskartum* and *upaskartavyam* does not offer anything new.

2. The condition of *bhūṣaṇe* is necessary so that examples such as *upakaroti* '. . . does a favor' are blocked from receiving *sUṬ*. Some, however, claim that examples such as *saṃskṛtam annam* 'cooked food' requires *sUṬ*, even when the signification is other than *bhūṣaṇa*. Others claim that *saṃskāra* of *anna* can still be viewed as *bhūṣaṇa*.

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

6.1.136 समवाये च

samavāye ca
/ samavāye 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *samparyupebhyaḥ karotau* #135)
samavāyaḥ = samudāyaḥ, tasmiṃś cārthe karotau samparyupebhyaḥ kāt pūrvaḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ*, used in conjunction with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, follows with the signification of *samavāya* 'mass, aggregation, collection' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

tatra naḥ saṃskṛtam
tatra naḥ pariṣkṛtam
tatra naḥ upaskṛtam

1. Why was a single *sūtra* with the form of *saṃparyupābhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇasamavāyayoḥ* not formulated?

6.1.137 उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु

upāt pratiyatnavaikṛtavākyādhyāhāreṣu
/ upāt 5/1 *pratiyatna-vaikṛta-vākyādhyāhāreṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *karotau* #135)
'pratiyatna, vaikṛta, vākyādhyāhāra' ity eteṣv artheṣu gamyamāneṣu karotau dhātau parata upāt suṭ kāt 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 *vākyādhyāhāra* 'paraphrase; supplying words to a sentence to explain understood meanings' are signified and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

edho dakasyopaskurute 'wood brings new quality to the water'
kāṇḍaguṇasyopaskurute 'ibidem'
upaskṛtaṃ bhuṅkte 'eats in a bad manner'
upaskṛtaṃ gacchati 'walks in a bad manner'
upaskṛtaṃ jalpati 'speaks in a bad manner'
upaskṛtam adhīte 'studies in a bad manner'

1. Why was the rule not formulated as *saṃparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇa-samavāyayoḥ upāt pratiyatnavākyādhyāhāreṣu ca*? Answers Haradatta, go ask the maker of the *sūtras* (*PM*: *sūtrakāraṃ pṛccha*).

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 *samīhā* 'necessary effort' for enhancing an existing quality, or maintaining one already enhanced. (*Kāś*: *sato guṇāntarādhānaṃ ādhikyāya vṛddhasya vā tadavasthāya samīhā*). The word *vaikṛta* simply means *vikṛta* 'brought into a state of modification'. The word *vākyādhyāhāra* is explained as express mention of words whose meanings otherwise must remain understood (*Kāś*: *gamyamānārthasya vākyasya svarūpeṇopādānaṃ vākyasyādhyāhāraḥ*).

6.1.138 किरतौ लवने

kiratau lavane
/kiratau 7/1 *lavane* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *upāt* #137)
upād uttarasmin kiratau dhātau lavanaviṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when the signification is *lavana* 'cutting' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaskāraṃ madrakā lunanti 'the people of Madra cut having spread it around'
upaskāraṃ kāśmīraka lunanti 'the people of Kashmīra cut having spread it around'

1. Note that only *upāt* is carried here. This rule provides for *sUṬ* before *k* when *kṝ* 'scatter, spread about' is used with the preverb *upa* and the signification is *lavana* 'cutting, chopping'. Affix *ṆamUL*, in *upaskāram*, is introduced in consonance with *bahulam* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal also requires the introduction of *sUṬ* when *kṝ*, used with the preverb *upa*, occurs with *ṆvuL* (3.1.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyām . . .*).

6.1.139 हिंसायां प्रतेश्च

hiṃsāyāṃ prateś ca
/ hiṃsāyām 7/1 *prateḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *upāt* #137 *kiratau* #138)
upāt prateś cottarasmin kiratau viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati hiṃsāyāṃ viṣaye
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* in the context of verbal root *kṝ*, used after *upa* and *prati*, when the signification is *hiṃsā* 'harm' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt 'may your cutting O! Vṛṣala, lead to violence'
pratiskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt 'ibidem'

1. Our examples, *upaskīrṇa* and *pratiskīrṇa*, are derived from *upa* + *s* + *kṝ* + *ta* and *prati* + *s* + *kṝ* + *ta*, via application of *i*-replacement (*itva*; 7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ*), with a following *r* (*raparatva*; 1.50 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), change of *t* to *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto . . .*), lengthening (*dīrgha*; 8.2.77 *hali ca*) and replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ ṇo naḥ . . .*). Thus, *upa* + *s* + *k*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *ta*→*upaskir* + (*t*→*n*) *a*→*upask*(*i*→*ī*) *r* + *na*→*upaskīr* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *upaskīrṇa*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *hiṃsā*? So that examples such as *pratikīrṇam* can be kept out of the scope of *sUṬ*.

6.1.140 अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने

apāccatuṣpācchakuniṣv ālekhane
/ apāt 5/1 *catuṣpāc-chakuniṣu* 7/3 = *catuṣpādaś ca śakunayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ālekhane* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *kiratau* #138)
apād uttarasmin kiratau catuṣpācchakuniṣu yad ālekhanaṃ tasmin viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṝ*, when the same is used after preverb *apa* and the signification is 'scratching, scraping' (*ālekhana*) relatable to a quadruped (*catuṣpād*), or a bird (*śakunayaḥ*), and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

apaskirate vṛṣabho hṛṣṭaḥ 'happy, the bull is digging up dirt'
apaskirate kukkuṭaḥ bhakṣyārthi 'hungry, the rooster is digging up dirt'
apaskirate śve āśrayārthī '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', *jīvikā* 'livelihood' and *kulāya* 'making a shelter' (*harṣajīvikākulāyakaraṇeṣv iti vaktavyam*). Elsewhere, one should use active endings (*parasmaipada*).

6.1.141 कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः

kustumburūṇi jātiḥ
/kustumburūṇi 1/3 *jātiḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*kustumburūṇi*' *iti suṭ nipātyate jātiś 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 *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' *bahuvacana* 'plural' is not intended to be as such (*avivakṣita*). 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 (*tindukī*) of bad quality. The signification of the compound base is *nindā* 'censure'.

6.1.142 अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये

aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatye
/aparasparāḥ 1/3 *kriyāsātatye* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ sātatyam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*aparasparā*' *iti suṭ nipātyate kriyāsātatye gamyamāne*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *aparasparāḥ*, via *nipātana*, when *kriyāsātatya* 'uninterrupted action' is denoted and when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

aparasparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti 'Caravans move continuously'

1. The word *kriyāsātatya* is explained as an action with no interruption (*satatam avicchedena*). This is what is meant by *sātatyaprabandha* 'constant

occurrence' of *gamana* 'movement'. Elsewhere, we will get an example such as *aparaparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti*, where the action takes place only once.

2. Note that *sātatya* is used with the signification of *satata* '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 avaśyamaḥ kṛtye tuṅkāmamanasor api/*
> *samo vā hitatatayor māṃsasya paci yuḍghañoḥ//*
> 'the *m* of *avaśyam* goes through deletion; the *m* of *tumUN* 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 *yuṬ* (*LyuṬ*) or *GHaÑ*, follows.'

The following examples illustrate the intent of this verse:

> *avaśyaṃ kāryam = avaśyakāryam; kartuṃ kāmaḥ asya saḥ = kartukāmaḥ; hartuṃ kāmaḥ asya saḥ = hartukāmaḥ; sahitam, saṃhitam, satatam, santatam; māṃspacanam, māṃsapacanam; māṃspākaḥ, māṃsapākaḥ.*

6.1.143 गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु

> *goṣpadaṃ sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu*
> */goṣpadam* 1/1 *sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu* 7/3 = *sevitaṃ ca asevitaṃ ca pramāṇaṃ ca = sevitāsevitapramāṇāni* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> *goṣpadam iti suṭ nipātyate tasya ca ṣatvaṃ sevite' sevite pramāṇe ca viṣaye*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *goṣpada*, via *nipātana*, with an additional provision of replacement of *s* with *ṣ*, when *goṣpada, sevita, asevita* and *pramāṇa* are signified.

EXAMPLES:

> *goṣpado deśaḥ*
> 'a place where cows graze'
> *agoṣpadāny araṇyāni*
> '(large) forests where cows do not graze'

1. Augment *sUṬ* and *ṣ*-replacement for its *s* (*ṣatva*) is provided in the context of *sevita* 'frequented', *asevita* 'not frequented' and *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The condition of *asevita* is cited so that *agoṣpada* can also be accounted for. Why does one have to cite *asevita* when negation (*pratiṣedha*) 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, *agoṣpadāni araṇyāni* 'large forests which cows do not frequent'. Examples such as *goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained to the extent that only cow's footprints could fill up', etc., denote a measure (*pramāṇa*). Thus, *goṣpada* is not here used in the sense of a cow's footprint. Elsewhere, we will get *goḥ padam* = *gopadam* 'cow's foot'.

6.1.144 आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम्

āspadaṃ pratiṣṭhāyām
/āspadam 1/1 *pratiṣṭhāyām*7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
ātmayāpanāya sthānam = pratiṣṭhā, tasyām āspadam iti sūṭ nipātyate
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *āspada* 'place', via *nipātana*, when *pratiṣṭhā* 'place for earning a living' is denoted and *saṃhitā* 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* + *sUṬ* + *pad* + *GHa* = *āspada* + *sU*→*aspadam*. 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 *sUṬ*.

6.1.145 आश्चर्यमनित्ये

āścaryam anitye
/āścaryam 1/1 *anitye* 7/1 = *na nityam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
anitye' rtha āścaryam iti suṭ nipātyate
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *āścarya*, via *nipātana*, when *anitya* 'surprising, unusual, impermanent' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

āścaryaṃ yadi sa bhuñjīta 'it will be a surprise if he ate?'
āścaryaṃ yadi so' dhiyīta 'it will be a wonder if he studied?'

1. The word *anitya* refers to something unusual and extraordinary (*adbhutatvam*). Thus, we get *ā*(*Ṅ*) + *car* + *ya*(*T*)→*ā* + *s*(*uṬ*) + *car* + *ya*→*ā* + (*s*→*ś*) + *car* + *ya* = *āścarya*. Augment *sUṬ* is, of course, provided via *nipātana*. Affix

yaT, though, is offered by a *vārttika* proposal (*caṅer āṅi cāgurau*). We will get *ācaryaṃ karma śobhanam* 'one should pursue some noble deed' outside the meaning scope of *anitye*.

6.1.146 वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः

varcaske' vaskaraḥ
/varcaske 7/1 *avaskaraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*avaskara*' *iti nipātyate varcaske' abhidheye*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *avaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *varcaska* 'throw away food; useless' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

avakīryata 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 *ṛdor ap*) introduced after verbal root *kṝ*, used with the preverb *ava*. The *sUṬ*, of course, is introduced via *nipātana*. Affix *aP* thus has the signification of *karman* 'object'.

6.1.147 अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्

apaskaro rathāṅgam
/apaskaraḥ 1/1 *rathāṅgam* 1/1 = *rathasya aṅgam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*apaskara*' *iti nipātyate rathāṅgaṃ ced bhavati*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *apaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *rathāṅga* 'part of a chariot' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

apaskaraḥ 'part of a chariot'

1. The word *apaskaraḥ* is derived similarly to *avaskaraḥ*. Elsewhere, we get *apakaraḥ* with the signification of *brahmacāriṇaḥ striyāṃ retaḥ sekaḥ* 'a celebate's sprinkling of semen into a woman'.

6.1.148 विष्किरः शकुनौ वा

viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā
/viṣkiraḥ 1/1 *śakunau* 7/1 *vā ϕ/*
saṃhitāyām #72 *suṭ* #134/
'*viṣkira*' *iti vā suṭ nipātyate śakunāv abhidheye*

Augment *sUṬ* is optionally introduced in deriving *viṣkira*, via *nipātana*, when *śakuni* 'bird' is denoted and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

viṣkiraḥ 'bird'
vikiraḥ 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunir vikiro vā*. It is argued that *vā* alone could have accounted for optional *vikiraḥ*. The *Mahābhāṣya* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā*. *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 *sUṬ* and introduction of affix *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*) after verbal root *kṝ* used with the preverb *vi*. Of course, *ṝ* will be replaced with *ir*, as shown earlier in connection with *upaskīrṇam*, etc. The word *vikira* must also here mean *śakuni* 'bird'.

6.1.149 ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे

hrasvāc candrottarapade mantre
/hrasvāt 5/1 *candrottarapade* 7/1 = *candraś cāsau uttarapadaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin*; *mantre* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sUṬ* #134)
candraśabda uttarapade hrasvāt paraḥ suṭ āgamo bhavati mantraviṣaye
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced after a short vowel in the *mantra* usage when *candra* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

suścandro yuṣmān

1. *Kāśikā* offers *sūryācandramasāv iva* as a counter-example where *sUṬ* cannot be introduced because *sūryā* ends in a long vowel. A classical usage such as *sucandrā paurṇamāsī* 'a night with beautiful full moon' can also not qualify for *sUṬ* 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 प्रतिष्कशश्च कशे:

pratiṣkaśaś ca kaśeḥ
/pratiṣkaśaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *kaśeḥ* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'kaśaḥ gatiśāsanayoḥ' ity etasya dhātoḥ pratipūrvasya pacādyaci kṛte suṭ nipātyate tasyaiva ṣatvam

The word *pratiṣkaśa* 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 *ṣ*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam adya pravekṣyāmi
'I shall enter the village today'
bhava me tvaṃ pratiṣkaśaḥ 'you be my companion'

1. The word *pratiṣkaśaḥ* is a derivate of *aC* derived from *prati* + *kaś*+ *aC* → *prati* + *sUṬ* + *kaś*+ *aC*. Affix *aC* is introduced in consonance with 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo. . . .* The word itself is explained as *vārtāpuruṣa* 'someone to converse with', *sahāya* 'companion' and *puroyāyī* '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 *pratikaśo' śvaḥ = pratigataḥ 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 प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी

praskaṇvahariścandrāv ṛṣī
/praskaṇvahariścandrau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṛṣī* 1/2/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'praskaṇva, hariścandra' ity suṭ nipātyate ṛṣī ced abhidheyau bhavataḥ
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *praskaṇva* and *hariścandra*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and the denotata are sages (*ṛṣī*).

EXAMPLES:

praskaṇvaḥ ṛṣiḥ 'a sage named Praskaṇva; (he from whom sins have departed)'
hariścandraḥ ṛṣiḥ '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 mantre*? This example refers to usage outside the *Mantra* literature. Lack of *sUṬ*, in *prakaṇvo māṇavakaḥ* and *haricandro māṇavakaḥ*, indicates that *māṇavaka* 'boy, celebate' is not a *ṛṣi* 'sage'.

6.1.152 मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः

maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ
/maskara-maskariṇau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)
veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'maskara, maskarin' ity etau yathāsaṃkhyaṃ veṇu parivrājake ca nipātyete
The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

maskaro veṇuḥ 'maskara is a kind of Bamboo'
maskarī parivrājakaḥ 'maskarin is a wandering ascetic'

1. The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived with *sUṬ* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo, flute' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic'. Elsewhere, we get *makaraḥ* 'crocodile, shark' and *makarī* 'ocean', a derivate of *inI* paraphrased as *makarāḥ 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 *sUṬ* are introduced via *nipātana*. The word *maskarī* 'a wandering ascetic' is derived with affix *inI*, signifying *tācchīlya* 'he whose nature it is to . . .'. A *maskarī* preaches people to desist from worldly affairs and seek inner peace (*mā kuruta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyasī*). Both these examples will involve *sUṬ* and shortening of *mā*.

6.1.153 कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे

kāstīrājastunde nagare
/kāstīrājastunde 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *nagare* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'kāstīra, ajastunda' ity etau śabdau nipātyete nagare' bhidheye
The words *kāstīra* and *ajastunda* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and derivates signify a city (*nagara*).

EXAMPLES:

kāstīraṃ nāma nagaram 'a city named Kāstīra'
ajastundaṃ nāma nagaram 'a city named Ajastunda'

1. The non-*sUṬ* derivates *kātīra* and *ajatunda* are derived from *kā* + *tīra* and *aja* + *tunda*, parallel to *īṣat tīram* 'small shoreline' and *ajasya iva tundam asya* 'one whose belly is similar to that of a goat'. The derivates of *sUṬ* must, of course, name cities.

6.1.154 पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्

pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca saṃjñāyām
/pāraskaraprabhṛtīni 1/3 = *pāraskara prabhṛtir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tāni*; *ca* ϕ

saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca śabdarūpāṇi nipātyante saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The word *pāraskara*, and its likes, are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ*, when derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*) and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

pāraskaro deśaḥ 'Pāraskara is a place'
kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ 'Kāraskara is a tree'
rathaspā nadī 'Rathaspā is a river'
kiṣkuḥ pramāṇam 'Kiṣku is name of a measure'
kiṣkindhā guhā 'Kiṣkindhā is a cave'

1. Note that *Kāśikā* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as a separate *sūtra*. Our present *sūtra*, which accounts for an open ended listing of nominals with express condition of *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name is denoted', is much more economical. In fact, the *Mahābhāṣya* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as an example under this rule. It is for this reason that I have not listed *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* 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 *pāraṃ 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 *sUṬ* gives the final derivate as *pāraskara* signifying a place. Incidentally, affix *Ṭa* is introduced by 3.2.20 *kṛño hetutācchīlya*. . . . 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 *rathaṃ pāti* '. . . protects chariots'. It may be treated as a derivate of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto'nupasarge*. . .) where 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the *ā* of *pā*. Thus, *rathap*(*ā*→ϕ) + (*K*) *a* = *ratha* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *p* + *a* = *rathaspa*. Feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) is then introduced to derive *rathaspā*. Haradatta accepts the derivate as *rathṣpā*, parallel to *rathaṃ pāti*, where *s* of *sUṬ* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), via *nipātana*. Other examples can be similarly explained.

2. A proposal is also made to derive *taskara* and *bṛhaspati* with *sUṬ*, provided the derivate signifies *cora* 'thief' and *devatā* 'divinity'. Given *tat* + *kara* and *bṛhat* + *pati*, the final *t* in the first constituent of both examples is deleted, again via *nipātana*.

6.1.155 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्

anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam
/*anudāttam* 1/1 *padam* 1/1 *ekavarjam* 1/1 = *ekaṃ varjayitvā* (*upa. tat.*)/

yatrānyaḥ svara udāttaḥ svarito vā vidhīyate, tatrānudāttaṃ padaṃ ekaṃ varjayitvā bhavatīty etad upasthitaṃ 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 *dhātoḥ* requires that the final of a verbal root be marked *udātta*. A verbal form such as *gopāyatí* 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 *satiśiṣṭasvaro balīyaḥ* '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 *tas*, 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, *lunāti*, *lunītaḥ* and *lunītastarām*. 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 examples, of an augment (*āgama*), *vikaraṇa* 'base-modifying suffix', *prakṛti* 'base' and *pratyaya* 'affix'. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya*:

āgamasya vikārasya prakṛteḥ pratyayasya ca/
pṛthaksvaranivṛtyarthaṃ ekavarjaṃ padasvaraḥ//

Consider the derivation of *catvāráḥ* from *catur* + *Jas*, 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 *caturanaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ*. The accent of *ām* thus blocks the accent of *catur*. Consequently, *udātta* of *ām* is treated as an exception. The accent of *anAṄ*, marked *udātta* by 7.1.75 *asthidadhi . . .*, similarly blocks the initial *udātta* accent of *dadhi* in deriving *dadhaní*. 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 *kṛ*. Thus we get: *kartavyam*.

Note that, in addition to most immediately specified accent (*satiśiṣṭa*), relative strength of accents is also determined on the basis of notions such as *para* 'subsequent in order', *nitya* 'obligatory', *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' and *apavāda* 'exception'. Thus, in *gopāyati*, accent of affix *āya*, an initial *udātta*, is an exception to the accent of verbal root *gup*, a final *udātta*. It blockes the accent of *gup* but is then blocked by the accent of the newly derived base *gopāya*, again a final *udātta*.

6.1.156 कर्षात्वतो घञोऽन्त उदात्तः

karṣātvato ghañō' nta udāttaḥ
/karṣātvataḥ 6/1 = *ād asyāstīty ātvān; karṣaś ca ātvāṃś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *ghañaḥ* 6/1 *antaḥ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
karṣater dhātor ākāravataś ca ghañantasyānta udātto bhavati
An *udātta* is assigned to the final of verbal root *kṛṣ* 'to draw', and also to that which ends in affix *GHaÑ* and contains an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

karṣaḥ
pākaḥ
tyāgaḥ
rāgaḥ
dāyaḥ
dhāyaḥ

1. A specification (*nirdeśa*) of *kṛṣ* with its modified (*vikṛta*) *guṇa*-form *karṣa* is made so that the *tudādi* root *kṛṣ* can be excluded from the scope of this rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent applies to *karṣa*, ending in *GHaÑ*, provided it is the derivate of the *bhvādi* root *kṛṣ*. The *tudādi* derivate of *GHaÑ*, i.e., *karṣa*, will, of course, be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Thus, we get *karṣaḥ*.

The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to the initial *udātta* accent of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*. Recall that *GHaÑ* is marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. Examples of derivates of *GHaÑ* with *ā* are: *pākaḥ*, *rāgaḥ* and *dāyaḥ*, where *ā* comes from *vṛddhi*. The *y* of *dāyaḥ* comes from *yUK* of 7.3.33 *āto yuk*. . . .

6.1.157 उञ्छादीनां च

uñchādīnāṃ ca
/uñchādīnām 6/3 = *uñcha ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
'*uñcha*'*ity evam ādīnāṃ anta udātto bhavati*
The final of the list headed by *uñcha* is also marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

uñchaḥ
mlecchaḥ
japaḥ
vyadhaḥ

1. Note that *uñchaḥ* 'grain picked from fields after harvest', *mlecchaḥ* 'corrupt', *jañjaḥ* 'warrior' and *jalpaḥ* 'gossip' are all derivates of *GHaÑ* qualified for *ñnitsvara* 'accent based on *Ñ* and *N* as an *it*'. This rule assigns final *udātta.* Others, i.e., *japaḥ* and *vyadhaḥ,* are derivates 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 *garaḥ,* a derivate of *aP,* provided the signification is *dūṣya* 'corruptible'. Elsewhere, *gara* means poison and is marked initial *udātta.*

Derivates of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *halaś 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 derivates denote *karaṇa* '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 (*stuyudruvaś chandasi*). For, *pariṣṭut, saṃyut* and *paridrut* derive with *KvIP* and augment *tUK,* where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. A similar proposal is also made for *vartaḥ,* used in the sense of *stotra* 'praise' (*sāmaveda: vartaniḥ stotre*).

The word *daraḥ* 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 *sāmbaḥ* 'along with *Ambā*' and *tāpaḥ,* provided the signification is *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of denoted action'. This restriction of *bhāvagarhā,* however, is not required in case of *uttamaḥ* and *śaśvattamaḥ* which are also marked *udātta* at the end.

A proposal is also made for derivates of *GHaÑ,* such as *bhakṣa, mantha, bhoga* and *deha* which do not contain *ā,* to be marked *udātta* at the end.

6.1.158 अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः

anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ

/anudāttasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ *yatra* ϕ *udāttalopaḥ* 1/1 = *udāttasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
yasmin anudātte parata udātto lupyate tasyānudāttasyādir udātto bhavati
An *anudātta* is also marked *udātta* when it conditions the deletion (*LOPA*) of a preceding *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

kumārī
pathaḥ
kumudvān

1. Consider *kumārī* which is a derivate of the feminine affix *ṄīP.* The word *kumāra* is marked *udātta* at the end by *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ* (*Phiṭsūtra*: 1). Affix *ṄīP,* which is marked *anudātta,* follows it. Since deletion of the *udātta a* of *kumāra* is caused by the following *anudātta* of *ṄīP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), our present *sūtra* allows *ī* to be marked *udātta.* The *sUP* in *pathaḥ, pathāḥ* and *pathe* are all marked *udātta* at the end. But since the nominal endings condition *ṭi*-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 *ḌmatUP* in *kumudvān, naḍvān* and *vetasvān* where *kumuda,* etc., are all marked *udātta* at the end. Of course, *mat,* because of being marked with *P* as an *it,* is *anudātta.* Recall that the final *a* of *kumuda,* etc., is deleted under the condition of *mat* marked with *Ḍ.* Consequently, the *ā* of *vā* in *kumudvān,* etc., is marked *udātta.*

2. Why is *anudāttasya* used as a qualifier? Consider *prāsaṅga* + *yáT* = *prāsaṅgyaḥ,* paraphrased as *prāsaṅgaṃ vahati* (4.4.76 *tad vahati . . .*). Now, *prāsaṅga* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*). Its final *a* is deleted before *yáT* marked with *svarita* (6.1.183? *tāsyanudātten . . .*). 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 *yaT* is marked *svarita,* the remainder of the word becomes *anudātta* in view of the general accentual provision of 6.1.155 *anudāttaḥ padam. . . .* But still there is no deleltion of an *anudātta* here. The word *anudātta* is here used to indicate that an initial *anudātta* becomes *udātta.*

This *sūtra,* in the absence of *anudāttasya,* could have been formulated as *yatrodāttalopaś ca.* This, with *antaḥ,* could then have yielded the meaning: *yatra* (*yasmin pratyaye parataḥ*) *udātto* (*lupyate*) *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 dhukṣāthām.* That is, the final of *ātām* and *āthām* could then be marked *udātta* which is not desired. Recall that the *a* of *Ksa* (of *duh* + *sa* + *ātām* and *duh* + *sa* + *āthām*) is deleted conditioned by the following *ā* (of *ātām* and *āthām*). The use of *anudāttasya* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for marking initial *a* as *anudātta.* Additional support for this view comes from the use of *hi* and

mā in these examples. Note that *mā* blocks the introduction of *aṬ* (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*). For, *āṬ* would have made the *pada* marked initial *udātta*. This, in trun, would have caused the deletion of an *ā* marked *anudātta*. Similarly, *dhukṣātām* would have received blanket *anudātta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅatiṅaḥ*. That is, if *hi* was not given as part of examples (8.1.34 *hi ca*).

3. Why is the word *yatra* used here? Consider *bhārgavaḥ*, *bhārgavau* and *bhṛgaváḥ*, where the *aṆ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakaravṛṣṇi* . . .) of *bhṛgavaḥ* 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 *udātta*. This would have not been possible without the use of *yatra*.

The use of *udātta* (in *udāttalopaḥ*) is made so that in examples such as *vaidī* and *aurvī*, the affixal *ī* (*ṄīṆ*; 4.1.73 *śārṅaravādyaño* . . .) conditioning the deletion of *a* of *vaida*, could not be marked *udātta*. For, the *anudātta ī* does not cause the deletion of an *udātta a*. Isn't *a* an *udātta* in *vaida*? No. Because, as a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.104 *vidādibhyo* . . .), it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.196? *ñnityādir nityam*) and consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . marks its remainder as *anudātta*. Thus, *ī* of *ṄīṆ*, in *vaidī*, causes the deletion of an *anudātta*.

6.1.159 **धातोः**

dhātoḥ
/dhātoḥ 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
dhātor anta udātto bhavati
The final of a verbal root is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

pacáti
ūrṇóti
gopāyáti
yāti

1. Note that *antaḥ* is carried here. The *a* of *pac*, since it is a monosyllabic root, is marked *udātta*. Affixes *ŚaP* 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 *pacáti*. A derived root such as *gopāya* is also marked *udātta* at the end. This *a* will again becomes *svarita* to yield *gopāyáti*. The *yā* of *yāti* is *udātta*, where the *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .).

6.1.160 **चितः**

citaḥ

/citaḥ 1/1 = *cakāra ita yasya (bv.)/*
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
cito' nta udātto bhavati
A form ending in what is marked with *C* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bhaṅguram
bhāsuram
meduram
kuṇḍināḥ
bahupaṭavaḥ
uccakaiḥ

1. The first three examples are derivates of *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsamido ghurac*), an affix with *C* as an *it*. The next example, i.e., *kuṇḍināḥ*, has a replacement in *kuḍinaC*, 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, *bahupaṭavaḥ* is derived with *bahuC* marked with *C*, but it is preposed (5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*). The final *udātta* conditioned by *C* as an *it* thus applies to the form *bahupaṭavaḥ*. Similar accent applies to *uccakaiḥ*, a derivate of *akaC*, where the affix is introduced before the *ṭi* of the base (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* for express purpose of marking derivates of *bahuC* and *akaC* with final *udātta* (*saṗṛkṛter bahvakajartham*). 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 तद्धितस्य

taddhitasya
/taddhitasya 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156 *citaḥ* #160)
citaḥ taddhitasyānta udātto bhavati
A *taddhita* affix marked with *C* as an *it* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

kauñjāyanāḥ

1. Why is this rule stated when the preceding itself can account for its function? This rule is needed so that derivates such as *kauñjāyanaḥ*, *kauñjāyanau* and *kauñjāyanāḥ* could still be marked with final *udātta*. Notice

that affix *CphaÑ* → *āyana* has two *it*-elements, i.e., *C* and *Ñ*. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* requires that whatever derives with an affix marked with *Ñ* 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 *Ñ*, will qualify for both accents. Our present rule is required to resolve such conflicts. Besides, if *Ñ* as an *it* were to regulate this accent, *C* as an *it* will become vacuous. For, *Ñ* as an *it* has two functions: *vṛddhi* and accent. The *C* serves only one purpose of regulating accent.

6.1.162 **कितः**

kitaḥ
/kitaḥ 1/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156 *taddhitasya* #161)
taddhitasya kito' nta udātto bhavati
A *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nāḍāyanaḥ
cārāyaṇaḥ
akṣikaḥ
śālākikaḥ

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Recall that an affix, such as *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) and *ṭhaK* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati* . . .) 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 *kauñjāyana* would have obtained at the *ā* and not at the final *a*.

6.1.163 **तिसृभ्यो जसः**

tisṛbhyo jasaḥ
/tisṛbhyaḥ 5/1 *jasaḥ* 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
tisṛbhya uttarasya jaso' nta udātto bhavati
The final of *Jas* which occurs after *tisṛ* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

tisras tiṣṭhanti

1. The word *tisṛ* refers to the replacement of *tri* obtained in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The word *tri* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra*

1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*). Its replacement *tisṛ* will also be marked *udātta* at the end. A *yaÑ* replacement for *ṛ* yields *tisr* + *Jas*, where *r* is a replacement for *ṛ*, an *udātta*. The *a* of *Jas*, an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), will thus qualify for a *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoḥ*. . . . Our present rule offers *udātta* as an exception to that.

Note that *tisṛ* is always used in the plural. The accent of *JaS* after *tisṛ* remains unaccounted for. The accusative plural *Śas* will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.172 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*. Rule 6.1.177 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ* will account for other endings. This rule provides for *Jas*. It is argued that *Jas* need not be used in the rule. That is, the *sūtra* should have been formulated simply as *tisṛbhyaḥ*. Since *Jas* alone is relevant for accentual specification, the rule would have automatically covered it. But specification by *Jas* is needed so that proper accent can be obtained where *tisṛ* can be used with singular and dual endings. But *tisṛ* is only used in the plural. Not when it occurs as a non-principal constituent in *atitisrau* and *atitisraḥ*. The provision of this rule will not apply to such instances. A non-use of *Jas* could account for accent where *tisṛ* alone is used before *Jas*. A lack of specification by *Jas* will create conflicts in cases where *tisṛ* occurs combined as a secondary constituent.

6.1.164 चतुरः शसि

caturaḥ śasi
/caturaḥ 6/1 *śasi* 7/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
caturaḥ śasi parato'nta udātto bhavati
The final of *catur* is marked *udātta* at the end when *Śas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cat̲uráḥ paśya

1. The word *catur* is a derviate of *urAN* (*Uṇādi* 5.59 *cater uran*) and hence, is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule assigns final *udātta* as an exception.

Note that this rule does not apply to *catasṛ*, a replacement of *catur*, used before *Śas* in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The accent of *catur* would have applied to *catasṛ* by way of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced'.

A proposal is then made for initial *udātta*, instead.

6.1.165 सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः

sāv ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ
/sau 7/2 *ekācaḥ* 1/1 = *eko'c yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *tṛtīyādiḥ* 1/1 = *tṛtīyā ādir yasyāḥ* (*bv.*) *vibhaktiḥ* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156)
sau ya ekāc tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings, enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī*, are optionally marked with *udātta* when they occur after a form which remains monosyllabic before *su* of locative plural.

EXAMPLES:

vā̲cā
vā̲gbhyām
vāgbhiḥ
vā̲gbhyaḥ
yā̲tā
yā̲dbhyām
yā̲dbhiḥ

1. This rule assigns *udātta* 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 *Ṭā* and *Ṅe* which occur after *rājan* to yield *rājñā́* and *rājñé* will not qualify for this accentual provision. For, the locative plural form of *rājan*, i.e., *rājásu*, does not have a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) form before *su*. The locative plural of *vāk* is *vākṣu*, where we find a monosyllabic form. Consequently, we get *vā̲cā*, *vā̲gbhyām* and *vā̲gbhiḥ*, 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 *giríṇā* and *haríṇā*. The condition of *tṛtīyādi* 'instrumental, etc.' blocks this provision from applying to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* as in *vācaú* and *vācáḥ*. Finally, the specification of *ekāc* in *saptamībahuvacana* 'locative plural' blocks this provision from applying to *tvayā* and *tvayi* which are monosyllabic but are instrumental and locative singular, respectively.

6.1.166 अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे

antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāse
/antodāttāt 5/1 *uttarapadāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *anityasamāse* 7/1 = *nityaḥ samāsaḥ; na nityasamāsaḥ* (*nañ. tatp.* with int. *karm.*), *tasmin/* (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ* #165)
anityasamāse yad uttarapadam antodāttam ekāc ca tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī* are optionally marked *udātta* when they occur after a monosyllabic final constituent of a non-obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

paramavācā́
paramavācé
paramatvacā́
paramatvacé

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 *paramavācā́* where instrumental singular *Ṭā* is optionally marked *udātta*. The compound, here formed with *parama*, is a *karmadhāraya*. It is also non-obligatory (*anitya*). Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign the final *udātta* accent in case this option is not accepted. The word *nityam* of *anityam* refers to compounds which are formed within the domain of *nityam*, for example under the provision of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, 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 (*asvapadavigraha*). Consider *agnicitā* and *somasutā*, both instrumental singular forms of *agnicit* 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 *bahuvrīhi* 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 *bahuvrīhau nañsubhyām*. 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 *antodāttāt* is necessary so that final *udātta* of this rule can be blocked in *avā́cā*, *suvā́cā* and *sutvácā* which are *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'. The final constituent of these compounds is not final *udātta*. Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . retains the original accent of the initial constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*).

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 *śunaḥ urk* = *śvorjā* 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 (*samāsaviśeṣaṇa*).

6.1.167 अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम्

añceś chandasy asarvanāmasthānam

/añceḥ 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *asarvanāmasthānam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165)
añceḥ parā asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked with *udātta*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *añcU*.

EXAMPLES:

indró dadhī́co asthibhíḥ

1. Consider *dadhīcaḥ* where *dadhīc* is used with *Ṅas* 'genitive singular'. Our nominal stem *dadhīc* is derived with affix *KviP* introduced after *añc* used with the cooccurring condition of *dadhi* + *am* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .). We get *dadhīc* after the deletion of *ñ* (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) and lengthening of *i* (6.3.137 *cau*).

Why use *asarvanāmasthānam* when *tṛtīyā*, etc., could itself account for it. But *tṛtīyā*, etc., cannot account for *Śas* 'accusative plural' which is not included within the *sarvanāmasthāna*. It is thus to account for *Śas* that *asarvanāmasthāna* is used as a qualifier. Thus, *Śas* of *prat̄icaḥ* in *pratīco bāhūn* also gets *udātta*.

6.1.168 ऊडिदंपदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः

ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ
/ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ 5/3 = *ūṭh ca idañ ca padādayaś ca ap ca puṃ ca rai ca dyauś ca = ūḍi . . . divaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)
'*ūṭh, idam, padādi, ap, pum, rai, div' ity etebhyo*'
sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after stems ending in *ūṭh*, and *idam*; nominals enumerated beginning with *pada*, etc., and *ap, pum, rai*, and *div*.

EXAMPLES:

praṣṭhauhaḥ
praṣṭhauhā
ābhyām
ebhiḥ
nipadaścatúro jahi
yā dato dhāváte
apaḥ paśya
adbhiḥ
puṃsaḥ
rāyaḥ paśya
divaḥ 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 *anvādeśa* '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 *ādyantavad ekasmin* for derivational details of *ābhyām*. Incidentally, the *a*, of *aŚ* in *ebhiḥ*, is replaced with *e* of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict the provision of this rule to instances of *ūṬH* only when *ūṬH* is penultimate of the base. Thus, consider *akṣadyuvâ* which derives from *akṣadyū* + *Ṭā* where *ūṬH* 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 *vyavasthita-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 dīrghāt
/aṣṭanaḥ 5/1 *dīrghāt* 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)
aṣṭano dīrghāntād asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which is not *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after *aṣṭan* 'eight' ending in a long vowel.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭāḥ
aṣṭābhyaḥ
aṣṭāsu

1. Note that *aṣṭan* is enumerated in the *ghṛtādi* group of nominals. It is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra*: 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 *dīrghāt* has several implications. Firstly, it indicates that the *ā*-replacement of *n* of *aṣṭan* is optional. For, a specification by *dīrghāt* 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 *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24

ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ). For, if this *jñāpaka* 'indication' is not accepted, this accentual provision (conditioned by *ā*) will be blocked by the subsequent provision of 6.1.176 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ*, read with 6.1.177 *jhaly upottamam*, on the basis of *paratva*. Of course, in contexts where *ā*-replacement does not apply.

6.1.170 शतुरनुमोनद्यजादी

śaturanumo nadyajādī
/śatuḥ 5/1 *anumaḥ* 5/1 = *nāsti numaḥ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *nadyajādī* 1/2 = *ac ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *nadī ca ajādiś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169)
anumaḥ yaḥ śatṛpratyayas tadantād antodāttāt parā nadī ajādir vibhaktir asarvanāmasthānam udāttā bhavati
That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a form which, marked *anudātta* at the end, terminates in affix *ŚatṚ* with no introduction of augment *nUM*.

EXAMPLES:

tudatī
nudatī
lunatī
punatī
tudatā
nudatā
lunatā
punatā

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is carried here. The word *nadī* is used with its technical sense in consonance with 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*. The *ī* of a *nadī* is marked *udātta* when an optional augment *nUM* is not introduced by 7.1.80 *ācchīnadyor num*. Our present rule does not apply where the option of *nUM* is accepted. Thus, we get *tudántī* and *nudántī*.

Now consider *tudatī*, derived from *tud* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ* → *ŚatṚ*) = (*tud* + *a* + *at*) *ṄīP*)), where *ṄīP* is *anudātta* because of its *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *ŚatṚ* replacement of *LAṬ*, a *sārvadhātuka*, becomes *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tasyānudāttenṅidupadeśāl*. . . . This *anudātta*, along with the *udātta* of *tud*, is jointly replaced with *udātta* by 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*. The *ī* of *nadī* can then be marked with *udātta*, since it will be occurring after an *udātta*. But 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will make the result, i.e., *udātta* of *tudat* + *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 (*jñāpaka*) that an accentual single re-

placement (*ekādeśa*) does not become *asiddha*. Thus we get: *tudatī* and *nudatī*. Incidentally, *lunatā* and *punatā* are derivates with *Śnā* where the *ā* of (*lu* + *nā* + *at*) + *Ṭā*)) and (*pu* + *nā* + *at*) + *Ṭā*)) is deleted (6.4.112 *śnābhyos tayor ātaḥ*). Incidentally, the long *ū* of verbal roots *lūÑ* and *pūÑ* are replaced with short by 7.3.80 *pvādīnāṃ hrasvaḥ*.

2. The condition of *nadyajādī* excludes the application of this rule to *tudadbhyâm* and *nudadbhyâm* where the ending starts with a consonant. The condition of *antodāttāt* is also necessary to exclude examples such as *dadátī* and *dadhátaḥ* where 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādiḥ* requires an initial *udātta*.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is also made here to bring *bṛhatī/bṛhatā* and *mahatī/mahatā* within the scope of this rule.

6.1.171 उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात्

udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt
/udāttayaṇaḥ 5/1 = *udāttasya yaṇ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *halpūrvāt* 5/1 = *hal pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167 *nadyajādī* #170)
udāttasthāne yo yaṇ halpūrvas tasmāt parā nadī ajādir yā'
sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā sā bhavati
That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a *yaṆ* (*y, v, r, l*) which replaces an *udātta* occurring after a *haL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

kartrī
hartrī
pralavitrī
kartrā
hartrā
pralavitrā

1. Note that examples of this rule are all derivates of *tṛC*. The bases are thus all marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). A *yaṆ*-replacement in *r*, which replaces the *udātta ṛ*, 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 *kartrî/kartrâ* and *hartrî/hartrâ* can be excluded. These derivates end in *tṛN* and are, hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The condition of *hal* is required to exclude examples where *yaṆ* does not occur after a consonant. Thus, consider *bahutitavā* which derives from *bahutita*(*u*→*v*) + *Ṭā*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to include bases which end in *n*. Thus, we get *vākyapatnīyam* where 4.1.36 *vibhāṣā sapūrvasya* introduces *n* as a final

replacement of *patnī* and *ṄīP* is introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Since *pati* is marked *udātta* at the end, and this *udātta* retains after the replacement, *ṄīP* becomes *udātta*.

6.1.172 **नोङ् धात्वोः**

noṅdhātvoḥ
/na ϕ ūṅdhātvoḥ 6/2 = *ūṅ ca dhātuś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169 *nadyajādī* #170 *udātta yaṇo halpūrvāt* #171)
That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are not marked *udātta*, provided they occur after *ūṄ*, or a *yaṆ*-replacement of a verbal root which replaces an *udātta* and after a *haL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhvā
brahmabandhve
vīrabandhvâ
vīrabandhvé
sakṛlvâ
sakṛlvé
khalapvé

1. This *sūtra* negates what the preceding *sūtra* provides. Note that the qualification of *nadī* does not apply here. A *nadī* is not found occurring after *ūṄ* and a *dhātu*. Now consider our two examples, *brahmabandhvā* and *brahmabandhve*, where a *bahuvrīhi* is formed parallel to *brahmā bandhur asyāḥ*, and *ūṄ*, an *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaḥ*) by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*), is introduced after the compound. The short *u* of *brahmabandhu*, along with the long of *ūṄ* (4.1.66 *ūṅ utaḥ*), is then replaced with a single long *ū*. This single long replacement (*ekādeśa*) is marked *udātta* by 8.1.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*. The long *ū* is further replaced with its *yaṆ* counterpart *v*, under the following condition of nominal endings *Ṭā* 'instrument singular' and *Ṅe* 'dative singular'. These nominal endings, because of the negation of this *sūtra*, cannot be marked *udātta* as the earlier rule provides. They must be marked *svarita* by 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoḥ*. . . . The rest can be marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . .

This negation also applies after the *yaṆ* of a verbal root. Thus, *sakṛlvâ*, *sakṛlvé* and *khalapvé*, where *sakṛllū* and *khalapū* are *uapapada-samāsa*, parallel to *sakṛl lunāti* and *khalaṃ punāti*. Verbal roots *lū* and *pū* occur here before affix *KvIP*. This affix is a *kṛt*, and consequently, 6.4.83 *oḥ supi* orders *yaṆ* as a replacement of *ū*, an *anudātta* (*Kāś*: *kvibantasya kvibuttara-padaprakṛtisvareṇāntodāttasya 'oḥ supi' iti yaṇādeśaḥ*).

6.1.173 ह्रस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुप्

hrasvanuḍbhyāṃ matup
/hrasvanuḍbhyām 5/2 = *hrasvaś ca nuṭ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *matup* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antodāttāt* #166)
hrasvāntād antodāttān nuṭaś ca paro matub udātto bhavati
Affix *matUP* is marked *udātta* when it occurs either after a form which ends in a *hrasva* 'short' vowel marked *udātta*, or after augment *nUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

agn̲imān
vāyu̲mān
ka̲rtṛmān
ha̲rtṛmān
a̲kṣa̲ṇvatā́
śīrṣa̲vatā́

1. The bases of our derivates *agn̲imān*, *vāyu̲mān*, *ka̲rtṛmān* and *ha̲rtṛmān* all end in a short vowels. The first two are marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The next two end in affix *tṛC* and hence are accented in view of 6.1.160 *citaḥ*. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *akṣan* by 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti*. . . . Now consider *a̲kṣa̲ṇvatā* and *śīrṣa̲vatā́* where 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate* introduces *anAṄ* to yield *akṣ*(*i*→*an*(*AṄ*) + *mat*(*UP*) = *akṣan* + *mat*. Augment *nUṬ* is then introduced by 8.2.16 *ano nuṭ*. The *n* is, of course, deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ*. . . . The final forms are derived with the introduction of instrumental singular *Ṭā* with subsequent replacement of *m*→*v* and of *n*→*ṇ*. The second example involves a replacement in *śīrṣan* (6.1.60 *śīrṣan chandasi*). Affix *matUP* is here marked *udātta*.

2. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*svaravidhau vyañjanam avidyamānavat*) which makes a consonant as if non-existent with reference to accentual operations does not apply here. For, this specification by *nUṬ* would become useless. Thus, consider, for an exception, *ma̲rutvā́n*.

A *vārttika* proposal also requires *matUP* to be marked *udātta* when it occurs after *re*. Thus, *ā́rṛ̲vān*. Yet another proposal negates this *udātta* when *matUP* occurs after *tri*, for example, in (*tri* + *mat* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) = *trivatīḥ*.

6.1.174 नामान्यतरस्याम्

nāmāny anyatarasyām
/nāmāni 1/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *hrasvaḥ matup* #173)
matupi yo hrasvas tadantād antodāttād anyatarasyāṃ nām udātto bhavati
An optional *udātta* is assigned to *nām* when it follows *matUP*, used after that which terminates in a short vowel and is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

agnīnām
agnīnâm
vāyūnām
vāyūnâm
kartṛṇām
kartṛṇâm

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, *udātta* can be obtained with reference to current (*sāmpratika*) *hrasva* and *bhūtapūrva* 'one which was short previously', as well. Thus, we get *tisṛṇām* and *catasṛṇām* as examples.

The condition of *nUṬ* is needed so that this rule does not apply to *dhenvām* and *śakaṭyām* where we have *ām* (7.3.116 *ner ām* . . .), but no *nUṬ*. The final *udātta* of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo 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 *udātta* also when it does not occur after a base marked *udātta* at the end. Consider *vasûnām* and *trapûṇām* where *vasu* and *trapu* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

6.1.175 ङ्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

ṅyāś chandasi bahulam
/ṅyāḥ 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *nām* #174)
ṅyantāc chandasi viṣaye nām udātto bhavati bahulam
A *nām* used after that which ends in *ṄyāP*, in the Vedic, is variously marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devasenānâmabhibhañjatīnām
bahvīnāṃ pitā
nadīnâṃ pāre
yayántīmāṃ marutáḥ

1. Note that *bhañjatī* and *bahvī* are derivates of *ṄīP*. This provision of *udātta* may, as indicated by *bahulam* 'variously', not be found in other examples. Thus, consider *nadīnām*, of *nadīnâṃ pāre*, and *jayantīnām*, of *jayántīnāṃ marutáḥ*, where *nām* is marked *anudātta* because of being a *vibhakti* 'nominal ending'.

6.1.176 षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः

ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ

/ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ 5/3 = *ṣaṭ ca trayaś ca catvāraś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *halādiḥ* 1/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ, 'tri, catur'ity etābhyāṃ ca parā halādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a consonant is marked with *udātta* when it occurs either after an item termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaḍbhiḥ
ṣaḍbhyaḥ
ṣaṇṇām
pañcānām
tribhiḥ
trayāṇām
caturbhyaḥ
caturṇām

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is not carried here. Stems such as *ṣaṣ*, *pañcan* and *saptan* are termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*). The condition of *halādi* is needed to exclude examples such as *catasraḥ* where *Śas* 'accusative plural' begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

6.1.177 झल्युपोत्तमम्

jhaly upottamam
/jhali 7/1 *upottamam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* #176)
ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaṃ bhavati
The *upottama* 'penultimate; next to the last' of a *pada* is marked with *udātta* when it ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced either after a stem termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcabhís tapas tapati
saptabhíḥ parān jayati
tisṛbhíś ca vaháse triṃśatā
caturbhiḥ

1. This rule assigns *udātta* 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 *ṣaṭ*, *tri* and *catur*. Consider *pañcabhiḥ*, *saptabhiḥ*, *tisṛbhiḥ* and *caturbhiḥ* where the next to the last *a*, *ṛ* and *u* are marked *udātta*. Note that *upottama* is explained as next to the last (*uttama*)

vowel of a word consisting of at least three syllables (*Kāś*: *triprabhṛtīnām antyam uttamam; tasya samīpam upottamam*; also see notes under 4.1.78 *aṇiñor . . .*).

2. Derivates such as *pañcānām* and *spatānām* are offered as counter-examples where *ām* is a nominal ending beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*). Derivates such as *ṣaḍbhiḥ* and *ṣaḍbhyaḥ* are also treated as exception since they do not meet the condition of *upottama*. These words contain only two vowels.

6.1.178 विभाषा भाषायाम्

vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* +165 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* #176)
ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaṃ bhavati vibhāṣā bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye
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 *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*, is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

pa̲ñca̲bhíḥ
pa̲ñca̲bhiḥ
sa̲pta̲bhíḥ
sa̲pta̲bhiḥ
ti̲sṛbhíḥ
ti̲sṛbhiḥ
ca̲tu̲rbhíḥ
ca̲tu̲rbhiḥ

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 गोश्वन्सावव्वर्णराडङ्क्रुङ्कृद्भ्यः

na gośvansāvavarṇarāḍaṅkruṅkṛdbhyaḥ
/na ϕ *go-śvan-sāvavarṇa-rāḍ-aṅ-kruṅ-kṛdbhyaḥ* 5/1 = *sau avarṇam* = *sāvavarṇam* (*sapt. tat.*); *gauś ca śvā ca sāvavarṇañ ca rāṭ ca aṅ ca kruṅ ca kṛt ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
'*go, śvan, sāvavarṇaḥ, rāḍ, aṅ, kruṅ, kṛd' ity etebhyo yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*
Provisions made by the preceding rules do not apply to *go* 'cow', *śvan* 'dog', *sāvavarṇa* 'a form which ends in *a* when used with the nominative singular *sU*', *rāṭ* 'a *KvIP*-derivate of *rājṛ*', *aṅ* 'a *KvIN*-derivate of *añcU*', *kruṅ* 'a *KvIN*-derivate of *kruṄ*' and *kṛt* 'a *KvIP*-derivate of *kṛ*' 'to do' and *kṛtI* 'to cut'.

EXAMPLES:

gavấ
gavé
gobhyấm
sugunấ
sugavé
sugubhyấm
śunấ
śuné
śvabhyấm
paramaśunấ
paramaśuné
paramaśvabhyấm
yebhyáḥ
tebhyáḥ
kebhyáḥ
rājấ
paramarājaḥ
prācā
prāce
prāgbhyām
kruñcấ
paramakruñcấ
kṛtấ
paramakṛtấ

1. Note that this rule makes negative provisions against some positives already made. Thus, consider *gavấ*, etc., where this rule negates the *udātta* of nominal endings made available by 6.1.165 *sāva ekācas*. . . . The *udātta* of the nominal stem *go* will be retained here. A similar negation applies to *sugunấ* etc., where *anudātta* is optionally available to nominal endings by 6.1.166 *antodāttād uttarapadād*. . . . The final *udātta* of the following *pada* (6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*) is thus retained. The *udātta* is similarly negated in *śunấ* and *paramaśunấ*, etc. Provisions of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas* . . . and 6.1.166 *antodāttāt* . . . (in combination with *parama*) are again negated. Our examples, *yebhyaḥ*, *tebhyaḥ* and *kebhyaḥ*, are derivates of *bhyas* introduced after *yad*, *tad* and *kim*. The word *rāṭ* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *rājṚ* 'glow'. But *aṅ* is a derivate of *KvIN* introduced after *añcU*. This nasalized reference to *añcU* is intended for restricting this negation to only where no deletion of *n* occurs. Recall that 6.4.30 *nāñceḥ pūjāyām* blocks such deletion when *añc* is used with the denotatum of praise (*pūjā*). A similar specification for accentual negation is also made by *kruṅ*, again a derivate of *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .). A reference with *kṛt*, a derivate of *KvIP*, is made to include

both *kṛ* or *kṛtI* '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 दिवो झल्

divo jhal
/divaḥ 5/1 *jhal* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179)
divaḥ parā jhalādir vibhaktir nodāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a *jhaL* (*Śs.* 8–14) and occurs after *div* 'heaven' is not marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

dyubhyâm
dyubhíḥ

1. This rule negates the *udātta,* of 6.1.160 *sāv ekācas . . . and* 6.1.163 *ūḍidampa . . .*, in favor of the initial *udātta* 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 चान्यतरस्याम्

nṛ cānyatarasyām
/nṛ (5/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179 *jhal* #180)
'nṛ' ity etasmāt parā jhalādir vibhaktir anyatarasyāṃ nodāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a *jhAL* (*Śś.* 8–14) and occurs after *nṛ* 'man' is optionally not marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

nṛbhíḥ 'instrumental plural of *nṛ*'
nṛbhyâm 'dative-ablative dual . . .'
nṛbhyaḥ 'dative-ablative plural . . .'
nṛṣu 'locative plural . . .'

1. This negation applies optionally to the nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *udātta* of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas . . .* will apply if this negative option is not accepted.

6.1.182 तित्स्वरितम्

tit svaritam
/tit 1/1 = *takāra it yasya* (*bv.*); *svaritam* 1/1/
tit svaritaṃ bhavati

That which is marked with *T* as an *it* is marked with *savrita.*

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣyám
jihīrṣyám
kāryám
kāryám
hāryám

1. This rule is an exception to the more general initial *udātta* of an affix (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Thus, *cikīrṣyám* and *jihīrṣyám* are derivates of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) introduced after the derived roots *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa.* Recall that the *a* of . . . *ṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ.* Affix *yaT,* because of its *t* as an *it,* is marked *svarita.* Consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . marks the remainder as *anudātta.* Our next two derivates of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*) follow similar rules.

6.1.183 तास्यनुदात्तेन् ङिददुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः

tāsyanudāttenṅidadupadeśāl lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ahnviṅoḥ
/tāsyanudāttenṅidadupadeśāt 5/1 = *anudātta ita yasya sa = anudāttet* (*bv.*); *ṅakāra it yasya sa = ṅit* (*bv.*); *at cāsau upadeśaś ca = adupadeśaḥ* (*karma*); *tāsiś ca anudāttec ca ṅic ca adupadeśaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt;* *lasārvadhātukam* 1/1 = *lasya sārvadhātukam = lasārvadhātukam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anudāttam* 1/1 *ahnviṅoḥ* 6/2 *hnuś ca iṅ ca = hnviṅau* (*itar. dv.*); *na hnviṅau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tayoḥ/*
tāser anudātteto ṅito' kārāntopadeśāc ca śabdāt paraṃ
lasārvadhātukam anudāttaṃ ca bhavati 'hnuṅ, iṅ' ity etābhyāṃ paraṃ varjayitvā
A *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* is also marked with *anudātta* when it occurs after the following with the exception of *hnuṄ* and *iṄ*: that which ends in *tāsI*; a verbal root marked with an *anudātta* as *it*; a verbal root which is marked with *Ṅ* as *it*; that which is given as ending in *a* in *upadeśa.*

EXAMPLES:

karttā́
karttā́rau
karttā́raḥ
āsté
vasté
sūté
śeté
tudatáḥ

nudatáḥ
pacátaḥ
paṭhátaḥ

1. This again is an exception to the general provision of affixal *udātta* at the beginning. Consider *kartā*, from *kṛ+ LUṬ*, where third person singular, dual and plural replacements of *LUṬ* are replaced with *Ḍā*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ*). We thus get the *ātmanepada* form: *kṛ+ (ta→(Ḍ) ā = kṛ+ ā→kṛ+ tās + ā*, where 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* introduces *tās*. The *ās* of *tās* goes through *ṭi*-deletion and the *guṇa* of *ṛ*, with its following *r*, produces *k(ṛ→ar) + t(ās→ϕ) + 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 *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Affixes *tas* and *jhi* will also bring their affixal *udātta*. This same will apply to augment *tās*. Both *rau* and *ras* are also marked *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udātta ca*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). How come the existing accent of *tās* could not block the *udātta* of *rau* and *ras*? Because *sati śiṣṭo' pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaraṃ na bādhate* 'the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, eventhough existent, does not block the accent of a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*'. The *udātta* of *rau* and *ras* is then marked *anudātta* by our present rule.

2. Verbal root *āsĀ* 'to sit, stay' and *vasĀ* 'to cover' are marked with *anudātta* as their *it*, and hence, allow *ātmanepada* 'middle' endings. The *te*, in *āste* and *vaste*, because of being a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, is marked *anudātta*. Because of the accent of root (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*), this *anudātta* is finally replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*). Thus we get *āsté* and *vasté*. Derivates of verbal roots *ṣūṄ* and *śīṄ*, i.e., *sūté* and *śeté*, illustrate the specification by *Ṅit*. Now consider *tudatáḥ* and *nudatáḥ*, examples of a verbal root ending in *a* in *upadeśa* (*adupadeśa*). These roots will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. Affix *tas* will then be marked *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Augment *Śa*, which is then introduced, also ends in *a* in *upadeśa*. Our present *sūtra* will mark *tas* as *anudātta* in view of *Śa* ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. The *tas* finally becomes a *svarita*. This same applies to the derivation of *pacatáḥ* and *pathatáḥ* where *ŚaP* is still considered ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. For, *anubandhas*, here *Ś* and *P*, are not treated as part of *ŚaP*, in *upadeśa*.

The last two examples, i.e., *pacamānaḥ* and *yajamānaḥ*, involve *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*) 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 *adupadeśa* with *ŚaP*, or it should be accepted as introduced to the *aṅga*

which ends in *a*? In the first case, the *adupadeśa* status of the root will remain intact. For, an *āgama* becomes part of what it is introduced to (*Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*:12): *yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). This can clear the way for *anudātta* of the *sārvadhātuka* replacement. If one accepts the second position, then *mUK* will intervene between *adupadeśa* and suffix *tas*. The *anudātta* of *tas* can then not be accomplished. Commentators state that *tas* can still be marked *anudātta* 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 (*antaraṅga*). That is, in matters of accentuation (*svaravidhi*), augment *mUM* (*mugāgama*) will be treated as external (*bahiraṅga*). But do not forget the accent of *ŚānaC* which will avail the accent in view of its *C* as an *it*. 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 *cinutaḥ* and *cinvanti*, can be excluded. But the *Śnu* in these examples is treated as marked with *Ṅ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*)? Only when an operation on what precedes, and not on what follows, is to be performed (*pūrvasya kāryaṃ prati ṅid bhavati na tu parasya*). That is, it can be considered a *Ṅit* for blocking *guṇa* of *i* of *ci*. It cannot be considered a *Ṅit* for accent on what follows. One may even accept the *Ṅit* of this *sūtra* as referring to a *Ṅit* in *upadeśa*, and not to an extensional (*ātideśika*) *Ṅit*.

The condition of *adupadeśa* similarly excludes examples such as *hataḥ* and *hathaḥ* where *tas* and *thas* occur after *han*, a root ending in *n* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *lasārvadhātukam* is necessary so that *pacamānāḥ*, etc., do not come within the scope of this rule. Affix *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayovacana* . . .) is here introduced directly. It is not a replacement of *LA*. The condition of *sārvadhātukam* similarly excludes *śiśye*, *śiśyāté* and *śiśyiré*, where replacements of *LIṬ*, i.e., *eŚ*, *āte* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .), are not *sārvadhātuka*. Finally, *hnute* and *yad ádhīte* are used to illustrate the exclusion of *hnviṅoḥ*. Particle *yat* is here used to indicate the retention of the root accent (8.1.30 *nipātair yadyadi* . . .).

6.1.184 आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ādiḥ sico' nyatarasyām
/ādiḥ 1/1 *sicaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
sijantasya anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial (*ādi*) of that which ends in *sIC* is optionally marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

mā hi kārṣṭām
mā hi karṣṭām

mā hi lāviṣṭām
mā hi lāviṣṭā́m

1. This optional *udātta* applies to a form which ends in augment *sIC*. Thus, we get *mā hi kārṣṭā́m* 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 *ādyudāttaśca*). But consider *mā hi lāviṣṭā́m* and *mā hi lāviṣṭā́m*, where the first is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The second, however, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The *anudātta* of *sIC*, because it is marked with *C* as an *it* (*citkaraṇa*), is blocked. The *i* of augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*), since it becomes part of that which ends in a *sIC*, is marked *udātta* in view of *C* as an *it* of *sIC*. 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 *sIC*, an affix marked with *P* as an *it* and not used with *iṬ* should be optionally marked *udātta*. Thus consider *mā hi kārṣam* and *mā hi kārṣám* 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 *dhātoḥ*. This restricted proposal in the context of non-*iṬ* allows another form with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*).

6.1.185 स्वपादिहिंसामच्यनिटि

svapādihiṃsām acy aniṭi
/*svapādihiṃsām* 6/1 = *svap ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *svapādayaś ca hiṃś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *aci* 7/1 *aniṭi* 7/1 (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #184)
svapādīnāṃ hiṃseś cājādāv aniṭi 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 *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

svapánti
svapantí
śvasantí
śvasantí
híṃsanti
hiṃsantí

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 *iṬ* follows. Incidentally, *lasārvadhātukam*, a form ending

in the nominative (*prathamā*), is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) in relation to *aci* and *aniṭi*. 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 *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). This, in turn, makes the affix vowel-initial (*ajādi*).

This initial *udātta* option is not available, for example in *svapyāt* and *hiṃsyāt*, on the one hand, and in *svasitaḥ* and *svapitaḥ*, on the other. The first two examples do not have an ending beginning with a vowel. The next two are used with augment *iṬ*.

This provision is desired (*iṣṭa*) only when a vowel initial affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows (*ṅity ajādāv ayaṃ vidhir iṣyate*). Thus, *svapāni* and *hiṇasāni*. The *sārvadhātuka* replacement of the first person active are treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*; 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*). Rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will not allow a *pit* affix to be accepted as *ṅit*.

6.1.186 अभ्यस्तानामादिः

abhyastānām ādiḥ
/abhyastānām 6/3 *ādiḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *acy aniṭi* #185)
abhyastānām ajādāv aniṭi 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 *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadáti
dadáu
dadháti
dadháu
jakṣáti
jakṣátu
jāgráti
jāgrátu

1. The word *ādi*, 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, *dadáti* and *dadháti* are forms of *LAṬ* where *dā* and *dhā* go through doubling. Their *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *jakṣátuḥ* (II:412–13) where the term *abhyasta* is assigned by 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*.

6.1.187 अनुदात्ते च

anudātte ca

/anudātte 7/1 = *avidyamānam udāttam asmin* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *abhyastānām ādiḥ* #186)
avidyamānodātte ca lasārvadhātuke parato' bhyastānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of an *abhyasta* is also marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* with no *anudātta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadâti
jahâti
dadhâti
jihîte
mimîte

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 *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *avidyamānaḥ 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 *yaṆ*. Consider *dadhāti* and *dadhāty atra* where the final *i* in the first example is deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) to yield *dadhāt*. The second example involves a replacement in *yaṆ* 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 *yaṆ*. For, there would not be any *anudātta* to follow. In cases of replacements in *yaṆ*, the initial *udātta* of this rule still applies. The replacement, since it is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), 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 parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *sarva* is marked *udātta* when *sUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarváḥ
sarváu
sarvé

1. This initial *udātta* is offered here against a final *udātta* (*Uṇādi*: 1.153: *sarvanīdhṛdhariṣv . . .*). This makes *sarva* an *anudātta* at the beginning. Con-

sequently, *sārvaḥ*, a derivate of *aÑ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*), is marked with *anudātta* at the beginning. The condition of *supi* 'when *sUP* follows' blocks this accentual provision in *sa̲rvatáraḥ* and *sa̲rvatámaḥ* where *sarva* is followed by *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to avail this accentual provision, for example in *sarvástomaḥ*, even when a nominal ending is deleted (*Mahābhāṣya* ad 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). That is, the deleted nominal ending is still considered as *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*), via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* '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* (*anacka*). 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 gṛhyate*).

6.1.189 भीह्रीभृहुमदधनजनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति

bhīhrībhṛhumadadhanajanadaridrājāgarāṃ pratyayāt pūrvaṃ piti
/bhī-hrī-bhṛ-hu-mada-dhana-jana-daridrā-jāgarām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pratyayāt* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *piti* 7/1 = *pakāra it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #185 *abhyastānām* #183)
'*bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, jāgṛ*' *ity eteṣām abhyastānām lasārvadhātuke piti pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati*
That part of an *abhyasta*, particularly of *bhī, hrī, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā*, and *jāgṛ* which precedes an affix, is marked *udātta* when a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bi̲bheti
ji̲hreti
bi̲bharti
ju̲hoti
ma̲mattú naḥ parijmā
ja̲jana̲dindrám
da̲dhana̲t
da̲ri̲drāti
jā̲garttí

1. Note that 6.1.187 *anudātte ca* offers initial *udātta* to a form termed *abhyasta*. This rule offers *udātta* to a part of *abhyasta* which precedes the affix. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.190 लिति

liti
/liti 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *pratyayāt pūrvam* #189)
lakāretsaṃjñake pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati
That which precedes is marked *udātta* when an affix marked with *L* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣakáḥ
jihīrṣakáḥ
bhaurikivídham
bhaulikivídham
aiṣukāribháktam

1. Note that the *ī* before *aka* is marked *udātta* in *cikīrṣakaḥ* and *jihīrṣakaḥ*. That is, after 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* deletes the final *a* of *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa*. Refer to the appendix (II:406–7) for full derivational details. Affixes *vídhaL* and *bhaktaL* which are introduced after *bhauliki* and *aiṣukāri* are also marked with *L* (4.2.54 *bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau*).

6.1.191 आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम्

ādir ṇamuly anyatarasyām
/ādiḥ 1/1 *ṇamuli* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
ṇamuli parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
An initial is optionally marked *udātta* when affix *ṆamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lolūyaṃlolūyam
lolūyáṃlolūyam

1. This rule provides for optional *udātta* at the beginning of a root which occurs before *ṆamUL*. 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 *yaṄ* with the signification of *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'intense action'. Given *lolūya* + *ṆamUL* = *lolūya* + *am*, where 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* deletes the final *a* before the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix *ṆamUL*, 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 *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again' (*vt.*: *ābhīkṣṇe dve bhavataḥ*; ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*).

The second *lolūyam* of *lolūyaṃlolūyam* will then be termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*). Consequently, it will also become *anudātta* (8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca*).

6.1.192 अचः कर्तृयकि

acaḥ kartṛyaki
/acaḥ 6/1 *kartṛyaki* 7/1 = *karttari vihito yak* (*sapt. tat.*); *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *upadeśāt* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)
ajantā ye upadeśe dhātavas teṣāṃ kartṛyaki anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
A vowel-final (*ajanta*) root in *upadeśa* is optionally marked *udātta* at the beginning when affix *yaK* with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent' follows.

EXAMPLES:

lūyáte kedāraḥ svayam eva
lūyaté kedāraḥ svayam eva
stīryate kedāraḥ svayam eva
stīryaté kedāraḥ 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 *kartṛ*. Such a treatment of *karman* is made possible via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treatment of a secondary as principal' of 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*. 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 *anudātta* to *te*. Rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca* will then assign affixal *udātta* to *yaK*.

6.1.193 थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा

thali ca seṭīḍ anto vā
/thali 7/1 *ca* ϕ *seṭi* 1/1 (*bv.*); *iṭ* 1/1 *antaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)
seṭi thali iṭ vā udātto bhavati anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām
An *iṬ*, when used before a following *thaL*, is optionally marked *udātta*; additionally, the final and initial are also optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

lulavithá
lulávithá
lulavítha

1. Note that this rule does not use *ca* in its right place. It should be paraphrased to attract *ādiḥ*, thereby yielding two paraphrases: (*i*) *thali seṭi iḍ vā udātto bhavati* '*iṭ* is optionally marked *udātta* when *thaL*, conjoined with

iṬ, 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': *iṭ, 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 *iṭ, 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 *liṭi*). This will be an operational option (*kāryavikalpa*). Consider *lulavitha* which derives from *lū* + (*LIṬ→siP→thaL*))→*lū* + *thaL*, where *LIṬ* gets replaced with *thaL*, via second person singular active ending *siP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthala...*). Reduplication (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*), followed by *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) and shortening of *ū* of the first *lū* produces: *lū* + *lū* + *tha*(*L*)→*lū* + *lū* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*)→*l*(*ū→u*) + *lū* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*). An application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*), followed by *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), then yields: *lu* + *l*(*ū→o→av*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*) = *lu* + *lav* + *i* + *tha* = *lulavitha*. This rule will mark the *iṬ* 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 *liṭi* will offer *udātta* on what precedes the affix. Thus we get four alternate forms: *lulávitha, lulavítha, lulavithá* and *lulaviṭha*.

6.1.194 ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्

ñnityādir nityam
/ñniti 7/1 = *ñaś ca naś ca* = *ñnau* (*dv.*); *ñnāv itāv asya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*; *ādiḥ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
ñiti niti ca nityam ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of a form is marked *udātta* when that which has *Ñ* or *N* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyáḥ
vātsyáḥ
vāsúdevakaḥ
arjúnakaḥ

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The first two examples are derivates of *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. The next two are examples of *vuN* (4.3.98 *vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun*), marked with *N* as an *it*.

2. Note that 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* 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 *yañañoś ca* offers deletion of affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ*. The examples will thus be marked as *g̱argāḥ* and *v̱idāḥ*, without consideration of this rule.

6.1.195 आमन्त्रितस्य 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:

devádattaḥ
devádattau
devádattāḥ

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 *devádatta, devádattau* and *devádattāḥ*.

6.1.196 पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने

pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne
/pathimathoḥ 6/2 = *panthāś ca manthāś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *pathin* and *mathin* is marked *udātta* when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarva* . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

panthâḥ
panthânau
panthânaḥ
manthâḥ
manthâḥ
manthânau
manthânaḥ

1. Note that *pathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.11) and *mathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.112) are derivates of *inI*. 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 *panthâḥ* (II:398–99). Similar rules apply in deriving *manthâḥ*.

2. The condition of *sarvanāmasthāne* blocks this *udātta* at the beginning, for example, in *pa̲thaḥ paśya* where a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* accusative plural ending *Śas* follows. The word is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ*). Here again 1.1.62 *pratyayalope* . . . cannot be invoked. Note, however, that *pathi* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, such as *pa̲thipríyaḥ*, 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 अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्

antaś ca tavai yugapat
/antaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *tavai* (1/1 deleted) *yugapat* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
tavaipratyayāntasya śabdasyāntaś cādiś ca yugapad udāttau bhavataḥ
The initial, and final as well, of that which ends in affix *tavai* is simultaneously (*yugapat*) marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

karttavai
harttavai

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent of *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś 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*, simultaneoulsy. Recall that *ekavarjam* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ ekavarjam* goes contrary to an application, in turn (*paryāya*).

6.1.198 क्षयो निवासे

kṣayo nivāse
/kṣayaḥ 1/1 *nivāse* 7/1
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
kṣayaśabdo nivāse' bhidheye ādyudātto bhavati
The word *kṣaya* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *nivāsa* 'residence' is the signification.

EXAMPLES:

kṣayé jāgṛhi 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 saṃjñāyām* . . .), introduced after verbal root *kṣi* 'decay'. This initial *udātta* is offered against final affixal *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This accent will not be available to *kṣayaḥ* of *kṣayo dasyūnāṃ vartate* 'there is destruction of bandits' where the signification is something other than *nivāsa.*

6.1.199 जयः करणम्

jayaḥ karaṇam
/jayaḥ 1/1 *karaṇam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
jayaśabdaḥ karaṇavācī ādyudātto bhavati
The word *jaya* signifying *karaṇa* 'means' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

jayó' śvaḥ '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 *jayo varttate brāhmaṇānām* '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 वृषादीनां च

vṛṣādīnāṃ ca
/vṛṣādīnām 6/3 = *vṛṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
vṛṣādīnāṃ śabdānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of items enumerated in the list headed by *vṛṣa* is also marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣáḥ
janáḥ
jvaráḥ

1. Note that *vṛṣaḥ* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . .) introduced after *vṛṣ* 'to water, rain'. The other two examples are derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .) introduced after *janī̃* 'to be born' and *jvarI* 'to be afflicted'. The accentual provision of this rule is made against affixal *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2. Note that the *vṛṣādi* is treated as an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'open-ended'. That is, any nominal for which no initial *udātta* has been expressly provided can be covered by this rule.

6.1.201 संज्ञायामुपमानम्

saṃjñāyām upamānam
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *upamānam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
upamānaśabdaḥ saṃjñāyām udātto bhavati
A standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

cañcā́
vardhríkā
kharákuṭī
dāsī́

1. Note that *cañcā* 'a doll, straw figure', derived with a deleted *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*; 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*), can denote a name by way of serving as an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. Here again, 1.1.62 *pratyayalope* . . . cannot be invoked for purposes of accentuation.

6.1.202 निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात्

niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt
/*niṣṭhā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tat*; *anāt* 5/1 = *na āt* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *saṃjñāyām* #201)
niṣṭhāntaṃ ca dvyac saṃjñāyāṃ 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 (*saṃjñā*) and what is to be marked *anudātta* is not an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

dattáḥ
guptáḥ
buddháḥ

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). Refer to the appendix (III:775–77) for derivational details of *dattaḥ*. Similar rules derive *buddhaḥ*, from *budh* + *Kta*. Recall that affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū 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 *cintita* and *rakṣita*, because these both consist of more than two vowels. Derivates of *niṣṭhā*, for example, *trāta* 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 शुष्कधृष्टौ

śuṣkadhṛṣṭau

/śuṣka-dhṛṣṭau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*śuṣka, dhṛṣṭa*' *ity etāv ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*
The words *śuṣka* and *dhṛṣṭa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

śuṣkáḥ 'dried'
dhṛṣṭáḥ 'daring'

1. Note that *śuṣka* and *dhṛṣṭa* are derivates of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta*, where *Kta* of the first example is replaced with *ka* (8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ*). Our next example involves *ṭ* as a replacement for *t* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). These examples could be covered by the previous rule. This initial *udātta* is then offered to cover usages outside the scope of *saṃjñā* 'name' (*Kāś*: *asajñārthaḥ ārambhaḥ*).

6.1.204 आशितः कर्ता

āśitaḥ karttā
/āśitaḥ 1/1 *karttā* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
āśitaśabdaḥ kartṛvācī ādyudātto bhavati
The word *āśita*, when used with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent', is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

āśíto devadattaḥ '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 *thāthaghañ* . . .

Two counter-examples, i.e., *āśitam annam* and *āśitaṃ 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 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
riktaśabde vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *rikta* is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

riktáḥ 'emptied'
r̥iktaḥ

1. Note that *rikta*, a derivate of *ricIR* + *Kta* where the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*), can qualify for obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.102 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*). This rule makes that provision optional. That is, when the signification is something other than a name. A final *udātta* (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*) will apply if optional provision of this rule is not accepted.

6.1.206 जुष्टार्पिते च च्छन्दसि

juṣṭārpite cac chandasi
/juṣṭārpite 7/1 = *juṣṭaś ca arpitaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*juṣṭa, arpita'ity ete śabdarūpe chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ādyudātte bhavataḥ*
The initial of *juṣṭa* and *arpita* is optionally marked *udātta* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

juṣṭáḥ
juṣṭaḥ
arpítaḥ
arpiṭáḥ

1. This optional provision of initial *udātta* only applies to the Vedic usage. Elsewhere, in the classical (*bhāṣā*) usage, we will get *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

Our first example derives with affix *Kta*, introduced after *juṣĪ* 'to enjoy' with an additional application of *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The second example also derives with *Kta*, introduced after *ṛ* 'to go' with causal *ṆiC*. Further application of augment *pUK* (3.2.184 *arttihrīlūdhū . . .*), and an application of *guṇa*, derive *arpita*. The accentual provision of this rule is again made against affixal accent.

2. The *chandasi* provision of this rule restricts usages to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas with the exception of the Mantras.

6.1.207 नित्यं मन्त्रे

nityaṃ mantre
/nityam 1/1 *mantre* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *juṣṭārpite* #206)
'*juṣṭa, arpita' ity ete śabdarūpe mantraviṣaye nityam ādyudatte bhavataḥ*
The words *juṣṭta* and *arpita*, in the *Mantra* usage, are obligatorily marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

juṣṭám devānām
arpitáṃ pitṛṇām

1. Note that *mantra* is used for the *saṃhitā* sections of the Vedas, especially the *Ṛgveda* 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 *mantre* 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*: *ārambhasāmarthyād eva nityatve siddhe nityagrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham, uttarārthañ ca*).

6.1.208 युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि

yuṣmadasmador ṅasi
/yuṣmad-asmadoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṅasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'yuṣmad-asmad' ity etayoḥ śabdayoḥ ṅasi parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is marked with *udātta* when *Ṅas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tavá svam
mamá svam

1. Note that *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are derivates of affix *madIK* (*Uṇādi* I:119). They are also marked *udātta* at the end, via affixal accent. Given *yuṣmad* + *Ṅas* and *asmad* + *Ṅas*, rule 7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṅaso' ś* replaced *Ṅas* with *aŚ*. Rule 7.2.96 *tava mamau ṅasi* also replaces *yuṣm* and *asm* of the bases with *tava* and *mama*, respectively. Thus, *yuṣmad* + ((*Ṅ*) *as*→*a*(*Ś*)) = *yuṣmad* + *a*→(*yuṣm*→*tava*) *ad* + *a* = *tava* + (*ad*→ϕ) + *a* = *tava* + *a*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* causes the deletion of *ad*. We get the final derivate with a single replacement: *tav*(*a* + *a*→*a*) = *tava* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Similar rules also apply in deriving *asmad*.

This accentual provision goes against the final *udātta* provision of 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*.

6.1.209 ङयि च

ṅayi ca
/ṅayi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #208)

'ṅe'ity etasmiṃś ca parato yuṣmadasmador ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is also marked *udātta* when *Ṅi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyám
mahyám

1. A separate formulation of this and the preceding rule is intended for resolving doubts of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with equal number of enumerated items'. That is, (*i*) *yuṣmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ṅas* follows; and (*ii*) *asmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ṅe* follows. A separate formulation can account for *udātta* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before *Ṅas* and *Ṅe* both.

Note that *Ṅe* 'dative singular' after these two bases is replaced with *am* (7.1.28 *ṇeḥ prathamayor am*). These bases are also replaced with *tubhya* and *mahya* (7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*), respectively. Other rule applications are similar to *tava* and *mama*. Note that these bases are both *udātta* at the end. The affix is *udātta* at the beginning. A single replacement (*ekādeśa*) similar to the following (*pararūpa*), i.e., *a*-replacement in *tubhy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* = *tubhyam*, should thus be also marked with *udātta*. This rule blocks it.

6.1.210 **यतोऽनावः**

yato' nāvaḥ
/yataḥ 6/1 *anāvaḥ* 1/1 = *na nau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #193 *dvyac* #202)
yatpratyayāntasya dvyac ādir udātto bhavati na cen nau śabdāt paro bhavati
That which contains two vowels and ends in affix *yaT* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *yaT* does not occur after *nau* 'boat'.

EXAMPLES:

ceyám
jeyám
kaṇṭhyám
oṣṭhyám

1. Note that *dvyac* is understood here from 6.1.202 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*. This rule offers *udātta* as an exception to the *svarita* of 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*. This provision of initial *udātta* must be blocked in case of *nāvyám*, where affix *yaT* is introduced after *nau* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). Refer to the appendix (III:364–65) for derivational details of *ceyam* and *jeyam*. The last two examples are also derivates of *yaT*, introduced by 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*.

Note that a derivate of *yaT* which consists of more than two vowels is not allowed this accent. Thus, *cikīrṣyám* and *lalāṭyám* which must be marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*) at the end.

6.1.211 **ईडवन्दवृशंसदुहां ण्यतः**

īḍavandavṛśaṃsaduhāṃ ṇyataḥ
/īḍa-vanda-vṛ-śaṃsa-duhām 6/1 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇyataḥ* 6/1
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*īḍa, vanda, vṛ, śaṃs, duh' ity eteṣāṃ yo ṇyat tadantasyādir udātto bhavati*
The initial of that which ends in *ṆyaT*, introduced after verbal roots *īḍa* 'praise', *vanda* 'respect', *vṛṆ* 'honor', *śaṃs* 'praise' and *duh* 'to fulfill', is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

īḍyám
vandyám
vāryám
śasyám
dohyā́ denuḥ

1. Here again we find an exception to 6.1.183 *tit svaritam*. Note that affix *ṆyaT* could not be included within the reference of *yaT* of the earlier rule. For, it consists of two *it*-elements, *Ṇ* and *T*. Affix *ṆyaT* is introduced after specified verbal roots when the signification is *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.1.24 *ṛhalor ṇyat*).

6.1.212 **विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः**

vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *veṇv-indhānayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*veṇu-indhāna' ity etayor vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati*
The initial of *veṇu* and *indhāna* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

veṇúḥ
veṇuḥ
indhā́naḥ
indhānaḥ
indhānáḥ

1. Note that *veṇu* is a derivate of *Uṇādi* affix *nu* (3.38: *ajivṛrībhyo nit*). Consequently, it is subject to an obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Our present rule offers an optional *udātta* at the end. Note, however, that *veṇu* is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning when a name (*saṃjñā* 6.1.201 *saṃjñāyām upamānam*) is denoted.

The word *indhāna* can be derived with affixes *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlya-vayo . . .*) and *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*), both introduced after

ÑindhĪ 'to kindle'. A derivate of *CānaŚ*, because of its *C* as an *it* (6.1.160 *citaḥ*), will be marked *udātta* at the end. This same will also apply to a derivate of *ŚānaC*. A derivate of *ŚānaC* will require this affix to replace *LAṬ*. This will further require introduction of *ŚānaM*, followed by deletion of its *n* (6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ*). Thus, *indh* + (*LAṬ*→(*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 lopaḥ*), to finally produce *indhāna*. There are several accentual interactions involved here. Firstly, we will get the final *udātta* of *ŚānaC* due mainly to *C* as an *it*. This accent of a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA* cannot be blocked by the affixal accent of initial *udātta* of *ŚnaM*, a *vikaraṇa* (cf. *satiśiṣṭo'pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaraṃ na bādhate*). But since *ŚnaM* has *a* is *upadeśa* (6.1.183 *tāsyanudātten . . .*), *ŚānaC* will then be marked *anudātta*. The *ŚnaM* itself will be marked with affixal *udātta* at the beginning. But recall that *a* of *ŚnaM* gets deleted before *āna*. This will occasion *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatro . . .*).

6.1.213 त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम्

tyāgarāgahāsakuhaśvaṭhakrathānām
/tyāga-rāga-hāsa-kuha-śvaṭha-krathānām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*tyāga, rāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, kratha*' *ity eteṣāṃ vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati*
The initial of *tyāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha,* and *kratha* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

tyāgáḥ
tyaāgaḥ
rāgáḥ
ragaḥ
hāsáḥ
hāsaḥ
kuháḥ
kuhaḥ
śvaṭháḥ
śvaṭhaḥ
kratháḥ
krathaḥ

1. Note that *tyāgaḥ*, etc., are derivates of *GHaÑ*. They are subject to final *udātta* because of *Ñ* as an *it* (6.1.156 *karṣātvato . . .*). This rule offers *udātta* at the beginning as an option. The remaining examples are all derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi . . .*). They thus get optional final *udātta* against the initial *udātta* option of this rule.

6.1.214 **उपोत्तमं रिति**

upottamaṃ riti
/upottamam 1/1 *riti* 7/1 = *repha it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
ridantasyopottamam udāttaṃ bhavati
The penultimate of that which ends in an affix with *R* as an *it* is marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

karaṇīyám
haraṇīyám
paṭujātīyáḥ
mṛdujātīyáḥ

1. This rule offers *udātta* 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, *karaṇīyám* and *paṭujātīyáḥ* where *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) and *jātīyaR* (5.3.96 *prakāravacane jātīyar*) are both marked with *R* as an *it.* This again is an exception to affixal accent of final *udātta.*

6.1.215 **चङ्यन्यतरस्याम्**

caṅy anyatarasyām
/caṅi 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *upottamam* #214)
caṅante' nyatarasyām udāttaṃ bhavati
The next to the last of that which consists of at least three syllables and ends in *CaṄ* is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

mā hi cikaratām
mā hi cikarátām

1. Refer to derivational details of *acīkarat* (II:507–9). Similar rules apply in deriving *cīkaratām* of *mā hi cīkaratām.* The *tas* of *cīkaratām* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthathamipām . . .*). Augment *aṬ* is here blocked because of concurrent *māṄ* (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*). The *anudātta* of *cīkaratām* (8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*) will also be blocked because of *hi* (8.1.34 *hi ca*) after which a *pada* ending in *tiṄ* occurs (8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṇaḥ*). The *anudātta,* however, will apply to *tām,* a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA,* because it occurs after *a* (6.1.183 *tāsyanudātten . . .*). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *a* of *ka* of *cīkara.* The *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta* by affixal accent if the option of this rule is not accepted.

This accentual provision is not available to *mā hi dadhat.* For, *dadhat* con-

sists of only two vowels and thus the condition of *upottamam* cannot be met here.

6.1.216 मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम्

matoḥ pūrvam āt saṃjñāyāṃ striyām
/matoḥ 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *āt* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *striyām* 7/1/ (*udāttaḥ* #156)
matoḥ pūrva ākāra udātto bhavati tac cen matvantaṃ strīliṅge saṃjñā bhavati
An *ā* before *matUP* is marked with *udātta* when the derivate signifies a name in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

u̲du̲mba̲rāvátī 'name of a city'
pu̲ṣka̲rāvátī 'name of a city'
śa̲rāvátī 'name of a city'

1. Recall that *matUP* of these derivates is introduced by 4.4.84 *nadyāṃ matup*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*). The long *ā* which precedes *matUP* has its source in the application of 6.3.119 *matau bahvaco. . . .* The long of *śarāvatī*, however, is caused by 6.1.120 *śarādīnāṃ ca.* These derivates of *ṄīP* are all marked *anudātta* at the end. For, *ṄīP* is 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 *ikṣumatī* and *drumavatī*, illustrate how the absence of a long *ā* before *matUP* makes this rule inapplicable. A counter-example for *saṃjñāyām* is offered in *khaṭvāvatī* 'a place with many cots'. A counter-example for *striyām* is offered as *śarāvān.* Finally, *gavādinī* is offered as a counter-example for the condition of *matoḥ.*

6.1.217 अन्तोऽवत्याः

anto' vatyāḥ
/antaḥ 1/1 *avatyāḥ* 6/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *saṃjñāyām* #218)
avatīśabdāntasya saṃjñāyām anta udātto bhavati
The final of that which ends in *avatī* is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name.

EXAMPLES:

a̲ji̲ra̲va̲tī 'name of a place'
kha̲di̲ra̲va̲tī 'name of a place'
ha̲ṃsa̲va̲tī 'name of a place'
kā̲ra̲ṇḍa̲va̲tī 'name of a place'

1. A word-form ending in *avatī* is here offered *udātta* at the end. This accentual provision is made against the final *anudātta* of the feminine affix *ṄīP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Here again we get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*). A long replacement for the short *a* before *matUP* is again accomplished by 6.3.120 *śarādīnāṃ ca.*

6.1.218 **ईवत्याः**

īvatyāḥ
/īvatyāḥ 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *saṃjñāyām* #218 *antaḥ* #219)
īvatiśabdāntasyānta udātto bhavati striyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The final of that which ends in *īvatī* is marked with *udātta* when the signification is a name.

EXAMPLES:

ahīvatī 'name of a place'
kṛṣīvatī 'name of a place'
muṇivatī '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 *śarādīnāṃ ca.* Our present rule offers *udātta* against affixal *anudātta* of *ṄīP.*

6.1.219 **चौ**

cau
/cau 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #217)
cau parataḥ pūrvasyānta udātto bhavati
That which occurs in construction before *cu* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

dadhīcáḥ
dadhīcā́
dadhīcé
madhūcáḥ
madhūcā́
madhūcé

1. Note that *cau*, a locative singular form of *cu*, refers to verbal root *añcU* with its *it*-elements deleted. A specification with *cu* is made after deleting the nasal of *añcU.* Consider *dadhīc* where affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛg*...) is introduced after *añcU* to form an *upapada-samāsa* 'conjoined compound',

under the cooccurrence condition of *dadhi* + *am*. Recall that affix *KvIN* goes through total deletion. Given *dadhi* + (*am*→ϕ) + *añc*, where deletion of *am* is due to compound formation, 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal* . . . deletes *ñ* of *añc*. The *a* of *dadhi* + *ac* is also deleted (6.4.138 *acaḥ*). The preceding *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.138 *cau*). Thus, *dadhīcáḥ*, an accusative plural with *Śas*. Note that *a* of *añcU* is *udātta* by 6.2.130 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The nominal ending *Śas* was *anudātta* to start with (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttasya* . . . then offered *udātta* to *Śas*, because it occurred after a deleted *udātta*, i.e., *a*. Our present rule made the proposal of *udātta* to *ī* which precedes. Other examples follow similar derivational details.

6.1.220 समासस्य

samāsasya
/samāsasya 6/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #219)
samāsasyānta udātto bhavati
The final constituent of a compound is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
brāhmaṇakambalaḥ 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'
kanyāsvanaḥ 'girl-noise'
paṭahaśabdaḥ 'noise of the Paṭaha (war) drum'
nadīghoṣaḥ 'river-noise'
rājaprṣat 'royal-seal'
brāhmaṇasamit 'assembly of brāhmaṇas'

1. This rule assigns final *udātta* accent to a compound. Recall that a compound is formed by integrating two or more syntactically related nominals (2.1.4 *saha supā*). Constituents of a compound bring their own individual accents. Our present rule assigns a single final *udātta* accent to the compound as a whole. Thus, the final of *brāhmaṇasamit* will be marked *udātta*. Since vowels alone have the characteristic ability to carry accents we get *i* of *brāhmaṇasamit* to be marked *udātta*. More explanations, especially in relation to accentual interaction, will be offered under rules of the next quarter (*pāda*). For, rules of the second quarter of *adhyāya* six form an exception to this rule.

PĀDA TWO

6.2.1. बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्

bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam
/bahubrīhau 7/1 *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *pūrvapadam* 1/1/

bahuvrīhau samāse pūrvapadasya yaḥ svaraḥ sa prakṛtyā bhavati
The accent of an initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound remains as it originally was.

EXAMPLES:

kārṣṇóttarāsaṅgāḥ 'men who cover themselves with the hide of a black deer'
yúvalajaḥ 'that (a city) which has its entry point marked by a ritual post'
brahmacāripáriskandaḥ 'a place where a celibate is the protector'
snātákaputraḥ 'he whose son is a scholar'
adhyāpákaputraḥ 'he whose son is a teacher'
śrotríyaputraḥ 'he whose son is a presiding ritualist'
manuṣyánāthaḥ '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 *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* demands that all vowels, except for one, be marked *anudātta* in a compound. Thus, in view of the preceding, a compound will be marked *udātta* at the end. The remaining syllables of a compound will then have to be marked *anudātta.* 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 *anudāttaṃ padam. . . .* The original accent referred to here by *prakṛtyā* must then be an *udātta* or *svarita.* For, it cannot be one offered by the blanket *anudātta* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam. . . .*

2. Consider *kārṣṇottarāsāṅgaḥ,* a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where its initial constituent *kārṣṇa* is a derivate of *aÑ,* introduced after *kṛṣṇa* + *Ṅas* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*) with the signification of *vikāra* 'modification, product'. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns initial *udātta* to *kārṣṇa,* obligatorily, at the strength of *Ñ* as an *it* in *aÑ.* Our present rule requires that this initial *udātta* accent be retained in the compound. A similar retention of initial *udātta* is witnessed in *yūpavalajaḥ* 'a city where a ritual post marks its entry point', parallel to *yūpaḥ valajaḥ yasya.* The word *yūpa* is a derivate of affix *pa,* introduced after *yu* 'join, unite, mix' (*Uṇādi* III:27: *kusuyubhyaś ca*). The lengthening of *u* is gotten from *Uṇādi* III:25: *stuvo dīrghaś ca.* Affix *pa* is treated as marked with *N* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* III:26: *suśṛbhyāṃ nic ca*).

A *bahuvrīhi* such as *brahmacāripariskandaḥ,* parallel to *brahmacārī pariskandaḥ yasya yasmin vā* 'he of whose (or a place where) a celibate is the protector'. The word *brahmacārin* is a derivate of affix *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*), used with the signification of an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. This

derivate of *kṛt* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*). The word *snātaka*, in *snātakaputraḥ* 'he whose son is a scholar', is a derivate of *kaN* and is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The *adhyāpaka* 'teacher', of *adhyāpakaputraḥ* 'he whose son is a teacher', is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) because it is a derivate of *ṆvuL* marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The *śrotriya*, of *śrotriyaputraḥ* 'he whose son is presiding retualist', is a derivate of *ghaN*, via *nipātana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ghaN* (5.2.84 *śrotriyaś chando' adhīte*). The *manuṣya*, of *manuṣyanāthaḥ* 'he of whose lord is a man', is a derivate of *yaT* (4.1.161 *manor jātāv . . .*) with an additional provision of *ṣUK*. Rule 6.1.182 *tit svaritam* assigns *svarita* to the affix. Consequently, *manuṣya* carries a *svarita* at the end.

It has been stated that *udātta* and *svarita* are understood here. Consequently, this rule will not apply where the initial constituent of the compound is all *anudātta* (*sarvānudātta*). An example is *sa̱ma̱bha̱gaḥ* 'a thing with equal parts' where *sama* is marked *anudātta* on both syllables. The compound will thus be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.2 तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः

tatpuruṣe tulyārthatṛtīyāsaptamyupamānāvyayadvitīyākṛtyāḥ
/ tatpuruṣe 7/1 *tulyārtha-tṛtīyā-saptamy-upamāna-avyaya-dvitīyā-kṛtyāḥ* 1/3 = *tulyo' rtho yasya* (*bv.*); *tulyārthaṃ ca tṛtīyā ca saptamī ca upamānaṃ ca avyayaṃ ca dvitīyā ca kṛtyāś as* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
tatpuruṣe samāse tulyārthaṃ tṛtīyāntaṃ saptamyantam upamānavāci avyayaṃ dvitīyāntaṃ kṛtyāntaṃ ca yat pūrvapadaṃ tat prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, either denotes the sense of *tulya* 'equal, similar' or ends in *tṛtīyā* and *saptamī* or is an indeclinable denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' or ends in *dvitīyā*, or else, ends in a *kṛtya* suffix, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

tulyáśvetaḥ 'equally white'
tulyálohitaḥ 'equally red'
sa̱dṛkchvétaḥ 'similar white'
sa̱dṛglóhitaḥ 'similar red'
sa̱dṛśáśvetaḥ 'similar white'
sa̱dṛśálohitaḥ 'similar red'
śa̱ṅku̱lākhánḍaḥ 'split by an axe'
ki̱rikáṇaḥ 'made one-eyed by a boar'
a̱kṣaśaúṇḍaḥ 'skilled at the game of dice'
pānáśauṇḍaḥ 'addicted to drinking'

śastrīśyâmā 'black as a little knife'
kumúdaśyenī 'lily-white'
haṃsagádgadā 'swan-like sweet-speaking woman'
dūrvākāṇḍáśyāma 'black as a blade of grass'
śarakāṇḍágaurī 'fair as a piece of reed'
abrâhmaṇaḥ 'non-brāhmaṇa'
kubrâhmaṇaḥ 'bad brāhmaṇa'
muhūrttasúkham 'momentary pleasure'
sarvarātrakályāṇī 'entire night as auspicious'
bhojyóṣṇam 'warm food'
bhojyálavaṇam 'salty food'

1. The first six examples are compounds termed *karmadhāraya* (2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā 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' nāvaḥ*). The *sadṛk* of *sadṛkchvetaḥ* ends in *KvIN* (*vt.*: *samānānyayoś ceti . . .*; ad 3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu . . .*), and, hence, is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt . . .*). Affix *KvIN*, as usual, goes through total deletion. This preceding *vārttika* proposal also derives *sadṛśa* of *sadṛśaśvetaḥ* with affix *KaÑ*. The *sa* as a replacement for *samāna* comes from 6.3.89 *dṛgdṛśa-vatuṣu . . . gatikārakopapadāt. . . .* The word *sadṛśa*, a derivate of *kaÑ* introduced after *dṛś*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhya*).

The word *śaṅkulā* derives with affix *Ka* used with the signification of *GHaÑ* (*vt.*: *ghañarthe kavidhānam*; ad 3.3.58 *grahavidṛniścigamaś ca*). The instrumental compound (*tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa*) is formed by 2.1.29 *tṛtīyā-tatkṛtārthena. . . .* Thus, *śaṅkulā* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The word *kiri* of *kirikāṇaḥ* is a derivate of *i* (*Uṇādi* 4.143 *kṛgṛśṛ . . .*) which is treated as marked with *K*. It is also marked *udātta* at the end.

The *akṣa* of *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* 3.45 *arśer devane*). The *ṣ* as a replacement for *ś* of verbal root *aś*, and *k* for the resultant *ṣ* as well, are gotten from the applications of 8.2.36 *varścabhrasjasṛ . . .* and 8.2.41 *kaḥ si*. The *ṣ* as a replacement for affixal *s*, is gotten from 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Here again, *akṣa* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The *pāna* of *pānaśauṇḍaḥ* has verbal root *pā* marked with *udātta*. For, it ends in *LyuṬ*, an affix marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.184 *liti*). The compound in these examples is formed by 2.1.39 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*.

Compounds such as *śastrīśyāmā*, *kumudaśyenī*, *haṃsagadgadā* and *dūrvākāṇḍaśyāmā* are all formed by 2.1.55 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*. The word *śastrī* ends is *ṄīṢ*. It is marked *udātta* at the end. The word *kumuda* is a derivate of *Ka*, paraphrased as *kau modate* 'blossoms on earth' (*vt.*: *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*; ad 3.1.5 *tundaśokayaoḥ . . .*). This again is marked *udātta* at the end. The *haṃsa* of *haṃsagadgadā* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtṛvadivaci. . . .* Here again, we get final *udātta* by affixal accent. The next compound constituents, i.e., *dūrvākāṇḍa* and *śarakāṇḍa*,

are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *ā* of their *kāṇḍa* is marked *udātta* by 6.2.134 *ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni*.

The negative *tatpuruṣa* comppunds (2.2.6 *nañ*), i.e., *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, etc., illustrate accentual provisions for indeclinables (*avyaya*). They are all marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 79: *nipātā ādyudāttaḥ*). The accusative (*dvitīyā*) *tatpuruṣa* of *muhūrtasukham*, where *muhūrta* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.3.107 *pṛṣodarādīni . . .*), is formed by 2.1.28 *atyantasaṃyoge ca*. The *sarvarātra* of *sarvarātrakalyāṇī* ends in affix *ṬaC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent.

The last two examples, *bhojyoṣṇàm* and *bhojyalavaṇam*, contain *bhojya*, a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*). 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 वर्णो वर्णेष्वनेते

varṇo varṇeṣv anete
/varṇaḥ 1/1 *varṇeṣu* 7/3 *anete* 7/1 = *na etaḥ* = *anetaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/* (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
varṇavāci pūrvapadaṃ varṇavāciṣv evottarapadeṣu etaśabdavarjiteṣu paratas tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ 'variegated black'
lohitásāraṅgaḥ 'variegated red'
kṛṣṇakálmāṣaḥ 'spotted black'
lohitakálmāṣaḥ 'spotted red'

1. Note that *kṛṣṇa* is a derivate of affix *naK* (*Uṇādi* III:4: *kṛṣer varṇe*). Thus, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *lohita* of *lohitasāraṅgaḥ* is a derivate of affix *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:94: *ruhe raś ca lo vā*). Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* will thus mark it *udātta* at the beginning. All these examples involve an initial constituent denoting 'color' (*varṇa*). Elsewhere, in *paramakṛṣṇaḥ* '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, *kṛṣṇaitaḥ* 'variegated black' is also excluded since *etaḥ* 'variegated', a word denoting color, follows.

6.2.4 गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे

gādhalavaṇayoḥ pramāṇe
/gādha-lavaṇayoḥ 7/2 *pramāṇe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse 'gādha, lavaṇa' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *gādha* and *lavaṇa* combine to follow and the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

EXAMPLES:

śambágādham udakam 'as deep as iron-head length of a pestle'
aritrágādham udakam 'as deep as the length of an ore'
golávaṇam 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'
aśválavaṇam 'as much salt as can be given to a horse'

1. Note that *śamba* 'iron-head of a pestle' is a derivate of affix *baN* (*Uṇādi* IV:94: *śamer ban*) and hence, because of its *N* as an *it*, it is marked *udātta* 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 *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *go* of *golavaṇam* is a derivate of *Ḍo* (*Uṇādi* II:62: *gamer ḍoḥ*). This again is *udātta* by affixal accent. The *aśva* of *aśvalavaṇam* is a derivate of affix *KvaN* (*Uṇādi* I:151: *aśupruṣilaṭi . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*. The original accent of all preceding constituents is retained.

6.2.5 दायाद्यं दायादे

dāyādyaṃ dāyāde
/dāyādyam 1/1 *dāyāde* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
tatpuruṣe samāse dāyādaśabda uttarapade dāyādyavāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *dāyādya* 'inheritance' retains its original accent when *dāyāda* 'inheritor' follows.

EXAMPLES:

vi̯dyādâyādaḥ 'he who inherits knowledge'
dhanadâyādaḥ 'he who inherits wealth'

1. Note that *vidyā* 'knowledge' is a derivate of *KyaP* (3.3.99 *saṃjñāyāṃ samajani . . .*), marked *udātta* at the end. Since it ends in *ṬāP*, it should be marked *anudātta* at the end (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This, however, is

not accepted. The final *ā* of *vidyā* remains *udātta* because it is a single replacement involving an *udātta*. The word *dhana* 'wealth' is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kṛpṛvṛji* . . .), introduced after *dhāÑ*. The ā of *dhāÑ* is deleted (6.4.68 *āto lopa* . . .) and its *yu* is replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Incidentally, the word *dāyāda* is explained as *dātavyo dāyaḥ = bhāgaḥ, 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 *svāmīśvarādhipati* . . ., 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 *yājakādibhiś ca: pratipadavidhāna ca ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate*). It must then be accepted as a case of residual genitive (*śeṣalakṣaṇā*) of 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. 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 *svāmīśvarādhipati* . . .?. 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and locative (*saptamī*) *tatpuruṣa*, both.

6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धिचिरकृच्छ्रयोः

pratibandhi cirakṛcchrayoḥ
/pratibandhi 1/1 *cirakṛcchrayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
tatpuruṣe samāse cirakṛcchrayor uttarapadayoḥ pratibandhivācipūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which signifies *pratibandhi* 'obstacle' retains its original accent when *cira* 'long, protracted' and *kṛcchra* 'difficult' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gamánaciram 'delayed departure'
gamánakṛcchram 'difficult departure'
vyāharáṇaciram 'delayed response'
vyāharáṇakṛcchram 'difficult response'

1. This rule allows the initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound to retain its original accent provided it is used with the denotatum of *pratibandhi* 'obstacle'. Thus, *gamana* 'going' and *vyāharaṇa* 'talking', both derivates of *LyuṬ→ana* marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.190 *liti*), retain their original accent. These *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds can be formed by 2.1.72

mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca. Their initial constituents, i.e., *gamana* and *vyāharaṇa,* are viewed here as obstacles to realization of desired results.

6.2.7 पदेऽपदेशे

padé' padeśe
/pade 7/1 *apadeśe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
apadeśe vācini tatpuruṣe samāse padaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *pada* 'place, excuse' combines to follow and *apadeśa* 'pretext' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

mūtrápadena prasthitaḥ '. . . left on the pretext of urinating'
uccārapadena prasthitaḥ '. . . left on the pretext of defecating'

1. Note that *mūtra* is a derivate of *ṢtraN* (*tra*; *Uṇādi* IV:163: *sivimucyo . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *uccāra* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* and is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*). Incidentally, *apadeśa* and *uccāra* are explained as *vyāja* 'pretext' and *purīṣakriyā* 'defecating', respectively. That is why, *viṣṇoḥ padam* = *viṣṇupadam* 'place of Viṣṇu' does not qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.8 निवाते वातत्राणे

nivāte vātatrāṇe
/nivāte 7/1 *vātatrāṇe* 7/1 = *vātāt trāṇam* (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
nivātaśabde uttarapade vātatrāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *nivāta* combines to follow and *vātatrāṇa* 'protection from wind' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

kuṭīnivātam 'hut alone as a shelter from winds'
śamīnivātam 'Śamī tree alone as a shelter from winds'
kuḍyánivātam 'wall alone as a shelter from winds'

1. Note that *nivāta* denotes 'absence of wind' (*vātābhāva*). It can be interpreted as an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃvibhakti. . . .* One can also form a *bahuvrīhi,* paraphrased as *niruddhaḥ*

vātaḥ asmin 'that in which the wind is blocked out'. A constituent such as *kuṭī* which may serve as a cause for blocking winds can be combined with *nivāta*, a coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) *pada*. The words *kuṭī* and *śamī* both end in *ṄīṢ* and have been enumerated in the list headed by *gaura*, i.e., *gaurādi* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). These are all marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *kuḍya* 'wall' ends in affix *ḍyaK*, or *ḍyakI* (*Uṇādi* VIII:20: *kavater ḍyakic 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' nāvaḥ*).

Note that *nivāta* must denote *vātatrāṇa* 'wind-protection'. For, elsewhere, in *rājaṇivāte vasati* 'stays near the king' and *sukhaṃ mātṛnivātam* '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 शारदेऽनार्तवे

śārade' nārtave
/śārade 7/1 *anārtave* 7/1 = *ṛtau bhavam* = *ārtavam*; *na ārtavam* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
anārtavavācini śāradaśabde uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *śārada* 'autumnal' signifying something not pertaining to a season (*anārtava*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

rajjúśāradam udakam 'rope-fetched fresh water'
dṛṣatśâradāḥ saktavaḥ 'freshly stone-ground *saktu* (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 *śārada* is here used in the sense of *pratyagra* 'new, fresh'. Elsewhere, it can mean autumnal. The word *rajju* is a derivate of affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:15: *sṛjer 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 *ṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ*. Thus, (*s*→ϕ)*ṛ* + *as* + *j* + *u*→(*ṛ*→*r*) + *as* + *j* + *u*. Rule 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ 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* = *rajju*. This word is marked *udātta* at the beginning since *u* is qualified as *nit* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *dṛṣad* 'pebble, rock' is a derivate of *adIK* (*Uṇādi* I:131: *dṛṇāteḥ ṣug hrasvaś ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Verbal root *dṛ* 'to tear, rip' goes through shortening of its *ṛ*, subsequently to which augment *ṣUK* is added.

The final *d* of *dṛṣad* is replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). These compounds are both obligatory (*nitya*). A paraphrase with their individual constituents (*svapadavigraha*) is thus not possible.

6.2.10 अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ

adhvaryukaṣāyayor jātau
/ adhvaryu-kaṣāyayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jātau* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*adhvaryu, kaṣāya*' *ity etayor jātivācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *adhvaryu* and *kaṣāya* combine to follow and *jāti* 'class' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

prācyā́dhvaryuḥ 'a priest from the east'
kaṭhā́dhvaryuḥ 'a priest who is a Kaṭha'
kalāpā́dhvaryuḥ 'a priest who is a Kalāpa'

1. Note that compounds such as *prācyādhvaryuḥ*, etc., are formed with coreferential constituents where their denotational scope (*viṣaya*) is also fixed (*niyata*) as *jāti* 'class'. The word *prācya* is a derivate of *yaT* (4.2.100 *dyuprāgapāgu . . .*), and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*).

Note that *kaṭha* is accepted as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi . . .*), introduced after verbal root *kaṭhA* 'to live with difficulty'. Affix *ṆinI*, with the signification of *kaṭhena proktam* (3.4.101 *tena proktam*), is then introduced after a syntactically related *kaṭha* (3.4.104 *kalāpivaiśampā . . .*). This affix is subsequently deleted by 3.4.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*. The word *kalāpa* is derived with affix *aṆ* (4.3.108 *kalāpino' ṇ*). These derivates of *ṆinI* and *aṆ* are both marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*). Refer to my notes under 4.3.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk* and 4.3.108 *kalāpino' ṇ* for additional details.

6.2.11 सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये

sadṛśapratirūpayoḥ sādṛśye
/ sadṛśa-prtirūpayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *sādṛśye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*sadṛśa, pratirūpa*' *ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ sādṛśyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sadṛśa* 'same, similar' and *pratirūpa* 'identical' combine to follow and *sādṛśya* 'similarity' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

pit̲ṛsádṛśaḥ 'like (his) father'
mā̲tṛsádṛśaḥ 'like (his) mother'

1. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, both derivates of *tṛC* (*Uṇādi* II:95: *naptṛneṣṭṛtvaṣṭṛ* . . .), are marked *udātta* at the end via *nipātana*. Their compounds with *sadṛśa* and *pratirūpa* are formed when the constituents end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', respectively.

Why mention *sadṛśa* in this rule when an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound formed under 2.1.30 *pūrvasadṛśa* . . . with *mātṛ* and *pitṛ* in the instrumental (2.3.72 *tulyārthair* . . .) can be accounted for by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . Recall that 2.3.72 *tulyārthair* . . . introduces instrumental, optionally, with the genitive. The word *sadṛśa* 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 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ ākrośe*) takes place. It is important so that non-deletion of genitive, as in *dāsyāḥsadṛśaḥ*, could further avail accentual provision of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*.

Since as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* is expressly formed by 2.1.30 *tulyārthair* . . ., and also since there is no rule that allows a parallel genitive *tatpuruṣa*, a *ṣaṣṭhī* interpretation characterized with *sadṛśa* does not make sense. Nevertheless, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* is needed, as is indicated by non-deletion of genitive in compounds such as *dāsyāḥsadṛśaḥ* 'maid-like'. If a constituent ending in the genitive is accepted to form a compound with *sadṛśa*, *sadṛśa* should not be used in a rule which allows formation of instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.130 *pūrvasadṛśa* . . .). That may be needed where a genitive *tatpuruṣa* could not be formed with *sadṛśa*. Consider *vidyayā* (*hetunā*) *sadṛśaḥ* = *vidyāsadṛśaḥ* 'similar for reasons of scholarship' as an example.

6.2.12 द्विगौ प्रमाणे

dvigau pramāṇe
/dvigau 7/1 *pramāṇe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
dvigāv uttarapade pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

EXAMPLES:

prācyásaptaśamaḥ 'seven year old easterner'
gāndhârisaptaśamaḥ 'seven year old Gandharan'

1. Note that *saptaśama*, a compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.51 *saṃkhyāpūrvo*

dviguḥ), is combined after *prācya* which, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.10 *adhvaryukaṣāya* . . .). Incidentally, affix *mātraC* has been deleted after *saptaśama* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnac* . . .; *vt.*: *pramāṇe lo vaktavyam; dvigor nityam*). The word *gāndhāri*, because of its enumeration in the *kardamādi* class, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the middle (*Phiṭsūtra* 111:10).

Compounds such as *brīhiprasthaḥ* and *paramasaptaśamaḥ* cannot qualify for this accentual provision since the first is not a *dvigu* and the second does not denote *pramāṇa*.

6.2.13 गन्तव्यपण्य वाणिजे

gantavyapaṇyaṃ vāṇije
/gantavya-paṇyam 1/1 (*itar. dv.*); *vāṇije* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
vāṇijaśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse gantavyavāci paṇyavāci ca pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *gantavya* 'road, destination' and *paṇya* 'that which is bartered' retains its original accent when *vāṇija* 'trading' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

madravāṇijaḥ 'a trader on way to Madra'
kāśmīrávāṇijaḥ 'a trader on way to Kāśmīra'
govāṇijaḥ 'cow-trader'
aśvavāṇijaḥ 'horse-trader'

1. The initial constituent of these example compounds retain their original accent. Thus, *madra* ends in affix *raK* (*Uṇādi* II:13: *sphāyitañci* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kāśmīra* is marked *udātta* at the middle (6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ pramāṇe* for deriving *go* and *aśva*. They are marked *udātta* at the end and at the beginning, respectively.

6.2.14 मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके

mātropajñopakramacchāye napuṃsake
/mātropajñopakramacchāye 7/1 (*sam. dv.*); *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'mātrā, upajñā, upakrama, chāyā' eteṣūttarapadeṣu napuṃsakavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a neuter *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original constituent when *mātrā* 'measure', *upajñā* 'ingenuity', *upakrama* 'initiative' and *chāyā* '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 kiṃcana 'there is no pond equal to the size of an ocean'
pāṇinopājñam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam 'a grammar with no notion of *kāla* 'time' is Pāṇini's ingenuity''
vyāḍyúpajñaṃ duṣkaraṇam 'Vyāḍi's ingenuity is hard to match'
āḍhyópakramaṃ prāsādaḥ 'a mansion begun by Āḍhya; . . . begun by someone rich'
darśanīyópakramam 'a beautiful start'
iṣúcchāyam 'shadow of a mass of arrows'
dhanúśchāyam 'shadow of a bow'

1. The word *mātrā* is used here in the sense of *pramāṇa* 'measure', relative to the integration (*vṛtti*) of nominals in a compound. Our compound *bhikṣāpramāṇam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *bhikṣāyās tulyapramāṇam* 'a measure equal to the measure of alms (desired)'. Recall that *bhikṣā* is derived with affix *a* introduced after *bhikṣ* (3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* introduces *ṬāP*, subsequently. The word *samudra* is also marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* I:2: *pāṭalāpāla* . . .).

The next four examples of *upajñā* and *upakrama* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* (2.4.24 *upajñopakramam* . . .) compounds. The word *pāṇina*(*Kāśikā* does not use Pāṇina here) is a derivate of *aN* signifying *paṇinaḥ apatyam* 'male offspring of Paṇin'. 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 *ḍh*, due mainly to its membership in the *pṛṣodarādi* group (6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni* . . .) of nominals. The *ā* of *dhyā* goes through deletion. The derivate itself is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .). The word *darśanīya* 'worth seeing', a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* at *nī* (6.1.214 *upottamaṃ riti*). The final of *sukumāra* 'tender' is similarly marked *udātta* (6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*).

Examples with *chāyā* as a constituent are also interpreted as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:13), in *iṣ* + *u* → *iṣu*, is treated as marked with *N* as its *it* (*Uṇādi* I:9: *dhānye nit*). We thus get its initial vowel marked with *udātta* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The initial of *dhanuṣ* 'bow' is also marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* II:3: *nabviṣayasyānisantasya*). 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 *kuḍyacchāyā* 'hut's shade'. For, the compound is not a neuter.

6.2.15 सुखप्रिययोर्हिते

sukhapriyayor hite
/sukha-priyayoḥ 7/2 *hite* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*sukha, priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor hitavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

gamánasukham 'going will be a pleasure'
vacánasukham 'talking will be a pleasure'
gamánapriyam 'going will be dear'
vacánapriyam 'speaking will be dear'

1. These examples all entail *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ* . . .). Their initial constituents are derivates of *LyuṬ* 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 प्रीतौ च

prītau ca
/prītau 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *sukhapriyayoḥ* #15)
prītau gamyamānāyāṃ '*sukha, priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent, also when *sukha* and *priya* combine as followng constituents and *prīti* 'pleasure' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasúkhaṃ pāyasam 'a brāhmaṇa finds extreme pleasure in eating rice-pudding'
chātrapríyo' nadhyāyaḥ 'a student finds extreme pleasure in non-study days'

kanyâpriyo mṛdaṅgaḥ 'a girl finds pleasure in playing the Mṛdaṅga drum'

1. Note that the signification of *sukha* and *priya* necessarily includes some sense of *prīti* 'affection'. Why should we then state *prītau* '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 derivates of *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *Ṇa* (4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ*), respectively. The last, *kanyā* 'girl', is marked *svarita* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 76 *tilyaśikya . . .*).

6.2.17 स्वं स्वामिनि

svaṃ svāmini
/svaṃ 1/1 *svāmini* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
svāminśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

gosvâmī 'cow-owner'
aśvásvāmī 'horse-owner'
dhanásvāmī 'owner of wealth'

1. Refer to derivational details of *go* 'cow', *aśva* 'horse' and *dhana* 'wealth' which have already been discussed (6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ . . .*; 6.2.5 *dāyādyaṃ . . .*). 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 *paramasvāmī*, where *parama* denotes *svāmin* by way of being a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*).

6.2.18 पत्यावैश्वर्ये

patyāv aiśvarye
/patyau 7/1 *aiśvarye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* 'affluence' retains its original accent when *pati* 'lord, husband' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhapátiḥ 'householder'
senâpatiḥ 'commander'

narápatiḥ 'king'
dhānyápatiḥ '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 *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *nara* 'man' is a derivate of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*), introduced after *nṝ*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of the root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The affix, of course, is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The word *dhānya*, a derivate of *ṆyaT*, is marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *titsvaritam*) at the end.

6.2.19 न भूवाक्किदिदधिषु

na bhūvākciddidhiṣu
/na ϕbhū-vāk-cid-didhiṣu 7/3 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2) *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)
patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse 'bhū, vāk, cit, didhiṣū' ity etāni pūrvapadāni prakṛtisvarāṇi na bhavanti
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* 'affluence' does not retain its original accent when *pati* 'husband, lord' combines to follow *bhū* 'earth', *vāk* 'speech', *cit* 'mind, consciousness' and *didhiṣū* 'a woman who remarried'.

EXAMPLES:

bhūpatiḥ 'lord of the land'
vākpatiḥ 'master of speech'
citpatiḥ 'master of mind'
didhiṣūpatiḥ '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 *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The initial constituents of the first three compounds, i.e., *bhū, vāk, cit*, are derivates of *KvIP* (3.2.179 *bhuvaḥ saṃjñāntarayoḥ*; 3.2.117 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*; *vt.*: *kvibvacipracchi* . . .), respectively. The initial constituent of the last compound, i.e., *didhiṣū*, is derived with *Kū* (*Uṇādi* I:176: *andūdṛmbhūjambū* . . .), via *nipātana*, and is marked *anudātta*. The compound is, of course, marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.20 वा भुवनम्

vā bhuvanam
/vā ϕ bhuvanam 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)

patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse bhuvanaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ vā prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *bhuvana*, of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya*, optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

bhuvanapatiḥ 'lord of the universe'
bhuvánapatiḥ

1. The word *bhuvana* 'universe' is a derivate of *KyuN* (*Uṇādi* II:80: *bhūsūdhūbhrasji* . . .). Thus, *bhū* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *bh*(*u*→*v*) + *ana* = *bhuvana*. It is marked *udātta* 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 *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

6.2.21 आशङ्काबोधनेदीयस्सु सम्भावने

āśaṅkābādhanedīyassu saṃbhāvane
/āśaṅka-ābādha-nedīyassu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃbhāvane* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'āśaṅka, ābādha, nedīyas' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sambhāvanavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sambhāvana* 'assumption, supposition' retains its original accent when *āśaṅka* 'fear, apprehension', *ābādha* 'impediment' *nedīyas* 'proximate' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gamánāśaṅkam 'apprehension about going'
vacánāśaṅkam 'apprehension about speaking'
gamánābādham 'possible departure'
vacánābādham 'possible speaking'
gamánanedīyaḥ 'imminent departure'
vyāháraṇanedīyaḥ 'imminent speaking'

1. Note that *āśaṅka* and *ābādha* are derivates of *GHaÑ*, introduced after *śaṅk* and *bādh* conjoined with the preverb *āN*. They both are marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Their compounds with *gamana* and *vacana* are formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . Since *gamana* and *vacana* are derivates of *LyuṬ*, their accent will be determined in view of 6.1.190 *liti*.

Commentators explain *nedīyaḥ* as *atiśayena antikaḥ* 'extremely closeby', where *antika* is replaced with *ned* before *īyasUN* (5.3.63 *antikabāḍhayor* . . .).

6.2.22 पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे

pūrve bhūtapūrve
/pūrve 7/1 *bhūtapūrve* 7/1 = *pūrvaṃ bhūtaḥ, tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
pūrvaśabde uttarapade bhūtapūrvavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *bhūtapūrva* 'former; that which existed before' retains its original accent when *pūrva* 'prior, earlier' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ā̲dhyapū́rvaḥ 'formerly rich'
da̲rśa̲nīyápū́rvaḥ 'formerly handsome'
su̲ku̲mā̲rapū́rvaḥ 'formerly tender'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.14 *mātropajñopakrama* . . . where *āḍhya* 'rich', *sukumāra* 'tender' and *darśanīya* 'worth seeing' are discussed. The example compounds can be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . Or else, one can resort to 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś 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 *paramapūrvaḥ* 'that which is best and is also prior' and *uttamapūrvaḥ* 'ibidem' where the compounds are paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca* and *uttamaś cāsau pūrvaś ca*, respectively. They are not formed with paraphrases such as *paramo bhūtapūrvaḥ* 'formerly excellent' and *uttamo bhūtapūrvaḥ* 'formerly best' (*Kāś: atra paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca iti samāso na tu paramo bhūtapūrvaḥ iti*).

6.2.23 सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये

savidhasanīḍasamaryādasaveśasadeśeṣu sāmīpye
/savidha-sanīḍa-samaryāda-saveśa-sadeśeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *sāmīpye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa, sadeśa*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sāmīpyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' retains its original accent when *savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa* and *sadeśa* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ma̲drasávidham 'close to the country of the Madras'
kā̲śmīrásavidham 'close to Kāśmīra'

mad̲rasánīḍam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
kāśmīrásanīḍam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
mad̲rasámaryādam 'close to . . .'
kāśmīrásamaryādam 'close to . . .'
mad̲rasáveśam 'close to . . .'
kāśmīrásaveśam 'close to . . .'
mad̲rasádeśam 'in the vicinity of . . .'
kāśmīrásadeśam 'in the vicinity of . . .'

1. Note that *savidha*, etc., are neuters and denote *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. One should not here interpret *vidhi*, *nīḍa* 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 *gantavyapaṇyaṃ. . . .* Their original accent is thus retained.

6.2.24 विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु

vispaṣṭādīni guṇavacaneṣu
/ vispaṣṭādīni 1/3 = *vispaṣṭa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tāni*; *guṇavacaneṣu* 7/3 = *guṇān uktavantaḥ* (*upa. tat.*), *teṣu/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
vispaṣṭādīni pūrvapadāni guṇavacaneṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvarāṇi bhavanti
The initial constituents, namely *vispaṣṭa* 'apparent', etc., of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retain their original accent when a constituent with the denotation of *guṇa* 'quality' (*guṇavacana*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

vispáṣṭakaṭukam 'evidently sour'
vicítrakaṭukam 'variously sour'
vyáktakaṭukam 'clearly sour'
vispáṣṭalavaṇam 'evidently salty'
vicítralavaṇam 'distinctly salty'
vyáktalavaṇam 'clearly salty'

1. Note that *vispaṣṭa* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, where its *vi* is also termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*; 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe . . .* also offers initial *udātta* to *vicitra*, where *vi* itself is marked *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *vyakta* 'clear, manifest' ends in the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* which, in turn, is introduced after *añjŪ* used with the preverb *vi*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.49 *gatiranantaraḥ*). The *a* of *vya*, in *vyakta*, is *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor . . .*). For, given *vi* + *ak* + *ta*, we get *vi* and *ak* marked with an *udātta* and *anudātta* respectively. That is, before a replacement in *yaN* for *i* of *vi* is accomplished. The *a* of *vya*, an *anudātta*, which now occurs after *y*, a replacement for *i* of *vi*, is to be replaced with a *svarita*.

Compounds such as *viṣpaṣṭakaṭukam*, etc., are formed under the condition of 2.1.4 *saha supā*, parallel to *viṣpaṣṭaṃ kaṭukam*. These compounds should not be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . For, a *karmadhāraya* will require syntactic coordination between *vispaṣṭa* and *kaṭuka*, where *vispaṣṭa* 'evidently, obviously' is a qualifier to *kaṭukatva* 'acidity'. This qualifier here constitutes the basis for usage (*pravṛttinimitta*) of *kaṭuka*. The word *kaṭuka*, 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 *thāthaghañktāj*. . . . The words *paṭu* 'clever' and *paṇḍita* 'wise' are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś 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 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Similar accentual provisions are made available for other words.

Note that, because of the condition of *vispaṣṭādīni*, *paramalavaṇam* 'excellent salt' and *uttamalavaṇam* 'best salt' fall outside the scope of this accentual provision. One must also exclude *vispaṣṭabrāhmaṇaḥ* 'clearly a brāhmaṇa by caste' since *vispaṣṭa* here denotes a class (*jāti*) of *brāhmaṇas*. It does not denote quality (*guṇavacana*).

6.2.25 श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये

śrajyāvamakanpāpavatsu bhāve karmadhāraye
/ śra-jya-avam-kan-pāpavatsu 7/3 = *sraś ca jyaś ca avamaś ca pāpavāṃś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *bhāve* 7/1 *karmadhāraye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*śra, jya, avam, kan*' *ity eteṣu pāpaśabdavati cottarapade karmadhāraye samāse bhāvavāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

gamánaśreṣṭham 'auspicious departure'
gamánaśreyaḥ 'ibidem'
vacánajyeṣṭham 'auspicious talk'
vacánajyāyaḥ 'ibidem'
gamánāvamam 'final departure'
vacánāvamam 'final words'
gamánakaniṣṭham 'short departure'
gamánakanīyaḥ 'shorter departure'
gamánapāpiṣṭhaḥ 'a rather wicked departure'
gamánapāpïyaḥ 'most wicked departure'

1. Recall that *gamana* and *vacana* which are used here as initial constituents are derivates of *LyuṬ*. They are marked *udātta* 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 *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* follow (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*; 5.3.61 *jay ca*). Rule 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoḥ 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 *pāpīya*. Their *matUP* is deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*) before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*.

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 *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'going is good fortune', a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as *gamanaṃ ca tat śreyaś 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 *tatpuruṣa* compound, as against the *karmadhāraya*. Thus, *gamanasya śreyaḥ* = *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'the best of going'.

6.2.26 कुमारश्च

kumāraś ca
/kumāraḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25)
kumāraśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ karmadhāraye samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *kumāra*, of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraśrámaṇā 'young female ascetic'
kumārakúlaṭā 'young female mendicant'
kumāratâpasī 'young female ascetic'

1. Note that *kumāra*, when paraphrased with *śramaṇa* 'ascetic' and *tāpasī* 'ascetic', is construed as *kumārī* 'girl', its feminine counterpart. That is, *kumāra* is gotten via masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) of *kumārī* (*Paribhāsa* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*). The word *kumāra* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy . . .*) introduced after verbal root *kumār* 'to play, sport'. Since affix *aC* is marked with *C* as an *it*, its derivate, here *kumāra*, is supposed to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*).

6.2.27 आदिः प्रत्येनसि

ādiḥ pratyenasi
/ādiḥ 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enaḥ*
yasya (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumāraḥ* #26)
pratyenasi uttarapade karmadhāraye kumārasyādir udātto bhavati
The initial constituent of a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *kumāra*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *pratyenas* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kumârapratyenāḥ '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 पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

pūgeṣv anyatarasyām
/pūgeṣu 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumāraḥ* #26 *ādiḥ* #27)
pūgavāciny 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:

kumâracātakāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Cātaka'
kumāracâtakāḥ 'ibidem'

kúmāralohadhvajāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Lohadhvaja'
kumāralóhadhvajāḥ 'ibidem'
kumārabalāhakāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Balāhaka'
kumārabálāhakāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 5.3.112 *pūgāñ . . .* 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: *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ 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 derivates of affix *Nya* (5.3.112 *pūgāñ . . .*) where *LUK* causes affixal deletion (2.4.62 *tadrajasya bahuṣu . . .*).

6.2.29 इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ

igantakālakapālabhagālaśarāveṣu dvigau
/iganta-kāla-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*; *igantaḥ = ig ante yasya* (*bv.*)); *dvigau* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*iganta uttarapade kālavācini kapāla bhagāla śarāva' ity eteṣu dvigau samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *śarāva* 'tray, (clay) cups', follows.

EXAMPLES:

pañcáratniḥ 'a measure of five cubits (7.05 feet)'
daśáratniḥ 'a measure of ten cubits (15 feet)'
pañcámāsyaḥ 'five months old'
daśámāsyaḥ 'ten months old'
pañcákapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls'
daśákapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'
pañcábhagālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five skulls'
daśábhagālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'
pañcáśarāvaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five cups'
daśáśarāvaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten cups'

1. Note that *pañcan* 'five' and *daśan* 'ten' are marked *udātta* at the be-

ginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 28: *nraḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *pañcakapālaḥ* (appendix, 2.1.50 *taddhitārtho . . .*). Similar rules apply in deriving *pañcaśarāvaḥ* and *pañcabhagālaḥ*. Their *dvigu* is formed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapda . . .*). Their *aṆ* (4.2.17 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*) is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*.

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: *pañcāratniḥ*, parallel to *pañcāratnayaḥ pramāṇam asya*. Affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasac . . .*) 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., *pañcamāsyaḥ* and *daśamāsyaḥ*, involve deletion of *yaP* (5.1.81 *dvigor yaṗ*). Finally, derivates with *varṣa* involve deletion of affix *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.88 *varṣāl luk*).

2. The condition of *iganta* is necessary so that *pañcāśvaḥ* 'purchased for five horses' and *daśāśvaḥ* '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 *guṇa* and *yaṆ*. Thus, *pañcāratnayaḥ/ daśāratnayaḥ* and *pañcāratnayaḥ* and *daśāratnayaḥ*. The first two involve *yaṆ* and the next two *guṇa*. 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 daśāratnya iti pañcāratnayo daśāratnaya iti ca yaṇguṇayor bahiraṅgalakṣaṇayor asiddhatvāt sthānivadbhāvād vā dvigusvara igantalakṣaṇaḥ pravartate*). One can even take recourse to *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating *x* as what it replaced' for getting these bases to end in *iK*.

6.2.30 बह्वन्यतरस्याम्

bahv anyatarasyām
/bahu 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *igantakālakapālabhagāla-śarāveṣu dvigau* #29) *bahuśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ igantādiṣūttarapadeṣu dvigau samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial compound constituent, namely *bahu* 'many', of a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *śarāva*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahváratniḥ 'that of which many aratnis are a measure'
bahvaratniḥ 'ibidem'

bahúmāsyaḥ 'he who is many months old'
bahumāsyaḥ 'ibidem'
bahukápālaḥ 'that which is prepared in many bowls'
bahukapālaḥ 'ibidem'
bahubhágālaḥ 'that which is prepared in many skulls'
bahubhagālaḥ 'ibidem'
bahuśárāvaḥ 'that which is prepared in many cups'
bahuśarāvaḥ 'ibidem'

1. An initial constituent, namely *bahu*, retains its original accent only optionally. Recall that *bahu* ends in *Ku* (*Uṇādi*: I:29: *laṃghibahyor* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). 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 दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च

diṣṭivitastyoś ca
/diṣṭi-vitastyoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvigau* #29 *anyatarasyām* #30)
'*diṣṭi, vitasti*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu*, optionally, retains its original accent when *diṣṭi* and *vitasti* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pañcádiṣṭiḥ 'a length equal to five *diṣṭis*'
pañcadiṣṭiḥ
pañcávitastiḥ 'a length equal to five *vitastis*'
pañcavitastiḥ

1. Note that *diṣṭi* 'a measure of length' and *vitasti* 'a measure of length' denote *pramāṇa* 'measure'. Their compounds also involve deletion of *mātraC* (see *vt* ad 5.2.12). Here again, we get the option of retention against final *udātta* (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.32 सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात्

saptamī siddhaśuṣkapakvabandheṣv akālāt
/saptamī 1/1 *siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *akālāt* 5/1 (*na kālāt* (*nañ. tat.*))/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies something other than *kāla* 'time' and ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet', retains its original accent when *siddha* 'accomplished', *śuṣka* 'dried', *pakva* 'cooked, ripe' and *bandha* 'yoked, tied' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ 'made in Sāṅkāśya'
sāṅkāśyásiddhaḥ
ūkaśúṣkaḥ 'sun-dried'
nidhanáśuṣkaḥ 'dried in the eighth lunar month'
kumbhīpákvaḥ 'cooked in a clay pot'
kalaśīpákvaḥ 'cooked in a pitcher'
cakrabándhaḥ 'tied with a wheel'
cārákabandhaḥ 'caught in a wrestling move named cāraka'

1. Note that *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are derivates of *Ṇya* (4.2.79 *vuñchaṇkaṭha . . .*). They are marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). A *phiṭsūtra* (65) considers *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* optionally *udātta* in the middle. This too can be accepted as optionally retained. The word *ūka* is derived with *kaK* (*Uṇādi* III:40: *sṛbhūśuṣi . . .*) introduced, variously (*bahulam*), after verbal root *av* 'to protect, assist'. The root, when replaced with *ūṬH* (6.4.20 *jvaratvarasriviavi . . .*, will produce (*av→ūṬH*) + *ka*(*K*) = *ūka*. This too is *udātta* by affixal accent. The word *nidhana* is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kṛpṛvṛji . . .*), introduced after *dhāÑ*, where *ā* of *dhā* gets deleted (6.4.64 *āto lopa . . .*). The *yu*, of course, will get replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The word itself is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent. Derivates such as *kumbhī* and *kalaśī*, because they end in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*), are marked *udātta* at the end. The word *bhrāṣṭra*, being a derivate of *ṢtraN* (*Uṇādi* IV:160: *bhrasjigami . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *cakra* is treated as marked *udātta* at the end. But, *cāraka*, as a derivate of *ṆvuL*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Why is this provision not applicable to *pūrvāhṇasiddhaḥ* 'made in the morning' and *aparāhṇasiddhaḥ* 'made in the afternoon'? Because their initial constituent denotes 'time' (*kāla*). Note that these are locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The retention of their original accent, per 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha . . .*, is, however, blocked by the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ. . . .* This rule blocks the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 and restores the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . . .*

6.2.33 परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु

paripratyupāpā varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu
/paripratyupāpāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu* 7/3 = *ahaś*

ca rātriś ca = ahorātrau; ahorātrayor avayavāḥ (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/ (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*pari, prati, upa, apa*' *ity ete pūrvapadabhūtā varjyamānavācini aharavayavavācini rātryavayavavācini cottarapade 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', *aharavayava* 'part of day', or *rātryavayava* 'part of night', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

parítrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained around (but not in) Trigartta'
parísauvīram . . . 'it rained around (but not in) Sauvīra'
pratípūrvāhṇam 'each forenoon'
pratyáparāhṇam 'each afternoon'
pratípūrvarātram 'around the first quarter of every night'
pratyápararātram 'around the last quarter of every night'
upápūrvāhṇam 'close to forenoon'
upápūrvarātram 'around the first quarter of the night'
apátrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained away from Trigarta'
apásauvīram 'it rained away from Sauvīra'

1. Note that *pari, prati, upa* and *apa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80–81: *nipātāḥ ādyudāttāḥ; upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Additionally, *apa* and *pari* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*. The indeclinable compounds are formed by 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā' paparibahirañcavaḥ*. 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 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye* and 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . ., respectively.

2. Note that retention of original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe* . . .) and *bahuvrīhi* (6.2.1 *bahuvṛīhau prakṛtyā* . . .) compound is already recommended. This rule offers retention of original accent in an *avyayībhāva* compound.

6.2.34 राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु

rājanyabahuvacanadvandve' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu
/*rājanya-bahuvacana-dvandve* 7/1 = *rājanyāni ca etāni bahuvacanāni* (*karm.*); *rājanyabahuvacanānāṃ dvandvaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *karm.*); *andhaka-vṛṣṇiṣu* 7/3 = *andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/ *rājanyavācināṃ bahuvacanāntānām yo dvandvo' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu varttate tatra pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound, namely one which ends in plural with the signification of *rājanya* 'kṣatriya', retains its original accent when the compound is formed with the denotatum of *andhaka* and *vṛṣṇi*.

EXAMPLES:

śvāphalkacaitrakāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śvaphalka and Caitraka in the lineage of Andhaka'
caitrakakródhakāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Caitraka and Rodhaka in the lineage of Andhaka'
śinívāsudevāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śini and Vasudeva in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi'

1. Note that *śvāphalka* and *caitraka*, as derivates of *aṆ* (4.1.144 *ṛṣyandhaka . . .*), are marked *udātta* at the end. The next *śini*, a derivate of *ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśriśruyu . . .*), requires the long *ī* of *śīṄ* 'to recline' to be replaced with *i* (*hrasva*). The derivate, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *Ṇ* as an *it* in *ni*.

2. Note that this accentual provision is not applicable to *saṃkarṣaṇa-vāsudevau* where the compound denotes dual based on the singular denotatum of its constituents. It can also not be made available to *vṛṣṇikumārāḥ* where the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. Similarly, we must exclude *kurupañcālāḥ* where compound constituency does not denote the lineage of Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

6.2.35 संख्या

saṃkhyā
/saṃkhyā 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
dvandvasamāse saṃkhyāvāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number' retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

ekâdaśa 'eleven'
dvādáśa 'twelve'
trayodáśa 'thirteen'
trayodáśa 'ibidem'

1. Note that *eka* is a derivate of *kaN* (*Uṇādi* III:43: *iṇbhīkāpāśalya . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of its affixal *Ṇ* as an *it*. The word *dvi* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *trayas* replacement of *tri* is marked *udātta* at the

end, via *nipātana* (6.3.47 *tres trayaḥ*). A replacement in long *ā* (*ātva*) for the short in *ekādaśa* and *dvādaśa* is accomplished by 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ* . . . and 6.3.47 *dvyaṣṭanaḥ saṃkhyāyām*, respectively.

6.2.36 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी

ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsī
/ācāryopasarjanaḥ 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanam apradhānaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*); (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
ācāryopasarjanāntevāsināṃ yo dvandvas tatra pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound retains its original accent when constituents signify *antevāsin* 'student' and *ācārya* 'preçeptor, teacher' is used as a qualifier.

EXAMPLES:

āpiśalapāṇinīyāḥ 'students of Āpiśali and Pāṇini'
pāṇinīyárauḍhīyāḥ 'students of Pāṇini and Roḍhi'

1.This rule allows retention of original accent of those initial constituents which may have *antevāsin* 'student' or *ācārya* as an *upasarjana* 'secondary (qualifier)'. Note that *āpiśala-pāṇinīyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *āpiśalāś ca pāṇinīyāś ca*, where *āpiśala* and *pāṇinīya* could be derivates with the signification of *tasyāpatyam* 'male offspring' (with *aṆ*; *iÑ* after *āpiśali*), *tena proktam* 'enunciated by him' (4.3.101; *aṆ*; *iÑ* after *āpiśali* cf. 4.2.111 *iñaś ca*) and 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda* 'those who study or know' (4.2.59). The *aṆ* of 4.3.101 *tena proktam* is deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*. The *aṆ*-derivate of *āpiśali*, i.e., *āpiśala*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *pāṇinīya*, 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 *rauḍhīya*.

6.2.37 कार्तकौजपादयश्च

kārtakaujapādayaś ca
/kārtakaujapādayaḥ 1/3 = *kārtakaujapa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
kārtakaujapādayo ye dvandvās teṣu pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa* also retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kārtakaújapau 'male descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa'

sāvárṇimāṇḍūkeyau 'male descendants of Savarṇa and Maṇḍūka'
a̲va̲ntyáśmakāḥ 'many descendants of Avanti and Aśmaka'
paila̲śyāparṇeyāḥ 'young male descendant of Paila, and young male descendant of Śyāparṇī'

1. Note that *kārtakaujapa* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa*, where *kārta* and *kaujapa* are derivates of *aÑ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka* . . .), paraphrased as *kṛtasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kṛta' and *kujapasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kujapa'. The initial constituent *kārta* is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Incidentally, *ca* in the *sūtra* is used for carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dvandve*.

The initial constituent of *sāvarṇimāṇḍūkeyau* is a derivate of *iÑ* (4.1.94 *ata iñ*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). It is marked *svarita* at the end (8.4.66 *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*), after its remainder has become *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ* . . .). Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* is a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt*). Affix *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhetkosalājādāñ ñyañ*) is introduced after *avanti* + *Ṅas* to derive *avantayaḥ*, parallel to *avanter apatyāni bahūni*. This affix is deleted by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya*. . . . Affix *aÑ* (4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ*) is then introduced after *avanti* + *ām*, parallel to *avantīnāṃ nivāso janapadaḥ* 'a principality (*janapada*) which is the residence of Avantis'. This affix is also deleted, though by 4.2.81 *janapade lup*. This same also applies to the derivation of *aśmakāḥ* which combines as the following constituent with *avantayaḥ*. Consequently, a final *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca*) is assigned to *avanti*. The *ya* which results subsequent to *y*-replacement of *i* (of *avanti*) then becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

Note that *pailaśyāparṇeyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting *yuvan* 'young descendant'. Thus, a son of *pīlā* will be *paila* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*). His young son will also be called *paila*, since affix *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) will be deleted (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). The word *śyāparṇī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.15 *ṭidḍhāṇañ* . . .) introduced after *śyāparṇa*, itself a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo' ñ*), parallel to *śyaparṇasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Śyāparṇa'. A young descendant of *śyāparṇī* will be *śyāparṇeya*, a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . .). A *dvandva* compound with *śyāparṇeya* as a following constituent will have *paila*, under the provision of this rule, marked with affixal *udātta* at the end.

6.2.38 महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु

mahān brīhyaparāhṇagṛṣṭīṣvāsajābālabhārabhāratahailihilarauravapravṛddheṣu
/mahān1/1 brīhy-aparāhṇa-gṛṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-hailihilaraurava-pravṛddheṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'mahān' ity etat pūrvapadaṃ vrīhi, aparāhṇa, gṛṣṭi, iṣvāsa, jābāla, bhāra, bhārata, hailihila, raurava, prabuddha' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely *mahān* 'great', retains its original accent when *vrīhi* 'rice', *aparāhṇa* 'afternoon', *gṛṣṭi* '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:

mahāvrîhiḥ 'long-grain rice'
mahāpárāhṇaḥ 'late afternoon'
mahāgṕṣṭiḥ 'a pregnant cow'
maheṣvâsaḥ 'great archer'
mahājâbālaḥ 'elder Jābāla'
mahābhâraḥ 'heavy load'
mahābhârataḥ 'the great epic'
mahāhaílihilaḥ 'a great sportsman'
mahāraúravaḥ 'most dreaded hell'
mahāprávṛddhaḥ 'excessively old'

1. Note that *mahat* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pṛṣadbṛhan . . .*), via *nipātana*. It combines in a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *mahadvrīhiḥ*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *mahato vrīhiḥ*, 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 *Kta*, 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 *śreṇī* 'guild'. Our present rule cites *pravṛddha* so that retention of the original accent of a compound with *pravṛddha* could be secured.

6.2.39 क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे

kṣullakaś ca vaiśvadeve
/kṣullakaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *vaiśvadeve* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *mahān* #39)
'kṣullaka' ity etat pūrvapadaṃ mahāṃś 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:

kṣullakavaiśvadevam 'a small ritual pot for all gods'
mahāvaiśvadevam 'a big ritual pot for all gods'

1. Note that *kṣullaka* 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 (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The accent of *mahat* is already discussed. These two derivates both are names of ritual pots, sacrifices, or luminaries.

6.2.40 उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः

uṣṭraḥ sādivāmyoḥ
/uṣṭraḥ 1/1 *sādivāmyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
uṣṭraśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ sādivāmyor uttarapadayoḥ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *uṣṭra* 'camel', retains its original accent when *sādi* 'rider' and *vāmi* 'rider' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrásādi 'camel rider'
uṣṭrávāmi 'rider of a female camel'

1. Recall that *uṣṭra*, as a derivate of *ṣṭraN* introduced after *uṣ* 'be hot' (*Uṇādi* IV:125: *uṣikhanibhyām . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Note also that the two neuter derivates of *iÑ*, introduced after *sad* and *vam* (*Uṇādi* IV:125), i.e., *sādi* and *vāmi*, can be combined with *uṣṭra* to either form a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, or a *karmadhāraya*, compound. The words *sādi* and *vāmi* are used as general references to also include *sādī* and *vāmī*, both derivates of *ṆinI*.

6.4.41 गौः सादसादिसारथिषु

gauḥ sādasādisārathiṣu
/gauḥ 1/1 *sāda-sārathiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
gośabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ 'sāda, sādi, sārathi' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *go* 'cow', retains its original accent when *sāda, sādi* and *sārathi* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

gosâdaḥ 'one who drives the cows'
gosâdiḥ 'one who rides a bull'
gosârathiḥ 'one who drives a cart pulled by bulls'

1. Recall that *go* (6.2.17 *svaṃ svāmini*) is *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*).

2. Note that *sāda* could be interpreted as a derivate of *GHaÑ* introduced after *sad*. It can also be interpreted as a derivate of *aṆ* introduced after causal *sādi*, under the cooccurrence condition of *go* as object (*karman*). Affix *ṆinI* is then introduced after the derivate of *aṆ* to derive *gosādin*. The compound constituents *sada* and *sādin* constitute exceptions to accents assigned to derivates of *kṛt*. But a compound with *sārathi* constitutes an exception to accentual provisions of 6.1.219 *samāsasya*.

6.2.42 कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपपारेवडवातैतिलकद्रूःपण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च

kurugārhapatariktagarvasūtajaratyaślīladṛḍharūpā pārevaḍavātaitilakadrūḥ paṇyakambalo dāsībhārāṇāṃ ca
/kurugārhapata (1/1 deleted) *riktaguru* (1/1 deleted) *asūtajaratī* 1/1 *aślīladṛḍharūpā* 1/1 *pārevaḍavā* 1/1 *taitilakadrūḥ* 1/1 *paṇyakambalaḥ* 1/1 *dāsībhārāṇām* 6/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*kurugārhapata, riktaguru, asūtajaratī, aślīladṛḍharūpā, pārevaḍavā, taitilakadrū, paṇyakambala*' *ity ete samāsās teṣāṃ dāsībhārādīnāṃ ca pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituents of compounds such as *kurugārhapata, riktaguru, asūtajaratī, aślīladṛḍharūpā, pārevaḍavā, taitilakadrū, paṇyakambala,* and also constituents of compounds headed by *dāsībhāra* 'maid's load', retain their original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kurugârhapatam 'headship of the clan of the Kurus'
riktáguruḥ 'an unworthy teacher'
riktagúruḥ
asûtajaratī 'a woman too old to bear a child'
aślīladṛḍharūpā 'an ugly woman with strong body'
pāreváḍavā 'a mare on the other side of the river'
taitilakádrūḥ 'the soma vessel of the descendants of Titilin'
paṇyákambalaḥ 'a blanket on sale'
dāsībhâraḥ 'maid's load'
devahûtiḥ 'invocation to gods'

1. Note that *kuru*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* (24): *kṛgror uc ca*) is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *rikta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the end, optionally (6.1.205 *rikte vibhāṣā*). The *naÑ* of *asūta* and *aślīla* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* (80): *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*), as against what 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . provides for. The compound-formation of *pārebaḍavā*, with no deletion (*aluk*) of its nominal endings, is accomplished via *nipātana*. The word *pāra* is a nominal of the *ghṛtādi* class (*Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

A final *udātta* is also assigned to *taitilaḥ* 'son of Titilin', a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *paṇya* of *paṇyakambalaḥ*, as a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.101 *avadyapaṇya* . . .), is assigned *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). The word *dāsa* is derived with affix *Ṭa* introduced after *dans* (*Uṇādi* V:10: *daṃseṣṭaṭanau na ā ca*), where the root-nasal also gets replaced with *ā*. This derivate is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) is then introduced to derive *dāsī*. Note that the *dāsībhārādi* nominals constitute a class of *tatpuruṣa* compounds whose first constituents are not covered for retention of original accent elsewhere (*Kāś*: *yasya tatpuruṣasya pūrvaprakṛtisvaratvam iṣyate, na ca vihitam, sa sarvo dāsībhārādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ*). A constituent such as *deva*, of *devahūtiḥ*, etc., is, as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .), marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.43 चतुर्थी तदर्थे

caturthī tadarthe
/ caturthī 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai*
idam (*cat. tat.*), *tasmin*;
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ tadarthe uttarapade
tadabhidheyārthaṃ yat tadvāciny uttarapade prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *tadartha* 'intended for that' follows.

EXAMPLES:

yūpádāruḥ 'wood intended for ritual post'
kuṇḍalahiráṇyam 'gold intended for ear-rings'

1. Refer to my discussion of *yūpa* under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *kuṇḍala* 'ear-ring' is variously (*bahulam*) derived as a derivate of *KalaC*, marked with *C* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* I:106: *vṛṣādibhyaś cit*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The word *ratha*, as a derivate of *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinī* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

The word *vallī*, a feminine ending in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś 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-vikṛtibhāva* '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)
arthaśabda uttarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* retains its original accent when *artha* 'purpose' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

mātrártham 'intended for mother'
pitrártham 'intended for father'
devatârtham 'intended for gods'
atithyartham 'intended for guests'

1. Refer to my discussion of *mātṛ* 'mother' and *pitṛ* 'father' under 6.2.11 *sadṛśapratirūpayoḥ sādṛśye*. The *tra*, resulting from *r*-replacement of *ṛ* of *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttaṅsvaritayor . . .*). The *udātta* in the middle of *devatā*, a derivate of *taL* with the feminine affix *ṬāP* (5.4.27 *devāt tal*), has its source in the final *udātta* characterized with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The word *atithi*, as a derivate of *ithiN* (*Uṇādi* IV:2: *ṛtanyañji . . .*) with *N* as an *it*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir 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 *prakṛtivikṛtibhāva* 'modification of a material cause' is involved.

6.2.45 क्ते च

kte ca
/kte 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *caturthī* #43)
ktānte cottarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī*, also retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gohítam 'beneficial to cows'
aśváhitam 'beneficial to horses'
manuṣyáhitam 'beneficial to humans'
gorákṣitam 'reserve for cows'
tāpasarákṣitam '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 *bahuvrīhau* . . . for details of *manuṣya* 'human'. The *tāpasa* 'ascetic' of the last example is a derivate of *aṆ* (5.2.103 *aṇ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.46 कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा

karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā
/karmadhāraye 7/1 *aniṣṭhā* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
karmadhāraye samāse ktānta uttarapade' niṣṭhāntaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

śreṇíkṛtāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a row are now so arranged'
ūkakṛ́tāḥ 'those which were not spread about are so done now'
pūgakṛ́tāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a group are now so arranged'
nidhanakṛ́tāḥ 'made poor which they were previously not'

1. Note that *śreṇi*, as a derivate of *Ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśriśruyudru* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Refer to my discussion of *ūka* and *nidhana* under notes of 6.2.32 *saptamī śuṣkapakva*. . . . A final *udātta* is applicable to *pūga*.

6.2.47 अहीने द्वितीया

ahīne dvitīyā
/ahīne 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *dvitīyā* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
ahīnavācini samāse ktānta uttarapade dvitīyāntam pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' retains its

original accent when the compound is formed with the signification of *ahīna* 'non-separable, unabandoned' and a constituent ending in affix *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'fallen into grief'
triśākalapatitaḥ 'that which has three pieces'
grāmágataḥ 'gone to the village'

1. Note that *kaṣṭa*, a derivate of *Kta* where *iṬ* is blocked by 7.2.22 *kṛcchragahanayoḥ kasaḥ*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *tri* of *triśakala*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as: *trīṇi śakalāni santy asya* 'that of which there are three parts', is marked *udātta* by nominal stem accent. A derivate such as *grāma* 'village', derived with *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:143: *graser ā ca*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). All these compounds denote a meaning where initial constituents are semantically non-separable (*ahīna*) 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 *sukhāpannaḥ* 'he who has attained comfort'. The compound itself is here marked *udātta* at the end.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.143 *antaḥ* and 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . .

6.2.48 तृतीया कर्मणि

tṛtīyā karmaṇi
/tṛtīyā 1/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
karmavācini ktānta uttarapade tṛtīyāntaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which signifies *karman* 'object' and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ahihátaḥ 'bitten by a snake'
vajrahátaḥ 'killed by the Vajra'
mahārājahátaḥ 'killed by the king'

1. Note that *ahi* 'snake' is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. It is a derivate of *iN*, introduced after *han* used with the preverb *āN* (*Uṇādi* IV:138: *āṅi śrihinibhyāṃ hrasvaś ca*). The *ā* of *āhan* is replaced with its short counterpart *a* and *an* is assigned the term *ṭi*. This, in turn, gets deleted by the same rule. The word *vajra*, as a derivate of *raK* (*Uṇādi* 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 *ṬaC* (5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyām . . .*). The word *nakha* 'nail', a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *nāsti kham asya* 'that which does not have life', is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*. The word *dātra* 'sickle' is a derivate of *ṢṭraN* (3.2.182 *dāmnīśasa . . .*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

6.2.49 **गतिरनन्तरः**

gatir anantaraḥ
/gatiḥ 1/1 *anantaraḥ* 1/1 = *avidyamānam antaraṃ yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45 *karmaṇi* #48)
karmavācini ktānta uttarapade gatir anantaraḥ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

prakṛtaḥ 'made'
prahṛtaḥ '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* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*).

Note that a *gati*, when occurring interrupted by something else, does not qualify for this accentual provision. Thus, consider *abhy-ud-dhṛtaḥ* and *sam-ud-dhṛtaḥ*, where *abhi* and *sam* do not occur immediately before *dhṛtaḥ*.

Commentators explain that this rule covers examples where *Kta* denotes *karman* 'object'. Thus, *prakṛta* of *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta made a mat' does not qualify. The *Kta* here denotes agent. Note that the *paribhāṣā* (29): *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by an item ending in a *kṛt* also includes reference to that which begins with a *gati* and *kāraka*' does not apply here. Consequently, an example such as *dūrād āgataḥ* 'arrived from a distant place' where *dūrāt* 'from far' denotes *apādāna* cannot be covered here.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ. . . .*

6.2.50 **तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ**

tādau ca niti kṛty atau
/tādau 7/1 = *takāra ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ *niti* 7/1 = *nakāra it*

yasya (*bv.*); *kṛti* 7/1 *atau* 7/1 = *na tu* (*nañ. tat.*) *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatir anantaraḥ* #49)
takārādau ca tuśabdavarjite niti kṛti parato gatir anantaraḥ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

prakártā 'producer, maker'
prakártum 'to begin to make'
pakṕtiḥ '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 *ñnityādir nityam*).

This accentual provision will not be applicable to *prajalpāka* 'he who talks excessively' since the affix, i.e., *ṢākaN*, does not begin with *t*. It can also not apply to *prakartā* '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 तवै चान्तश्च युगपत्

tavai cāntaś ca yugapat
/*tavai* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *antaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *yugapat* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatir anantaraḥ* #49)
tavaipratyayasyānta udātto bhavati gatiś ca anantaraḥ prakṛtisvara iti etad ubhayaṃ 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:

anvétạvai 'to follow'
parístaritại 'to enclose; strewn around'
parípātạvai 'to procure from all sides'

1. This rule offers two *udātta* accents simultaneously (*yugapat*). Thus, consider *anvétạvai* 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 *anudāttaṃ padam . . .*). All preverbs, except for *abhi*, are marked *udātta* at

the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Thus, *abhicaritavai* cannot be marked *udātta* at the beginning. It is marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent, instead.

6.2.52 अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये

aniganto' ñcatau vapratyaye
/anigantaḥ 1/1 = *ig ante yasya* (*bv.*); *na igantaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *añcatau* 7/1 *vapratyaye* 7/1 = *vakāra pratyayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatiḥ* #49)
aniganto gatiḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavaty añcatau vapratyaye parataḥ
A *gati*, which does not end in *iK*, retains its original accent when verbal root *añcU*, followed by affix *va*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

prāṅ 'eastward; nominative singular of *prāñc*'
prāñcaú 'nominative dual . . .'
prāñcáḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
prâṅ 'nominative singular . . .'
prâñcau 'nominative dual . . .'
prâñcaḥ 'nominative dual . . .'
parâṅ 'turned away; nom. sing. of *parāñc*'
parâñcau 'nominative dual . . .'
parâñcaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *pra* and *parā* are termed *gati*, and obviously, do not end in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *iK* (*Śs.* 1–2). The examples are all derivates of *KvIN*, introduced after verbal root *añcU*. This is how *añc*(*U*), when occurring immediately before (*K*)*v*(*IN*), can be accepted as ending in *v*. Refer to derivational details of *prāṅ* (vol. III:738) under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*. . . . Other examples can be similarly derived. Retention of original accent means initial *udātta* in these examples. Examples which involve single replacement may optionally have *svarita* by 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte*. This optional application of *svarita* may not be available to *parāṅ*, etc., because *parā* is *udātta* at the beginning. That is *ā*, which goes through single replacement, is not *udātta*.

2. Note that examples with *prati*, i.e., *pratyaṅ*, *pratyañcau* and *pratyañcaḥ*, 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 *dadhīcaḥ* and *dadhīcā*. An

accentual provision conditioned by a form not ending in an *iK* (*aniganta*) has its independent scope where *añc* does not lose its *a* and *ñ* to deletion. Thus, we get *parāṅ* and *parāñcau*. But consider *parācaḥ* and *parācā* where both of these rules become simultaneously applicable. The *Mahābhāṣya* here invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* and allows the accentual provision of the subsequent rule to win.

6.2.53 न्यधी च

nyadhī ca
/ nyadhī 1/2 = *niś ca adhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ*/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #52)
'*nī, adhi*' *ity etau cāñcatau vapratyaye parataḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavataḥ*
ṇi and *adhi* also retain their original accent when verbal root *añcU* ending in affix *va* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nyáṅ 'directed downwards; nom. sing. of *nyañc*'
nyáñcau 'nom. dual . . .'
nyáñcaḥ 'nom. plural . . .'
adhyáṅ 'directed inwards; nom. sing. of *adhy-añc*'
adhyáñcau 'nom. dual . . .'
adhyáñcaḥ '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 *udātta*. The *ya*, of *nyaṅ*, *nyañcau* and *nyañcaḥ*, becomes *svarita* as usual (8.2.6 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .). The *a* of *adhi* is also *udātta*. Rule 6.1.219 *cau* was applicable to *adhyañcaḥ*, *adhīcaḥ* and *adhīcā*. Our present rule is an exception to that.

6.2.54 ईषदन्यतरस्याम्

īṣad anyatarasyām
/ īṣat ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*īṣat*' *ity etat pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
An initial constituent, namely *īṣat* 'a little', optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

īṣatkáḍāraḥ 'somewhat tawny'
īṣa̲tka̲ḍā̲raḥ
īṣatpiṅgalaḥ 'somewhat yellowish-brown'
īṣa̲tpi̲ṅgalaḥ

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 *ī̱ṣa̱dbhedá* 'slightly cracked'. For, accentual provision of compounds with a following constituent in a *kṛt* affix (*kṛduttarapada*; 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt 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 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, whereby a subsequent accentual provision wins.

6.2.55 हिरण्यपरिमाणे धने

hiraṇyaparimāṇe dhane
/hiraṇyaparimāṇe 7/1 = *hiraṇyaṃ ca tat parimāṇaṃ ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin*; *dhane* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
hiraṇyaparimāṇavāci pūrvapadaṃ dhanaśabda uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent which signifies a measure (*parimāṇa*) of 'gold' (*hiraṇya*) retains its original accent when *dhana* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

dvi̱su̱va̱rṇadha̱nam 'wealth consisting of two measures of gold'
dvi̱su̱va̱rṇa̱dha̱nam

1. Not that *dvisuvarṇa* is a *dvigu* compound (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara* . . .), where a subsequently introduced *taddhita* affix, i.e., *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*), 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 *dvisuvarṇam eva dhanam* 'wealth consisting of only two measures (sixteen ounces) of gold', then the final *a* of *dvisuvarṇa* is allowed to retain its original accent. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *dvisuvarṇadhana*, paraphrased as *dvisuvarṇaṃ dhanam asya* 'he whose wealth is two sixteen ounce coins', will also have the initial obligatory *udātta* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*) made optional. For, this rule is subsequent (*para*). Thus, *dvisúvarṇadhanaḥ* and *dvi̱su̱va̱rṇa̱dha̱naḥ*.

6.2.56 प्रथमोऽचिरोपसम्पत्तौ

prathamo' ciropasampattau
/prathamaḥ 1/1 *aciropasampattau* 7/1 = *na cirāt* (*nañ. tat.*); *acirā upasampattiḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
prathamaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam aciropasampattau gamyamānāyām anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *prathama*, retains its original accent, optionally, when a relatively recent (*acira*) connection is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pra̲tha̲mavaiyākaraṇaḥ 'a novice student of grammar'
pra̲tha̲ma̲vaiyā̲ka̲raṇaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *prathama* is a derivate of *amaC* (*Uṇādi* V:68: *prather amac*), marked with *C* as an *it*. It is thus marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The compound itself will be marked *udātta* at the end. That is, if the option of *prathama* is not accepted.

2. Note that this optional *udātta* is consequential for meaning. The compound would get final *udātta*, obligatorily (*nitya*), if the meaning is outside the scope of *aciropasampatti*. Thus, consider *pra̲tha̲ma̲vaiyā̲ka̲raṇaḥ* 'the first, or best, among grammarians'. Commentators explain *aciropasampatti* as *aciropaśleṣaḥ, abhinavatvam* 'relatively recent contact, newness'.

6.2.57 कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये

katarakatamau karmadhāraye
/*katarakatamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *karmadhāraye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
kataraśabdaḥ katamaśabdaś ca pūrvapadaṃ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituents, namely *katara* and *katama*, optionally retain their original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*.

EXAMPLES:

ka̲ta̲rakáṭhaḥ 'who among you two is a follower of the Kaṭha school'
ka̲ta̲ra̲ka̲ṭhaḥ
ka̲ta̲makáṭhaḥ 'who among you is a follower of the Kaṭha school'
ka̲ta̲ma̲ka̲ṭhaḥ

1. An optional *udātta* is also offered here to initial constituents of *karmadhāraya* with *katara* and *katama*. Note that *katara* and *katama* end in affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC* (5.4.92 *kiṃyattado . . .*; 5.4.93 *vā bahūnāṃ . . .*), respectively. They are both thus marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The compound gets marked *udātta* 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 jātipariprašne*), where *katara* and *katama* are specifically enumerated (*pratipadokta*)? An explicit use of *karmadhāraye* is intended for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule.

6.2.58 आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः

āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ
/āryaḥ 1/1 *brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)*/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57)
āryaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ brāhmaṇakumāraśabdayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavanti
An initial constituent, namely *ārya*, optionally retains its original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when it combines with *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

āryábrāhmaṇaḥ 'a noble brāhmaṇa'
āryabrāhmaṇaḥ
āryákumāraḥ 'a noble youth or prince'
āryakumāraḥ

1. Note that *ārya*, as a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*), is marked with *svarita* 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 *paramabrāhmaṇaḥ* and *paramakumāraḥ* 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 *āryakṣatriyaḥ* and *āryabrāhmaṇaḥ*, where the first one lacks *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents, and the second is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound.

6.2.59 राजा च

rājā ca
/rājā 1/1 *ca* ϕ*/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57 *brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ* #58)
rājā ca pūrvapadaṃ brāhmaṇakumārayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', also optionally retains its original accent when *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

rājabrāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa king'

rājabrāhmaṇaḥ
rājákumāraḥ '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 (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*).

Incidentally, *rājan* is a derivate of *KanIN* (*Uṇādi* I: 56 *yuvṛṣta* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The option of this rule will not apply if *rājabrāhmaṇaḥ* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*.

6.2.60 षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि

ṣaṣṭhī pratyenasi
/ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enaḥ yasya* = *pratyenāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *rājā* #59)
ṣaṣṭhyanto rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ pratyenasy uttarapade' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', optionally retains its original accent when *pratyenas* combines as following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

rājápratyenāḥ 'kings' emissary'
rājapratyenāḥ '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 *ṣaṣṭhyā' krośe*), genitive is not deleted. This option will be blocked if the compound is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* signifying *rājā cāsau pratyenā ca* 'the king who is also his own emissary'.

6.2.61 क्ते नित्यार्थे

kte nityārthe
/kte 7/1 *nityārthe* 7/1 = *nityaḥ artho yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
ktānta uttarapade nityārthe samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *nitya* 'always', optionally, retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nityáprahasitaḥ 'always laughing'
nityaprahasitaḥ
satatapráhasitaḥ 'ibidem'
satataprahasitaḥ

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 *avyayāt tyap*). Its *ya* is *anudātta* by affixal accent (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). But its *ni* is marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 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 *thāthaghañkta* . . .) when the signification is *bhāva*. It will be marked *udātta* at the beginning when the signification is *karman* (6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). These accusative *tatpuruṣa* compounds are formed by 2.1.27 *kālāḥ*. The compounds, optionally, may also be marked with *udātta* at the end.

6.2.62 ग्रामः शिल्पिनि

grāmaḥ śilpini
/grāmaḥ 1/1 *śilpini* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
grāmaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ śilpavāciny uttarapade' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ 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:

grāmánāpitaḥ 'village barber'
grāmanāpitaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmákulālaḥ 'village potter'
grāmakulālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* for accentual details of *grāma*. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. They may also be marked with *udātta* at the end, optionally.

6.2.63 राजा च प्रशंसायाम्

rāja ca praśaṃsāyām
/rājā 1/1 *ca* ϕ *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *śilpini* #62)
rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ śilpavāciny uttarapade praśaṃsāyāṃ gamyamānāyām anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', retains its original accent optionally when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent and *praśaṃsā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

rājánāpitaḥ 'royal barber'
rājanāpitaḥ 'ibidem'
rājákulālaḥ 'royal potter'
rājakulālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A compound such as *rājanāpitaḥ* can be interpreted both as a *karmadhāraya* and genitive *tatpuruṣa*. 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 *rājahastī* 'king's elephant' will again be excluded.

6.2.64 आदिरुदात्तः

ādir udāttaḥ
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1)
ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyādir udātto bhavatīty evaṃ veditavyam
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 *antaḥ*, 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 *saptamīhāriṇau dharmye' haraṇe*, 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 सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे

saptamīhāriṇau dharmye' haraṇe
/saptamīhāriṇau 1/2 = *saptamī ca hārī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *dharmye* 7/1 *aharaṇe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
saptamyantaṃ hārivāci ca pūrvapadaṃ dharmyavācini haraṇaśabdād anyasminn uttarapade ādyudāttaṃ 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 *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent other than *haraṇa* combines to follow with the signification of *dharmya* 'a proper gift'.

EXAMPLES:

stūpéśāṇaḥ 'a gold coin traditionally offered to a king in commemorating the building of a Stūpa'
mukúṭekārṣāpaṇam 'a Kārṣāpaṇa (gold coin) traditionally offered to a king at his coronation'
halédvipadikā 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with two plows'
halétripadikā 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with three plows'
yājñíkāśvaḥ 'ritualist's (gift of a) horse'
vaiyâkaraṇahastī 'grammarian's (gift of an) elephant'

1. Note that *dharmya* and *hārin* are not interpreted here as referring to their forms (*svarūpa*). 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 *ācāraniyataṃ 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* = *deyaḥ yaḥ svīkaroti* 'he who accepts what is given him'.

Note that all locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds involve non-deletion (*aluk*; 6.3.10 *kārināmni ca prācāṃ halādau*) of the locative (*saptamī*). They are formed by rule 2.1.44 *saṃjñāyām*. Examples of *hārin* are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* 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: *stamberamaḥ* 'an elephant' and *karmakaravarddhitakaḥ*, where the following constituent of these compounds denotes something different. Thus, *ramaḥ* means 'sportful' and *varddhitakaḥ*

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 (*bījaniṣeka*) 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 *aharaṇe* has yet another implication. That is, this rule, except where *haraṇa* is a following constituent, will allow retention of original eccent of an initial constituent used with the signification of *hārin*. Since *haraṇa* is a derivate formed with *kṛt*, its exclusion also specifies derivates 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 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consider *vāḍavahāryam*, where *vāḍava* retains its original accent of initial *udātta*.

6.2.66 युक्ते च

yukte ca
/yukte 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
yuktavācini ca samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *yukta* 'yoked, engaged' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

gobállavaḥ 'one whose duty is to tend cows'
gomáṇindaḥ 'ibidem'
aśvabállavaḥ 'one whose duty is to care of horses'
aśvámaṇindaḥ 'ibidem'

1. The word *yukta* is explained as *samāhita* 'engrossed'; or *kartavye tatparaḥ* 'diligent; persuing 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 विभाषा अध्यक्षे

vibhāṣā' dhyakṣe
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *adhyakṣe* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
adhyakṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *adhyakṣa* 'chief' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gavâdhyakṣaḥ 'chief among those who take care of cows'
gavā̲dhya̲kṣaḥ 'ibidem'
aśvâdhyakṣaḥ 'chief among those who take care of horses'
a̲śvā̲dhya̲kṣaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This optional initial *udātta* is offered against the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

6.2.68 पापं च शिल्पिनि

pāpam ca śilpini
/pāpam 1/1 *ca* ϕ *śilpini* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
pāpaśabdaḥ śilpavāciny uttarapade vibhāṣā' dyudātto bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *pāpa* 'despicable', is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pāpánāpitaḥ 'a bad barber'
pā̲pa̲nā̲pi̲taḥ 'ibidem'
pāpákulālaḥ 'a bad potter'
pā̲pa̲ku̲lā̲laḥ '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 (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) between constituents leads towards compound formation by 2.1.54 *pāpāṇake kutsitaiḥ*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *pāpasya nāpitaḥ* = *pā̲pa̲nā̲pi̲taḥ*, cannot qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.69 गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु

gotrāntevāsimāṇavabrāhmaṇeṣu
/gotra-antevāsi-māṇava-brāhmaṇeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *kṣepe* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
gotravāciny antevāsiny cottarapade māṇavabrāhmaṇayoś ca kṣepavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kṣepa* 'censure' is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided the constituent which follows signifies a *gotra* 'descendant, grandson on,' an *antevāsin* 'pupil, student', or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa* and *māṇava* 'young initiate, boy'.

EXAMPLES:

jaṅghâvātsyaḥ 'a non-Vātsya claiming to be a Vātsya'
bhāryâsauśrutaḥ 'a henpecked son of Suśruta'
vaśâbrāhmakṛteyaḥ 'a barren woman . . .'
odánapāṇinīyāḥ 'students who study Pāṇini's grammar so that they can get rice to eat'
bhikṣāmâṇavaḥ 'a young initiate who becomes a celibate boasting, 'I can survive on alms''
dāsîbrāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who longs for his maid'
bhayábrāhmaṇaḥ '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., *māṇava* and *brāhmaṇa*, are used with reference to their form (*svarūpa*). 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 मैरेये

aṅgāni maireye
/*aṅgāni* 1/3 *maireye* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
maireyaśabda uttarapade tadaṅgavācīny pūrvapadāny ādyudāttāni 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:

guḍamaireyaḥ 'liquor, distilled from molasses'
madhumaireyaḥ '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: *parama*maireyaḥ and *phalāsavaḥ* 'fruit-juice', where *parama* 'best' does not denote an ingredient and *āsava* 'juice' does not denote liquor.

6.2.71 भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु

bhaktākhyās tadartheṣu
/*bhaktākhyāḥ* 1/3 *tadartheṣu* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

bhaktam annam tadākhyāḥ tadvācinaḥ śabdāḥ tadartheṣūttarapadeṣu 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:

bhikṣâkaṃsaḥ 'a pot intended for begging food'
śrāṇâkaṃsaḥ '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 गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने

gobiḍālasiṃhasaindhaveṣūpamāne
/go-biḍāla-siṃha-saindhaveṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *upamāne* 7/1/ (*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
gavādiṣūpamānavāciṣūttarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent with the signification of *go* 'cow', *biḍāla* 'cat' and *siṃha* 'lion' combines to follow as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

dhānyágavaḥ 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow'
hiráṇyagavaḥ 'gold similar in shape to a cows limb'
bhikṣâbiḍālaḥ '(very little) alms arranged in the shape of a cat'
tṛṇásiṃhaḥ 'grass arranged in the shape of a lion'
kāṣṭhásiṃhaḥ 'wood shaped like a lion'
saktúsaindhavaḥ 'Saktu (barley meal) arranged in the shape of a horse'
pānásaindhavaḥ 'a drinking vessel shaped like a horse'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*, especially with paraphrases such as *hiraṇyaṃ gaur iva* 'gold (shaped) like a cow', etc. The *vyāghrādi* group of nominals (2.1.56 *upamitam . . .*) is also considered open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). 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 arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
akapratyayānta uttarapade jīvikārthavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *jīvikā* 'livelihood' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dantálekhakaḥ 'painter of teeth'
nakhálekhakaḥ 'manicurist; painter of nails'
ramáṇīyakārakaḥ 'beautician'

1. These compound are formed by 2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ.*

6.2.74 प्राचां क्रीडायाम्

prācāṃ krīḍāyām
/*prācām* 6/3 *krīḍāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ake* #73)
prāg deśavarttinā yā kṛīḍā tadvācini samāse' kapratyayānta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of a sport of the people in the east in marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent ending in affix *aka* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers were crushed'
vīráṇapūṣpapracāyikā 'a sport in which the *vīraṇa* flowers were crushed'
śālábhañjikā 'a doll, puppet'
tālábhañjikā

1. Refer to my notes under 2.2.17 *nityam* . . . for additional details.

6.2.75 अणि नियुक्ते

aṇi niyukte
/*aṇi* 7/1 *niyukte* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
aṇanta uttarapade niyuktavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *niyukta* 'commissioned' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

chattrádhāraḥ 'bearer of the parasol'

tūṇīradhāraḥ 'bearer of the quiver'
kamáṇḍalugrāhaḥ 'bearer of the *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot)'
bhṛṅgáradhāraḥ 'bearer of *bhṛṅgāra* (gold-pitcher)'

1. Note that the compound must denote the meaning of *niyukta* 'commissioned to perform specific duty'. Consider *śaralāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' where agency (*kartṛtva*) 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 चाकृञः

śilpini cākṛñaḥ
/ śilpini 7/1 *ca* ϕ *akṛñaḥ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *aṇi* #75)
śilpivācini samāse' ṇanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati, sa ced aṇ kṛño 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 *aṆ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛÑ* 'to do' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

tantúvāyaḥ 'a weaver'
tunnávāyaḥ 'a tailor'
vālávāyaḥ 'a hair-dresser'

1. Refer to derivational details of *tantuvāyaḥ* under 3.2.2 *hvāvāmaś ca*. Note that the derivate must denote an artisan (*śilpin*). This is why *kāṇḍalāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' becomes an exception to this rule. The condition of *akṛñaḥ* ensures that examples like *kumbhakāraḥ* 'potter' and *ayaskāraḥ* 'blacksmith' do not come under the scope of this rule. For, they have their *aṆ* introduced after *kṛÑ*.

6.2.77 संज्ञायां च

saṃjñāyāṃ ca
/ saṃjñāyām 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *aṇi* 75 *akṛñaḥ* #76)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ṇanta uttarapade' kṛñaḥ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the derivational scope of a name (*saṃjñā*) is also marked with *udātta*, provided a constituent ending in *aṆ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛÑ* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

tantúvāyo nāma kīṭaḥ '*tantuvāya* is a worm which builds a cocoon; silk-worm'
vālávāyo nāma parvataḥ '*vālavāya* is a mountain'

1. Note that the condition of *akṛñaḥ* is still valid. Thus, *ra̲tha̲kā̲ro nāma brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a *brāhmaṇa* named *rathakāra* (chariot-maker)' will serve as a counter-example.

6.2.78 गोतन्तियवं पाले

gotantiyavaṃ pāle
/gotantiyavam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *pāle* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
'*go, tanti, yava*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni pālaśabda 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:

gopâlaḥ 'one who takes care of cows'
tantípālaḥ 'one who guards calves (tied to posts with ropes); a king'
yavápālaḥ '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 णिनि

ṇini
/ṇini 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
ṇinanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *ṆinI* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpáhārī 'he who brings flowers over and over again'
phaláhārī 'he who brings fruits over and over again'
parṇáhārī 'he who brings leaves over and over again'

1. Note that *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*) is used in the derivate examples with the signification of *vrata* 'a ritual vow'. This signification is especially desired in the context of verbal root *hṛÑ* 'to carry, fetch'. Elsewhere, we can also get the meaning of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'doing something over and over again'.

6.2.80 उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव

upamānaṃ śabdārthaprakṛtāv eva
/upamānam 1/1 *śabdārthaprakṛtau* 7/1 = *śabdo' rthaḥ yasyāḥ sā* (*bv*); *śabdārthā prakṛtir yasya* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmin*; *eva* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ṇini* #79)
upamānavāci pūrvapadam śabdārthaprakṛtāv eva ṇinanta uttarapada ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent which denotes a standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked with *udātta* when a constituent ending in *ṆinI*, and carrying the base-meaning of *śabda* 'noise', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrákrośī 'he who makes a noise like a camel'
dhvāṅkṣárāvī 'he who caws like a crow'
kharánādī 'he who brays like a donkey'

1. Note that the final compound constituent must signify *śabda* 'noise'. That is why I translate, 'carrying the base-meaning of *śabda*'. Consider *vañcī* and *prekṣī* of *vṛkavañcī* 'cunning as a wolf' and *vṛkaprekṣī* 'observing like a wolf' which must be excluded from the scope of this rule since *vañcA* 'to deceive' and *prekṣA* 'to observe' do not denote *śabda*. Additionally, this meaning of *śabda* should be considered independently of preverbs (*Kāś*: *prakṛtir eva yatropasarganirapekṣā śabdārthā bhavati tatraiva syāt . . .*). Thus, *gardabhoccārī* 'he who makes noises like a donkey' and *kokilābhivyāhārī* 'he who makes noises like a cuckoo' must also be excluded since the meaning of *śabda* '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 *śabdārthaprakṛtau* 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 (*sāmānya*). This rule then specifies the particular scope relative to the preceding general, by way of *upamāna* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *yady upamānagrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta tadā pūrvasya yogasyāsya ca viṣayavibhāgo na jñāyeta*).

6.2.81 युक्तारोह्यादयश्च

yuktārohyādayaś ca

/yuktārohyādayaḥ 1/3 *yuktārohī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ṇini* #79)
yuktārohyādayaḥ samāsaḥ ādyudāttā bhavanti
The initial constituents of compounds such as *yuktārohī* 'a well equipped rider', etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

yuktârohī 'supervisor of horses'
āgátayodhī 'one who fights a newly arrived'
kṣīráhotā 'sacrificer of rice-pudding'
bháginībharttā 'sister's husband'

1. Note that nominals included within the list headed by *yuktārohin* are all derivates of affix *ṆiN*. Consequently, they simply illustrate the provision of 6.2.79 *ṇini*. Some claim that since Pāṇini offers this rule even though its purpose can be served by 6.2.79 *ṇini*, 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*: *teṣām iha pāṭhasya prayojanāntaraṃ darśayati. pūrvottarapadayor niyamo' rtho yeṣāṃ te tathoktāḥ. yatra yuktādīny eva pūrvapadāny ārohyādīny eva uttarapadāni tatraive yathā syād iti*). Thus, we cannot find the provision of this rule applicable to *dhvāṅkṣārohī*, etc. These compounds get *udātta* at the end, instead.

The first two derivates of this rule end in *ṆinI*. The next two compounds are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*, formed on the basis of constituency in the *yājakādi* group (2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca*) of nominals.

6.2.82 दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे

dīrghakāśatuṣabhrāṣṭravaṭaṃ je
/dirgha-kāśa-tuṣa-bhrāṣṭra-vaṭam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *je* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
'dīrghāntaṃ pūrvapadam, 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.

EXAMPLES:

kuṭîjaḥ 'born in a hut'
śamîjaḥ 'found in a Śamī tree'
kāśájaḥ 'found in grass'

tuṣájaḥ 'found in bran'
bhrāṣṭrájaḥ 'found in a roasting place'
vaṭájaḥ 'found in a banyan tree'

1. Note that *ja* is derived by introducing affix *Ḍa* after verbal root *jan* (3.2.97 *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ*). This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt.*

6.2.83 **अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः**

antyāt pūrvaṃ bahvacaḥ
/antyāt 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *bahvacaḥ* 1/1
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *je* #82)
je uttarapade bahvacaḥ pūrvapadasyāntyāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an initial compound constituent consisting of many vowels (*bahvac*) is marked *udātta* when *ja* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

upasarájaḥ 'born from first impregnation'
mandurájaḥ 'born or found in a stable'
āmalakíjaḥ 'found in the Āmalakī fruit'
vaḍavájaḥ 'stud-horse; . . . found in groups of mares'

1. Note that *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta*, since it happens to be next to the last among vowels of the polysyllabic derivate *upasarajaḥ*. The condition of *bahvacaḥ* will block initial *udātta* in examples such as *dagdhajāni tṛṇāni* 'grass growing at a place which was burned' where the initial constituent, i.e., *dagdha*, consists of two vowels only. This again is an exception to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . .

6.2.84 **ग्रामे ऽनिवसन्तः**

grāme' nivasantaḥ
/gāme 7/1 *anivasantaḥ* 1/3 = *na nivasantaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
grāmaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it does not signify a resident and when *grāma* combines with it as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

mallágrāmaḥ 'group of wrestlers'
vaṇíggrāmaḥ 'group of traders'
devágrāmaḥ '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 *dākṣigrāmaḥ* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa, etc., live' and *māhakigrāmaḥ* 'a village where Māhaki, etc., live' as counter-examples.

6.2.85 घोषादिषु च

ghoṣādiṣu ca
/ghoṣādiṣu 7/2 = *ghoṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
ghoṣādiṣu cottarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ 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:

dākṣighoṣaḥ
'a settlement where descendants of Dakṣa live'
dākṣikaṭaḥ 'a crematorium of the descendants of Dakṣa'
dākṣihradaḥ 'a pond of the descendants of Dakṣa'

1. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* 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' nivasantaḥ*). Some, therefore, do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anivasat* in this rule.

6.2.86 छात्र्यादयः शालायाम्

chātryādayaḥ śālāyām
/chātryādayaḥ 1/3 = *chātriḥ ādir yeṣām*; *śālāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
śālāyām uttarapade chātryādaya ādyudāttā bhavanti
An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *chātrin* 'student' is marked *udātta* when *śālā* 'hall' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

chātriśālā 'home of Chātri'
pailiśāla 'home of Paili'
bhāṇḍiśālā 'home of Bhāṇḍi'

1. Note that all the *chatrādi* nominals denote an *apatya* 'offspring' and end in *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The first and third compounds can also be interpreted as a 'barber's shop'. The second also has a slightly different form:

peliśālā. Our second example also has a slightly different form and meaning: *peliśāla* 'stable'.

6.2.87 प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम्

prasthe' vṛddham akarkyādīnām
/prasthe 7/1 *avṛddham* 1/1 (*na vṛddham* (*nañ.*)); *akarkyādīnām* 6/3 = *karkī ādir yeṣām te karkyādayaḥ; na karkyādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv*), *teṣām/* (*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
prasthaśabda uttarapade karkyādivarjitam avṛddhaṃ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ 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:

indráprasthaḥ 'the city of Indraprastha'
kuṇḍáprasthaḥ 'a place named Kuṇḍaprastha'
hradáprasthaḥ 'a place named Hradaprastha'

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

mālādīnāṃ ca
/mālādīnām 6/3 = *māla ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *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:

mālâprasthaḥ 'name of a place'
śālâprasthaḥ '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 अमहन्नवं नगरेऽनुदीचाम्

amahannavaṃ nagare' nudīcām
/amahannavam 1/1 = *mahat ca navam ca = mahannavam* (*sam. dv.*); *na mahannavam* (*nañ. tat.*); *nagare* 7/1 *anudīcām* 6/3 = *na udañcaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām/*
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
nagaraśabda uttarapade mahannavaśabdavarjitaṃ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ 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:

súhmanagaram 'name of a city'
paṇḍránagaram 'name of 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 *anudīcām* is similarly important.

6.2.90 अर्मे चावर्णं द्व्यच् त्र्यच्

arme cāvarṇaṃ dvyac tryac
/arme 7/1 *ca* ϕ *avarṇam* 1/1 *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *tryac* 1/1 = *trayo' co yasmin* (*bv.*)*/*
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *mahannavam* #89)
armaśabda uttarapade dvyac tryac pūrvapadam avarṇāntam ādyudāttaṃ 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:

dattârmam 'name of a locality'
guptârmam 'name of a locality'
kujjúṭārmam 'name of a locality'
vāyásārmam 'name of a locality'

1. Note that the example derivates must end in *a*. Consider *bṛhadarmam* where *bṛhat* 'non-big' does not end in *a*. The conditions of *dvyac* 'that which consists of two vowels' and *tryac* 'that which consists of three vowels' will exclude examples such as *kapiñjalārmam*, etc. Finally, *mahārmam* and *navārmam* will also be excluded since *mahat* and *nava* are initial compound constituents.

6.2.91 **न भूताधिकसञ्जीवमद्राश्मकज्जलम्**

na bhūtādhikasañjīvamadrāśmakajjalam
/ na ϕ bhūta-adhika-sañjīva-madra-aśma-kajjalam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *adir udāttaḥ* #64 *arme* #89)
'*bhūta, adhika, sañjīva, madra-aśman, 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', *aśman* 'rock' and *kajjala* 'collyrium', are not marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

bhūtārmam 'name of locality'
adhikārmam 'name of a locality'
sañjīvārmam 'name of a locality'
madrārmam 'name of a locality'
aśmārmam 'name of a locality'
madrāśmārmam 'name of a locality'
kajjalārmam 'name of a locality

1. Note that a specification with *madrāśma* is here made so that *madra* and *aśman*, individually, and *madrāśma* as a combined base, can qualify for this accentual provision (*Kāś*: *madrāśmagrahaṇaṃ saṃghātavigṛhītārtham*). Thus, we get *aśmārmam*, *madrāmam* and *madrāśmārmam*. Most of these constituents could have qualified for initial *udātta*, based on their specifications with *dvyac* '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 *tatpuruṣa* compounds.

2. A proposal for initial *udātta* is also made in the Vedic usage of *divodāsa*. . . . Thus, consider *divódāsāya gāyata* and *vaddhryaśvāyá dāśuṣé*.

6.2.92 **अन्तः**

antaḥ
/ antaḥ 1/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64)
'*antaḥ*' *ity adhikṛtam; ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evaṃ veditavyam*
An initial compound constituent, from here onwards, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaśvétaḥ 'all white'
sarvakṛṣṇáḥ 'all black'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.110 *noṣṭhopasarga*. . . . It offers *udātta* at the end of an initial compound constituent.

6.2.93 सर्वं गुणकात्स्न्र्ये

sarvaṃ guṇakārtsnye
/sarvam 1/1 *guṇa-kārtsnye* 7/1 = *guṇasya kārtsnyam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
sarvaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ guṇakārtsnye vartamānam antodāttaṃ 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:

sa̲rvaśvétaḥ 'all white'
sa̲rvakṛṣṇáḥ 'all black'
sa̲rvamáhān 'all great'

1. The condition of *guṇakārtsnya* 'entirety of quality' must be met. Thus, we do not get final *udātta* in *sa̲rva̲sa̲uva̲rṇaḥ* 'a thing all gold' and *sarvaśvetaḥ* 'a thing all white', parallel to *sarveṣāṃ śvetaḥ* '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 संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः

saṃjñāyāṃ girinikāyayoḥ
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *giri-nikāyayoḥ* 7/2 = *giriś ca nikāyaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoḥ/*
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye 'giri, nikāya' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ 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 (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

a̲ñja̲nāgíriḥ 'name of a mountain'
bha̲ñja̲nāgíriḥ 'ibidem'
śā̲pi̲ṇḍiníkāyaḥ 'the clan of Śāpiṇḍis'
mau̲ṇḍiníkāyaḥ 'the clan of Mauṇḍis'

1. Note that *pa̲ra̲ma̲giriḥ* 'highest mountain' and *brā̲hma̲ṇa̲ni̲kā̲yaḥ* 'clan of brāhmaṇas', both counter-examples to the condition of *saṃjñāyām*, are marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). Our first two examples are

both genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the final *a* of *añjana* and *bhañjana* has gone through lengthening (6.3.115 *vanagiryoḥ saṃjñāyām*). The initial constituents of the last two examples are derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

6.2.95 कुमार्यां वयसि

kumāryāṃ vayasi
/kumāryām 7/1 *vayasi* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
kumāryām uttarapade vayasi gamyamāne pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *kumārī* combines as a following constituent and *vayas* 'age' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vṛddhakúmārī 'an old virgin woman'
jaratkúmārī 'ibidem'

1. Note that *kumārī* 'girl' is used in two senses of *prathamaṃ vayaḥ* 'initial stage of life' and *puṃsāṃ sahāsamprayogaḥ* 'no sexual contact with a male'. A syntactic coordination of *kumārī*, with *vṛddha* 'old' and *jaratī* '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 *vṛddhakumārī* is in consonance with 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. The second example compound is formed in accord with 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaikasarvajarat*. . . . The masculine transformation of *vṛddhā→vṛddha* and *jaratī→jarat* is accomplished by 6.3.40 *puṃvat karmadhāraya*. . . . The *ṄīP* of *kumārī* is introduced by 4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*.

6.2.96 उदके ऽकेवले

udake' kevale
/udake 7/1 *akevale* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
akevalam = miśram tadvācini samāse udakaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *akevala* 'not by itself; mixed, combined' is marked *udātta* at the end when *udaka* 'water' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

guḍodákam 'water mixed with jaggery'
tilodákam 'water with sesame seeds
(offered as libation to ancestors)'

1. Note that this final *udātta* 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' nudātte padādau*). Thus, we get *guḍódakam* and *tilódakam*, both *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, formed in view of a *vārttika* (*samānādhikaraṇādhikāre śākapārthivādīnāṃ siddhaye uttarapadalopasyopasaṃkhyānam* (ad 2.1.60 *ktena nañviśiṣṭena* . . .)). The condition of *akevale*, if not satisfied, will produce *śi̲to̲da̲kam* 'cold water' and *u̲ṣṇo̲da̲kam* 'hot water'.

6.2.97 द्विगौ क्रतौ

dvigau kratau
/ dvigau 7/1 *kratau* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
dvigāv uttarapade kratuvācini samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ 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 *dvigu* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ga̲rgatrírātraḥ 'the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Gargas'
ca̲ra̲katrírātraḥ 'the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Carakas'

1. Note that *trirātra* is a *dvigu* compound formed with *aC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥsarvaikadeśa* . . .) introduced after *trirātri*, parallel to *tisṝṇāṃ rātrīṇāṃ samāhāraḥ* 'a grouping of three nights'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *gargatrirātraḥ*, parallel to *gargānāṃ trirātraḥ*, thus has its initial constituent *garga* marked with *udātta* at the end.

A compound such as *atirātraḥ*, an *avyayībhāva* 'indeclinable' compound not meeting the condition of *dvigau* 'when combined in a *dvigu* compound', is marked with *udātta* at the end. The final *udātta* of an initial constituent, for example *bilva*, will be blocked in *bi̲lva̲sa̲pta̲rā̲traḥ* 'a group of seven nights when *bilva* 'a wild fruit' is offered as oblation to Agni'. This compound meets the condition of *dvigau* but *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is not its signification.

6.2.98 सभायां नपुंसके

sabhāyāṃ napuṃsake
/ sabhāyām 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
sabhāśabda uttarapade napuṃsakaliṅge samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ 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:

gopālasábham 'a gathering of cowherds'
paśupālasábham 'an assembly of those who tend cows'
strīsábham 'an assembly of women'
dāsīsábham 'an assembly of maids'

1. Note that *napuṃsake* here refers to usage in the neuter, as is clear from the enumeration of individual nominal bases (*pratipadokta*). Thus, consider the neuter of *gopālasabham* which has been specified by 2.4.24 *aśāla ca*. The *ramaṇīyasabham* 'beautiful gathering', of *ramaṇīyasabhaṃ brāhmaṇakulam* 'the beautiful gathering of the clan of brāhmaṇas', cannot qualify because the neuter of *sabhā* is accomplished by way of its qualification of *kulam* 'clan'. It is not enumerated by a rule as an individual nominal stem. Compounds with *sabhā* as their final constituent are accepted as neuter when *rājā* 'king' and *manuṣya* 'humans' do not combine as their initial constituents (2.4.23 *sabhā rāja . . .*). Thus, *rājasabhā* 'royal assembly' and *manuṣyasabhā* 'assembly of humans' will be excluded because of their non-neuter usage.

6.2.99 पुरे प्राचाम्

pure prācām
/ pure 7/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
puraśabda uttarapade prācāṃ deśe pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ 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:

lalāṭapúram 'name of an eastern locality'
kāñcīpúram 'name of an eastern locality'
śivadattapúram 'name of an eastern locality'

6.2.100 अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च

ariṣṭagauḍapūrve ca
/ ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve 7/1 = *ariṣṭam ca gauḍaś ca = ariṣṭagauḍau; tau pūrvau yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *pure* #99)
'*ariṣṭa, gauḍa*' *ity evam pūrve samāse puraśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ 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:

ariṣṭapúram 'name of a locality'
gauḍapúram 'name of a locality'
ariṣṭaśṛitapúram 'name of a locality'
gauḍabhṛtyapúram 'name of a locality'

1. The word *pūrve* is used so that *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa*, even when combined with an intervening constituent before their final compound constituent, could be covered by this rule. Thus, consider *ariṣṭaśṛitapúram* and *gauḍabhṛtya-púram*. 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 हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः

na hāstinaphalakamārdeyāḥ
/ na ϕ hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *pure* #99)
'*hāstina, phalaka, mārdeya*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni puraśabda uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*
The initial constituents of a compound, namely *hāstina, phalaka* and *mārdeya*, are not marked with *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines as a following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

hāstinapuram 'name of a locality'
phalakapuram 'name of a locality'
mārdeyapuram 'name of a locality'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.99 *pure prācām*. Since all these rules form an exception to the final *udātta* of a compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*), a negation will only restore the said final *udātta*. Incidentally, affix *ḍhaK* is introduced after *mārdeya* by 4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound is then formed with *pura*.

6.2.102 कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले

kusūlakūpakumbhaśālaṃ bile
/ kusūla-kūpa-kumbha-śālam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *bile* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #1 *antaḥ* #92)
'*kusūla, kūpa, kumbha, śālā*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni bilaśabde uttarapade' ntodāttāni bhavanti*
The initial compound constituents, namely *kusūla, kūpa, kumbha* and *śālā*, are marked *udātta* at the end when *bila* 'hole' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

kusūlabílam 'top of a granary'
kūpabílam 'top of a well'
kumbhabílam 'mouth of a jar'
śālābílam 'entry to a hall'

1. These are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the condition of *kusūla*, 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 *kusūlasvāmī* 'owner of a granary' will then also serve as a counter-example.

6.2.103 दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु

dikśabdā grāmajanapadākhyānacānarāṭeṣu
/dikśabdāḥ 1/3 = *diśi dṛṣṭāḥ śabdāḥ* (*sapt. tat.* with deletion of middle *pada*); *grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-cānarāṭeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
dikśabdāḥ pūrvapadāni antodāttāni bhavanti grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-vāciṣūttarapadeṣu cānarāṭ śabde ca
An initial compound constituent having the signification of a directional name° (*diś*) is marked with *udātta* 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:

pūrveṣúkāmaśamī 'the eastern village of Iṣukāmaśamī'
apareṣúkāmaśamī 'the lower or little village of Iṣukāmaśamī'
pūrvakṛṣṇamṛttikā 'the eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'
aparakṛṣṇamṛttikā 'the lower eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'
pūrvapáñcālāḥ 'the principally of the Pañcāla warriors'
aparapáñcālāḥ 'ibidem'
pūrvayáyātam 'a narrative with Yayāti as its focus'
aparayáyātam '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 *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, etc., are formed by 2.1.49 *diksaṃkhye*. . . . Refer to their derivational details in the appendix. The signification of the word *cānarāṭa* is doubtful. The word *śabda* is used with *diś* so that directional words, such as *pūrva*, etc., which may also denote *kāla* 'time', can be covered.

6.2.104 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि

ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsini
/ācāryopasarjanaḥ 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanaṃ yasya antevāsinaḥ* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ *antevāsini* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikśabdāḥ* #103)
ācāryopasarjanāntevāsivāciny uttarapade dikśabdā 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:

pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ 'earlier students of Pāṇini'
aparapāṇinīyāḥ 'subsequent students of Pāṇini'
pūrvakāśakṛtsnāḥ 'earlier students of Kāśakṛtsna'
aparakāśakṛtsnāḥ 'subsequent students of Kāśakṛtsna'

1. Note that *pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ* is derived parallel to *pūrve ca te pāṇinīyāś ca* 'those who are former and are students of Pāṇini'. The word *pāṇinīya* refers to a student (*antevāsin*), a principal (*pradhāna*), qualified with a corresponding non-principal (*upasarjana*), i.e., *pāṇini*, the teacher (*ācārya*). All these compounds are formed by 2.1.57 *pūrvāpara*. . . .

6.2.105 उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च

uttarapadavṛddhau sarvaṃ ca
/uttara-pada-vṛddhau 7/1 = *uttarapadasya adhikṛtya yā vṛddhir vihitā* = *uttarapadavṛddhiḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyām*; *sarvam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikśabdāḥ* #103)
'uttarapadasya' ity evam adhikṛtya yā vihitā vṛddhis tadvaty uttarapade sarvaśabdo dikśabdaś 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:

sarvapāñcālakaḥ 'found all over the country of the Pañcālas'
pūrvapāñcālakaḥ 'found in the eastern country of the Pañcālas'
uttarapāñcālakaḥ 'found in the northern country of the Pañcālas'

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 *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows. How do we know that *uttarapada* here refers to an *adhikāra* 'domain of rules'? By knowing that *uttarapada* is marked with *svarita* (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*). This yields the interpretation: 'a *vṛddhi* which is accomplished with reference to rules of the domain of *uttarapadasya*'. Besides, what was the purpose of qualifying *vṛḍḍhau* with *uttarapada* when *vṛddhau* itself would have served the purpose.

Note that affix *vuÑ* of the example derivates, which subsequently yields *aka*, is introduced by 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . The *vṛddhi* in *pāñcālaka* is accomplished by 7.3.12 *susarvārdhā*. . . . Elsewhere, it is accomplished by 7.3.13 *diśo' madrāṇām*. A compound such as *sarvapāñcālaka* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. Other example compounds are formed by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapade*. . . .

If the word *uttarapada* was not used, this *sūtra* would have simply read: *vṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*. This would have qualified the application of this rule also to *sarvabhāsaḥ* 'that which illuminates everything' and *sarvakārakaḥ* 'he who does everything'. Recall that *bhāsa* and *kāraka* are words with initial *vṛddhi*, though this *vṛddhi* has not been accomplished by any rule of the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*.

6.2.106 बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्

bahuvrīhau viśvaṃ saṃjñāyām
/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *viśvam* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
bahuvrīhau samāse viśvaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *viśva* 'all', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viśvadévaḥ 'all divinities'
viśvayáśāḥ 'he who is universally splendorous'
viśvamáhān 'he who is universally great'

1. Note that *viśva* 'all', as a derivate of affix *KvaN*, is introduced after *viś* 'to enter, pervade' and is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. This is accomplished in view of an accentual provision made with *N* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). Rule 6.2.1 *bahuivrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . would have allowed retention of this initial *udātta* had it not been for the present rule. Thus, *viśva* as an initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used with the signification of a name, is marked with *udātta* at the end. The examples cited here are all names. A *karmadhāraya* compound such as *viśvadevaḥ*, parallel to *viśve ca te devāḥ* 'all gods', is marked *udātta* at the end.

1. Commentators state that this rule finds its independent scope of application in *viśvadévaḥ* and *viśvayaśâḥ*. Rule 6.2.165 *saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinayoḥ* finds its independent scope of application by marking the following constituent of *kulamitraḥ* 'friendly to the clan'/*kulājinaḥ* 'deer-skin of the clan?' as *udātta* 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 mitrājinayoḥ* which, based on 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, wins this conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*).

2. This domain of *bahuvrīhau* gets canceled by *avyayībhāve* of 6.2.121 *kūlatīratūla*. . . .

6.2.107 उदराश्वेषुषु

udarāśveṣuṣu
/*udarāśveṣuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau saṃjñāyām* #106)
'*udara, aśva, iṣu*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* at the end when *udara* 'belly', *aśva* 'horse' and *iṣu* 'arrow, archer' combine as following constituents and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

vṛkodáraḥ 'he whose belly is wolf-like; Bhīma'
dāmodáraḥ 'he on whose belly there are lines; Kṛṣṇa'
haryaśváḥ 'he whose horses are of gold color; Indra'
yauvanāśváḥ 'he who is youthful as his horse'
suvarṇapūṃkheṣúḥ 'that, an arrow, the feathers on whose tail-end are golden (beautiful) in color'
maheṣúḥ 'he whose arrows are great'

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*. . . . Note that *vṛka* 'wolf' is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭ* II:7: *prāṇināṃ ca* . . .). The word *dāma* 'rope' is a derivate of *manin* (*Uṇādi* IV:145), and hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The *hari* of *haryaśva*, a derivate of *in* (*Uṇādi* IV:118), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *yauvana* 'youth' is considered as underived (*avyutpanna*), and is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭ* II:19). If accepted as derived with affix *aṆ*, it will be marked *udātta* at the end. This accent can then be retained in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Note that *suvarṇapuṃkheṣu* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with two internal *bahuvrīhi* compounds, i.e., *suvarṇaḥ* and *suvarṇapuṃkhaḥ*. The first compound, parallel to *śobhano varṇo yeṣām* 'those whose color is beautiful', is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. The second, paraphrased as *suvarṇāḥ puṃkhā*

yeṣām 'those whose feathers have beautiful colors', is marked with *udātta* on the *a* of *varṇa* 'color' in *suvarṇa* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Our final derivate *suvarṇapuṃkheṣu*, the third compound, is marked with *udātta* on *kha*. Note that *ya*, in *haryaśvaḥ*, is marked with *svarita* in view of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayo*. . . .

2. Why is *mahat* 'great', of *maheṣuḥ*, included as an example under this *sūtra* 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

kṣepe
/kṣepe 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau saṃjñāyām* #106 *udarāśveṣu* #107)
kṣepe gamyamāne udarādiṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of a name is marked *udātta* when *udara*, *aśva* and *iṣu* combine as following constituents, and *kṣepa* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍódaraḥ 'he who has a pit-belly'
ghaṭṭódaraḥ 'he who has a pot-belly'
kaṭukāśvaḥ 'he whose horse has a wild temper'
spandítāśváḥ 'he whose horse is slow'
anighāteṣúḥ 'he whose arrow cannot pierce its target'
calācaleṣúḥ 'an archer whose hands are not steady'

1. Here again we find this rule as an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *ghaṭa* 'pitcher', because of being a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .), 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 *sūtra* alone must assign the final *udātta* in this context. The word *kaṭuka* 'sour', a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.75 *saṃjñāyāṃ kan*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. But *spandita* 'vibrating', a derivate of *Kta*, is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). The word *anighāta*, an *avyayībhāva* paraphrased as *na nighātaḥ* 'absence of piercing' where *nighāta* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *hala ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *calācala* 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 *kṣepe* and 6.2.172 *nañ-subhyām*. Thus, an independent scope of application of 6.2.108 *kṣepe* can be

found in examples such as *kuṇḍodaraḥ* and *ghaṭodaraḥ*. An independent scope of 6.1.172 *nañsubhyām* can be similarly found in examples such as *ayaśāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*. These two rules apply equally in examples such as *anudaraḥ* and *sūdaraḥ*. Rule 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* blocks 6.2.108 *kṣepe* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ 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 *udarāśveṣu* in *kṣepe*. For, the *bhāṣya* does not explain this *sūtra* by resorting to split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*).

6.2.109 नदी बन्धुनि

nadī bandhuni
/nadī 1/1 *bandhuni* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)
bahuvrīhau samāse bandhuny uttarapade nadyantaṃ pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one ending in an item termed *nadī*, is marked *udātta* at the end when *bandhu* 'friend, clansman' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gārgībándhuḥ 'he whose friend is Gārgī'
vātsībándhuḥ 'he whose friend is Vātsī'

1. Note that *gārgī* 'female' descendant of Garga' and *vātsī* 'female descendant of Vatsa' are derivates of affix *ÑīP*, introduced after derivates of *yaÑ*, i.e., *gārgya* and *vātsya*. They are termed *nadī* by 1.4.4 *yūstryākhyau nadī* and are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their affixal *Ñ* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir 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 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम्

niṣṭhopasargapūrvam anyatarasyām
/niṣṭhā 1/1 *upasargapūrvam* 1/1 = *upasargaḥ pūrvo yasya pūrvapadasya* (*bv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)
bahuvrīhau samāse niṣṭhāntam upasargapūrvaṃ pūrvapadam anyatarasyām antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent, which terminates in an affix termed

niṣṭhā and contains a preverb (*upasarga*) at its beginning, is optionally marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pr̲adhau̲tamúkhaḥ 'he who has washed his face'
pr̲akṣā̲li̲tapâdaḥ 'he who has washed his feet'

1. This rule allows optional *udātta* at the end of an initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent which begins with a preverb and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*. This *udātta* 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 *udātta* at the end (6.2.167 *mukhaṃ 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 anantaraḥ*. We will thus get three accents: *pr̲adhau̲tamūkhaḥ/ pr̲adhau̲t̲amukhaḥ pradhaú-tamukhaḥ*.

Note that the condition of both *niṣṭhā* and *upasarga* must be met. Thus, this rule will not apply to *prasecakamukhaḥ* '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 उत्तरपदादिः

uttarapadādiḥ
/uttarapadādiḥ 1/1 = *uttarapadasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #63)
'*uttarapadādiḥ*' *ity etad adhikṛtam, yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma uttarapadasyādir udātto bhavati*
The final constituent of a compound, from here onwards, is to be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

śu̲klakarṇáḥ 'white-eared'
kṛṣṇa̲karṇáḥ 'an animal branded with mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'

1. This rule introduces *uttarapadādiḥ* as a heading (*adhikāra*), valid through the end of this quarter. Note, however, that *ādir udāttaḥ* 'initial is marked *udātta*' 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 *śuklakarṇaḥ* 'he whose ears are white' and *kṛṣṇakarṇaḥ* 'he whose ears are black' where *karṇa* occurs combined after *śukla* 'white' and

kṛṣṇa 'black', both used with the signification of color. Consequently, *karṇa* 'ear', as a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.112 *karṇo varṇalakṣaṇāt*).

6.2.112 कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात्

karṇo varṇalakṣaṇāt
/*karṇaḥ* 1/1 *varṇa-lakṣaṇāt* 5/1 = *varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
bahuvrīhau samāse varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca karṇaśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *karṇa*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when it combines to follow a constituent signifying *varṇa* 'color' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

EXAMPLES:

śuklakarṇáḥ 'white-eared'
kṛṣṇakarṇáḥ 'black-eared'
dātrākarṇáḥ 'an animal branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'
śaṅkūkarṇáḥ '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 *paśūnāṃ vibhāgajñāpanārtham dātraśaṅkupratirūpakaṃ karṇādiṣu 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 *sthūlakarṇaḥ* 'he who has large ears'. For, *sthūla*, though it serves as a characteristic mark of reference, it is not a particular (*viśiṣṭa*) mark intended for classifying or identifying an animal. Examples such as *śvetapādaḥ* 'one whose feet are white' and *kūṭaśṛṅgaḥ* 'one whose horns are knotty' are also excluded. The first has a constituent denoting *varṇa* but does not have *karṇa* as its following constituent. The second example has *kūṭa* as *lakṣaṇa* but also lacks *karṇa*. An example such as *śobhanakárṇaḥ* 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 संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च

saṃjñaupamyayoś ca
/*saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *karṇaḥ* #112)

saṃjñāyām aupamye ca yo bahuvrīhir vartate tatra karṇa śabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *karṇa*, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

kuñcikarṇáḥ 'a name; he whose ears resemble a fist'
maṇikarṇáḥ 'a name; he whose ears resemble a pearl'
gokarṇáḥ 'one whose ears resemble cow's ears'
kharakarṇáḥ 'one whose ears resemble a donkey's'

1. Here again, retention of original accent of the preceding constituent was intended (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). This rule offers *udātta* to the initial syllable of the following constituent. The remaining syllables are marked with *anudātta* (6.2.158 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .), with the understanding that an *anudātta* occurring after an *udātta* will be replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*).

6.2.114 कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च

kaṇṭhapṛṣṭhagrīvājaṅghaṃ ca
/kaṇṭha-pṛṣṭha-grīvā-jaṅgham 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* #113)
'*kaṇṭha, pṛṣṭha, grīvā, jaṅghā*' *ity etāni uttarapadāni bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñaupamyayor ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
A following *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *kaṇṭha* 'throat', *pṛṣṭha* 'back', *grīvā* 'neck' and *jaṅghā* 'thigh', is also marked *udātta* at the beginning when the compound is formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

śitikaṇṭháḥ 'name of Śiva'
nīlakaṇṭháḥ 'ibidem; he who has blue on his throat'
uṣṭrakaṇṭháḥ 'one whose throat resembles the throat of a camel'
kāṇḍapṛṣṭháḥ 'a name'
gopṛṣṭháh 'one whose back resembles a cow's back'
sugrīváḥ 'a name; one whose neck is beautiful'
daśagrīváḥ 'Rāvaṇa; he who has ten necks'
aśvagrīváḥ 'one whose neck resembles a horse's neck'
nārījaṅgháḥ 'a name; a man whose thighs are similar to a woman's thighs'
aśvajaṅgháḥ 'one whose thighs resemble a horse's thighs'

1. Here again, the initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is blocked from retaining its original accent.

6.2.115 शृङ्गमवस्थायां च

śṛṅgam avasthāyāṃ ca
/śṛṅgam 1/1 *avasthāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* #113)
śṛṅgaśabda uttarapadam avasthāyāṃ saṃjñaupamyayoś ca bahuvrīhau ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *śṛṅga* 'horn', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the derivate denotes *avasthā* 'age', *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

udgataśṛṅgáḥ 'an animal whose horns have just jutted out'
dvyaṅgulaśṛṅgáḥ 'an animal whose horns are two-finger-width long'
ṛṣyaśṛṅgáḥ 'a sage named Ṛṣyaśṛṅga'
gośṛṅgáḥ 'cow-like horns'
meṣaśṛṅgáḥ 'ram-like horns'

1. Note that *śṛṅga* is also used here as a mark to indicate the age of an animal (*avasthā*). It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The remainder of the compound is marked *anudātta* with the understanding that an *anudātta* becomes *svarita* after an *udātta.*

2. Examples such as *udgataśṛṅgáḥ* 'that whose horns have come out' and *dvyaṅgulaśṛṅgáḥ* 'that whose horns are two finger-width long' indicate the age of an animal. The first example goes through deletion of the *samāsānta* affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj . . .*; *vt: pramāṇe lo . . .*).

6.2.116 नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः

naño jaramaramitramṛtāḥ
/nañaḥ 5/1 *jara-mara-mitra-mṛtāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
nañ uttare jaramaramitramṛtā bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti
A constituent, namely *jara* 'aging', *mara* 'dying', *mitra* 'friend' or *mṛta* 'dead' which combines to follow *naÑ* 'not' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

ajaráḥ 'not aging'
amaráḥ 'immortal'
amitráḥ 'non-friendly'
amṛtáḥ 'non-dying; immortal; ambrosia'

6.2.117 सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी

sor manasī alomoṣasī
/soḥ 1/1 *manasī* 1/2 = *man ca aś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *alomoṣasī* 1/2 = *loma ca uṣaś ca = lomoṣasī*; *na lomoṣasī* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
sor uttaram anantam asantaṃ ca bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati lomoṣasī varjayitvā
A constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *su* and terminates in *man* (*manIN*; 3.2.74 *ātmanaḥ manin . . .*) and *as* (*Uṇādi* affix *asUN*), with the exception of *loman* 'hair' and *uṣas* 'glow, dawn', is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

sukarmā́ 'virtuous; one who performs good deeds'
sudharmā́ 'righteous'
suyaśā́ḥ 'renowned'
suprathímā 'great expanse'
susrotā́ḥ '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 *nañsubhyām* which, in turn, assigns *udātta* at the end of a constituent used in combination after *naÑ* and *su*. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*PŚ* 17: *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā' narthakena*) allows *tadantavidhi* '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 *tadantavidhi* with reference to *man* and *as* can be accomplished in *srotas* and *prathiman*, etc., where *man* and *as* do not carry any meaning of their own.

The initial of all following constituents is marked *udātta*. The remaining syllables of the compound are marked *anudātta*. However, note that an *anudātta* which occurs after an *udātta* is replaced with *svarita*.

Derivates which do not meet conditions of *su* and *man* will retain the original accent of their initial constituents (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). This same is also true of derivates with following constituents such as *loman* and *usas*. Thus, consider *kṛtakarmā* 'he who has finished his work'/*surājā* 'good king' and *sulomā* '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 derivates are covered by 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). But rules in conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) must have their independent scope of application elsewhere. It is explained that 6.2.117 *sormanasī . . .* 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 *sukarmakáḥ* and *susrotaskáḥ*. Rule 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* blocks the application of 6.2.117 *sormanasī* . . . because of being subsequent in order of enumeration.

6.2.118 क्रत्वादयश्च

kratvādayaś ca
/kratvādayaḥ 1/3 = *kratur ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)
kratvādayaḥ sor uttare bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti
A constituent enumerated in the list headed by *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *su* as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

sukratúḥ 'intelligent; name of Agni'
sudṛśīkáḥ 'handsome; he who has beautiful eyes'

1. This also is an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām.*

6.2.119 आद्युदात्तं द्व्यचश्छन्दसि

ādyudāttaṃ dvyacaś chandasi
/ādyudāttam 1/1 *dvyacaḥ* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)
yad ādyudāttaṃ dvyac uttarapadaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse sor uttaraṃ tad ādyudāttam eva bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, contains two vowels (*dvyac*) and combines after *su*, retains its *udātta* at the beginning provided the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

svaśvástvā surathá marjayema

1. Note that *aśva* and *ratha* of *svaśva* 'he who owns beautiful horses' and *suratha* 'he who owns beautiful chariots' are derivates of *uṇādi* affixes *KvaN* (*Uṇ.* I:151) and *KthaN* (*Uṇ.* II:2), respectively. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because of affixal *N* as an *it* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule allows retention of the initial *udātta.* That is, it is again an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām.*

A counter-example is *subāhuḥ* 'he who has beautiful arms' is offered to the condition of *ādyudātta.* Note that *bāhu* 'arm' derives with affix *Ku,* and

hence, is marked *udātta* at the end in consonance with affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Now consider *hiraṇya* of *suhiraṇyaḥ* 'beautiful gold' as a counter-example to the condition of *dvyacaḥ* 'consisting of two vowels'. Obviously, *hiraṇya* contains three vowels.

6.2.120 वीरवीर्यौ च

vīravīryau ca
/vīravīryau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117 *chandasi* #119)
'*vīra, vīrya*' *ity etau ca śabdau sor uttarau bahuvrīhau samāse chandasi viṣaye ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*
The constituents *vīra* 'heroic' and *vīrya* 'valor' are also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine after *su* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound and the scope of the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

su̲vīréṇa 'by one who has great valor'
su̲vīryásya̲ 'of one who has great prowess'

1. Note that *vīrya*, in the Vedic, is marked with *svarita* at the end, following the specification of *Phiṭsūtra* (77): *bilvabhakṣyavīryāṇi . . .*). As a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) in the classical language, it will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). Recall that *vīrya*, as a derivate of *yaT* in the Vedic, would qualify for initial *udātta* of 6.2.119 *ādyudāttaṃ dvyacaś chandasi*. Thus, there was no point in including *vīrya* in this rule. This inclusion then indicates that *vīrya* is marked *svarita* at the end. Our present rule is, again, an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*.

6.2.121 कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे

kūlatīratūlamūlaśālākṣasamam avyayībhāve
/kūla-tīra-tūla-mūla-śālā-akṣa-samam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *avyayībhāve* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
'*kūla, tīra, tūla, mūla, śālā, akṣa, sama*' *ity etāni uttarapadāni avyayībhāvasamāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
A constituent, namely *kūla* 'river-bank', *tīra* 'ibidem', *tūla* 'shoots of reeds or grass; cotton', *mūla* 'root', *śālā* 'hall', *akṣa* 'axle, dice' or *sama* 'equal', which combines as final in an *avyayībhāva* compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

Examples:

pa̲rikūlám 'around the bank'
upa̲kūlám 'near the bank'
pa̲ritīrám 'around the bank'

upa̲tīrám 'near the bank'
pa̲ri̲tūlám 'around the grass'
upa̲tūlám 'near the grass'
pa̲ri̲mūlám 'around the root'
upa̲mūlám 'near the root'
pa̲ri̲śālám 'around the hall'
upa̲śālám 'near the hall'
pa̲ryákṣam 'around the axle'
upākṣám 'near the axle'
su̲ṣamám 'well leveled; evenly'
vi̲ṣamám 'not so well leveled; unevenly'
ni̲ḥṣamám 'unreasonably'
du̲ḥṣamám 'wickedly'

1. Note that *suṣama, viṣama* and *niḥṣama* are listed as part of the *tiṣṭhadgu* group of nominals. Their compounds are thus formed by 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca.* The *s* of *sama* is replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.88 *suvinirdurbhyaḥ. . . .* The *avyayībhāva* compounds with *upa* are formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa. . . .* Since *pari* is termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane,* the *avyayībhāva* compounds with *pari* will be formed by 2.1.12 *apaparibahir. . . .* The *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet, ablative', as conditioned by *karmapravacanīya,* will be introduced after *kūla,* etc., by 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ.* Compounds with *upa* and *pari* are formed in the sense of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' and *varjana* 'exclusion', respectively. These compounds are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

2. The condition of *avyayībhāve* is imposed so that *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds can be excluded. Thus, a *bahuvrīhi,* for example *paramakūlam* '. . . whose bank is best', parallel to *paramaṃ kūlam asya,* will retain the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau . . .*). A *karmadhārayatatpuruṣa,* for example *paramakūlam* 'best bank', will be excluded because this is the domain of *bahuvrīhi* compounds. This necessitates inclusion of *avyayībhāve* in the rule.

3. It is stated that the initial *udātta* of *kūla,* etc., after *pari,* etc., is accomplished via *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength' (*Kāś: paryādibhyaḥ kūlādīnām ādyudāttatvaṃ vipratiṣedhena*). That is, we witness a conflict of equal strength between 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā . . .* and the present rule. Rule 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā . . .* finds its independent scope in *avyayībhāva* compounds where *kūla,* etc., for example in *paritrigarttam* 'around the country of Trigartta', are not combined. The independent scope of the initial *udātta* 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 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* must rule in favor of application of our present rule.

4. This rule constitutes an exception to the accentuation rules of compounds (*samāsasvarāpavādaḥ*). Rules prior to 6.3.133 *nācāryarāja* . . . are similar in nature.

6.2.122 कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ

kaṃsamanthaśūrpapāyyakāṇḍaṃ dvigau
/kaṃṣa-mantha-śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *dvigau* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
'kaṃṣa, mantha, śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍa' ity etāny uttarapadāni dvigau samāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti
A constituent, namely *kaṃsa* 'name of a measure, vase', *mantha* 'churning stick', *śūrpa* 'winnowing basket', *pāyya* 'name of a measure' and *kāṇḍa* 'measuring stick, piece', is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the same combines as final in a compound termed *dvigu.*

EXAMPLES:

dvikaṃsáḥ 'purchased with two Kaṃsas'
dvimanthấḥ 'purchased with two churning sticks'
dviśūrpáḥ 'purchased with two winnowing baskets filled with grains'
dvipāyyáḥ 'two measures of a drink'
dvikāṇḍáḥ 'two measures of a stick'

1. Note that *dvikaṃsaḥ, dvimanthaḥ* and *dviśūrpaḥ* are formed in anticipation of the sense of a *taddhita* (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .), where affixes *ṬIṭhaN* (2.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*), *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .) and *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād añ* . . .), respectively, are introduced to denote the sense of *krīta* 'purchased with'. These affixes, however, are deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . . A similar deletion of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) and *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj* . . .; *vt. pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*), denoting *parimāṇa* and *pramāṇa* 'measure', is also found in deriving *dvipāyya* and *dvikāṇḍa*, respectively.

That this provision of initial *udātta* is limited to *dvigu* compounds is illustrated by *paramakaṃsaḥ* 'best kaṃsa' and *uttamakaṃsaḥ* 'ibidem', which are both *karmadhāraya.*

6.2.123 तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके

tatpuruṣe śālāyāṃ napuṃsake
/tatpuruṣe 7/1 *śālāyām* 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
śālāśabdānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅgam uttarapadaṃ ādyudāttam bhavati
A following constituent, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is marked *udātta* at

the beginning when the compound ends in *śālā* 'hall' and is termed neuter.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇaśālám 'a hall of brāhmaṇas'
kṣatriyaśālám 'a hall of kṣatriyas'

1. Note that genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds can optionally be used as *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' (2.4.25 *vibhāṣā senāsuracchāyāśālāniśānām*). A compound such as *dṛḍhaśālam brāhmaṇakulam* 'a strong house of the brāhmaṇas' cannot avail this accentual provision because it is a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *dṛḍhā śālā 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 *śālā*.

6.2.124 कन्था च

kanthā ca
/kanthā 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123)
tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge kanthāśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ 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:

sauśimikanthám 'name of a city'
āhvakanthám 'ibidem'
cappakanthám 'ibidem'

1. These genitive compounds are used in the neuter in view of 2.4.20 *saṃjñāyāṃ 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 आदिश्चिहणादीनाम्

ādiś cihaṇādīnām
/ādiḥ 1/1 *cihaṇādīnām* 6/3 = *cihaṇa ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123 *kanthā* #124)
kanthānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge 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.

EXAMPLES:

cihāṇakantham 'name of a place'
maḍārakantham '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 (*pūrvapada*; *PM* ad *Kāś*: *pūrvapadānāṃ cihaṇādīnām ādyudāttatvam iṣyate, atas tadarthaṃ punar ādigrahaṇaṃ kṛtam*).

6.2.126 चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम्

celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍaṃ garhāyām
/ cela-kheṭa-kaṭuka-kāṇḍam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *garhāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*cela, kheṭa, kaṭuka, kāṇḍa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyām ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, namely *cela* 'cloth', *kheṭa* 'straw', *kaṭuka* 'bitter, stale' and *kāṇḍa* 'arrow', are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *garhā* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

putracelám 'an unworthy son'
bhāryācelám 'a bad wife'
upānatkheṭám 'cheap shoe'
nagarakheṭám 'an inhospitable city'
dadhikaṭúkam 'stale yoghurt'
udaśvitkáṭukam 'bitter buttermilk'
bhūtakāṇḍám 'an offspring who is source of pain'
prajakāṇḍám 'ibidem'

1. Note that censure is denoted via similarity (*sādṛśya*) between *cela* and *putra*, etc. The compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*. That is, *vyāghrādi* has to be accepted as an open-ended group with *cela*, etc., as members. The compounds can thus be paraphrased as: *putraḥ 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 *paramacelam* 'best cloth', a *karmadhāraya* compound with the denotatum of *praśaṃsā* '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

cīram upamānam
/ cīram 1/1 *upamānam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
cīram uttarapadam upamānavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *cīra* 'a particular piece of clothing', used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of a standard of comparison (*upamāna*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

vastracīrám 'tattered cloth'
paṭacīrám 'rag-like cloth'
kambalacīrám 'tattered blanket'

1. Here again the compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. A comparison between *vastra*, a general (*sāmānya*), and *cira*, a particular (*viśeṣa*), is made possible because of *bheda* 'difference'. The condition of *upamāna* is important so that *paramacīram*, a *karmadhāraya*, can be excluded from availing this accentual provision. Of course, *cīra* of example compounds will be marked *udātta* at the beginning.

6.2.128 पलसूपशाकं मिश्रे

palalasūpaśākaṃ miśre
/palala-sūpa-śākam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *miśre* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'palala, sūpa, śaka' ity etāny uttarapadāni miśravācini tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti
The following constituents, namely *palala* 'meat', *sūpa* 'soup' and *śāka* 'leafy vegetable' are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound denoting *miśra* 'mixture'

EXAMPLES:

guḍapalálam 'meat cooked with jaggery'
ghṛtapalalám 'meat cooked with ghee'
ghṛtasūpáḥ 'soup cooked with ghee'
mūlakasūpáḥ 'soup cooked with radish'
ghṛtaśākám 'leafy vegetable cooked with ghee'
mudgaśākám 'leafy vegetable cooked with Mung beans'

1. The example compounds are all formed by 2.1.35 *bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam*. Here again the following constituents are marked *udātta* at the beginning. A *karmadhāraya* compound, for example *paramapalalam* '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 कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम्

kūlasūdasthalakarṣāḥ saṃjñāyām

/kūla-sūda-sthala-karṣāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*kūla, sūda, sthala, karṣa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse saṃjñāyāṃ vṣaye ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The following constituents, namely *kūla* 'bank', *sūda* 'cook', *sthala* 'dry land', and *karṣa* 'drag, pull' in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dāk̲ṣi̲kūlám 'name of a village'
māhi̲ki̲kūlám 'ibidem'
de̲va̲sūdám 'ibidem'
bhāji̲sudám 'ibidem'
dāṇḍāya̲na̲sthalī 'ibidem'
māhi̲ki̲sthalī 'ibidem'
dāk̲ṣi̲karsáḥ 'ibidem'

1. Why is *sthalī* offered as a following constituent when the rule already specifies *sthala*? The word *sthala* can also refer to *sthalī*, its feminine counterpart, in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by a nominal stem also includes reference to its counterparts in particular genders'. Feminine affix *ṄīṢ* in introduced after *sthala* by 4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍa*. . . .

6.2.130 अकर्मधारये राज्यम्

akarmadhāraye rājyam
/akarmadhāraye 7/1 = *na karmadhārayaḥ* (*nañ.*); *rājyam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
karmadhārayavarjite tatpuruṣe samāse '*rājyam*' *ity etad uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*
The word *rājya*, when combined as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhāraya*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

brāhma̲ṇarājyám 'kingdom of brāhmaṇas'
kṣa̲triya̲rājyám 'kingdom of kṣatriyas'

1. The word *rājya* 'kingdom' is a derivate of *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacana* . . .). Consequently, it remains marked with *udātta* in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. That is, the compound is not marked *udātta* at the end. But consider a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *paramarājyam* 'best kingdom', which must remain marked with *udātta* at the end.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* states (*celerājyādisvarād avyayasvaro bhavati pūrvavipratiṣedhena*) that *kucélam* and *kurâjyam* retain their indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*; 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe turlyārtha . . .*), via *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'application of a prior (*pūrva*) rule in conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) with a subsequent (*para*)'. Thus *ku*, as against *cela* and *rājya* of this section, receives *udātta* at the beginning.

6.2.131 वर्ग्यादयश्च

vargyādayaś ca
/vargyādayaḥ 1/3 = *vargya ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *ca*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #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:

vāsudevavargyáḥ 'on Vāsudeva's side'
vāsudevapakṣyáḥ 'ibidem'
arjunavargyáḥ 'on Arjuna's side'
arjunapakṣyáḥ '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', *gaṇa* 'group' and *pakṣa* '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 *svarita* at the end (*svaritānta*; 6.1.182 *titsvaritam*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

6.2.132 पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः

putraḥ puṃbhyaḥ
/putraḥ 1/1 *puṃbhyaḥ* 5/3
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
putrásabdaḥ puṃśabdebhya 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:

kaunaṭiputráḥ 'son of Kaunaṭi'
dāmākaputráḥ 'son of Dāmaka'
māhiṣakaputráḥ 'son of Māhiṣaka'

6.2.133 **नाचार्यराजर्त्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः**

nācāryarājartviksaṃyuktajñātyākhyebhyaḥ
/ na ϕ ācārya-rājā-ṛtvik-saṃyukta-jñāty-ākhyebhyaḥ 5/3 = *ācāryaś ca rājā ca ṛtvik ca saṃyuktaś ca jñātiś ca* (*dv.*); *etāḥ ākhyāḥ yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*)/ (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *putraḥ* #132)
ācāryādyākhyebhyaḥ paraḥ putraśabdo nādyudātto bhavati
The word *putra* is not marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow constituents with the signification of *ācārya* 'teacher', *rājā* 'lord', *ṛtvij* 'presiding ritualist', *saṃyukta* 'relative on wife's side' and *jñāti* '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'
bhrātuṣputraḥ 'brother's son'
saṃyuktaputraḥ 'a son of wife's side of the family'
śyālaputraḥ 'wife's brother's son'
jñātiputraḥ '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 (*viśeṣa*) within the general (*sāmānya*) categories of specified nominals. Of course, they also represent themselves based on their specification by form (*svarūpa*). Thus, consider *rājaputraḥ* 'prince', *īśvaraputraḥ* 'son of the king' and *nandaputraḥ* 'son of Nanda', which are examples representing their form (*svarūpa*), synonym (*paryāya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*).

2. A negation (*pratiṣedha*) 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' in *hotuḥputraḥ* 'son of the priest' and *bhrātuṣputraḥ* 'brother's son' is accomplished by 6.3.21 *ṛto vidyāyoni. . . .* A replacement in *ṣ*, for the *s* of *bhrātusputraḥ*, is in consonance with the inclusion of *bhrātṛ* 'brother' in the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*).

6.2.134 **चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः**

cūrṇādīny aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ
/ cūrṇādīni 1/3 = *cūrṇa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 5/1 = *na prāṇī* = *aprāṇī* (*nañ. tat.*); *aprāṇinaḥ ṣaṣṭhī* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
cūrṇādīny uttarapadāny aprāṇivācinaḥ ṣaṣṭhyantāt parāṇi tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti
The word *cūrṇa*, etc., when combined in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

mudgacūrṇam 'Mung-bean flour'
masūracūrṇám '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 *parama* 'best' ends in the nominative, will also be excluded.

2. A different reading of this *sūtra* is found in the form of *cūrṇādīny aprāṇyupagrahāt* where *upagraha*, following the usage of earlier grammarians, is interpreted as 'that which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)'.

6.2.135 षट् च काण्डादीनि

ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni
/*ṣaṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *kāṇḍādīni* 1/3 = *kāṇḍa ādir yeṣām, tāni*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #134)
ṣaṭ pūrvoktāni kāṇḍādīny uttarapadāni aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyā ādyudāttāni bhavanti
The six words enumerated in the list headed by *kāṇḍa* are also marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*, with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*).

EXAMPLES:

darbhakāṇḍám 'stalk of Kuśa grass'
śarakāṇḍám 'stalk of reed'
darbhacīrám 'rag made of Kūśa grass'
kuśacīrám 'ibidem'
tilapalálam 'meat with sesame seeds'
mūlakaśākám 'radish-leaf vegetable'
nadīkūlám 'river-bank'
samudrakūlám 'ocean-shore'

1. The word *ṣaṭ* here refers to nominals specified in four rules beginning with 6.2.126 *celakheṭa* . . . (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍam ityādiṣu caturṣu yogeṣu sanniviṣṭāni ṣaṭ gṛhyante*). 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 *prāṇin* 'living beings'. Thus, this accentual provision will not be constrained by conditions of *garhāyām* 'censure' (6.2.126), *upamānam* 'comparison', *miśre* 'mixing' and *saṃjñāyām* 'name'.

2. These compounds are all genitive *tatpuruṣa*. *Kāśikā* offers *rājasūdaḥ* 'king's cook' and *devadattakāṇḍaḥ* 'Devadatta's arrow' as counter-examples, where *sūda* falls outside the list of specified *ṣaṭ* 'six' and *devadatta* is a *prāṇin* '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 *tila* in deriving *tilapalalam* 'meat cooked with sesame seeds'. Should one consider it as a *tatpuruṣa* with its middle constituent deleted (*madhyamapadalopa*). That is, should we derive it parallel to *tilasahitaṃ palalam* 'meat mixed with sesamum'. Should we then accept *tila* as ending in the instrumental?

6.2.136 कुण्डं वनम्

kuṇḍaṃ vanam
/kuṇḍam 1/1 *vanam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*kuṇḍam*' *ity etad uttarapadaṃ vanavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*
The word *kuṇḍa* '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:

darbhakuṇḍám 'forest of Kuśa grass'
śarakuṇḍám 'forest of reeds'

1. The word *kuṇḍa* 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 *mṛtkuṇḍam* 'earthen bowl' will be excluded because *kuṇḍa* here does not denote *vana*. The compound will be marked with *udātta* at the end.

6.2.137 प्रकृत्या भगालम्

prakṛtyā bhagālam
/prakṛtyā 3/1 *bhagālam* 1/1/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
bhagālavācy uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The word *bhagāla* 'bowl, skull' retains its original accent when it combines as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kumbhībhagālám 'half of a small earthen pitcher used as a bowl'

kumbhīkapālám '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 *tatpuruṣa* compound. Recall that *bhagāla* and *kapāla* 'bowl, skull' are marked *udātta* in the middle, in consonance with the *Phiṭsūtra* (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 शितेर्नित्याबह्वज्बहुव्रीहावभसत्

śiter nityābahvaj bahuvrīhāv abhasat
/śiteḥ 5/1 *nityābahvac* 1/1 = *bahavo aco yasmin* (*bv.*); *na bahvac* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*); *nityam abahvac* (*dv. tat.*); *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *abhasat* 1/1 = *na bhasat* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *prakṛtyā* #137)
śiter uttarapadaṃ nityaṃ yad abahvaj bhasac chabdavarjitaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse tat prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
A constituent which combines in a *bahuvrīhi* 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:

śitipādáḥ 'white-footed'
śityaṃsáḥ 'white-shouldered'
śityoṣṭháḥ '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 *vṛṣādīnāṃ ca*). The *Uṇādi* derivates *aṃsa* and *oṣṭha* are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because affixes *saN* (*Uṇādi* V:21: *ameḥ san*) and *thaN* (*Uṇādi* II:4: *uṣikuṣigatibhyas than*), respectively, are marked with *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The example compounds, because of their *bahuvrīhi* 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 *darśanīyapādaḥ* 'beautiful feet' as counter-example to condition of *śiteḥ*, where, since *pāda* does not occur after *śiti*, and *darśanīya*, a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.214 *upottamaṃ 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 *śitikakut* '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 lopaḥ*), its final *a* is deleted. Thus, consider *śitikakudaḥ* 'white-hump' which does not go through deletion of its final *a*. Now consider *lalāṭa* 'forehead' of *śitilalāṭaḥ* 'white-forehead' which is obligatorily used as *bahvac* 'consisting of more than two vowels'.

Finally, this accentual provision is applicable only to a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*. That is, this rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Thus, *śiteḥ pādaḥ* = *śiti-pādaḥ* 'the white one's foot', a *tatpuruṣa*, will constitute a counter-example.

6.2.139 गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्

gatikārakopapadāt kṛt
/gati-kāraka-upapadāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kṛt* 1/1/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *prakṛtyā* #137)
gateḥ kārakād upapadāc ca kṛdantam uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which ends in an affix termed *kṛt* and combines to follow a constituent termed *gati, kāraka* and *upapada*, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

pra-kārákaḥ 'he who does things well'
pra-karáṇam 'explanation, topic'
pra-hārákaḥ 'attacker'
pra-haráṇam 'stick, weapon'
idhma-pra-vaś-anaḥ 'that by means of which one cuts; axe'
palāś-aś-ātánaḥ 'that by means of which a *palāśa* tree is cut'
śmaśrukalpánaḥ 'grooming of a beard'
īṣatkaráḥ 'slightly beneficial'
duṣkaráḥ 'hard to do'
sukaráḥ 'easy to do'

1. Note that *tatpuruṣe*, and not *bahuvrīhau*, 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, *prakārakaḥ* and *prahārakaḥ* are derivates of *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) combined with *pra* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), a *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Affix *LyuṬ* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*), under the signification condition of a *kāraka* termed *karaṇa* 'instrument', is introduced in deriving *pravaścana* 'chopping' and *śātana* 'cutting', where a *pada* with the signification of a *kāraka*, i.e., *karman* 'object', follows. The *ṣaṣṭhī*, which is introduced after *idhma* 'firewood'

and *palāśa* 'a tree' to denote *karman*, is combined in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī: kṛdyogā ca ṣaṣṭhī saamasyate* 'a genitive used in connection with that which ends in a *kṛt* is combined'). Refer to derivational details of these compounds under the appendices and notes of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*. Finally, consider *īṣatkaraḥ, duṣkaraḥ* and *sukaraḥ* where *īṣad* 'a little, slight', *duḥ* 'bad' and *su* 'good' constitute cooccurring *padas* (*upapada*). Affix *KHaL*, with the signification of *kṛcchra* 'difficult', etc. (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*), is here introduced (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu . . .*) to derive *kara*. These compounds are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*.

These examples all constitute an exception to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using the word *kṛt* in this rule. For, *pra*, etc., are termed *gati* and *upasarga* only when they are used in construction with a word denoting action (*kriyā; yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas taṃ praty eva gatyupasargasaṃjñā bhavanti*). A constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka* is also directly related to an action. There are two types of suffixes, i.e., *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*), which are introduced after a root. The compounds are formed with constituents which end in a *kṛt* affix. It is for this reason that *kṛt* need not be stated in this rule. Commentators explain that *kṛt* is used in the rule for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Some, however, do not agree with this position. They argue that *kṛt* is used here for blocking *gati* accent from applying to compounds such as *prapacatideśyaḥ*. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for further details.

6.2.140 उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत्

ubhe vanaspatyādiṣu yugapat
/ubhe 1/2 *vanaspatyādiṣu* 7/3 = *vanaspatir ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām; yugapat* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā* #137)
vanaspatyādiṣu samāseṣu ubhe pūrvottarapade yugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ
The two constituents of compounds enumerated in the list headed by *vanaspati* 'vegetation', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

EXAMPLES:

vanaspátiḥ 'lord of forests; vegetation'
bṛháspatiḥ 'a divinity; teacher of gods'
śacīpatiḥ 'Indra'
narāśaṃsáḥ 'name of a king'
śunaḥśepáḥ 'name of a sage'

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of both compound constituents, simultaneously. This simultaneous *udātta* was not available to

example compounds because of 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam.* . . . Note that *vana* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phiṭsūtra* 26: *nabviṣayā.* . . . The word *pati* 'lord' master', as a derivate of *Ḍati* (*Uṇādi* IV:57: *pāter ḍatiḥ*), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *ā*, of *pā* in *pati*, goes through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Augment *sUṬ*, of 6.1.151 *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca*, is then introduced to derive *vanaspati* 'vegetation'. This *sUṬ*, however, is introduced by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.154; *tad bṛhatoḥ karapatyoḥ* . . .) which also deletes the *t* of *bṛhat*. It is stated that *bṛhat* is marked *udātta* at the end, via *nipātana*, in consonance with *Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pṛṣatbṛhan.* . . . Some, however, consider this *nipātana* accent to be initial *udātta*. Similar differences of opinion is also witnessed in case of *śacī* 'Indra's wife', considered as marked *udātta* at the beginning, only by way of ending in *ṄīN* through its membership in the *śārṅgaravādi* group of nominals (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyaño ṅīn*). It will receive final *udātta* as a derivate of *ṄīṢ*.

6.2.141 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

devatādvandve ca
/ devatādvandve 7/1 = *devatānāṃ dvandvaḥ*
(*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe ugapat* #140)
devatāvācināṃ yo dvandvas tatra yugapad ubhe pūrvottarapade prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ
The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

EXAMPLES:

indr<u>ā</u>somaú 'Indra and Soma'
indr<u>ā</u>varúṇau 'Indra and Varuṇa'
indr<u>ā</u>bṛh<u>a</u>spatí 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'

1. Note that augment *ānAṄ* is introduced in these compounds by 6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*. The words *indra*, *soma* and *varuṇa* are derivates of *raN* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *ṛjendrāgra* . . .), *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:140: *arttistusu* . . .) and *unaN* (*Uṇādi* III:53: *kṛvṛdāribhya* . . .), respectively. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their *N*as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Recall that *bṛhaspati* already has two of its vowels marked with *udātta*. The compound *indrābṛhaspatī* will, with one *udātta* of *indra*, carry three *udāttas*.

6.2.142 नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु

nottarapade' nudāttādāv apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu
/ na ϕ *uttarapade* 7/1 *anudāttādau* 7/1 = *anudātta ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*;

apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu 7/3 *pṛthivī ca rudraś ca pūṣā ca manthī ca = pṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthinaḥ*; *na pṛthivī . . .* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *teṣu/* (*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe yugapat* #140 *devatādvandve* #141)
uttarapade' nudāttādau pṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthivarjite devatādvandve nobhe ugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ
The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, do not retain their original accent when one of the constituents marked *udātta* at the beginning with the exception of *pṛthivī, rudra, pūṣan,* and *manthin,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

indr̲āgnī 'Indra and Agni'
indr̲āv̲āyū 'Indra and Vāyu'

1. Here again we find *ānAṄ* introduced as an augment (6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*). Note that *agni* and *vāyu* are derivates of *ni* (*Uṇādi* I:20: *aṅger nir nalopaś ca*) and *uṆ* (*Uṇādi* I:86: *kṛvāpājimi . . .*, respectively. They are both marked *udātta* at the end by way of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). That is, they are marked *anudātta* 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 *samāsasya* thus allows retention of the final *udātta.*

The *pṛthivyādi* nominals which are here made exceptions to this negation all carry an *udātta* 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 (*saptamī*) of *anudāttādau* itself can provide the desired context of application. It is stated that this rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). 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, anudāttādau* will modify *devatādvandve.* This rule will then be interpreted as meaning: the provision of this rule does not apply in a *devatādvandva* compound marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādau dvandve svaro' yaṃ na bhavati*). This interpretation will then negate retention of constituent accents in *candrasūryau* 'moon and sun'. For, *candra* is marked *anudātta* at the beginning because of its *udātta* at the end. The locative *anudāttādau* is used here as a qualifier to *dvandve* in this interpretation. If, however, *uttarapade* is used, *anudāttādau* will become a qualifier to *uttarapade.* Consequently, this negation will apply only when a following constituent marked with *anudātta* at the beginning follows.

The preceding discussion shows how, in a *devatādvandva* compound, negation (*pratiṣedha*) 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 *saptamī*. This being the case, *anudāttādau* in *saptamī* 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**

antaḥ
/antaḥ 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra samāsasyottarapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evaṃ tad veditavyam
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 *antaḥ* of this rule will, again, offer final *udātta* as an exception to various other rules.

6.2.144 **थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम्**

thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām
/tha-atha-ghañ-kta-aj-ab-itra-kāṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143)
'tha, atha, ghañ, kta, ac, ap, itra, ka' ity evam antānām uttarapadānāṃ gatikārakopapadāt pareṣām anta udātto bhavati
A constituent which ends in *tha, atha, ghaÑ, 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:

sunīthaḥ 'he who guides well'
avabhṛthaḥ 'ritual bathing'
āvasathaḥ 'dwelling'
upavasathaḥ 'day of fasting'
prabhedaḥ 'a subdivision'
kāṣṭhabhedaḥ 'splitting of wood'

dūrādāgataḥ 'arrived from afar'
ātapaśuṣkaḥ 'sun-dried'
prakṣayaḥ 'excellent place'
prajayaḥ 'excellent means of conquest?'
pralayaḥ 'fragment, split'
prasavaḥ 'begetting'
pralavitram 'sickle'
prasavitram 'begetting, generating'
govṛṣaḥ 'bull'
kharīvṛṣaḥ 'impetuous bull'
pravṛṣaḥ 'excellent bull'
prahṛṣaḥ 'happy'

1. Note that *nītha* and *bhṛtha*, of *sunīthaḥ* and *avabhṛthaḥ*, are derivates of affix *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinīra* . . . *Uṇādi* II:3: *ave bhṛñaḥ*). They are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Rule 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt* would thus have allowed retention of the original accent of *nītha* and *bhṛtha*. Our present rule offers final *udātta*, instead. This same also applies to derivates of *atha* (*Uṇādi* III:116: *upasarge vaseḥ*), i.e., *āvasathaḥ/upavasathaḥ*, and *GHaÑ*, i.e., *kāṣṭhabhedaḥ/rajjubhedaḥ*.

The *pañcamī* of *dūrādāgataḥ* goes through non-deletion (6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ* . . .) after 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha* . . . allows compound-formation. Recall that *āgata* is a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The two derivates of *Kta* in both compounds are marked *udātta* at the end. Their initial *udātta*, made available by 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* and 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . ., is thus not retained. The *ta* of *Kta*, however, is replaced with *ka* in *ātapaśuṣka* (8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ*). If one accepts *ātapaśuṣka* as formed with 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca*, rule 6.2.32 *saptamī siddhaśuṣka* . . . would require retention of original accent of the first constituent.

The words *kṣaya* and *jaya* are derivates of *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*). They are marked *udātta* at the beginning by 6.1.198 *kṣayo nivāse* and 6.1.199 *jayaḥ karaṇam*, read subsequently to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception. This exception against 6.2.139 also applies to *prasavaḥ*, *pralavaḥ* and *pralavitram*. Affixes *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) and *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhūsū* . . .) are introduced in deriving *prasavaḥ/pralavaḥ* and *pralavitram*, respectively. Now consider *govṛṣaḥ* and *kharīvṛṣaḥ* where affix *Ka* is introduced after *vṛṣ* in consonance with the *vārttika* (ad 3.2.5 *tundaśoka* . . .; *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). The *Ka* of *vṛṣa* in *pravṛṣaḥ* and *prahṛṣaḥ* is introduced by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñā*. . . . The initial *udātta* in *vṛṣa*, etc., is available from 6.1.200 *vṛṣādīnām ca*. Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception to retention of original accent of 6.1.139 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . .

6.2.145 **सूपमानात् क्तः**

sūpamānāt ktaḥ
/ *sūpamānāt* 5/1 = *suś ca upamānaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ktaḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
'*su*' *ity etasmād upamānāc ca paraṃ ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ 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:

sukṛtam 'well done'
subhuktam 'good food'
supītam 'good drink'
vṛkāvaluptam 'disappearing like a wolf'
śaśaplutam 'leaping like a rabbit'
siṃhavinirdditam '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 *ghatiranantaraḥ*, in examples with *su*. It is an exception to that of 6.4.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*, in examples of *upamāna*. These compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*.

Kāśikā offers *sustutaṃ bhavatā* 'you sir! praised well' as a counter-example to the condition of *gatikārakopapadāt*. Recall that *su* can be termed a *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.94 *suḥ pūjāyām*. Our compound *sustutam* will have the indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*), i.e., initial *udātta*, retained.

6.2.146 **संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम्**

saṃjñāyām anācitādīnām
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *anācitādīnām* 6/3 = *ācita ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *na ācitādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye gatikārakopapadāt ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati ācitādīn varjayitvā
A 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 (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

sambhūtam rāmāyaṇam 'a Rāmāyaṇa named Sambhūta'

upahūtaḥ śākalyaḥ 'Śākalya, who was invited'
parijagdhaḥ kauṇḍinyaḥ 'Kauṇḍinya, who was fed well'
dhanuṣkhātā nadī 'name of a river'
kuddālakhātā nagarī 'name of a city'

1. These compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. The *Kta* of *sambhūtaḥ*, etc., denotes *karman*. Consequently, they were subject to application of 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. This rule constitutes an exception to that. Compounds such as *dhanuṣkhātā*, etc., where *khan* has gone through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; 6.4.42 *janasanakhanām . . .*), are formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. They thus had 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* available to them. The final *udātta* of our present rule is also an exception to that.

2. A *gaṇasūtra* (*saṃhitā' gavi*) blocks *saṃhitā* from being marked with *udātta* at the end if the derivate names something other than *go* 'cow'.

6.2.147 प्रवृद्धादीनां च

pravṛddhādīnāṃ ca
/pravṛddhādīnām 6/3 = *pravṛddha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)
pravṛddhādīnāṃ ca ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
That which ends in *Kta* and combines as a following constituent in compounds enumerated in the list headed by *pravṛddha* is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pravṛddhaṃ yānam 'an old carriage'
prayuktā saktavaḥ 'used up Saktu'
avahito bhogeṣu 'engrossed in pursuing pleasures'

1. This rule is formulated for final *udātta* outside the denotatum of *saṃjñā* '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 *udātta* also when used outside the context of *yāna*, etc.

A proposal is also made to accept *pravṛddhādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛti*) group (*gaṇa*). The *ca* thus can be accepted as used for attracting examples not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Consider *punarutsyūtam* 'freshly woven' and *punarniṣkṛtaḥ* 'rebuild' of *punarutsyūtaṃ vāsaṃ deyam* and *punarniṣkṛto rathaḥ*, where final *udātta* is availed.

6.2.148 कारकाद् दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि

kārakād dattaśrutayor evāśiṣi
/kārakāt 5/1 *dattaśrutayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *eva* ϕ *āśiṣi* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *saṃjñā* #146)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye āśiṣi gamyamānāyāṃ kārakād uttarayor dattaśrutayor eva ktāntayor anta udātto 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 *udātta* at the end when name and benediction are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

devā enaṃ deyāsur de̲va̲da̲ttaḥ 'Devadatta, who was given by gods as a blessing'
viṣṇur enaṃ śrūyād viṣṇuśrutaḥ 'Viṣṇuśruta, who was given by Viṣṇu after hearing prayers'

1. This rule allows final *udātta* for *datta* and *śruta* when they are used in combination after a constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka*. Additionally, derivates must denote benediction (*āśiṣi*) within the context of a *saṃjñā* 'name'. Recall that derivates which ended in *Kta* and denoted a name were all, with the exception of those with *ācita*, etc., qualified to receive final *udātta* (6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām . . .*). This rule makes a restrictive proposal. That is, if used after a *kāraka*, *datta* and *śruta* alone receive final *udātta*. The original accent will be retained outside the context of *datta* and *śruta*. Thus, consider *devapâlitaḥ* 'protected by god' where application of 6.2.145 *saṃjñānām . . .* is blocked in favor of 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. The word *kārakāt* 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 *udātta* of 6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām . . .* applies after *gati* in *sambhūtaḥ*.

The word *eva* is used to restrict final *udātta*, only when *datta* and *śruta* are used in combination after that which denotes a *kāraka*. Elsewhere, 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* will apply to retain the base accent of the preceding *pada* (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*).

6.2.149 इत्थम्भूतेन कृतमिति च

itthambhūtena kṛtam iti ca
/itthambhūtena 3/1 = *imaṃ prakāram āpannaḥ*; *kṛtam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148)
'itthaṁbhūtena kṛtam' ity etasminn arthe yaḥ samāso vartate tatra ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ 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 *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

suptapralapitam 'babbling of a person while asleep'
unmattapralapitam 'babbling of a crazy person'
pramattagītam 'singing of a drunk or crazy person'

1. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna* . . . for an explanation of *itthaṃbhūta*. This rule constitutes an exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*.

2. The word *kṛtam* is used here in the general sense of *karoti* 'makes'. It is thus not used in the sense of 'bringing about something which was previously not' (*nābhūtaprādurbhāva*). This is how *pralapita*, etc., become *kṛta* with the denotation of *karman* 'object'. A final *udātta* 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 अनो भावकर्मवचनः

ano bhāvakarmavacanaḥ
/ anaḥ 1/1 *bhāvakarmavacanaḥ* 1/1 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca = bhāvakarmaṇī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayor vacanaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)*/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148)
anapratyayāntam uttarapadaṃ bhāvavacanaṃ karmavacanaṃ ca kārakāt param antodāttaṃ bhavati
A constituent which ends in affix *ana*, signifies *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object', and combines in a compound after a word denoting a *kāraka*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

odanabhojanaṃ sukham 'it is a pleasure to eat rice'
payaḥpānaṃ sukham 'it is a pleasure to drink milk'
rājabhojanāḥ śālayaḥ 'rice fit for a king's meal'
rājācchādanāni vāsāṃsi 'clothes fit for a king'

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The words *bhojana* 'food' and *pāna* 'drink' are derivates of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* (3.3.116 *karmaṇi ca yena* . . .). The *yu* of *LyuṬ* is subsequently replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The compounds, i.e., *odanabhojana* 'eating of rice' and *payaḥpāna* 'drinking of milk', are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*. Compounds such as *rājabhojana* and *rajācchādana* are genitive *tatpuruṣa*, 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 lyuḍ bhavati* '*LyuṬ* is introduced after a verbal root when a *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* cooccurs'.

(*ii*) *karmaṇy abhidheye lyuṭ bhavati* 'affix *LyuṬ* occurs after a verbal root when *karman* 'object' is denoted'.

3. *Kāśikā* offers *hastahāryámudaśvit* '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 *dantadhāvánam* 'that by means of which teeth are cleaned' where *LyuṬ* in *dhāvana* 'cleansing' denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Of course, the condition of *kārakāt* is also valid. Thus, consider *nidarśánam* 'illustrating' and *avalekhánam* 'scraping' where *ana* occurs after *gati*. All these counter-examples retain their original accents.

6.2.151 मन्क्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः

manktinvyākhyānaśayanāsanasthānayājakādikrītāḥ
/ manktin-vyākhyāna-śayanāsana-sthāna-yājakādi-krītāḥ 1/3 = *yājaka ādir yeṣām te = yājakādayaḥ; manktin . . .krītāḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *kārakāt* #148)
'*mannantam, ktinnantam, vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana, sthāna' ity etāni, yājakādayaḥ, kṛtaśabdaś cottarapadam antodāttaṃ 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 *krīta* 'purchased', is marked *udātta* at the end when the same combines after a constituent with the signification of a *kāraka*.

EXAMPLES:

rathavartma 'road for chariots'
śakaṭavartma 'road for carts'
pāṇinikṛtiḥ 'creation of Pāṇini'
āpiśalikṛtiḥ 'creation of Āpiśali'
ṛgayanavyākhyānam 'a commentary of Ṛgayana'
chandovyākhyānam 'a commentary on Chandas'
rājaśayanam 'king's bed'
brāhmaṇaśayanam 'a brāhmaṇa's bed'
rājāsanam 'a king's seat'
brāhmaṇāsanam 'a brāhmaṇa's seat'
gosthānam 'cow-pen'
aśvasthānam 'stable'
brāhmaṇayājakaḥ 'a priest of brāhmaṇas'
kṣatriyayājakaḥ 'a priest of kṣatriyas'
gokrītaḥ 'purchased with a cow'
aśvakrītaḥ 'purchased with a horse'

1. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Their accentual

provision constitutes an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . Compounds with *krīta* constitute exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. Note that *vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana* and *sthāna* are all derivates of *LyuṬ*. The first, i.e., *vyākhyāna*, is a derivate of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The rest have *LyuṬ* with the signification of *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*). Recall that derivates of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' are already covered by 6.2.150 *ano bhāvakarmavacanaḥ*. Affix *ṆvuL* in *yājaka* and *pūjaka* 'worshiper' denotes *kartṛ* 'agent'. A *yājakādi* reference is here made to stems listed for genitive compounds under 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś 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 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

6.2.152 सप्तम्याः पुण्यम्

saptamyāḥ puṇyam
/ saptamyāḥ 5/1 *puṇyam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
saptamyantāt paraṃ puṇyam ity etad uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A last compound constituent, namely *puṇya* 'merit', is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines after a constituent ending in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

adhyayanapuṇyam 'merits in studying'
vedapuṇyam 'merits in the study of the Vedas'

1. This is an exception to retention provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . A split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*) facilitates the compound formation. A compound with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' (2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe*. . .; by split interpretation of *tṛtīyā*), i.e., *vedena puṇyam* = *vedapuṇyam* 'merit accrued from studying the Veda', will require *puṇya*, a derivate of *kṛt*, to be marked with initial *udātta*.

6.2.153 ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः

ūnārthakalahaṃ tṛtīyāyāḥ
/ ūnārtha-kalahaṃ 1/1 = *ūno' rtho yasya* (*bv.*); *ūnārthaś ca kalahaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tṛtīyāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
ūnārthāny uttarapadāni kalahaśabdaś ca tṛtīyāntāt parāny 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 *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

māṣonam 'less than a Māṣa'
kārṣāpaṇonam 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'
māṣaviṅkalam 'less than a Māṣa'
kārṣāpaṇaviṅkalam 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'
asiṅkalahaḥ 'fight with swords'
vākkalahaḥ 'quarrel'

1. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . . . Here again we find an exception to retention proposal of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . Some believe that *artha* specifies the word-form (*svarūpa*). They can, thus, account for *dhānyena arthaḥ* = *dhānyārthaḥ* 'prosperity by grains'. Note that *ūna*, a specification made via meaning (*arthanirdeśa*), can itself account for forms synonymous with it. Consequently, formation of a *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* with specifically enumerated bases (*pratipadokta*) becomes obvious. Why use *tṛtīyāyāḥ* when specified compounds are formed with *tṛtīyā*, anyway? The rule uses *tṛtīyāyāḥ* for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*).

6.2.154 मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धौ

miśraṃ cānupasargam asandhau
/ *miśram* 1/1 *caϕ anupasargam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *asandhau* 7/1 = *na sandhau* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #153)
'*miśra*' *ity etad uttarapadam anupasargaṃ tṛtīyāntāt paraṃ antodāttaṃ bhavaty asandhau gamyamāne*
A final compound constituent, namely *miśra* not used with a preverb, is marked with *udātta* at the end, when it combines to follow a constituent ending in *tṛtīyā*, provided something other than *sandhi* 'verbal agreement, treaty' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

guḍamiśrāḥ 'mixed with jaggery'
tilamiśrāḥ 'mixed with sesame'
sarpirmiśrāḥ 'mixed with ghee'

1. This rule again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds are formed by 3.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . . .

2. The condition of *miśra* is imposed so that compounds such as *guḍadhānāḥ* 'parched rice mixed with jaggery' can be excluded. The condition of *anupasarga* 'not used with a preverb' similarly excludes *guḍasammiśrāḥ*

'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 *pūrvasadṛśasmonārtha . . . miśraślakṣṇaiḥ*, thus enables formation of compounds with *miśra* used with a preverb. We have already cited *guḍasammiśrāḥ* 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 *paṇabandhaḥ* 'verbal agreement'. Thus, *yadi me bhavān idaṃ kuryāt tato' ham api bhavata idaṃ kariṣyāmi* 'if you will do this for me, then I will also do this for you'. An example, of *asandhi* is offered as *brāhmaṇamiśraḥ rājā* 'a king mixing with brāhmaṇas'. This 'mixing' is here explained as 'proximity' (*pratyāsatti*), a 'mixing' where individual identities are distinct. An example such as *guḍamiśrāḥ dhānāḥ* makes it difficult to perceive individual identities.

6.2.155 नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः

naño guṇapratiṣedhe sampādyarhahitālamarthās taddhitāḥ
/ nañaḥ 1/1 *guṇapratiṣedhe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *sampādy-arha-hita-alam-arthāḥ* 1/3 = *sampādi . . . alam ity etāny arthāni yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *taddhitāḥ* 1/3/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
'*sampādi, arha, hita, alam*' *ity evam arthā ye taddhitās tadantāny uttarapadāni naño guṇapratiṣdhe vartamānāt parāṇy antodāttāni 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 *naÑ* 'not' constituent negating quality (*guṇapratiṣedha*) is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

a̲kā̲rṇa̲veṣṭa̲kika̲m mukham 'a face not needing any ear-ornament'
a̲ccha̲ida̲ikaḥ 'that which does not deserve cutting'
a̲va̲tsī̲yaḥ 'that which is not beneficial to calves'
a̲sā̲ntā̲pi̲kaḥ 'he who is not capable of hurting anyone'

1. The *naÑ* of *akārṇaveṣṭikam* negates the quality of *kārṇaveṣṭikatva* 'ear-adornment'. Affix *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) is here introduced after *karṇaveṣṭa* under provisions of 5.1.99 *sampādini*. This dereivate goes through (*ṭha→ika*), initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* in consonance with the term *bha* (*bhasaṃjñā*). A negative *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed subsequently. Other compounds involve *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* (*acchaidikiḥ*; 5.1.64 *chedādibhyo nityam*), *cha* (5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*) and *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.101 *tasmai prabhavati . . .*),

introduced with the signification of *sampādi, arha, hita* and *alam*, respectively. The *naÑ* of example compounds thus negates these qualities. Consequently, their following constituents are marked with *udātta* at the end. The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to that of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . . .*

2. A condition of *naÑ* is imposed so that *vigārdabharathikaḥ* 'a charioteer who does not deserve a chariot pulled by donkeys' can be excluded. Now consider *agārdabharathikaḥ* 'a charioteer other than one who deserves a chariot pulled by donkeys'. It is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *guṇapratiṣedha* 'negation of quality'. What is negated here is not the quality but the person thus qualified (*guṇin*). 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 *apāṇinīyaḥ* 'one who does not study what Pāṇini taught', paraphrased as *pāṇinīyam adhīte = pāṇinīyaḥ; na pāṇinīyaḥ = apāṇinīyaḥ*. Obviously, none of these meanings are involved in *apāṇinīyam*. Finally, the derivate must entail a *taddhita* affix. Consider *avoḍhā*, paraphrased as *na kanyāṃ voḍhum arhati* 'one who is not deserving of marrying the girl', as a counter-example. The *voḍhā* of *avoḍhā* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *tṛC*.

6.2.156 यतोऽचातदर्थे

yayatoś cātadarthe

yayatoḥ 6/2 = *yaś ca yat ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ *atadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam = tadartham* (*cat. tat.*); *na tadartham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *naña ḥ guṇapratiṣedhe taddhitāḥ* #155)

'ya, yat' ity etau taddhitāv atadarthe vartete tadantasyottarapadasya naño guṇapratiṣedhaviṣayād anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a constituent negating quality (*guṇapratiṣedhe*), and ends in the *taddhita* affixes *ya* (5.4.24 *devatāntāt . . .*) and *yaT* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyāṃ ca*) introduced with the signification of something other than *tadartha* 'intended for that', is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

apāśyā 'not belonging to a group of snares'
atṛṇyā 'not belonging to heaps of grass'
adantyam 'non-dental'
akarṇyam 'not found in ears'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . . .* The example compounds still negate quality (*guṇa*). Affixes *ya* (4.2.48 *pāśādibhyo yaḥ*; in the first two examples) and *yaT* (4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc 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 *pādārghābhyāṃ ca*).

The conditions of *taddhita* and *guṇapratiṣedha* will exclude examples such as *adeyam* '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' (*guṇin*).

2. It is stated that *ya* here refers to an affix with no *it* (*niranubandhaka*). A specification with *yaT* is made for an affix with only one *it* (*ekānubandhaka*). It is for this reason that *avāmadevyam* '*sāman* hymn revealed to Vāmadeva', where *vāmadevyam* is a derivate of *Ḍa* and *ḌyaT* (4.2.9 *vākmadevāḍyaḍyau*), will be excluded.

6.2.157 अच्कावशक्तौ

ackāv aśaktau
/ackau 1/2 = *ac ca kaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aśaktau* 1/2 = *na śaktiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
'*ac, ka*' *ity evam antam aśaktau gamyamānāyām uttarapadaṃ nañaḥ param antodāttaṃ bhavati*
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative (*naÑ*), and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka,* is marked *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate denotes incapability (*aśakti*).

EXAMPLES:

apacaḥ 'he who cannot cook'
ajayaḥ 'he who cannot win'
avikṣipaḥ 'he who cannot throw'
avilikhaḥ 'he who cannot write'

1. These first two example compounds involve derivates with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo . . .*). The next two involve derivates of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā . . .*). These examples again are exceptions to accentual provisions of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . . .*

2. Note that *apácaḥ* of *apacaḥ dīkṣitaḥ* 'an initiate who is someone other than a cook' and *apacaḥ parivrājakaḥ* 'a wandering ascetic who is someone other than a cook' will be excluded because 'incapability' (*aśakti*) is not denoted.

6.2.158 आक्रोशे च

ākrośe ca
/ākrośe 7/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156 *ackau* #157)
ākrośe ca gamyamāne naña uttaram ackāntam antodāttaṃ 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 *udātta* when the derivate denotes anger (*ākrośa*).

EXAMPLES:

apaco' yaṃ jālmaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not cook'
apaṭho' yaṃ jālmaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not recite'
avikṣipaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not throw'
avilikhaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not write'

6.2.159 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156 *ākrośe* #185)
ākrośe gamyamāne nañaḥ param uttarapadaṃ saṃjñāyāṃ vartamānam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after *naÑ* and signifies a name (*saṃjña*) is marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger'.

EXAMPLES:

adevadattaḥ 'he is no Devadatta!'
ayajñadattaḥ 'he is no Yajñadatta!'
aviṣṇumitraḥ '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 कृत्योकेष्णुच्चार्वादयश्च

kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaś ca
/ kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaḥ 1/3 = *cāru ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *kṛtyaś ca ukaś ca iṣṇuc ca cārvādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
'kṛtya, uka, iṣṇuc' ity evam antāś cārvādayaś ca naña uttare' ntodāttā 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*),

ukaÑ (3.2.154 *laṣapatapadasthā . . .*) and *iṣṇuC* (3.2.136 *alaṃkṛñnirākṛñ-prajanotpaca . . .*), or is constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *cāru* 'beautiful', is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

akartavyam 'not to be done'
akaraṇīyam 'ibidem'
anāgāmukam 'that which is not about to come'
anapalāṣukam '. . . is free of desires'
analaṅkariṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to decorate'
anirākariṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to repudiate'
anādhyambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to become rich'
acāruḥ 'that which is not beautiful'
asādhuḥ 'one who is not good'

1. Affixes *tavya* and *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) are introduced within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ.* Affixes *iṣṇuC* and *ukaÑ* have been introduced by rules 3.2.136 *alaṃkṛñnirākṛña . . .* and 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada . . .*, respectively. Note that *iṣṇuC* also includes a reference to *KHiṣṇuC* (3.2.57 *kartari bhuvaḥ . . .*), as we find in *anādhyaṃbhaviṣṇuḥ.*

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* also offer final *udātta* as follows.

(*i*) *vartamāna* 'current', *vardhamāna* 'growing', *tvaramāṇa* 'hurrying', *dhriyamāṇa* 'steady, steadfast', *rocamāna* 'pleasing' and *śobhamāna* 'beautiful' should be accepted as marked *udātta* at the end when the denotatum is a name (*saṃjñāyām*).

(*ii*) *vikāra* 'modification, product' and *sadṛśa* 'similar', whether used in combination or not, are also marked *udātta* at the end. Thus, *avikāraḥ/ asadṛśaḥ; avikārasadṛśaḥ.*

(*iii*) *rājā* 'king' and *ahan* 'day' are marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic. Thus, *arājā* 'non-king' and *anahaḥ* 'non-day'. The initial *udātta* of the indeclinable will, of course, apply to examples of the classical language (*bhāṣā*).

6.2.161 विभाषा तृन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु

vibhāṣā tṛnnannatīkṣṇaśuciṣu
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *tṛnn-anna-tīkṣṇa-śuciṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
'*tṛnnanta, anna, tīkṣṇa, śuci' ity eteṣu naña uttareṣu vibhāṣā' nta udātto bhavati*
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative constituent, and ends in affix *tṛN, anna* 'food', *tīkṣṇa* 'sharp', and *śuci* 'pure', is optionally marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

a̲ka̲rttā 'one whose nature it is to not do'
akárttā 'ibidem'
a̲na̲nnam 'inedible'
ánánnam 'ibidem'
a̲tī̲kṣṇam 'not sharp'
atíkṣṇam 'ibidem'
a̲śu̲ciḥ 'impure'
aśúciḥ 'ibidem'

1. The *tṛN* of *karttā*, in *akartā*, is introduced by 3.2.135 *tṛn* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. The optional provision of this rule is made against the initial *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*) of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha. . . .*

6.2.162 बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने

bahuvrīhāv idametattadbhyaḥ prathamapūraṇayoḥ kriyāgaṇane
/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *idam-etat-tadbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *prathamapūraṇayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kriyāgaṇane* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ gaṇanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/* (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
bahuvrīhau samāse 'idam, etad, tad' ity etebhya uttarasya prathamaśabdasya pūraṇapratyayāntasya ca kriyāgaṇane vartamānasya anta udātto bhavati
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *prathama* 'first', or one ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is marked *udātta* at the end, when the same combines after *idam* 'this', *etad* 'this one' and *tad* 'that' and the derivate signifies *kriyāgaṇana* 'counting number of times of action'.

EXAMPLES:

i̲da̲mpra̲tha̲mah gamanaṃ bhojanaṃ vā 'this is his first (meal, or trip)'
i̲da̲ndvi̲tī̲yāḥ 'this is his second . . .'
e̲ta̲tpra̲tha̲mah 'this is his first . . .'
e̲ta̲ddvi̲tī̲yah 'this is his second . . .'
ta̲tpra̲tha̲mah 'that is his first . . .'
ta̲ddvi̲tī̲yah 'that is his second . . .'

1. The word *prathama* is specified here by its form (*svarūpa*). The word *pūraṇa* refers to forms ending in the *pūraṇa* suffixes introduced by 5.2.54 *dvestīyaḥ* and 5.2.55 *treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca*. This rule is an exception to the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Actually, since the *anuvṛtti* of *bahuvrīhau* is valid prior to 6.2.178 *vanaṃ samāse*, all accentual provisions made in this section can be treated as exceptions to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*.

2. The conditions of *prathama*, and of forms ending in *pūraṇa*, are im-

posed so that forms such as *tadbahuḥ* 'those many are his' which do not have *prathama* or *pūraṇa* could retain their original accent. Such compounds will retain the *udātta* of their initial constituent.

The condition of *kriyāgaṇana* will similarly exclude examples such as *idamprathamaḥ*, paraphrased as *ayaṃ prathamaḥ yeṣāṃ 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 *prathamaḥ* can also be used in the sense of *pradhānaḥ* 'principal, best': *idamprathamaḥ pradhānaḥ yeṣām* 'this one who is the best among . . .'. This then is a counter-example since *prathamaḥ* does not denote a number (*saṃkhyā*).

6.2.163 संख्यायाः स्तनः

saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ
/saṃkhyāyāḥ 6/1 *stanaḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodātto bhavati
The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udātta* when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

EXAMPLES:

dvi-stanā 'possessing two breasts, or udders'
tri-stanā 'possessing three udders'
catuḥ-stanā 'possessing four udders'

1. Note that *darśanīyastanā* 'she whose breasts are beautiful' and *dviśirā* 'possessing two heads' are offered as counter-examples to conditions of *stana* and *saṃkhyā*, respectively.

6.2.164 विभाषा छन्दसि

vibhāṣā chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ* #163)
chandasi viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo vibhāṣā' ntodātto bhavati
The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udātta* in the Vedic only optionally, when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

EXAMPLES:

dvi-stanām karoti vāmadevaḥ 'Vāmadeva makes them possess two udders'

catúḥstanāṃ karoti paśūnāṃ dohâya 'makes cattle to possess four udders for milking'

6.2.165 संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः

saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinayoḥ
/ saṃjñāyām 7/1 *mitrājinayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse 'mitra, ajina' ity etayor uttarapadayor anta udātto bhavati
The last syllable of the final constituents *mitra* 'friend' and *ajina* 'deer-skin', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, are marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

dẹvạmịtraḥ 'a name'
brạhmạmịtraḥ 'ibidem'
vṛkājịnaḥ 'ibidem'
kṛṣṇājịnaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A *vārttika* (*ṛṣipratiṣedho mitre*) blocks this accentual provision in a *bahuvrīhi* compound where *mitra* 'friend' follows and the derivate signifies a sage (*ṛṣi*).

6.2.166 व्यवायिनोऽन्तरम्

vyavāyino' ntaram
/ vyavāyinaḥ 5/3 *antaram* 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
vyavadhātṛvācinaḥ paramantaram uttarapadaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodātto 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:

vạstrāntạraḥ 'that which is intervened by clothing'
paṭāntạraḥ 'ibidem'

1. Consider *ātmāntaraḥ = ātmā svabhāvo' ntaraḥ yasyāsau saḥ* 'he whose nature is different' as a counter-example where *antara* 'different' does not mean *vyavāya* 'intervention'.

6.2.167 मुखं स्वाङ्गम्

mukhaṃ svāṅgam

/mukham 1/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1/
/(udāttaḥ #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
mukham uttarapadaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of a final constituent, namely *mukha* 'face', when combined in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying *svāṅga* 'one's own limb', is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

gauramukhaḥ 'one whose face is fair'
bhadramukhaḥ 'one whose face is auspicious'

1. Refer to my notes under 5.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* for *svāṅga.* This accentual provision will not apply to *dīrghamukhā* of *dīrghamukhā śālā* 'house with a large door' because *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga.*

6.2.168 नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः

nāvyayadikśabdagomahatsthūlamuṣṭipṛthuvatsebhyaḥ
/na ϕ avyaya-dikśabda-go-mahat-sthūla-muṣṭi-pṛthu-vatsebhyaḥ 5/3 = *avyaya . . . vatsaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* #167)
'avyaya, dikśabda, go, mahat, sthūla, muṣṭi, pṛthu, vatsa' ity etebhyaḥ paraṃ mukhaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse nāntodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of *mukha* 'face', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb', is marked *udātta* when *mukha* combines after *avyaya* 'indeclinable', *dikśabda* 'directional names', *go* 'cow', *mahat* 'great', *sthūla* 'huge', *muṣṭi* 'fist' and *pṛthu* 'fat, chubby'.

EXAMPLES:

uccairmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is high'
nīccairmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is low'
prāṅmúkhaḥ 'he who is facing east'
pratyaṅmúkhaḥ 'he who is facing west'
gomúkhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a cow'
mahāmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is big'
sthūlamúkhaḥ 'he whose face is thick'
muṣṭimúkhaḥ 'he whose face resemble a fist'
pṛthumúkhaḥ 'he whose face is wide'
vātsamúkhaḥ '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 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . .* allows initial constituents to retain their original accent. Recall that *uccaiḥ* and *nīcaiḥ* are listed in the *svarādi*

(1.1.37 *svarādi nipātam avyayam*) group and are marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to derivational details of *prāṅ* under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvig-dadhṛk*. . . . Refer also to 6.2.52 *anigantoñcato* . . ., whereby *pra* is offered retention of its original accent. Rule 6.2.38 *gatikārakopapadhāt* . . . offers *kṛt*-accent to *pratyaṅ*. Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ* . . . and 6.2.38 *mahān brīhyaparāhṇa* . . . for derivational details of examples with *go* and *mahat*, respectively. The word *sthūla* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nanddigrahipa-cādy* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *muṣṭi* 'fist', derived with *KtiC* introduced after *muṣ* 'to steal', is also marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.163? *citaḥ*). Similar final *udātta* is also found in *pṛthu* and *vatsa*, derived with affixes *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I:28: *prathimradi* . . .) and *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtṛvacivasi* . . .), respectively.

6.2.169 निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम्

niṣṭhopamānād anyatarasyām
/niṣṭhopamānāt 5/1 = *niṣṭhā ca upamānaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* #167)
niṣṭhāntād upamānavācinaś ca mukhaṃ svāṅgam uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse' nyatarasyām udātto bhavati
The last syllable of *mukha* 'face', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent ending in a *niṣṭhā* suffix, or denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

pra̲kṣā̲li̲ta̲mu̲khaḥ 'he who has washed his face'
pra̲kṣā̲li̲tamúkhaḥ 'ibidem'
prakṣâlitamukhaḥ 'ibidem'
si̲ṃha̲mu̲khaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a lion's'
siṃhamúkhaḥ 'ibidem'
vyā̲ghra̲mu̲khaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a tiger's'
vyāghramúkhaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that we find three accentual provisions for *prakṣālitamukham*. 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 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . if this option is not accepted. But since 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . is also made optional to 6.2.49 *gatiranantaraḥ* we will get the original accent of initial constituents retained.

The word *siṃha* is a derivate of *aC*, introduced after *hiṃs* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). The *h* and *s* of *hiṃs* are switched in view of 6.3.107 *pṛṣodarādīni*. . . . The word *vyāghra* is a derivate of *Ka*, 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 जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् क्तो ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः

jātikālasukhādibhyo' nācchādanāt kto' kṛtamitapratipannāḥ
/jāti-kāla-sukhādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *sukha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *jātiś ca kālaś ca sukhādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *an-ācchādanāt* 5/1 = *na ācchādanam* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt*; *ktaḥ* 1/1 *a-kṛta-mita-pratipannāḥ* 1/3 = *kṛtaś ca mitaś ca pratipannaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na kṛtamitapratipannāḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
jātivācina ācchādanavarjitāt kālavācinaḥ sukhādibhyaś ca paraṃ ktāntaṃ kṛtamitapratipannān varjayitvā bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable in the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one which ends in *Kta* but is not *kṛta* 'done', *mita* 'measured' and *pratipanna* 'promised', is marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* 'class', though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* 'covering' and *kāla* 'time', or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha* 'comfort, pleasure'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅgajagdhaḥ 'he who has eaten onions'
palāṇḍubhakṣitaḥ 'ibidem'
māsajātaḥ 'born a month ago'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'born a year ago'
sukhajātaḥ 'he whose happiness has appeared'
dukhajātaḥ 'he whose misery has appeared'

1. Note that *sukhādi* refers to the listing of nominals under 3.1.18 *sukhādibhyaḥ*. . . . This rule is again an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . A *bahuvrīhi* compound with *kṛta, mita* and *pratipanna* as its final constituent will avail accentual provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Thus, consider *kúṇḍakṛtaḥ* 'he by who a *kuṇḍa* is made', *kuṇḍamitaḥ* 'he by who a *kúṇḍa* was measured' and *kúṇḍapratipannaḥ* 'he by who a *kuṇḍa* was promised'. Recall that a *niṣṭhā* constituent is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*). This rule serves as a *jñāpaka* for their postplacement (*paranipāta*).

6.2.171 वा जाते

vā jāte
/vā ϕ jāte 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *jāti-kālasukhādibhyaḥ* #170)
jātaśabda uttarapade vā' nta udātto havati bahuvrīhau samāse jāti-kālasukhādibhyaḥ

The final syllable of a following constituent, namely *jāta* 'born' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is optionally marked with *udātta* 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 *sukha*.

EXAMPLES:

dantajātaḥ 'he whose teeth have appeared'
dantajâtaḥ 'ibidem'
stanajātaḥ 'a man whose breasts have appeared?'
stanajâtaḥ 'ibidem'
māsajātaḥ 'one month old'
māsajâtaḥ 'ibidem'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'one year old'
saṃvatsarajâtaḥ 'ibidem'
sukhajātaḥ 'he whose happiness has appeared'
sukhajâtaḥ 'ibidem'
duḥkhajātaḥ 'he whose misery has appeared'
duḥkhajâtaḥ '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: *hasimṛgriṇvāmi* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Similar accent is available to *stana* 'breat' as a derivate of *ghaÑ*, 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 *ñnityādir nityam*. The word *māsa* 'month', as a derivate of *GHaÑ*, is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. But *saṃvatsara* 'year', a derivate of *saraN* (*Uṇādi* III:72: *sampūrvāc cit*), is marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The words *sukha* and *duḥkha* are derivates of *Ḍa* (3.2.101 *anyeṣv ap* . . .), introduced after *khan* used with *su* and *dus*. They are thus marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They also go through *ṭi*-deletion of *an* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

6.2.172 नञ्सुभ्याम्

nañsubhyām
/nañsubhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
nañsubhyāṃ param uttaraṃ bahuvrīhau samāse 'ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *naÑ* and *su* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

ayavo deśaḥ 'a place where barley is not produced'

a̲vrīhiḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
a̲māṣaḥ 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
su̲ya̲vaḥ 'a place where good barley is produced'
su̲vrīhiḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'

1. Note that the final *udātta* applies to *samāsa* 'compound', even when *uttarapada* 'final constituent *pada*' and *samāsa* are both specified in this rule. This is what is desired (*samāsasyaitadantodāttam iṣyate*). This is how *anṛcaḥ* 'without *ṛk*' and *bahvṛcaḥ* 'with many *ṛk*', which end in the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ . . .*), 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 *uttarapade*. An example such as *sukumārīko deśaḥ* '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 *uttarapada* (*samāsāntāḥ samāsasyaivāvayavā nottarapadasya*).

6.2.173 कपि पूर्वम्

kapi pūrvam
kapi 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ*#64 *uttarapadasya*#111 *antaḥ*#143 *bahuvrīhau*#162 *nañsubhyām* #172)
nañsubhyāṃ kapi parataḥ pūrvam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A syllable which precedes the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* when its final constituent combines after *naÑ* and *su*, and affix *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

a̲ku̲mā̲rīkó deśaḥ 'a place where there are no virgins'
a̲vṛṣa̲līkáḥ 'a place with no bad vṛṣalas (*śūdras*)'
a̲bra̲hma̲ba̲ndhūkáḥ 'a place with no unworthy brāhmaṇas'
su̲ku̲mā̲rīka̲ḥ 'a place with virgins in abundance'
su̲vṛṣa̲līkáḥ 'a place with good vṛṣalas'
su̲bra̲hma̲ba̲ndhūkáḥ 'a place where good brāhmaṇas live'

1. Affix *KaP* is introduced by 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś 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 ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्त्यात् पूर्वम्

hrasvānte' ntyāt pūrvam
/ hrasvānte 7/1 = *hrasvo' ntaḥ yasya* (*bv.*); *antyāt* 5/1 *pūvam* 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *nañsubhyām* #172 *kapi* #173)
hrasvo' anto yasya tad idam hrasvāntam uttarapadam samāso vā, tatrāntyāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati kapi parato nañsubhyāṃ paraṃ bahuvrīhau samāse
The next to the last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent which ends in a short vowel (*hrasva*), and combines after *naÑ* and *su*, is marked *udātta* when *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

a̲yavá̲ko deśaḥ 'a place where barley is not produced'
a̲vrīhíkaḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
a̲māṣákaḥ 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
su̲yavákaḥ 'a place where good barley is produced'
su̲vrīhíkaḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'
su̲māṣákaḥ '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 (*hrasva*) vowel. Affix *KaP* in *ayavakaḥ*, etc., is optionally introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

6.2.175 बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि

bahor nañvad uttarapadabhūmni
/ bahoḥ 5/1 *nañvat* ϕ *uttarapadabhūmni* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya bhūmā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
uttarapadārthabahutve yo bahuśabdo varttate tasmān naña iva svaro bhavati
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented like *naÑ* when it occurs after *bahu* 'many' used with the signification of its own multiplicity (*bahutva*).

EXAMPLES:

ba̲hu̲ya̲vo deśaḥ 'a place rich in barley'
ba̲hu̲vrī̲hiḥ 'a place rich in rice'
ba̲hu̲ti̲laḥ 'a place rich in sesame'
ba̲hu̲ku̲mā̲rīkáḥ (*deśaḥ*) 'a place with beautiful girls in abundance'
ba̲hu̲yavá̲ko deśaḥ 'a place with barley in abundance'

bahuvrīhikaḥ 'a place with rice in abundance'
bahujaráḥ 'a place full of old people'
bahumaráḥ 'a place full of dying people'

1. The accentual provision of 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām,* under special meaning conditions, is here extended also after *bahu.* An absence of multiplicity of meaning, as in *bahuṣu manaḥ asya saḥ ayam = bahumánā* '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 गुणादयोऽवयवाः

na guṇādayo' vayavāḥ
/na ϕ guṇaādayaḥ 1/3 = *guṇa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *avayavāḥ* 1/3
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *bahoḥ* #175)
guṇādayo' vayavavācino bahor uttare bahuvrīhau nāntodāttā bhavanti
The final constituents which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combine after *bahu,* and are enumerated in the list headed by *guṇa,* are not marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bahugúṇā rajjuḥ 'a rope with many strands'
bahvákṣaraṃ padam 'a polysyllabic word'
bahusúktaḥ 'a text with many hymns'
bahvádhyāyaḥ '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 derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I.29 *laṅghibaṃhyor . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *anudātta a* of *akṣaram* 'imperishable', occurring after the *v* replacement of *u,* will be marked *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor . . .*).

The condition of *avayava* 'part of a whole', relative to the meaning of a following constituent, is important. Thus, *bahuguṇo brāhmaṇaḥ* '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 *gaṇa,* per se. It is accepted as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

6.2.177 उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शुः

upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvam aparśuḥ
/upasargāt 5/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1 *dhruvam* 1/1 *aparśuḥ* 1/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvaṃ parśur varjita antodāttaṃ bhavati

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* 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 *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

prapṛṣṭhaḥ 'a man with a protuberant back'
prodaraḥ '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 *udbāhuḥ* (*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 becase it denotes *svāṅga*. Thus *utparśuḥ* and *viparśuḥ* will avail the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Finally, a compound such as *darśanīyalalāṭaḥ* 'he whose forehead is beautiful' will also form a counter-example since *lalāṭa* does not occur after a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The word *upasargāt* 'after a preverb' is carried through 6.2.195 *sor avakṣepaṇe*.

6.2.178 वनं समासे

/vanaṃ samāse
*/vanam*1/1 *samāse* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
samāsamātre 'vanam' ity etad uttarapadam upasargāt param antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *vana* 'forest' which combines after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pravaṇe 'in a beautiful forest; at a sloping place'
nirvaṇe 'in the clearing of a forest; at a level place'

1. The words *pravaṇa* and *nirvaṇa*, 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 *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* both. Thus, *prakṛṣṭaṃ vanam asya* 'he whose forest is beautiful' and *prakṛṣṭaṃ vanam* 'beautiful forest'. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ*, of 8.4.5 *pranirantaḥ śare*. . . . 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

antaḥ

/antaḥ 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vanam* #178)
antaś śabdād uttaraṃ vanam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *vana*, which combines after *antar* 'within' is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

antarvaṇo deśaḥ 'a place with a forest within'

1. This rule is formulated for examples where *vana* may not be used after an *upasarga* 'preverb' (*anupasargārtha ārambhaḥ*). Our compound example is a *bahuvrīhi*. The *n* of *vana* is again replaced with *ṇ*, as explained under the preceding rule. Recall that *antar* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), listed as part of the *svarādi* group of nominals (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*).

6.2.180 अन्तश्च

antaś ca
/antaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
antaś śabdaś cottarapadam upasargād atodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

prāntaḥ 'edge, extremity'
paryantaḥ 'extremity, circumference'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ*) and *bahuvrīhi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ yasya*), both. The word *anta* is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.181 न निविभ्याम्

na nivibhyām
/na ϕ *nivibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *antaḥ* #180)
A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after the preverbs *ni* and *vi*, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nyántaḥ 'proximity'
vyántaḥ '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 (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś . . .*). The negation of this rule will make 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . .* apply. Recall, however, that a replacement in *y* (*yaṇādeśa*) for *i* of *ni* and *vi* will cause the following *a* to be marked with *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor . . .*). 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 परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम्

parer abhitobhāvi maṇḍalam
/pareḥ 5/1 *abhitobhāvi* 1/1 = *abhito bhavanam asyāsti* (a derivate of *inI* denoting the sense of *matUP*) *maṇḍalam*1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
parer uttaram abhitobhāvavācinaṃ maṇḍalaṃ cāntodāttaṃ 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:

pa̲ri̲kū̲lam 'found on both sides of a river'
pa̲ri̲tī̲ram 'ibidem'
pa̲ri̲ma̲ṇḍa̲lam 'all around . . .'

1. The word *abhitobhāvin*, specified as neuter (*napuṃsaka*), is explained as 'that which is naturally found on both sides'. Thus, *kūla* '(river) bank' and *tīra* 'edge'. A separate specification of *maṇḍala* 'circle' is made since it cannot qualify as having the signification of two sides only. A *tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi* 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 *paripratyupāpā varjyamānā. . . .*

6.2.183 प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम्

prād asvāṅgaṃ saṃjñāyām
/prāt 5/1 *asvāṅgam* 1/1 = *na svāṅgam* (*nañ.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
prād uttarapadam asvāṅgavāci saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ntodāttaṃ 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 (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

prākoṣṭham 'enclosure, courtyard'
prāgṛham 'a beautiful house'
prāvāram 'space in front of an entrance'

1. Note that *prahastam* 'hand-print', *prapadam* 'foot-print' and *prapīṭham* 'pretuberant back' are offered as counter-examples to condition of *asvāṅga* 'not one's own limb' and *asaṃjñā* 'non-name', respectively.

6.2.184 निरुदकादीनि च

nirudakādīni ca
/nirudakādīni 1/3 = *nirudakam ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
nirudakādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti
The final compound constituents enumerated in the list headed by *nirudaka* 'arid; without water' are also marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nirudakam 'a place with no water'
nirmakṣikam 'a place with no flies'
nirmaśakam 'a place with no mosquitoes'
niṣkālakaḥ 'timeless'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi-tatpuruṣa*, or *bahuvrīhi*, both. A *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam asmāt* 'that from which water has disappeared', will be marked *udātta* at the end, against provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . 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 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . An *avyayībhāva* interpretation is not intended. For, an *avyayībhāva* compound can avail final *udātta* by 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Note that *nirudakādi* is also accepted as an open-ended listing (*ākṛtigaṇa*). This will facilitate final *udātta* for a compound formed with *hasta* 'hand', *pāda* 'foot', *keśa* 'hair' and *karṣa* 'pull', used in combination after *pari*.

6.2.185 अभेर्मुखम्

abher mukham
/abheḥ 5/1 *mukham* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
abher uttaraṃ mukham antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* 'face' which combines after the preverb *abhi*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

abhimukhaḥ 'facing'

1. This rule is formulated for non-*bahuvrīhi* compounds. Even within a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, it is formulated for compounds where conditions of *dhruva* 'fixed' and *svāṅga* 'one's own limb' are not met (6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvam aparśuḥ*). Thus, consider *abhimukhā śālā* 'a house in front', where *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. This rule thus assigns final *udātta*. The examples can be interpreted both as *prādi* and *avyayībhāva*, paraphrased as *abhigataṃ mukham* 'beautiful face' and *abhigataṃ mukham asya* 'he whose face is beautiful', respectively. Here again the example cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*.

6.2.186 अपाच्च

apāc ca
/apāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *mukham* #185)
apāc cottaraṃ mukham antodāttaṃ 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: *bahuvrīhi* = *apagataṃ mukham asmāt* '. . . he whose face is crooked', *prādi* = *apagataṃ mukham* 'crooked face' and *avyayībhāva* = *apa mukhāt* 'excluding the face' (2.1.11 *apaparibahir . . .*). An *avyayībhāva* compound will receive final *udātta* against retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā. . . .*

2. A *yogavibhāga* 'split formulation' of this rule is intended for the *anuvṛtti* of *apa* in the following rule.

6.2.187 स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च

sphigapūtavīṇāñjo' dhvakukṣisīranāmanāma ca
/sphiga-pūta-vīṇā-añjas-adhvan-kukṣisīranāmanāma 1/1 = *sīrasya nāma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sphiga . . . nāma* (*saṃ dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *apāt* #186)
'*sphiga, pūta, vīṇā, añjas, adhvan, kukṣi*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni sīranāmāni ca nāmaśabdaś ca apād uttarāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti*
The final compound constituents, namely *sphiga* 'hip, buttock', *pūta*

'ibidem', *vīṇā* 'Indian lute', *añjas* 'unguent', *adhvan* 'road', *kukṣi* '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'
apavīṇam 'without a Vīṇā; bad Vīṇā'
apāñjaḥ 'dishonest'
apādhvā 'bad road'
apakukṣiḥ 'bad belly'
apasīraḥ 'bad plough'
apahalam 'ibidem'
apanāma 'someone with a bad reputation; bad name'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi*, *bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, i.e., with *sphiga*, *pūta* and *kukṣi*, must be made outside the context of 6.2.177 *uapasargāt svāṅgam*. . . . The final *udātta* provision of this rule applies only when the *samāsānta* affix *aC*, for example in *apādhvā* '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 *citaḥ*, anyway. This also indicates that *samāsānta* affixes are non-obligatory (*anitya*), i.e., optional. If they were obligatory, *adhvaṇ* 'road' would not have been listed here.

6.2.188 अधेरुपरिस्थम्

adher uparistham
/adheḥ 5/1 *uparistham* 1/1 = *upari tiṣṭhatīti/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
adher uttaram uparisthavāci antodāttaṃ 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:

adhidantaḥ 'a tooth on top of another'
adhikarṇaḥ 'an ear on top of another'
adhikeśaḥ 'a hair with its root shared by another'

1. The word *uparisthaḥ* is explained as 'one sitting on top of another'. Thus, *adhyārūḍho dantaḥ* 'a tooth on top of another', a *prādi* compound (*vt*: *prādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā* ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadād* . . .). This compound

can also be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa* 'appositional' *bahuvrīhi* with *ārūḍhaḥ* 'sitting on', with its following constituent (*uttarapada*) gone through deletion (*lopa*).

A counter-example to the condition of *uparisthaḥ* is offered in *adhikaráṇam* 'substratum, locus'.

6.2.189 अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी

anor apradhānakanīyasī
/anoḥ 5/1 *apradhāna-kanīyasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
anor uttaram apradhānavāci kanīyaś cāntodāttaṃ 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:

anujyeṣṭhaḥ 'one who follows the eldest'
anumadhyamaḥ 'one who follows the middle one'
anukanīyān 'a young who follows his elders'

1. Note that, as indicated by paraphrases of these compounds, *jyeṣṭha* 'eldest' and *madhyama* 'middle, intermediate' are non-principal (*apradhāna*). Thus, *anugataḥ jyeṣṭham* = *anujyeṣṭhaḥ* 'one who followed the eldest' and *anugataḥ madhyamam* = *anumadhyamaḥ* 'one who followed the middle one'. A separate specification of *kanīyas* is needed because it is principal. Thus, *anugataḥ kanīyān* '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 kanīyāṃsam* = *anukanīyān* 'one who followed the young ones'. A counter-example for the condition of *apradhāna* will have *anujyéṣṭhaḥ*, paraphrased as *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ* 'the eldest followed the younger one'. The *udātta* of *anu*, an indeclinable, will be retained here.

6.2.190 पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः

puruṣaścānvādiṣṭaḥ
/puruṣaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *anvādiṣṭaḥ* 1/1 = *paścād ādiṣṭaḥ/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *anoḥ* #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:

anvādiṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ = *anupuruṣaḥ* '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 *apradhānaśiṣṭa* 'not specified as principal' and *kathitānukathita* 'specified subsequently to something else'. Thus, consider *bhikṣām aṭa gāñ 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 jyeṣṭhaḥ* = *anújyeṣṭhaḥ* 'one who follows . . .'. The indeclinable will retain its original accent.

6.2.191 अतेरकृत्पदे

ater akṛtpade
/ateḥ 5/1 *akṛtpade* 1/2 = *na kṛt* (*nañ*); *akṛt ca padaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
ateḥ param akṛdantaṃ 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 *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

atyaṅkuśo nāgaḥ 'an elephant gone beyond the control of the hook'
atikaśo' śvaḥ '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 *atikārakaḥ* 'one who does things beautifully'. A *vārttika* proposes that this final *udātta* should apply after *ati* when deletion of a root is involved. Thus, *atikrāntaḥ kārakāt* = *atikrāntaḥ* 'one who has gone beyond a doer'. This statement is necessary so that *śobhanaḥ gārgyaḥ* = *átigārgyaḥ* 'handsome Gārgya' can be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule.

6.2.192 नेरनिधाने

ner anidhāne
/neḥ 5/1 *anidhāne* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
neḥ 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:

ni̱mū̱lam 'uprooted; down to the roots'
nya̱kṣam 'down to the axle; lowly'
ni̱tṛṇam 'down to the blade of grass'

1. Note that *ni* is a *prādi* (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*). It denotes an action qualified with means (*sādhanaviśiṣṭakriyā*). Actually, in integration (*vṛtti*), this is the nature of *prādis* in general (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *prādayo hi svabhāvenaiva vṛttiviṣaye sasādhanāṃ kriyām āhuḥ*).

The word *nidhāna* is here used in the sense of *aprakāśatā* 'non-manifestness'. 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 *nidaṇḍaḥ* 'with no (use of) stick (force)'.

These compounds can be interpreted as both *prādi-tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, *nimūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam* 'down to the root' and *nimūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam asya tat* 'that of whose root is out; uprooted'. As usual, it cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*. For, it would then have final *udātta* already available to it (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.193 प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे

prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe
/*prateḥ* 5/1 *aṃśvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *aṃśur ādir yesām* (*bv.*); *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/ (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe samāse' ntodāttā bhavanti
The final compound constituents which are enumerated in the list headed by *aṃśu* 'ray', and combine after the preverb *prati*, are marked *udātta* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

pra̱tya̱ṃśuḥ 'refracted ray'
pra̱ti̱ja̱naḥ 'an adversary'
pra̱ti̱rā̱jā 'king of an enemy'

1. Here again, in examples such as *pratirājā*, this accent is made available in the absence of the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC*. Refer to my notes under 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* for additional details. The condition of *tatpuruṣe* is imposed so that a *bahuvrīhi*, for example *pratigatā aṃśavo' sya* = *pratyaṃśur ayam uṣṭraḥ* 'this camel (is one who) has lost his speed (energy)', could not avail this accentual provision.

6.2.194 उपाद् द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः

upād dvyajajinam agaurādayaḥ

/upāt 5/1 *dvyajajinam* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *dvyac ca ajinaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *dv.*); *agaurādayaḥ* 1/3 = *gaura ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *na gaurādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
upād uttaraṃ dvyajajinaṃ ca cāntodāttaṃ bhavati
A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after the preverb *upa* and either 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:

upadevaḥ 'a little god'
upasomaḥ 'one who has Soma'
upendraḥ 'younger to Indra; Viṣṇu'
upājinam 'near the antelope skin'

1. Note that the *gaurādi* nominals are excluded because they all consist of two vowels (*dvyac*). The example compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*.

6.2.195 सोरवक्षेपणे

sor avakṣepaṇe
/soḥ 5/1 *avakṣepaṇe* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
suśabdāt param uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati avakṣepaṇe gamyamāne
A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after *su* is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate denotes *avakṣepaṇa* 'to look down upon, contempt'.

EXAMPLES:

iha khalv idānīṃ susthaṇḍile susphigābhyāṃ
supratyavasitaḥ 'now, here in this beautiful place, he indeed, is back with his fattened buttocks'

1. Note that *su*, of *supratyavasitaḥ*, is here used with the sense of *pūjā* 'praise'. But the sentence does indicate *avakṣepaṇa* 'contempt'. Examples countering the conditions of *su* and *avakṣepaṇa* are offered, respectively, as *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a bad brāhmaṇa' and *sutṛṇeṣu* '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 pūjāyām* ad 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*).

6.2.196 विभाषोत्पुच्छे

vibhāṣotpucche
/vibhāsā 1/1 *utpucche* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
utpucchaśabde tatpuruṣe vibhāṣā 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'
utpúcchaḥ 'with raised tail'

1. Note that *utpucchaḥ* is interpreted in two ways: *utpucchaḥ* = *utkrāntaḥ pucchāt* 'gone beyond the tail' and *puccham udasyati* '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 *tatpuruṣe 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 *ṆiṄ* (3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍa* . . .), is accepted, an obligatory final *udātta* will be available (from 6.2.143 *thāthaghañ* . . .). 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-vibhāṣā*.

6.2.197 द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ

dvi-tribhyāṃ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau
/dvitribhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *pāddanmūrdhasu* 7/3 = *pād ca dat ca mūrdhā ca* = *pāddanmūrdhānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vibhāṣā* #196)
'*dvi, tri*' *ity etābhyām uttareṣu* '*pād, dat, mūrdhan*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yo bahuvrīhis tatra vibhāṣā anta udātto bhavati*
The last syllable of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is optionally marked with *udātta*, when *pād* 'foot', *dat* 'tooth' and *mūrdhan* 'head' combine to follow *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvipāt 'biped'
dvipât 'ibidem'
tripāt 'three-footed'
tripât 'ibidem'

dvidan 'possessing two teeth'
dvidán 'ibidem'
tridan 'possessing three teeth'
tridán 'ibidem'
dvimūrdhā 'two-headed'
trimûrdhā 'three-headed'

1. This rule specifies *pād* with deletion of its compound final *a* (5.4.138 *pādasya lopo . . .*). 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 (*akṛtasamāsāntalopa*), it will refer to both kinds of forms. Thus, *dvimūrdhā* where there is no *samāsānta* affix, and *dvimūrdhaḥ*, where the *samāsānta* affix *Ṣa* has been introduced (5.4.115 *dvitribhyām . . .*). These examples will get the final *udātta* 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 *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*).

2. *Kāśikā* offers *kalyāṇámūrdhā* and *dvihástam* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvitribhyām* and *pāddan . . .*, etc., respectively.

6.2.198 **सक्थं चाक्रान्तात्**

sakthaṃ cākrāntāt
/saktham 1/1 *ca* ϕ *akrāntāt* 5/1 = *kraśabdo' nto yasya* (*bv.*); *na krāntaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt/*
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vibhāṣā* #196 *bahuvrīhau* #197)
saktham iti kṛtasamāsāntaḥ sakthiśabdo' tra gṛhyate, so' krāntāt paro vibhāṣā' ntodātto 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 *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

gaurasakthaḥ 'having white thighs'
gaurasákthaḥ 'ibidem'
ślakṣṇasakthaḥ 'having smooth thighs'
ślakṣṇasákthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. The word *saktha* is here specified with its *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau . . .*). Consequently, example compounds are interpreted as used with a *samāsānta* affix. The word *ślakṣṇa*, as a derivate of *ksna* (*Uṇādi* III:19: *śliṣer . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the end. This option of final *udātta* is again made against 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau. . . .*

2. A counter-example with *kra* will be *cakrasakthaḥ* 'bow-legged'.

6.2.199 **परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्**

parādiś chandasi bahulam
/parādiḥ 1/1 = *parasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *saktham* #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:

a̱ñji̱saktha̱m ālabheta 'one should offer an animal with anointed thighs'
ṛju̱bāhúḥ 'straight-armed'
va̱kpatíḥ '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, *ṛjubāhuḥ* '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 *vākpatiḥ*. 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 *pūrvādi* 'the initial of the initial constituent':

parādiś ca parāntaś ca pūrvāntaś cāpi dṛśyate/
pūrvādayaś ca dṛśyante vyatyayo bahulaṃ tataḥ//

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 adhikṛtaṃ 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 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve* which introduces *ānAṄ*. The *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapade* is valid through the end of this quarter.

Consider now the next rule: *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ* '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 *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent' is placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*). This term is assigned to a compound constituent specified with the *prathamā* 'nominative' in a rule of compound formation (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*). Finally, we also find that 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* deletes a nominal ending (*sUP*) contained within a *dhātu* 'verbal root' and *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to bases termed compounds. Our present rule is thus: (*a*) an exception to 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*; (*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 edings 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 *stokānmuktaḥ* 'barley freed', an example where deletion by *LUK* of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after *stoka*, is blokced. This *pañcamī* is introduced by rules 2.3.33 *karaṇe ca stokālpa* . . . and 2.3.35 *dūrāntikā*. . . . A compound formation of *stoka* + *ṄasI* 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 *upasarjana* '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 *ṄasI* of *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *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-lakṣaṇā*) 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 apetaḥ*, 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): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva 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 *nistokaḥ*, parallel to *niṣkrāntaḥ stokāt*, the *pañcamī* after *stoka* must go through deletion. Obviously, *stokāt* is not used here in combination before any other constituent. But this deletion will go against the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114) just cited. For, the *pañcamī* of *stokāt*, deleted in the formation of *nistokaḥ*, is not a *pañcamī* 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 पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः

pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ
/pañcamyāḥ 6/1 *stokādibhyaḥ* 1/3 = *stoka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*)*/*
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi stokādīni tebhyaḥ parasyāḥ pañcamyā uttarapade alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to the fifth triplet of nominal endings (*pañcamyāḥ*) which occur after *stoka*, etc., when a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

stokānmuktaḥ 'hardly freed'
alpānmuktaḥ 'ibidem'
antikādāgataḥ 'arrived from a nearby place'
abhyāśādāgataḥ 'ibidem'
durādāgataḥ 'arrived from a far out place'
viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ 'ibidem'
kṛcchrānmuktaḥ '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 *pañcamī* which goes through non-deletion of this rule has to be singular (*ekavacana*). A *pañcamī* with the denotata of dual and plural will not only block compound

formation (*aikapadaya*) but will also block accentuation (*aikasvarya*). Consequently, we will get *stokābhyāṃ muktaḥ* and *stokebhyaḥ muktaḥ*, two separate words with separate accentual provisions.

3. A *vārttika* proposal in made for non-deletion in *brāhmaṇācchaṃsī*, paraphrased as *brāhmaṇāni śaṃsati* '. . . 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 *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. This *vārttika* proposal will then have to accomplish both the introduction as well as non-deletion of *pañcamī*.

6.3.3 ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः

ojaḥsahombhastamasas tṛtīyāyāḥ
/ojaḥsaha-ambhas-tamasaḥ 1/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca tamaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *tṛtīyāḥ* 6/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
'*ojas, sahas, ambhas, tamas*' *ity etebhya uttarasya tṛtīyāyā alug bhavaty uttarapade*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* '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, splendorous'
tamasākṛtam 'done with power'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. How come this non-deletion does not apply to *tamas* of *satatanaiśatamovṛtām* '. . . 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 *pakveṣṭakacitam*, where *iṣṭaka* 'brick' can be interpreted as referring to both *iṣṭaka* and *pakveṣṭaka* '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 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve*. Given the specification as *hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātāraḥ, neṣṭṛ*, or for that matter *potṛneṣṭṛ*, cannot be accepted as

initial for what follows. The operation must then be performed with reference to what follows *hotṛ* alone (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *yatra tadantavidhir iṣyate tatropāttenākṣiptaṃ pūrvapadaṃ viśeṣyate tena tasya tadantasya ca bhavati- iṣṭakacitam, pakveṣṭakacitam iti. kvacit tu yad-evopāttaṃ tasyaivottarapade' nantare tatkāryaṃ bhavati, na tūpāttasya tadantasya vā pūrvapadatvam apekṣyate, yathā 'ānaṅ ṛto dvandve'. 'hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātāraḥ' iti, atra neṣṭṛśabdaś ca na pūrvapadam, nāpi tadantaṃ pūrvapadam, kiṃ tarhi? hotṛśabdaḥ, na tasyottarapadam anantaram*).

2. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made for non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* in *añjasākṛtam* 'performed well'; and *puṃsānujaḥ* 'born after a male; younger brother' and *jānuṣāndhaḥ* 'blind from birth'.

6.3.4 मनसः संज्ञायाम्

manasaḥ saṃjñāyām
/manasaḥ 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3)
manasa uttarasyās tṛtīyāyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* which occurs after *manas* 'mind' when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

manasādattā 'a female name'
manasāguptā 'a female name'
manasāsaṃgatā 'a female name'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *manodattā* 'mentally given' and *manoguptā* 'thought-preserved' as counter-examples where derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*). These non-names must go through deletion of their instrumental (*tṛtīyā*).

6.3.5 आज्ञायिनि च

ājñāyini ca
/ājñāyini 7/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3 *manasaḥ* #4)
ājñāyiny uttarapade manasa uttarasyās tṛtīyāyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* also applies to a *tṛtīyā* 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 (*asaṃjñārtham*). Note that *ājñāyin*, of which *ājñāyī* is the nominative singular, is a

derivate of *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau . . .*) augmented with *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk . . .*). It is paraphrased as: *ājñātuṃ śīlam asya* 'he whose nature it is to know properly'.

6.3.6 आत्मनश्च

ātmanaś ca
/ātmanaḥ 5/1 *ca* 1/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3)
ātmana uttarasya tṛtīyāyā uttarapade' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* which also occurs after *ātman* 'self, soul', provided a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanāpañcamaḥ 'fifth including one's own self'
ātmanāṣaṣṭhaḥ 'sixth including one's own self'

1. Note that *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe* is read by the *Mahābhāṣya* as a *vārttika* (see *PM* ad *Kāś*: *vārttikam evedaṃ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). The *SK* accepts *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*, especially since its *anuvṛtti* is needed in 6.3.7 *vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ*. But this could hardly justify accepting *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*. For, the *SK*, though it needs the *anuvṛtti* of *kāmye* (*vt*: *roreva kāmye nānyasyeti niyamārthaṃ vaktavyam*; ad 8.3.38 *so' padādau*), does not accept it as a *sūtra*. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* reads the *sūtra* as: *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe*, following perhaps the traditional belief that the *vārttikakāra* 'author of the *vārttikas*' also deserves status as the *sūtrakāra*. Note that the *SK* reads *pūraṇa* as a *vārttika*. I have excluded *pūraṇe* from the reading of this rule. Since a non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* after *ātman* is available only when a constituent with the signification of a *pūraṇa* suffix follows, accepting the *sūtra* as *ātmanaś ca* alone makes sense.

Haradatta observes that *pūraṇa* is interpreted as referring to forms ending in the suffix *pūraṇa*. That is, it should not be interpreted as the word-form *pūraṇa* (*svarūpa*). He also points out that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also ending in *x*', as will be indicated under 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha . . .*, is not to be permitted in the section governed by *uttarapade*. This will create problems in accomplishing non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* in *ātmanāpañcamaḥ* 'fifth including one's self'. For, it is impossible to find affix *pūraṇa* used after *ātman*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation in case of *ātman* must then be accepted as an exception. This all is an expatiation of proposals made via *vārttikas*.

How are the example compounds, i.e., *ātmanāpañcamaḥ* and *ātmanāṣaṣṭhaḥ*, formed? It is stated that *tṛtīyā* after *ātman* is introduced by a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.3.18 *kartṛ-karaṇayos tṛtīyā*; *tṛtīyāvidhāne prakṛtyādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *tṛtīyā* of 2.1.30 *tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena* then allows the formation of these compounds. One can even accept *tṛtīyā* ruled with the signification of *karaṇa* (2.3.18

kartṛkaraṇayos . . .). But then this *karaṇa*, a *kāraka*, must be determined in relation to verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', parallel to the paraphrase: *ātmanā kṛtaḥ pañcamaḥ* 'fifth made by one's own self'.

Deriving *pañcama* 'fifth' and *ṣaṣṭha* 'sixth' requires introducing affix *ḌaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ*) after *pañcan* 'five' and *ṣaṣ* 'six'. Augment *mAṬ* (5.2.48 *nāntād . . .*) and *thUK* (5.2.51 *ṣaṭkatikatipaya . . .*), respectively, are then introduced to derive *pañcan* + *mAṬ* + *ḌaṬ* = *pañcan* + *ma* and *ṣaṣ* + *ḌaṬ* = *ṣaṣ* + *th* + *a*. The first example goes through deletion of *n*. The second requires replacing *th* with *ṭh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

Why do we not get non-deletion in deriving *ātmacaturthaḥ* of *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva* 'Janārdana, indeed, is the fourth himself'. The compound is a *bahuvrīhi*, and not an instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) *tatpuruṣa*.

6.3.7 वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः

vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ
/vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām 7/1 = *vaiyākaraṇānām ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*; *caturthyāḥ* 6/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ātmanaḥ* #6)
yayā saṃjñayā vaiyākaraṇā eva vyavaharanti tasyām ātmana uttarasyāś caturthyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings; dative' which occurs after *ātman*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name assigned by grammarians.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanepadam 'the second set of nine replacements of *LA* plus suffixes containing *āna*'
ātmanepadabhāṣā 'a term used by earlier grammarians for Pāṇini's *ātmanepadam*'

1. Note that *ātmanaḥ* is carried from the preceding rule. The *caturthī* which goes through non-deletion denotes *tadartha* 'intended for that' and is introduced by a *vārttika* (*tādarthye caturthī vācyā*; ad 1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*). The compounds are formed by *caturthī*, a split interpretation of 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha. . . .*

6.3.8 परस्य च

parasya ca
/parasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ* #7)
parasya ca yā caturthī tasyā vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyām alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, also to a *caturthī* 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*'
parasmaipadabhāṣā '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 *ātmanaḥ* is carried there. Well, we can drop *ātmanaḥ*. But it may cause non-deletion in *taddhitāḥ*, parallel to *tebhyo hitāḥ*, which is not desired. Consequently, *parasya ca* must be stated.

It is argued that *vaiyākaraṇākhyā* can be derived parallel to *vaiyākaraṇe bhavā* = *vaiyākaraṇī* 'that which is found in grammar', a feminine derivate with *aN* (4.3.73 *aṇ ṛgayanādibhyaḥ*). 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 *puṃvat karma dhāraya*) can then derive *vaiyākaraṇ*(*ī*→*a*) + *ākhyā*→*vaiyākaraṇākhyā*. Since this derivation will exclude *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, terms which are not used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *vaiyākaraṇa* must be derived parallel to *vyākaraṇam adhīyate vidanti vā* 'those who study or know grammar'. Incidentally, *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, are termes used by earlier grammarians.

2. A compound such as *ātmanepadam* is derived with *caturthī* signifying *tādarthya* 'intended for that', parallel to *ātmanārthaṃ padam* 'word for one's own self'. The compound is formed with split interpretation of *caturthī*. Why can 2.1.36 *caturthī 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 हलदन्तात् सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम्

haladantāt saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām
/*haladantāt* 5/1 = *hal ca at ca* (*sam. dv.*); *halad ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saptamyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
halantād adantāc cottarasyāḥ saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām 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 (*hal*), or in *a*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

yudhiṣṭhiraḥ 'the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers'

tvacisāraḥ 'bamboo'
araṇyetilakāḥ 'wild sesame'
araṇyemāṣakāḥ 'wild Mung beans'

1. This rule allows non-deletion of *saptamī* 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 *tvacisāra* both end in a consonant. A *saptamī* before *sthira* and *sāra* is thus retained. But what about *gaviṣṭhiraḥ*, where *go* does not end in a consonant, or in *a*? This should pose no problem. For, given *go* + (*Ṅ*)*i* + *sthira* + *sU*, one will replace the *o* of *go* by *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), prior to non-deletion. But this will go against *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 53: *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo lug bādhate*) which facilitates blocking of internally conditioned operations(*antaraṅga*) by externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) deletion (*LUK*). Note that accepting this *paribhāṣā* will also cause non-deletion in *nadyāṃ kukkuṭikā* = *nadīkukkuṭikā* 'hen in river' and *bhūmyāṃ pāśāḥ* = *bhūmipāśāḥ* 'snare on ground', where one can get *nadī* 'river' and *bhūmi* 'ground' to end in *y*, through *yaṇādeśa* 'replacement in *yaṆ*' (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ 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 *ṣ* and *ṭh*, for *s* and *th* of *sthiraḥ*, for example in *gaviṣṭhiraḥ* and *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*, is accomplished by 8.3.96 *gaviyudhibhyāṃ sthiraḥ*.

3. Note that *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *saṃjñā*. A *vārttika* proposal (*hṛddyudbhyām ṅeḥ*) is also made for non-deletion of *Ṅi* after *hṛd* 'heart' and *div* 'day, heaven' in *hṛdispṛk* 'heart-touching' and *divispṛk* '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 कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ

kāranāmni ca prācāṃ halādau
/*kāranāmni* 7/1 = *kārasya nāma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca*ϕ *prācām* 6/3 *halādau* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
prācāṃ deśe yat kāranāma tatra halādāv uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* 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:

kūpeśāṇam 'a tax levied in the east'
dṛṣadimāṣakaḥ 'ibidem'
haledvipadikā 'ibidem'
haletripadikā 'ibidem'

1. The word *kāranāma* is explained as *vaṇigbhiḥ kṛṣakaiḥ paśupālaiś ca rājñe deyo bhāgaḥ rakṣānibandhanaḥ* 'a tax paid to the king by traders, farmers and cattle ranchers in return for gauranteed protection'. The word *kāra* 'tax' is a derivate of *aṆ* (5.4.38 *prañādibhyaś ca*), used with the signification of the base (*svārthika*), namely *kara* 'tax' (*karam eva kāraḥ*).

2. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when its derivates can avail *aluk* 'non-deletion by *LUK*' within the scope of the earlier rule? A separate formulation is needed for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). Thus, derivates of this rule will be limited to three conditions: (*a*) non-deletion applies only when the derivate names a tax (*kāranāmni*); (*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 *avikaṭoraṇaḥ* 'a group of rams (*uraṇa*)', respectively. The conditions of *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant' and *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*' are also valid. Thus, we get *nadyāṃ dohanī* = *nadīdohanī* 'a tax levied on milk transported across a river'.

6.3.11 मध्याद् गुरौ

madhyād gurau
/*madhyāt* 5/1 *gurau* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
madhyād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā gurāv uttarapade' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* 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 अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे

amūrdhamastakāt svāṅgād akāme
/*amūrdha-mastakāt* 5/1 = *mūrdhā ca mastakaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *na mūrdha-*

mastakam (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *svāṅgāt* 5/1 *akāme* 7/1 = *na kāmaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
mūrdha-mastaka-varjitāt svāṅgād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā akāma uttarapade' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* 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:

kaṇṭhekālaḥ '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 *bahuvrīhi* of our examples is called *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-appositional'. Normally, one would expect them to be a *bahuvrīhi* with its constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). These compounds are formed with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadarthe, saptamy upamānapūrvapada* . . .).

Kāśikā offeres *akṣeṣu śauṇḍaḥ* = *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' as a counter-example to *svāṅgāt*. Compounds such as *mūrddhaśikhaḥ* and *mastakaśikhaḥ* are offered as counter-examples to the enumerated exclusion of *mūrdhan* and *mastaka*. Finally, *mukhe kāmaḥ yasya* = *mukhakāmaḥ* '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 *aṅgulitrāṇaḥ* '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 vibhāṣā
/*bandhe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *vibhāṣā* 1/1
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
bandhaśabda uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, optionally, to a *saptamī* 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 (*sāmānyenāyaṃ vidhiḥ*). The word *bandha* is here accepted as a derivate of *GHaÑ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense'. Recall that non-deletion of *saptamī* in a *bahuvrīhi* 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 *bahuvrīhi* 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 counter-examples.

6.3.14 तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्

tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam
/tatpuruṣe 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
tatpuruṣe samāse kṛdanta uttarapade saptamyā bahulam alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, variously (*bahulam*), to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

stamberamaḥ 'one who plays with the pile of grass; an elephant'
karṇejapaḥ 'he who whispers in the ear; fault-finder'
kurucaraḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracaraḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Madras'

1. This rule offers non-deletion via *bāhulaka* 'variously'. Thus, observe *stamberamaḥ* and *karṇejapaḥ* where an *upapada* compound termed *tatpuruṣa* (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) is formed with non-deletion of *saptamī*. Affix *aC* is introduced after verbal roots *ram* 'to sport' and *jap* 'to mutter' chant' by 3.2.13 *stambakarṇa*. . . . Affix *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*) is similarly introduced in deriving *kurucaraḥ* and *madracaraḥ*. 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 bhavaḥ* = *apsavyaḥ* 'found in water', where non-deletion is accomplished before a *taddhita*-derivate, as against a derivate of *kṛt*. These examples illustrate how, as is the nature of specification by *bahulam*, non-deletion applies (*pravṛtti*), does not apply (*apravṛtti*), 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 *Kāś*: *atrāpi kṛdantasya grahaṇam na kṛnmātrasya, tatra parataḥ saptamyā asambhavāt*).

6.3.15 प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे

prāvṛṭśaratkāladivāṃ je
/prāvṛṭ-śarat-kāla-divām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *je* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
'*prāvṛṭ, śarat, kāla, diva' ity eteṣām ja uttarapade saptamyā alug bhavati*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *prāvṛṭ* 'rainy season', *śarat* 'autumn', *kāla* 'time' and *div* 'day, heaven', provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣijaḥ 'born in the rainy season'
śaradijaḥ 'born in autumn'
kālejaḥ 'born at an appropriate time'
divijaḥ 'born in heaven'

1. This again is an expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *bāhulaka* provision of the preceding rule. Note that *prāvṛṣ* and *śarad* are specified separately; *kāla* 'time' is interpreted as referring to its word-form (*svarūpa*) only. These examples are all *upapada* compounds where affix *Ḍa* is introduced after *jan*. Thus, we get *prāvṛṣ* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*, where *an* of *jan* goes through *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*; 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Incidenally, *prāvṛṣ* is specified here with the application of *jaśtva* (*prāvṛ(ṣ→ḍ)*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) and *cartva* (*prāvṛ(ḍ→ṭ)*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

6.3.16 विभाषावर्षक्षरशरवरात्

vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśaravarāt
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *varṣakṣaraśaravarāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *je* #15)
'*varṣa, kṣara, śara, vara' ity etebhya uttarasyāḥ saptamyā ja uttarapade 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:

varṣejaḥ 'born in the rainy season'
varṣajaḥ 'ibidem'
kṣarejaḥ 'cloud-born'
kṣarajaḥ 'ibidem'
śarejaḥ 'born in (a bed of) reeds'
śarajaḥ 'ibidem'
varejaḥ 'born in an enclosure'
varajaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Here again we find *upapada* compounds with optional non-deletion of *saptamī*.

6.3.17 **घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः**

ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ
/ghakālataneṣu 7/3 *kālanāmnaḥ* 5/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)
ghasaṃjñake pratyaye tanapratyaye ca parataḥ kālanāmna uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā alug bhavati
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:

pūrvāhṇetare 'a little later in the morning'
pūrvāhṇatare 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇetame 'extremely late in the morning'
pūrvāhṇatame 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇekāle 'in the morning'
pūrvāhṇakāle 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇetane 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇatane '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, *kālanāmnaḥ* specifies bases signifying *kāla* 'time'. The word *tana*

refers to affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañciram . . . tuṭ ca*), augmented with *tUṬ* and replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

Note that *pūrvāhṇa* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparā . . .*, where 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ . . .* introduces affix *ṬaC* 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 *halantāt* and *adantāt* 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 hṛllekha . . .*, is not desired in this section of *uttarapade*.

6.3.18 शयवासवासिष्वकालात्

śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt
/śayavāsavāsiṣu 7/3 = *śayaś ca vāsaś ca vāsī ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *akālāt* 5/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)
'*śaya, vāsa, vāsin*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣv akālavācina uttarasyāḥ saptamyā 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 *śaya* 'reclining', *vāsa* 'dwelling' and *vāsin* 'inhabitant' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kheśayaḥ 'reclining in the sky; floating in the air'
khaśayaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmevāsaḥ 'living in the village'
grāmavāsaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmevāsī 'resident of a village'
grāmavāsī 'ibidem'

1. Note that affix *aC* (3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe śeteḥ*) is introduced in deriving *kheśaya*. Examples with *vāsa* and *vāsin* entail introduction of affixes *GHaÑ* and *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis . . .*), respectively. *Kāśikā* offers *pūrvāhṇaśayaḥ*

'reclining in the morning' as a counter-example to condition of *akālāt*. Similar counter-example in *bhūmiśayaḥ* 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 *apsuyoniḥ*, *apsavyaḥ* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*), *apsumantau*. These compounds will be formed by split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*).

6.3.19 नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च

nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca
/ na ϕ in-siddha-badhnātiṣu 7/3 = *in ca siddhaś ca badhnātiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
innanta uttarapade siddhaśabde badhnātau ca parataḥ saptamyā 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:

sthaṇḍilaśāyī 'he who sleeps on bare grounds'
sthaṇḍilavarttī 'ibidem'
sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ 'made in Sāṅkāśya'
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 *sthaṇḍilavartin* 'he who has taken a vow to sleep on bare grounds', an *upapada* compound with *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*, 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*). This rule negates what is made available by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe 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* derivates, either. Accepting a *tadantavidhi* interpretation is thus appropriate (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *nanu cottarapadādhikāre pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir neṣyata iti jñāpitam etat. saptamyā parasyenpratyayasyāsambhavāt . . . tasmād innatam eva gṛhyata iti yuktam etat*).

The compoud formation of *sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ* and *kāmpilyasiddhaḥ* is ac-

complished by 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣka-pakvabandhaiś ca.* The word *baddha,* in *cakrabaddhaḥ,* is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), where *n* of *bandh* is deleted (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal . . .*). The compound is formed with the split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*). How come the compound cannot be accepted as formed with *bandhaḥ*? Because that will be a derivate of *GHaÑ* where 6.3.13 *bandhe ca vibhāṣā* offers optional non-deletion.

6.3.20 स्थे च भाषायाम्

sthe ca bhāṣāyām
/sthe 7/1 *ca* ϕ *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #16 *na* ϕ)
sthe cottarapade bhāṣāyāṃ saptamyā alug na bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when *stha,* in the classical language, occurs in combination to follow.

EXAMPLES:

samasthaḥ 'standing on even grounds; happy'
viṣamasthaḥ 'standing on uneven grounds; unhappy'
kūṭasthaḥ 'standing still'
parvatasthaḥ 'standing on top of a mountain'

1. This again is a negation of non-deletion offered by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe. . . .* Rule 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *samasthaḥ, viṣamasthaḥ, kūṭastheḥ* and *parvatasthaḥ.* The *ā* 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 tiṣṭhati* = *ākhareṣṭhaḥ* 'stays in a hole'. The *s* of *sthā* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt.*

6.3.21 षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे

ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe
/ṣaṣṭhyāḥ 6/1 *ākrośe* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
ākrośe gamyamāne uttarapade parataḥ ṣaṣṭhyā 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:

caurasyakulam 'some family of a thief!'
vṛṣalasyakulam 'some family of a Vṛṣala!'

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 *ṣaṣṭhī*.

Some *vārttika* proposals for non-deletion have also been made under this rule:

(*i*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *yukti, daṇḍa* and *hara* are used in combination after *vāk, dik* and *paśyat*, respectively (*ṣaṣṭhīprakaraṇe vāgdikpaśyadbhyo yuktidaṇḍahareṣu yathāsaṃkhyam alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *vācoyuktiḥ* 'art of speaking', *diśodaṇḍaḥ* 'formation of stars in the shape of a stick' and *paśyatoharaḥ* 'he who robs right in front of your eyes; a thief; goldsmith'.

(*ii*) Non-deletion by *LUK* should also be stated in *āmuṣyāyaṇa* 'an illustrious descendant', *āmuṣyaputrikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious son' and *āmuṣyakulikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious clan' (*āmuṣyāyaṇāmuṣyaputrikāmuṣyakuliketi ca vaktavyaḥ*).

(*iii*) A non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* in *devānāmpriyaḥ* 'slow-wit' should also be stated (*devānāmpriya ity atra ca ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*).

(*iv*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *śepa* 'penis, testicles', *puccha* 'tail' and *lāṅgūla* 'tail' are used in combination after *śvan* 'dog' and the derivate denotes a name (*śepapucchalāṅgūleṣu śunaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *śunaḥśepaḥ, śunaḥpucchaḥ* and *śunolāṅgūlaḥ*, all *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the denotatum of proper names.

(*v*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should be stated when *dāsa* 'slave' follows *diva* in combination (*divaś ca dāse ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *divodāsāya gāyati* 'sings for Divodāsa, the illustrious king of Kāśī'.

6.3.22 पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम्

putre' nyatarasyām
/putre 7/1 *anyatarasyām*7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe* #21)
putraśabda uttarapade ākrośe gamyamāne' nyatarasyāṃ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when *putra* combines as a following constituent and derivates denote *ākrośa* 'anger'.

EXAMPLES:

dāsyāḥ putraḥ 'son of a maid (*bastard*)'
dāsīputraḥ 'maid's son'
vṛṣalyāḥ putraḥ 'son of a śūdra woman'
vṛṣalīputraḥ 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *brāhmaṇīputraḥ* '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 **ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः**

ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ
/ṛtaḥ 5/1 *vidyā-yoni-sambandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vidyā ca yoniś ca = vidyāyonī* (*itar. dv.*), *vidyāyonikṛtaḥ sambandhaḥ yeṣām, tebhyaḥ* (*bv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #21)
ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāsambandhavācibhyo yonisambandhavācibhyaś cottarasyāḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in *ṛ* 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*)'
hotuḥputraḥ 'son of a priest'
piturantevāsī 'father's student'
pituḥputraḥ 'son of (his) father'

1. Note that non-deletion cannot be blocked in examples such as *ācāryaputraḥ* 'teacher's son' and *mātulaputraḥ* 'maternal uncle's son' because *ācārya* 'teacher' and *mātula* 'mother's brother' do not end in *ṛ*. Non-deletion will similarly be blocked in *hotṛdhanam* 'wealth of the *hotṛ*', *pitṛdhanam* 'father's wealth', *hotṛgṛham* 'home of the *hotṛ*' and *pitṛgṛham* 'father's house', where *hotṛ* and *pitṛ* end in *ṛ* but *dhana* 'wealth' and *gṛha* 'home' are not relatable via *vidyā* 'knowledge' and *yoni* 'birth'.

2. Note that the *pañcamī* 'ablative' specification of *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* 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 *vidyāyonisambandha*. It is for this reason that sometimes we also find examples where constituents relatable via *vidyā* and *yoni* are juxtaposed. Thus, observe *hotuḥputraḥ* 'priest's son' and *piturantevāsī* 'father's student' (see *PM* ad *Kāśikā*).

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) 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 *vidyāyonisambandha* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *tad etasmān mahataḥ sūtraprabandhād vidyāyonisambandhavāciny uttarapade ācāryasyāyam alug abhīṣṭa iti lakṣyata iti*).

6.3.24 **विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः**

vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ

/vibhāṣā 1/1 *svasṛpatyoḥ* 7/2 = *svasā ca patiś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyā* #21 *ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #23)
'*svasṛ, patī*' *ity etayor uttarayor ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyo vibhāṣā alug bhavati*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in *ṛ* and denoting a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*, provided *svasṛ* 'sister' and *pati* 'husband' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

mātuḥṣvasā 'mother's sister'
mātṛṣvasā 'ibidem'
pituḥṣvasā 'father's sister'
pitṛṣvasā 'ibidem'
duhituḥpatiḥ 'daughter's husband.
duhitṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'
nanāndṛpatiḥ 'husband's sister's husband'
nanāndṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *s* of *svasṛ* is obligatorily replaced with *ṣ* when deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* is applied (8.3.84 *mātṛpitṛbhyāṃ svasā*). Such a replacement becomes optional when non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* applies (3.3.85 *māturpitṛbhyām anyatarasyām*).

6.3.25 आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे

ānaṅ ṛto dvandve
/ānaṅ 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *dvandve* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #22)
ṛkārāntānāṃ vidyāyonisambandhavācināṃ yo dvandvas tatrottarapade pūrvapadasyānaṅ ādeśo bhavati
Augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which is formed with constituents ending in *ṛ* 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'
mātāpitarau 'parents'
yātānanāndarau 'husband's brothers's wife and husband's sister'

1. Note that *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced in place of the final sound segment of a compound constituent which precedes (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). Since *n* of *ān* in *ānAṄ* does not serve any purpose, and thus invariably gets deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*, why was

ānAṄ not specified simply as *āṄ* or *ā*? So that its *n* could block the following *r* which is required to follow a replacement of *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.53 *ṅic ca* for derivational details of *hotāpotārau* and *mātāpitarau*.

2. The condition of *ṛT* blocks *ānAṄ* in *pitṛpitāmahau* 'father and grandfather' where *pitāmaha* does not end in *ṛ*. How come *ānAṄ* 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 svasṛpatyoḥ*. This would occasion an optional derivate, i.e., *bhrātuṣputraḥ*, 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 svasṛpatyoḥ*. But there is still a problem. Augment *ānAṄ* is to be introduced when the constituents end in *ṛ*. Obviously, *putra* of *mātāputrau* and *pitāputrau* does not end in *ṛ*. Well, a *dvandva* compound qualified with *ṛT* is different from one where *putra* will constitute the following constituent. I omit discussion of additional arguments offered by commentators relative to *ṛtaḥ* 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 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

devatādvandve ca
/ devatā-dvandve 7/1 = *devatānāṃ dvandvaḥ*
(*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
devatāvācināṃ yo dvandvas tatrottarapade pūrvapadasyānaṅ ādeśo bhavati
Augment *ānAṄ* 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'
indrābṛhaspatī 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'

1. Why is *dvandva* used again in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*? So that *ānAṄ* 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 (*sahavāpanirdiṣṭāḥ*). Thus, we cannot get *ānAṄ* in examples such as *brahmaprajāpatī* 'Brahman-Prajāpati' and *śivavaiśravaṇau* 'Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa'.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks introduction of *ānAṄ* to *vāyu*, irrespective of whether it is combined as an initial or following constituent (*ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *agnivāyū* 'Agni and Vāyu' and *vāyvagnī* 'Vāyu and Agni'.

6.3.27 ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः

īdagneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ
/īt 1/1 *agneḥ* 6/1 *soma-varuṇayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
'*soma, varuṇa*' *ity etayor devatādvandve*' *gner īkārādeśo bhavati*
A long *ī* 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:

agnīṣomau 'Agni and Soma'
agnīvaruṇau 'Agni and Varuṇa'

1. Here again, *ī* comes in place of *i* of *agni*. The *s* of *soma* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.82 *agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ*.

6.3.28 इद् वृद्धौ

id vṛddhau
/it 1/1 *vṛddhau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *agneḥ* #27)
kṛtavṛddhāv 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 *vṛddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āgnivāruṇīm '. . . 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 *ānAṄ* and *īT*. Our derivates *āgnivāruṇī* and *āgnimāruta* are derived by introducing *aṆ* (4.2.23 *sā*' *sya devatā*), parallel to *agnīvaruṇau devate asya* 'those whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa' and *agnīmarutau devate asya* 'those whose divinites are Agni and Marut'. The first example constitutes an exception to the *īT* of 6.3.27 *īd agneḥ*. . . . The second is an exception to *ānAṄ* of 6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *vṛddhi* of both constituents is accomplished by 7.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *ṄīP* of these examples is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

2. The condition of *vṛddhi* in the following constituent blocks *iT* in exam-

ples such as *āgnendraḥ*, where 7.3.24 *nendrasya parasya* negates it. A *Mahābhāṣya* proposal negates *iT* when *viṣṇu* constitutes the following constituent (*id vṛddhau viṣṇoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, there is no *iT* for the *ā* of *āgnāvaiṣṇavam.*

6.3.29 दिवो द्यावा

divo dyāvā
/divaḥ 6/1 *dyāvā* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
'div' ity etasya 'dyāvā' ity ayam 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:

dyāvākṣāme 'heaven and earth'
dyāvābhūmī 'ibidem'

1. Note that *dyāvā* replaces *div* in toto (1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

6.3.30 दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्

divasaś ca pṛthivyām
*/divasaḥ*1/1 *ca* ϕ *pṛthivyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *divo dyāvā* #29)
pṛthivyām uttarapade devatādvandve divaḥ 'divas' ity ayam 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 *pṛthivī* 'earth' is used in combination to follow.

EXAMPLES:

divaspṛthivyau 'heaven and earth'
dyāvāpṛthivyau '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*→*ḥ*, etc. (*rutvādīni*). How would one explain *dyāvā* which replaces *div* in the non-*dvandva* context of *dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete*? This usage is Vedic, and hence, efforts must be made to explain it (*Kāś*: *kartavyo' tra yatnaḥ*). One can accept it as a rare exception seen in the Vedic (*dṛṣṭānuvidhiś ca chandasi*), or else, one may take recourse to the *bāhulaka* provision of *chandasi bahulam* 'usages occur variously in the Vedic'.

6.3.31 उषासोषसः

uṣāsoṣasaḥ
/uṣāsā 1/1 *uṣasaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
uṣasaḥ 'uṣāsā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade
The form *uṣāsā* comes as a replacement for *uṣas* 'dawn', in a compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uṣāsāsūryam 'dawn and sun'
uṣāsānaktā 'dawn and night'

1. This rule offers *uṣāsā* as an exception fo *ānAṄ* of 6.3.25 *devatādvandve ca*. This same is also true of examples of next two rules.

6.3.32 मातरपितरावुदीचाम्

mātarapitarāv udīcām
/mātarapitarau 1/2 *udīcām* 6/3/
'mātarapitarau' ity udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matenāraṅādeśo bhavati
The word *mātarapitarau*, in the opinion of eastern grammarians (*udīcām*), is derived (with *ārAṄ*) via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

mātarapitarau 'mother and father'

1. This rule derives *mātarapitarau*, via *nipātana*. That is, the final *ṛ* (1.152 *ṅic ca*) of *mātṛ* 'mother' is replaced with *arAṄ*. In the opinion of others, we will get *mātāpitarau* with *ānAṄ*.

6.3.33 पितरामातरा च च्छन्दसि

pitarāmātarā ca cchandasi
/pitarāmātarā 1/2 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
'pitarāmātarā' iti chandasi nipātyate
The word *pitarāmātarā* is also derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

pitarāmātarā 'mother and father'

1. This *nipātana* employs *arāṄ* replacing the final *ṛ* of *pitṛ* 'father'. The *au* 'nominative dual' after *mātṛ* is replaced with *ā* (7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*). The *ṛ* of *mātṛ* then goes through a replacement in *guṇa* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*).

6.3.34 स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु

striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇī-priyādiṣu

/striyāḥ 6/1 *puṃvad* ϕ *bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* (6/1 deleted); = *na ūṅ* = *anūṅ* (*nañ.*); *bhāṣitaḥ pumān yasminn arthe sa* = *bhāṣitapuṃskaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ yasmin strīśabde sa bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ strīśabdaḥ* (*bv.*); *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 *striyām* 7/1 *apūraṇīpriyādiṣu* 7/3 = *pūraṇī ca priyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na pūraṇīpriyādayaḥ* (*nañ.*)/

(*uttarapade* #1)

bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅaḥ strīśabdasya puṃśabdasyeva rūpaṃ bhavati samānādhikaraṇe uttarapade strīliṅge pūraṇīpriyādivarjite

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 *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, and not belonging to the list headed by *priyā*, follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine.

EXAMPLES:

darśanīyabhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is beautiful'
ślakṣṇacūḍaḥ 'he whose hairdo is beautiful'
dīrghajaṅghaḥ 'he whose thighs are strong'

1. The characteristic denotatum of a form is spoken of as the conditioning cause for its usage (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, 'worth seeing, beautiful' can be accepted as the conditioning cause for usage of *darśanīya* 'beautiful'. The word *bhāṣitapuṃska* is explained as 'a form whose denotatum conditions the denotation of its corresponding masculine'. Thus, *darśanīyā* can be accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*, 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 (*āyāma*) conditioning their usage, such forms are accepted as having identical bases (*samānākṛti*). The word *bhāṣitapuṃska* thus refers to a form which shares the same denotatum in both masculine and feminine. The word *darśanīyā* is accepted as *bhāsitapuṃska* since it denotes its masculine counterpart *darśanīya* with the same characteristic meaning as its own.

The word *strī* of *striyāḥ* can be interpreted with three meanings:

(*i*) *strī* denotes affixes (*ṬāP*, etc.) used with the denotatum of feminine (*strīpratyaya*);

(*ii*) *strī* denotes a thing qualified with the sense (*artha*) of a female (*strītvaviśiṣṭadravya*);

(*iii*) *strī* denotes a form (*śabda*) with the denotatum of feminine.

Accepting the first interpretation, i.e., *pratyayapakṣa* 'affixal interpretation of *strī*', 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 *paṭubhāryaḥ*, paraphrased as *paṭvī bhāryā' sya* 'he whose wife is clever'. Rule 1.1.58 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* will offer *sthānivadbhāva*, once the feminine affix is removed from *paṭvī*. The result will be an undesired *v* coming as a replacement in *yaṆ* for *u* of *paṭu*, especially when *ī* of the affix is restored through *sthānivadbhāva*. Similarly, in deriving *gargavṛṇdārikā*, 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 तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः

tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ
/ tasilādiṣu 7/3 = *tasil ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ā ϕ kṛtvasucaḥ* 5/1/
(*striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
'*pañcamyās tasil' ity ataḥ prabhṛti 'saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc' iti prāg etasmād ye pratyayās teṣu bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅstriyāḥ puṃvad 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 *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine counterpart, provided affixes enumerated beginning with *tasIL* through *kṛtvasUC* follow.

EXAMPLES:

tasyāḥ śālāyāḥ = tataḥ 'from that (house)'
tasyām . . . = tatra 'in that (house)'
yasyāḥ . . . = yataḥ 'from (the house) which'
yasyām . . . = yatra 'in (the house) which'

1. Note that our earlier rule had the condition of *uttarapade*. This rule is formulated for conexts where *uttarapade* is not required. The *tasilādi* affixes have been enumerated by rules 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* through 5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyā kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*. Since these are enumerated within the domain of 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* they are termed *vibhakti*.

2. Note that *tyad* and *yad*, 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 *bhāṣitapuṃska*. A masculine transformation on *tad + ṬāP + ṄasI + tra* and *tad + ṬāP + Ṅi + tra*, will, subsequent to deletion of *ṬāP* and *Ṅi*, yield *tad + tas* and *tad + tra*. Rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām 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 *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, respectively. Refer to derivational details of *tatra* and other relevant derivates under the appendix of rules 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, 2.4.71 *supodhātu-prātipadikayoḥ* and 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*.

3. The *tasilādi* listing includes ceratin affixes before which *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is not desired (*neṣyate*). There are certain affixes which are not contained within the *tasilādi* group, but before which *puṃvad-bhāva* is desired (*iṣyate*). It is, therefore, recommended that these affixes be clearly specified. *Kāśikā* enumerates them: *tra* (5.3.10 *tratasau*) and *tas* (5.3.57 *pañcamyās tasil*); *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana* . . .) and *tamaP* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane* . . .); *caraṬ* (5.3.53 *bhūtapūrve caraṭ*) and *jātīyaR* (5.3.69 *prakāravacane* . . .); *kalpaP*, *deśya* and *deśīyaR* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau* . . .); *rūpyaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap*) and *pāśaP* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāśap*); *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 *vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām* . . .).

4. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes some additional *puṃvadbhāva* proposals as follows:

(*i*) A statement should be made about *puṃvadbhāva* of nominals used with the signification of *bahu* 'many, much' and *alpa* 'little, less' when *Śas* 'accusative plural' follows (*śasi bahvālpārthasya puṃvad-bhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *bahuśo dehi* and *alpaśo dehi*.

(*ii*) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made when a nominal used with the signification of quality (*guṇavacana*) is used before affixes *tva* and *traL*. Thus, *paṭvyā bhāvaḥ* = *paṭutvam* and *paṭutā* 'clever-ness'.

(*iii*) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made for that which is termed *bha* when a *taddhita* affix other than *ḍha* follows (*bhasyāḍhe taddhite puṃvadbhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *hastinīnāṃ samūhaḥ* = *hāstikam* 'group of (female) elephants'. How can one derive *āgneyaḥ*, paraphrased as *āgnāyo devatā' sya* 'that whose divinity is *āgnāya*'. That is, when *puṃvadbhāva* is blocked before *ḍha*? The form should be *āgnāyeyaḥ* if *ḍha* is introduced after *āgnāyī*. Efforts must be made to derive it with *puṃvadbhāva* (*kartavyo' tra yatnaḥ*). It is stated that this provision of *puṃvadbhāva* 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 *āgneyaḥ*.

(*iv*) This *puṃvadbhāva* must also be stated before affixes *ṭhaK* and *chaS*. Thus, consider *bhavatyāḥ chātrāḥ* = *bhāvatkāḥ* and *bhavadīyāḥ* 'your students'.

6.3.36 क्यङ्मानिनोश्च

kyaṅmāninoś ca

/kyaṅ-māninoḥ 7/2 = *kyaṅ ca mānin ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
kyaṅi parato mānini ca striyā bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ puṃvad 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 *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a word ending in affix *KyaṄ* and *mānin* follows.

EXAMPLES:

etāyate 'acts like a hind'
śyetāyate 'acts like a hawk'
darśanīyamānī ayam asyāḥ 'this (husband) of hers considers himself handsome'
darśanīyamāninīyam asyāḥ 'she considers herself beautiful'

1. The words *enī* and *śyenī* are derivates of *ṄīP* introduced after *eta* and *śyeta*, with an additional provision of *n* replacing their *t* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt*. . .). Forms such as *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*, paraphrased as *enī iva ācarati* and *śyenī iva ācarati*, respectively, are derived with the introduction of affix *KyaṄ* after *enī* + *sU* and *śyenī* + *sU*. An application of *puṃvadbhāva* on *enī* + *sU* + (*K*)*ya*(*Ṅ*) and *śyenī* + *sU* + (*k*)*ya*(*Ṅ*), subsequent to the removal of *ṄīP* and deletion of *sU*, will produce *eta* + *ya* and *śyeta* + *ya*. A removal of *ṄīP* will also result in the removal of *n* which replaced *t* of *eta* and *śyeta* of *enī* and *śyenī*. For, *ṄīP* and (*n*→*t*) were introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Recall that 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātu* . . . will here cause *a* before *ya* to be replaced with *ā*. Thus, *etāya* and *śyetāya* will be roots after which *LAṬ* can be introduced to subsequently derive *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*.

Similar steps are involved in deriving *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī* from (*darśanīya* + *ṄīP*) + *am* + (*man* + *ṆinI*)) = *darśanīyā* + *mānin* and (*darśanīyā* + *am*) + (*man* + *ṆinI*) + *ṄīP*))) = *darśanīyā* + *māninī*, respectively. Our final derivates, subsequent to the application of *puṃvadbhāva*, will be: *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī*, respectively.

2. Note that *mānin* is used here to cover derivates lacking syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). That is, when the object of *dṛś* and the agent of *manin* are not the same. For, in situations where they are both in syntactic coordination, *puṃvadbhāva* can be accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād*. . . . Consider *darśanīyamāninī* which is paraphrased as *darśanīyām ātmānaṃ manyate devadattā iyam* 'this daughter of Devadatta considers herself beautiful'. Now consider the example where synatactic coordination between the object of *dṛś* and agent of *man* is lacking: *darśanīyām imāṃ yajñadattāṃ manyate devadattā* 'Devadatta's daughter considers this daughter of Yajñadatta beautiful'.

6.3.37 **न कोपधायाः**

/ na kopadhāyāḥ
/ na ϕ kopadhāyāḥ 6/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasyāḥ sā (bv.), tasyāḥ/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
kopadhāyāḥ striyāḥ puṃvadbhāvo 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 *ūṄ*, not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

pācikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a cook'
kārikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a doer'
madrikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Madra'
vṛjikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Vṛji'
madrikāyate 'acts like one from Madra'
vṛjikāyate 'acts like one from Vṛji'
madrikāmāninī 'considers herself from Madra'
vṛjikāmāninī 'considers herself from Vṛji'

1. This rule blocks *puṃvadbhāva* 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 *ṆvuL* terminating in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Their *iṬ* has been introduced by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . . These derivates are both *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Consequently, *puṃvadbhāva* is available to them from 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād*. . . . This rule negates it. Examples such as *madrikābhāryaḥ* and *vṛjikābhāryaḥ* also had *puṃvadbhāva* of *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* available to them from 6.3.35 *tasilādi*. . . . Recall that the bases after which the feminine affix is introduced to derive *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* are derivates of *kaN* (4.2.131 *madravṛjyoḥ* . . .). Derivates of *KyaṄ*, for example *madrikāyate* and *vṛjikāyate*, had *puṃvadbhāva* available from 6.3.36 *kyaṅmāninoś ca*. Our present rule negates it here.

2. This negation of *puṃvadbhāva*, specified with *kakāropadha* 'having *k* in its penultimate position', should negate *vu*, i.e., *aka*, when related to a *taddhita*. Thus, *puṃvadbhāva* should apply to *pākā* 'young female', a derivate of *ṬāP* introduced after *pāka* ending in *kaN*. An example is: *pākabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is young'.

6.3.38 **संज्ञापूरण्योश्च**

saṃjñāpūraṇyoś ca
/ saṃjñāpūraṇyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ* #33 *na* #37)

saṃjñāyāḥ pūraṇyāś ca striyāḥ puṃvadbhāvo na bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (*saṃjñā*) or ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

dattābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is Dattā'
guptābhāryaḥ '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'
dattāmāninī 'she who considers herself Dattā'
guptāmāninī 'she who considers herself Guptā'
pañcamībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is the fifth'
daśamībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is the tenth'
pañcamīpāśa 'the fifth who deserves censure'
daśamīpāśā 'the tenth who deserves censure'
pañcamīyate 'she acts as if she was the fifth'
daśamīyate 'she acts as if she was the tenth'
pañcamīmāninī 'she considers herself the fifth'
daśamīmāninī 'she considers herself the tenth'

1. This rule negates *puṃvadbhāva* of female names and forms which end in a *pūraṇa* 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 *ṬāP*, are accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Incidentally, *datta* and *gupta*, their masculine counterparts, end in *Kta* introduced after *dā* and *gup* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*). The sense of *pañcamatva* 'fifthness' and *daśamatva* 'tenthness' can constitute the condition for usage of *pañcama/pañcamī* and *daśama/daśamī*. That is, *pañcamī* 'fifth' and *daśamī* 'tenth' are also *bhāṣitapuṃska*.

Why list derivates of *KyaṄ* as examples when they do not differ in form? That is, whether *puṃvadbhāva* applies or not. These examples are offered to specify the scope of negation.

6.3.39 वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे

vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasyāraktavikāre
/vṛddhinimittasya 6/1 = *vṛddher nimittaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya; ca* ϕ/ *taddhitasya* 6/1 *araktavikāre* = *raktaṃ ca vikāraś ca* = *raktavikāram* (*dv.*); *na raktavikāram* (*nañ.*), *tasmin/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33 *na* #37)

vṛddhinimittas taddhitaḥ yadi rakte' rthe vikāre ca na vihitaḥ, tadantasya strīśabdasya na puṃvad 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 *vṛddhi*, 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 raktaṃ . . .*)' and *vikāra* 'a modification of . . . (4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Srughna'
māthurībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Mathurā'
sraughnīpāśā 'the one from Srughna deserves censure'
sraughnīyate 'acts as one from Srughna'
māthurīyate 'acts as one from Mathurā'
sraughnīmāninī 'she who considers herself as one from Srughna'
māthurīmāninī 'she who considers herself as one from Mathurā'

1. Note that the *taddhita* affixes which are accepted as conditioning *vṛddhi* are marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*) and *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*). Our example constituents, i.e., *sraughnī* and *māthurī*, are derivates of *aṆ* (4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*), used in the feminine with affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*). This *aṆ* is obviously not introduced with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* thus becomes applicable.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *madhyamabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife was born as a middle child' as a counter-example to the condition of *vṛddhinimitta* 'cause of *vṛddhi*'. Recall that *madhyama* is a *taddhita* derivate with affix *ma* (4.3.8 *madhyān maḥ*). But this affix does not have any *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* which may cause *vṛddhi*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* is thus blocked. Now consider *kāṇḍalāvabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife chops wood' which is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *taddhita*. Since *kāṇḍalāvā*, a derivate of *aṆ* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*) used in the feminine, has an affix other than a *taddhita*, *puṃvadbhāva* still cannot be blocked. Finally, counter-examples relative to the condition of *araktavikāre* 'when not denoting *rakta* and *vikāra*', are offered as: *kāṣāya-bṛhatikaḥ* 'he who wears a robe colored with a red dye' and *lauheṣaḥ* 'he whose cart-rails are made of iron'. The feminine affixes in *kāṣāyī* and *lauhī* are introduced after *taddhita* derivates conditioned with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. Here again *puṃvadbhāva* cannot be negated.

3. Note that *vṛddhinimitta*, a qualifier to *taddhita*, is interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *vṛddher nimittaṃ yasmin* 'that in which there is the cause of *vṛddhi*'. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block *puṃvadbhāva* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* in *tāvadbhāryaḥ* and *yāvadbhāryaḥ*. The *ā* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is termed *vṛddhi*, but it is not conditioned here by a *taddhita* affix containing *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K*. The *ā* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced to *tad* + *vatUP* and *yad* +

vatUP by rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ*. The *ṄīP* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced by 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*.

6.3.40 **स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः**

svāṅgāc cetaḥ
/svāṅgāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ītaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33 *na* #37)
svāṅgād uttaro ya īkāras tadantāyāḥ 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:

dīrghakeśībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife has long hairs'
ślakṣṇakeśībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife has shiny hairs'
dīrghakeśīpāśā 'she, the one with long hairs, deserves to be censured'
ślakṣṇakeśīpāśa 'she, the one with shiny hairs, deserves to be censured'
dīrghakeśīyate 'she acts like someone with long hairs'
ślakṣṇakeśīyate '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 *ṄīṢ* of *dīrghakeśī* '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 *paṭvībhāryaḥ* '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 *akeśā*, ending in *ā* of *ṬāP*, can avail *puṃvadbhāva*. Affix *ṄīṢ*, in this derivate, is blocked by 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamāna. . . .*

3. A *vārttika* proposal allows this negation when *māninī* does not follow. *Kāśikā* reads *amānini* at the end as part of this *sūtra*. Thus, *kaṭhī* of *kaṭhamāninī* 'she who considers herself a Kaṭha' goes through *puṃvadbhāva*.

6.3.41 **जातेश्च**

jāteś ca
/jāteḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ* #33 *na* #37)
jāteś ca striyā na puṃvad bhavati amānini parataḥ
The form of a nominal which denotes *jāti* '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'
bahvṛcībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a Bahvṛca'
kaṭhīpāśā 'this Kaṭha woman deserves censure'
bahvṛcīpāśā 'this Bahvṛca woman deserves censure'
kaṭhīyate 'acts like a Kaṭha woman'
bahvṛcīyate 'acts like a Bahvṛca woman'

1. Recall that affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced in *kaṭhī* and *bahvṛcī* by 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayā*. . . . The condition of *amānini* still applies.

2. A proposal not to negate *puṃvadbhāva* specified by enumeration (*aupasaṃkhyānika*) is also made. This mainly concerns *puṃvadbhāva* proposal of a *vārttika*, ad 5.3.35 *tasilādiṣu* . . . (cf. *bhasyāḍhe taddhite*).

6.3.42 पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु

puṃvat karmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu
/puṃvat ϕ karmadhāraya-jātīya-deśīyeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
uttarapade #1 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
karmadhāraye samāse 'jātīya, deśīya' ity etayoś ca pratyayor bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ striyāḥ puṃvad bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūṄ* 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 *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR* follow.

EXAMPLES:

pācakavṛndārikā 'a female cook'
pācakajātīyā 'like a cook'
pācakadeśīyā 'almost a cook'
dattavṛndārikā 'a cook named Dattā'
dattajātīyā 'like Dattā'
dattadeśīyā 'almost like Dattā'
pañcamavṛndārikā 'the fifth cook'
pañcamajātīyā 'like the fifth cook'
pañcamadeśīyā 'almost like the fifth cook'
sraughnabhāryā 'a wife born in Srughna'
sraughnajātīyā 'a wife like someone born in Srughna'
sraughnadeśīyā 'almost like one born in Srughna'
ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā 'a cook with a shining face'
ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā 'like one with a shining face'

ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā 'almost like someone with a shining face'
kaṭhavṛndārikā 'a Kaṭhī who is a cook'
kaṭhajātīyā 'like a Kaṭhī'
kaṭhadeśīyā 'almost like a Kaṭhī'

1. This rule is formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply where it has been denied. Thus, consider the following:
   (*a*) *pācakavṛndārikā* and *pācakajātīyā*, where the negation of 6.1.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ* does not apply;
   (*b*) *dattavṛndārikā* and *pañcamavṛndārikā*, where the negation of 6.3.38 *saṃjñāpūraṇayoś ca* does not apply;
   (*c*) *sraughnajātīyā* and *sraughnadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca . . .* does not apply;
   (*d*) *ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā*, *ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā* and *ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.40 *svāṅgāc cetaḥ* does not apply;
   (*e*) *kaṭhavṛndārikā*, *kaṭhajātīyā* and *kaṭhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.41 *jāteś ca* does not apply.

Note, however, that this rule is not formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply, even where the two conditions of *bhāṣitapuṃskāt* and *anūṅ* are not satisfied. Thus, *khaṭvābhāryaḥ* and *brahmabandhūvṛndārikā*, where *khaṭvā*, of the first compound, is obligatorily feminine, and *brahmabandhū*, of the second, ends in *ūN*.

2. Rules 5..3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar* and 5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau* introduce affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR*, respectively.

3. There are some additional proposals made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:
   (*i*) *kukkuṭī* 'hen', etc., avail *puṃvadbhāva* when *aṇḍa* 'egg', etc., are used in combination after them. Thus, *kukkuṭyā aṇḍam* = *kukkuṭyāṇḍam* 'hen's-egg' and *mṛgyāḥ padam* = *mṛgapadam* '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 female within that class, *puṃvadbhāva* is not needed.
   (*ii*) Shortening (*hrasva*), as against *puṃvadbhāva*, should be applied where an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*, or an affix termed *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*), follows. Thus, *kālīmmanyā*/*hariṇimmanyā* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*) and *paṭvitarā*/*paṭvitamā*.

6.3.43 घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः

gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu ṅyo' nekāco hrasvaḥ
/gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hateṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ṅyaḥ* 6/1 *anekācaḥ* 1/1 = *anekaḥ ac yasmin* (*bv.*); *na anekāc* (*nañ.*); *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/ *'gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hata' ity eteṣu parato bhāṣitapuṃskāt paro yo ṅīpratyayas tadantasyānekāco hrasvo bhavati*

A *Ṅī* at the end of a polysyllabic (*anekāc*) nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūṄ*, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṬ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇitarā 'a better brāhmaṇa woman'
brahmaṇitamā 'the best brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇirūpā 'an excellent brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇikalpā 'kind of a brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇicelī 'not quite a brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇibruvā 'a brāhmaṇa woman by name only'
brāhmaṇigotrā 'a brāhmaṇa woman by *gotra* only'
brāhmaṇimatā 'a brāhmaṇa woman deserving of censure'
brāhmaṇihatā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers shortening (*hrasva*) against *puṃvadbhāva*. The word *gha* here refers to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.21 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Similar references are made by affixes *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyām . . .*) and *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau . . .*). A reference with *celaṬ*, *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 derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy . . .*). A specification of *cela*, with *Ṭ* as an *it*, is made so that *ṄīP* could be introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . . .* Note that *brū* 'to speak' gets *aC* and no replacement in *vac*, via *nipātana*. 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 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa. . . .*

The word *brāhmaṇī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ*. The shortening of this rule applies to its final *ī*. This shortening, however, still maintains the condition of *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Thus, no shortening is allowed in *āmalakītarā* and *kuvalītarā*, where *āmalakī* and *kuvalī* are obligatorily feminine.

6.3.44 नद्याः शेषस्याऽन्यतरस्याम्

nadyāḥ śeṣasyānyatarasyām
/nadyāḥ 5/1 *śeṣasya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *gharūpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ* #43)
nadyāḥ śeṣasya ghādiṣu parataḥ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of remaining nominals, namely those which are termed *nadī*, is replaced with its corresponding short only optionally, when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṬ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhutarā 'a better brahmabandhū'

brahmabandhūtarā 'ibidem'
brahmabandhutamā 'the best brahmabandhū'
brahmabandhūtamā 'ibidem'
vīrabandhutarā 'a better vīrabandhū'
vīrabandhūtarā 'ibidem'
stritarā 'better woman'
strītarā 'ibidem'
stritamā 'best woman'
strītamā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional shortening to *nadī* words, not covered by the preceding rule. That is, *nadī* words which do not end in *Ṅī*, and also those which end in *Ṅī* but are constituted by a single vowel (*ekāc*). Recall that 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to feminine forms ending in *ī* and *ū*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this shortening when a *nadī* word happens to be a derivate of affix *kṛt* (*vt*: *kṛnnadyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *lakṣmītarā* and *tantrītarā*, where *lakṣmī* and *tantrī* are derivates of *kṛt* (III:158–9: *avitṛṣ . . ./ lakṣmer muṭ ca*).

6.3.45 उगितश्च

ugitaś ca
/ugitaḥ 5/1 = *uk it yasya* = *ugit* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *gharūpakalpaceladṛbruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ* #43 *anyatartasyām nadyāḥ* #44)
ugitaś ca parasyā nadyā ghādiṣu anyatarasyāṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final sound segment of a nominal termed *nadī* when occurring in combination after a form with *uK*, i.e., *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, as an *it*, is also replaced with its short counterpart, provided *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṬ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

śreyasītarā 'comparatively more superior'
śreyasitarā 'ibidem'
śreyastarā 'ibidem'
viduṣītarā 'comparatively more learned'
viduṣitarā 'ibidem'
vidvattarā 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows optional shortening in case of a *nadī* word derived with a *taddhita* affix marked with *U* and *Ṛ* as an *it*. Of course, the right context of *gha*, etc., is still valid. Thus, *śreyasītarā*, *śreyasitarā*. Recall that *śreyasī* is derived with *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) introduced after *śreyas*. The word *śreyas* itself is a derivate of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana . . .*), where *praśasya* 'excellent', of *praśasya* + *īyasUN*, is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*).

Note that *viduṣītarā* is a derivate of *taraP* introduced after *viduṣī* 'learned female'. Affix *ṄīP* is introduced here after *vidvas* 'knowledgeable' which, in turn, is a derivate of *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*) replacing *LAṬ*. A further replacement in *vas* for *ŚatṚ* is then ordered by 7.1.36 *videḥ śatur vasuḥ*. Deriving *vidūṣī* from *vidvas* + *ṄīP* involves *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* (6.4.131 *vasoḥ . . .*), followed by a single replacement similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*) *u* of the sequence *u* + *a*.

Note that *Kāśikā* also desires *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' as an alternate to shortening. Bhaṭṭoji (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., *śreyasītarā*, a suspect.

6.3.46 आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः

ān mahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ
/āt 5/1 *mahataḥ* 5/1 *samānādhikaraṇa-jātīyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/* (*uttarapade* #1)
samānādhikaraṇa uttarapade jātīye ca pratyaye parato mahata ākārādeśo 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'
mahābāhuḥ 'he whose arms are long'
mahābalaḥ 'he who has great strength'
mahājātīyaḥ 'moderately large'

1. This rule introduces *āT* (*ā*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for the final *t* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *mahat* when the same is followed, either by a *pada* in syntactic coordination or by *jātīyaR*. Thus we get *mahādevaḥ* and *mahājātīyaḥ*, 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 *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* 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): *lakṣaṇapratipaddoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* '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

bahuvrīhi compounds, for example *mahābāhu, samānādhikaraṇaḥ* '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 mahadbhūtaś candramāḥ* 'a previously not so big moon has become big'. Because the meaning of *mahat* here is secondary (*gauṇa*; *Kāś*: *gauṇatvān mahadarthasya na bhavaty ātvam*).

2. The *t* in *āt* of this rule is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). It could not be accepted as used for indicating *ā*, via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). For, *ā* alone could accomplish that.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow *ā*, and *puṃvadbhāva* as well, where *ghāsa* 'grass, food', *kara* 'hand' and *viśiṣṭa* 'distinguished' occur as following constituents, and a meaning with no syntactic coordination is involved. Thus, *mahatyā ghāsaḥ = mahāghāsaḥ, mahākaraḥ* and *mahāviśiṣṭaḥ*.

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 *haviṣ* 'ritual oblation of food'. Thus, consider *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam = aṣṭākapālam* of *aṣṭākapāle caruṃ nirvapet* 'should offer ritual oblation of *caru* in *aṣṭākapāla*'. We will get *aṣṭakapālam* in contexts outside the meaning of *haviṣ*.

An additional proposal for *ā* is made, again with reference to *aṣṭan* 'eight', when *go* follows and the derivate denotes the sense of *yukta* 'equipped, associated'. Thus, *aṣṭāgavena śakaṭena* 'by a cart pulled by eight bulls'. But consider *aṣṭagavaṃ brāhmaṇasya* 'eight cows of the brāhmaṇa', where no meaning of *yukta* is present.

6.3.47 द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः

dvyaṣṭanaḥ saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ
/ dvy-aṣṭanaḥ 6/1 = *dvau ca aṣṭa ca = dvyaṣṭa* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *saṃkhyāyām* 7/1 *abahuvrīhy-aśītyoḥ* 7/2 = *bahuvrīhiś ca aśītiś ca = bahuvrīhy-aśīti* (*nañ*); *na bahuvrīhyaśīti* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *āt* #46)
'*dvi, aṣṭan*' *ity etayor ākārādeśo bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade abrahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*
The final sound segment (*aL*) of *dvi* and *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number', with the exception of *aśīti* 'eighty', combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

dvādaśa 'twelve'
dvāviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-two'
dvātriṃśat 'twenty-three'
aṣṭādaśa 'eighteen'

aṣṭāviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-eight'
aṣṭātriṃśat 'eighty-three'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ā* to *dvi* and *aṣṭan*, when a number word other than *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, consider *dvāviṃśati* and *aṣṭāviṃśati*.

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 *tṛtīyā yauvanākhyā daśā sadā yeṣām* 'those whose third state of life named 'youth' is eternal'. Incidentally, it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *saṃkhyayā' vyayā . . .*) where the *samāsānta* affix *ḌaC* is introduced (5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau . . .*) to follow. A replacement in *ā* will also be blocked in *dvyaśīti* 'eighty-two' because *aśīti* 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 śatāt*). Thus *dviśatam* 'two hundred' and *dvisahasram* 'two thousand' will be counter-examples.

6.3.48 त्रेस्त्रयः

trestrayaḥ
/treḥ 6/1 *trayaḥ* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #47)
'tri' ity etasya śabdasya trayas ādeśo bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade' bahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ
The final sound segment of *tri* is replaced with *trayas* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' with the exception of *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

trayodaśa 'thirteen'
trayoviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-three'
trayastriṃśat '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 *aśīti*. Thus, consider *trayodaśa*, *trayoviṃśati* and *trayastriṃśat*.

Note that the restriction of a number lower than a hundred still applies. In addition, we still have conditions of *abahuvrīhau* and *aśīti*. This replacement will thus be blocked in *tridaśāḥ/ tryaśītiḥ*, and *triśatam/ trisahasram*, etc.

6.3.49 विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम्

vibhāṣā catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām

/vibhāṣā 1/1 *catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau* 7/1 = *catvāriṃśat prabhṛti yasyāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyām*; *sarveṣām* 6/3/
(*uttarapade* #1 *abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #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 *aśīti*, combine to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

dvicatvāriṃśat 'forty-two'
dvācatvāriṃśat 'ibidem'
tripañcāśat 'fifty-three'
trayaḥpañcāśat 'ibidem'
aṣṭapañcāśat 'fifty-eight'
aṣṭāpañcāśat 'ibidem'

1. Replacements offered under the preceding two rules are here made optional. That is, when *dvi*, *tri* and *aṣṭan* combine in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following number word which denotes forty and above and is not *aśīti*. Additionally, the restriction of a number word denoting less than a hundred still applies. Thus, we get *dvicatvāriṃśat*/*dvācatvāriṃśat*, etc. Compounds such as *dviśatam*, *dvisahasram*, etc., will be excluded because of their *śata* 'hundred'.

6.3.50 हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्लासेषु

hṛdayasya hṛllekhyayadaṇlāseṣu
/hṛdayasya 6/1 *hṛt* 1/1 *lekha-yad-aṇ-lāseṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*uttarapade* #1)
hṛdayasya 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'lekha, yat, aṇ, lāsa' ity eteṣu parataḥ
The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt* 'heart' when *lekha* 'line', *yat*, *aṆ* and *lāsa* 'jumping' follow.

EXAMPLES:

hṛllekhaḥ = *hṛdayaṃ likhati* 'heart-writing'
hṛdyam = *hṛdayasya priyam* 'dear to heart'
hārddam = *hṛdayasyedam* 'pertaining to one's heart'
hṛllāsaḥ = *hṛdayasya lāsaḥ* 'heart's joy'

1. This rule offers *hṛt* as a replacement for *hṛdaya* when *lekha*, *yaT* and *aṆ* follow. Note that *yaT* and *aṆ* are affixes, and this specification does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*. That is, they are here understood as introduced after *hṛdaya*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre tadantagrahaṇe tadantāgrahaṇasya* '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 *aṆ*. That is, it is not interpreted here as derived with *GHaÑ*. A *GHaÑ* interpretation of *lekha* will thus not permit this replacement. Thus, *hṛdayasya lekhaḥ = hṛdayalekhaḥ*.

6.3.51 वा शोकष्यञ्रोगेषु

vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu
/vā ϕ śoka-ṣyañ-rogeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *hṛdayasya hṛt* #50)
'śoka, ṣyañ, roga' ity eteṣu parato hṛdayasya vā 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, only optionally, when *śoka* 'grief, sadness', *ṢyaÑ* and *roga* 'disease' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

hṛcchokaḥ 'heart's grief'
hṛdayaśokaḥ 'ibidem'
sauhārdyam 'good-heartedness; friendship'
sauhṛdayyam 'ibidem'
hṛdrogaḥ 'heart disease'
hṛdayarogaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule renders a replacement by *hṛt* optional when *hṛdaya* is followed by *śoka*, *ṢyaÑ* and *roga*. The *ṢyaÑ* of this specification is here interpreted as affix *SyaÑ*. Recall that this affix is introduced after *hṛdaya*, based on its listing in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals (5.1.124 *guṇavacana-brāhmaṇādi . . .*). Thus, we get *hṛcchokaḥ/hṛdayaśokaḥ* and *sauhārdyam/suhṛdayyam* 'good heartedness', etc.

2. A replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvante . . .*) is accomplished for both constituents, i.e., *su* and *hṛt*, when *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, as in *suhṛdaya* + (*Ṣ*)*ya*(*Ñ*). If *hṛdaya* is not replaced with *hṛt*, we will get initial *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām . . .*, where the final *a* of *hṛdaya* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *t* of *hṛt* in *hṛcchoka* is replaced with *c* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). A similar replacement of *ś* of *śoka* with *ch* is accomplished by 8.4.62 *śaś cho' ti*.

3. Why do we have to sate this replacement of *hṛdaya* 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 *hṛdaya* is nothing but expatiation (*prapañca*; *Kāś*: *hṛdayaśabdena samānārtho hṛtśabdaḥ prakṛtyantaram asti tenaiva siddhe vikalpa-vidhānaṃ prapañcārtham*).

6.3.52 पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु

pādasya padājyātigopahateṣu

/pādasya 6/1 *pada-ājy-āti-ga-upahateṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade*)
pādasya 'pada' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'āji, āti, ga, upahata' ity eteṣūttara-padeṣu
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:

padājiḥ = *pādābhyām ajati* 'goes by foot'
padātiḥ = *pādābhyām aṭati* 'foot-goer; infantryman'
padagaḥ = *pādābhyāṃ gacchati* 'ibidem'
padopahataḥ = *pādenopahataḥ* 'kicked by foot'

1. This rule replaces *pāda* with *pada* when *āji, āti, ga* and *upahata* combine to follow. Note that *āji* and *āti* are derivates of the *Uṇādi* affix *iṆ*, introduced after *aj* and *at*. A replacement in *vī*, required for *aj* (22.4.56 *ajer vyaghañapoḥ*), is blocked because of *iṆ*. Thus we get *padājiḥ*, 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 *vṛṣādīnāṃ ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its replacement in *pada* is offered *udātta* at the end (6.1.168 *ūḍidampadā* . . .). Consequently, in a compound such as *padopahataḥ*, *pada* retains its final *udātta* (6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*). That is, the compound is *udātta* at the beginning. The other derivates, i.e., *padātiḥ*, *padājiḥ* and *padgaḥ*, are marked *udātta* 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 पद्यत्यतदर्थे

pad yaty atadarthe
/pad 1/1 *yati* 7/1 *atadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam* = *tadartham; na tadartham* (*nañ*. with int. *cat tat.*), *tasmin/*
yatpratyaye parataḥ pādasya pad ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *pāda* is replaced with *pad* when affix *yaT*, used with the signification of something other than *tadartha* 'intended or beneficial for that', follows.

EXAMPLES:

pádyāḥ = *śarkarāḥ, pādau vidhyanti* 'gravel which hurts feet'
padyāḥ = *kaṇṭakāḥ* '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'. Recall that rule 5.4.25 *pādārghyāṃ 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 *padyāḥ*, paraphrased as *pādau vidhyanty = 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, *pādābhyāṃ carati = padikaḥ*. This *ika* is a replacement of affix *ṢthaN* (4.4.10 *parpādibhyaṣ ṣthan*). Incidentally, *pāda* in this proposal denotes 'foot', and not a measure (*pramāṇa*). That is, *dvipādyam*, etc., of 5.1.34 *paṇapādamāṣa* . . . will not qualify for this replacement.

6.3.54 हिमकाषिहतिषु

himakāṣihatiṣu ca
/ hima-kāṣi-hatiṣu 7/3 = *himaṃ ca kāṣī ca hatiś ca = himakāṣihatayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
'*hima, kāṣin, hati*' *ity eteṣu pādaśabdasya* '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda* is also replaced with *pad*, when *hima* 'snow', *kāṣin* 'rubbing' and *hati* 'stroking' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

paddhimam 'foot-cold'
patkāṣiṇaḥ 'pedestrian'
paddhatiḥ 'sidewalk, dirtroad'

1. This rule allows *pad* as a replacement for *pāda*, also when *hima*, *kāṣin* and *hati* combine to follow. Note also that *paddhima* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, where *h* of *hima* gets replaced with *dh* (8.4.61 *jhayo ho' nyatarasyām*). Affix *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *sypy ajātau* . . .) is introduced in deriving *patkāṣin*, where *d* of *pad* gets replaced with *t* (8.4.55 *khari ca*).

6.3.55 ऋचः शे

ṛcaḥ śe
/ṛcaḥ 6/1 *śe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
ṛksambandhinaḥ pādaśabdasya śe parataḥ '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda*, when used in relation to *ṛk* 'hymn', is replaced with *pad*, provided *śe* (affix *śas*; 5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāt* . . .) 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 *saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca*) is introduced in *pacchaḥ* with the signification of *vīpsā* 'pervasion, repetition'. Thus, (*pāda→pad*) + *śas→pad* + *śas*, where *d* gets replaced with *c* (*ścutva*; 8.4.10 *stoś ścunā ścuḥ*). The *ś* of *śas* is also replaced with *ch* of 8.4.62 *śaś cho' ṭi*.

This replacement will not be allowed in case of *pādaśaḥ*, of *pādaśaḥ kārṣāpaṇaṃ dadāti* 'gives a quarter of Kārṣāpaṇa each', because the derivate meaning does not relate to a hymn.

6.3.56 वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु

vā ghoṣamiśraśabdeṣu
/vā ϕ ghoṣa-miśra-śabdeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
'*ghoṣa, miśra, śabda*' *ity eteṣū cottareṣu pādasya* '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda* is optionally replaced with *pad* when *ghoṣa* 'noise', *miśra* 'mixed' and *śabda* 'noise, word' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

padghoṣaḥ 'foot-noise'
pādaghoṣaḥ 'ibidem'
panmiśraḥ 'foot-mixed'
pādamiśraḥ 'ibidem'
pacchabdaḥ 'foot-noise'
pādaśabdaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the replacement optional when *pāda* combines with *ghoṣa, miśra* and *śabda* to follow. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made to allow this replacement when *niṣka* 'gold coin' combines to follow. Thus, *panniṣkaḥ* 'one quarter of a gold coin, named *niṣka*' and *pādaniṣkaḥ*.

2. Note that *pāda* of these examples combines with *ghoṣa* and *śabda* to form a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. A compound with *miśra* in interpreted as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa . . .*). Incidentally, the *d* of *padmiśraḥ*, is replaced with *n* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike . . .*). For phonological changes in deriving *pacchabda* from *padśabda*, follow rules similar to *pacchaḥ* of the preceding rule.

6.3.57 उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम्

udakasyodaḥ saṃjñāyām
/udakasya 6/1 *udaḥ* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
udakaśabdasya saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye '*uda*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* 'water' is replaced with *uda* when a constituent follows, and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

udamegho nāma yasya audameghiḥ putraḥ 'Audameghi is the son of (he whose name is) Udamegha'
udavāho nāma yasya audavāhiḥ putraḥ
'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 (*saṃjñā*). Thus, consider *audameghiḥ* 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 *karmaṇy aṇ*. This replacement in *uda* will be blocked in *udakagiriḥ* '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, *lohitodaḥ* 'red-water', *kṣīrodaḥ* 'milk-water' and *nīlodaḥ* 'blue-water'.

6.3.58 पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च

peṣaṃvāsavāhanadhiṣu ca
/peṣaṃ-vāsa-vāhana-dhiṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #56)
'peṣam, vāsa, vāhana, dhi' ity eteṣu cottarapadeṣu 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:

udapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi '. . . grinds something into a paste by adding water'
udavāsaḥ = *udakasya vāsaḥ* 'residing in water; reservoir'
udavāhanaḥ = *udakasya vāhanaḥ* 'water-carrier'
udadhiḥ = *udakaṃ dhīyate' 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 पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम्

ekahalādau pūrayitavye' nyatarasyām

/ekahalādau 7/1 = *eko hal ādir yasya* (*bv.* with three constituents (*tripada*)), *tasmin*; *pūrayitavye* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57)
ekahalādau pūrayitavyavāciny anyatarasyām udakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo 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:

udakumbhaḥ 'pitcher of water'
udakakumbhaḥ 'ibidem'
udapātram '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 मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु

manthaudanasaktubinduvajrabhārahāravīvadhagāheṣu
/mantha-odana-saktu-bindu-vajra-bhāra-hāra-vīvadha-gāheṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *eteṣu*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57 *anyatarasyām* #59)
'mantha, odana, saktu, bindu, vajra, bhāra, hāra, vīvadha, gāha' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣūdakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *udaka* is optionally replaced by *uda* when *mantha* 'mixed beverage', *odana* 'rice', *saktu* 'barley (roasted and powdered) meal', *bindu* 'drop', *vajra* 'water-jar', *bhāra* 'load', *hāra* 'carrier', *vīvadha* 'carrying pole, yoke' and *gāha* 'plunger' follow in combination.

EXAMPLES:

udamanthaḥ = *udakena manthaḥ* 'churned by means of water'
udakamanthaḥ 'ibidem'
udaudanaḥ = *udakenaudanaḥ* 'rice with water'
udakaudanaḥ 'ibidem'
udasaktuḥ = *udakena saktuḥ* 'saktu with water'
udakasaktuḥ 'ibidem'
udabinduḥ = *udakasya binduḥ* 'water drop'

udakabinduḥ 'ibidem'
udavajraḥ = *udakasya vajraḥ* 'water-jar; 'water with force like Vajra'
udakavajraḥ 'ibidem'
udabhāraḥ = *udakaṃ bibharttiḥ* 'water-carrier'
udakabhāraḥ 'ibidem'
udavīvadhaḥ = *udakasya vīvadhaḥ* 'load of water'
udakavīvadhaḥ 'ibidem'
udagāhaḥ = *udakaṃ 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 manthaḥ* = *udamanthaḥ*, etc.

6.3.61 इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य

iko hrasvo' ṅyoḥ gālavasya
/ikaḥ 6/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *aṅyoḥ* 6/1 *gālavasya* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *anyatarasyām* #58)
igantasyāṅyantasyottarapade hrasvo bhavati gālavasyācāryasya matenānyatarasyām
The final of a nominal which ends in *iK*, with the exception of *Ṅī*, in the opinion of Gālava, is optionally replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

grāmaṇiputraḥ 'son of a village leader'
grāmaṇīputraḥ '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 *Ṅ* (*Ṅī*). 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 (*pūjārtham*; *Kāś: gālavagrahaṇaṃ pūjārtham*). The option, however, is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* 'fixed option'.

2. The condition of an *iK* is imposed so that non-*iK* vowels, for example in *khaṭvārūḍha* and *mālāpāda*, do not qualify for this replacement. The condition of *aṅyoḥ* is imposed to similarly exclude *gārgīputra* and *vātsīputra*, where *gārgī* and *vātsī* are feminine forms ending in *Ṅī*. Since this is a fixed option, examples such as *kārīṣagandhīpati* will be excluded. Such examples will come under the purview of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *avyayībhāva* compounds, and also where constituents may qualify for replacements in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. Thus, consider *śrīkulam* and *bhrūkulam; kāṇḍībhūtam* and *vṛṣalībhūtam.*

Yet another *vārttika* proposal restores the short replacement for the long *ū* of *bhrū* in *bhrukukṃsaḥ* and *bhrukuṭiḥ.* A different proposal (*apara āha*) would have *ū* of *bhrū* replaced with *a*, instead. Thus, *bhraṇkusaḥ* and *bhrakuṭi.*

6.3.62 एक तद्धिते च

eka taddhite ca
/eka (deleted 6/1) *taddhite* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #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 bhāvaḥ* 'unity; sense of oneness'
ekakṣīram = *ekasyāḥ kṣīram* 'milk of one and same cow'
ekadugdham '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 nirdeśaḥ*). This short replacement must apply to the long *ā* of *ekā.* For, to state that the short final *a* 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 (*puṃvadbhāva; vt: tvatalor guṇavacanasya,* (ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣ . . .*)). This rule therefore allows shortening outside the scope of a qualifier meaning.

6.3.63 ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम्

ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñāchandasor bahulam
/ṅyāpoḥ 6/2 = *ṅī ca āp ca* = *ṅyāpau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; saṃjñāchandasoḥ* 7/2 = *saṃjñā ca chandaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; bahulam* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
ṅyantasyābantasya ca saṃjñāchandasor bahulam hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *ṄĪ* and *āP* is variously

(*bahulam*), in the context of a name or Vedic usage, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent follows.

EXAMPLES:

revatiputraḥ 'son of Revatī'
rohiṇiputraḥ 'son of Rohiṇī'
nāndīkaraḥ 'speaker of a prologue (in a stage play)'
nāndīghoṣaḥ 'announcement of a prologue
nāndīviśālaḥ 'a divinity'
kumāridā 'bestower of a daughter'
urvidā 'bestower of the earth'
phālgunīpaurṇamāsī 'full-moon night of the month of Phālguna'
jagatīcchandaḥ 'a meter named *jagatī*'
śilaprastham 'name of a place'
śilavaham 'ibidem'
lomakāgṛham 'name of a place'
lomakāṣaṇḍam 'ibidem'
ajakṣīreṇa juhoti 'offers oblations with goat's milk'
ūrṇāsūtreṇa kavayo vayanti 'weavers weave with threads of wool'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final of a form ending in feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*, variously (*bahulam*). Of course, when the derivate denotes a name and the usage is Vedic. Thus, the *ī* of *revatī* and *rohiṇī*, etc., are shortened. But consider *nāndī* of *nāndīkaraḥ*, etc., where, because of *bāhulaka*, this shortening does not apply. This same applies to *kumārī* and *urvī*, as against *phālgunī* and *jagatī*. Now consider *śilā*, 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 *ūrṇā* are: *ajakṣīreṇa juhoti* and *ūrṇāsūtreṇa kavayo vayanti*. The first goes through shortening but the second does not.

6.3.64 त्वे च

tve ca
/tve 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*hrasvaḥ* #61 *ṅyāpoḥ bahulam* #63)
tvapratyaye parato ṅyāpor bahulaṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Ṅī* 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'

rohiṇitvam = *rohiṇyā bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being Rohiṇī'
rohiṇītvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule extends the *bāhulaka* proposal of the earlier rule to constituents where *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas . . .*) follows. Note that examples with the denotata of names are impossible to find.

6.3.65 इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु

iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānāṃ citatūlabhāriṣu
/iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānām = *iṣṭakā ca iṣīkā ca mālā ca* (*itar. dv.*); *cita-tūla-bhāriṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānāṃ 'cita, tūla bhārin' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of *iṣṭakā, iṣīkā* and *mālā* are replaced with a corresponding short when *cita, tūla,* and *bhāra* combine to follow, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭakacitam 'heap of ritual bricks'
iṣīkatūlam 'bundle of reeds'
mālabhāriṇī kanyā 'a girl who wears garlands'

1. This rule allows shortening where *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* occur in combination before *cita, tūla* and *bhārin,* respectively. Compounds ending in *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* also qualify for this replacement, provided *cita, tūla* and *bhārin* also combine to follow. Obviously, this interpretation takes recourse to *tadantavidhi,* interpreting *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* as also what may end in them. Thus, we get *pakveṣṭakacitam* 'heap of fired bricks', *muñjeṣīkatūlam* 'bundle of Muñja reeds' and *utpalamālabhāriṇī kanyā* 'a girl who wears lotus garlands'.

6.3.66 खित्यनव्ययस्य

khity anavyayasya
/khiti 7/1 = *kha it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin; anavyayasya* 6/1 = *na avyayasya* (*nañ.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
khidante uttarapade' navyayasya hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a word, with the exception of an indeclinable (*avyaya*), is replaced with its corresponding short when a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kālimmanyā 'she who considers herself Kālī (*dark*)'
hariṇimmanyā '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 *kālimmanyā* and *hariṇīmmanyā*, where *kālīm* and *hariṇīm* are non-indeclinables and *manya* is a derivate of *KHaS* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne 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 *doṣā* and *divā* of *doṣāmanyam ahaḥ* 'a night-like day' and *divāmmanyā rātriḥ* 'a day-like night'. For, *doṣā* 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 *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre*. . . . The negation of *anavyayasya* would not be necessary if an *avyaya* ended in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Such affixs are introduced 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 bādhyate, anyathā hi hrasvaśāsanam anarthakaṃ syāt*).

6.3.67 अरुर्द्विषदजन्तस्य मुम्

arurdviṣadajantasya mum
/ arurdviṣad-ajantasya 6/1 = *ac ante yasya = ajantaḥ* (*bv.*); *aruś ca dviṣac ca ajantaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; mum* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *khity anavyayasya* #65)
'arus, dviṣat' ity etayor ajantānāṃ 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* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

aruntudaḥ 'that which hurts the wound'
dviṣantapaḥ 'he who makes his enemy suffer'
kālimmanyā 'she who considers herself dark'

1. This rule introduces augment *mUM* to non-indeclinable stems constituted 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 *aruntudaḥ* and *dviṣantapaḥ* where the final *s* and *t* of *arus* and *dviṣat* get deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. Other derivational details can be found under the appendix of 3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ*.

2. A compound such as *vidvanmanyā* '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 *doṣāmanyam* and *divāmmanyā*.

3. The word *anta* is included so that *mUM* is introduced subsequent to the shortening of bases ending in a vowel (*Kāś*: *kṛtājantakāryapratipatyartham*).

6.3.68 इच एकाचोऽम्प्रत्ययवच्च

ica ekāco' m pratyayavac ca
/icaḥ 6/1 *ekācaḥ* 6/1 = *eko' c yasmin sa ekāc* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *am* 1/1 *pratyayavat*
ϕ ca ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *khiti* #66)
ijantasya ekācaḥ khidante uttarapade' m āgamo bhavati, ampratyayavac ca dvitīyaikavacanavac ca sa bhavati
Augment *am* is introduced to a monosyllabic word which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iC* (*Śs.* 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'
strīmmanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as a woman'
striyammanyaḥ 'ibidem'
narammanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as a man'
śriyammanyaḥ '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 (*dvir 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*) *pūrvasavarṇa-ekādeśa* 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding', as in *strī* + *am*→*strīm* (6.1.103 *ami pūrvaḥ*), of *strīmmanyaḥ*; (*c*) *guṇādeśa*: a replacement in *guṇa* for *ṛ*, as in *nṛ* + *am*→*naram*, of *narammanyaḥ* (7.3.113 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*); and (*d*) *iyaṅuvaṅ* 'replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAṄ*', as in *śr*(*i*→*iy*) + *am* = *śriyam* and *bhr*(*ū*→*uv*) + *am* = *bhruvam* (6.4.81 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*), of *śriyammanyaḥ* and *bhruvammanyaḥ*. The *am*, however, goes through deletion by *LUK* when it follows *śrī*, used as a neuter (7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*). Thus, *śriyamanyam*, paraphrased as *śriyam ātmānam manyate brāhmaṇakulam* 'this clan of the brāhmaṇas considers itself to be rich'. This, however, is Patañjali's view. Others may still accept *śriyammanyam*.

6.3.69 वाचंयमपुरन्दरौ च

vācaṃyamapurandarau ca
/vacaṃyama-purandarau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*mum* #67)
'*vācaṃyama, purandara*' *ity etau nipātyete*
The words *vācaṃyama* and *purandara* are derived with the introduction of augment *mUM*, via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

vācaṃyama āste 'stays with a vow of not speaking'
purandaraḥ 'destroyer of cities'

1. This rule offers *am*, and shortening as well, in deriving *vācaṃyama* and *purandara* via *nipātana.* Note that *KHaC* is introduced after *yam* under the cooccurrence condition of *vāc* as an object (3.2.40 *āci yamo vrate*). Thus, *vācaṃyama āste.* An *uapada* compound is similarly formed with *dāra* under the cooccurrence condition of *pur* 'city', ending in the accusative (3.2.42 *pūḥ sarvayor dārisahoḥ.*

6.3.70 कारेसत्यागदस्य

kāre satyāgadasya
/kāre 7/1 *satyāgadasya* 6/1 = *satyaṃ ca agadaś ca* = *satyāgadam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)
kāraśabda uttarapade '*satya, agada*' *ity etayor mum āgamo bhavati*
Augment *mUM* is introduced to *satya* 'truth' and *agada* 'non-affliction' when *kāra* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

satyaṅkāraḥ = *satyaṃ karoti*; *satyasya kāraḥ vā* 'he who proves something to be true'
agadaṅkāraḥ 'he who makes someone free of afflictions'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* to *satya* and *agada* when *kāra* combines to follow. The following summarizes several *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(1) *asti, dhenu, loka* receive *mUM* when *kāra, bhāvya* and *pṛṇa* combine to follow them, respectively. Thus, *astuṃkāraḥ* 'he who says, 'so be it'; *dhenumbhavyā* 'a cow soon to be milk-giving'; *lokampṛṇā* 'pleasant to people'.

(2) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhakṣa* when *kāra* combines to follow, in the Vedic. Thus, *bhakṣaṃkāraḥ.*

(3) *mUM* is also introduced to *anabhyāśa* when *itya* combines to follow. Thus, *anabhyāśamityaḥ* 'he who goes without eating?'.

(4) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhrāṣṭra* and *agni* before *indha*. Thus, *bhrāṣṭramindhaḥ* 'firewood for roasting' and *agnimindhaḥ* 'firewood'.

(5) *mUM* is also introduced to *gila*, provided what precedes is not *gila* itself. Thus, *timiṅgilaḥ* 'firefly'; but not **gilaṅgilaḥ*. The *mUM* could, however, be introduced before *gilagila*. Thus, *timiṅgilagilaḥ*.

(6) *mUM* is also introduced to *uṣṇa* and *bhadra* when occurring before *karaṇa*. Thus, *uṣṇaṅkaraṇam* 'warming' and *bhadraṅkaraṇam* 'making something look good'.

(7) A replacement in *putraṬ* is optionally recommended for *duhitṛ* when occurring after *sūta, ugra, rāja, bhoja* and *meru*. Thus, *sūtaputrī* and *sūtaduhitā*, etc. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in *putraṬ* is intended for the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *tiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*).

6.3.71 श्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे

śyenatilasya pāte ñe
/śyena-tilasya 6/1 = *śyenaś ca tilaś ca= śyenatilam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *pāte* 7/1 *ñe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)
'*śyena, tila*' *ity etayoḥ pātaśabda uttarapade ñapratyaye pare mum āgamo bhavati*
Augment *mUM* is introduced to *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta*, followed by affix *Ña*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

śyainampātā mṛgayā = śyenapāto' syāṃ kṛīḍāyām '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' ntyāt paraḥ*) of *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta* combines as following constituent and affix *Ña* follows. Thus we get *śyainampātā* and *tailampātā*.

This augment cannot be introduced to *śyena* of *śyenapāta* where *pāta* is a derivate of affix *GHaÑ*. Refer to notes under rule 4.2.58 *ghañaḥ sāsyāṃ kriyeti* for further details.

6.3.72 रात्रेः 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:

rātriñcaraḥ 'night-wanderer'
rātricaraḥ 'ibidem'
rātrimaṭaḥ 'ibidem'
rātryaṭaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This option (*vibhāṣā*) is interpreted as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* since it has not been made available earlier. Thus, we get *rātriñcaraḥ*, an *upapada* compound with *Ṭa* (3.2.15 *careṣ ṭaḥ*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *car* + *Ṭa*. We similarly get *rātrimaṭa* with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy . . .*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *aṭ* + *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 *rātriṃmanyaḥ*, 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 नञः

nalopo nañaḥ
/ nalopaḥ 1/1 = *nakārasya lopaḥ* (*ṣāṣ. tat.*); *nañaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
naño nakārasya lopo bhavaty uttarapade
The *n* of *naÑ* is deleted by *LOPA* when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

avṛṣalaḥ 'someone other than a Vṛṣala'
asurāpaḥ 'someone other than one who drinks liquor'
asomapaḥ 'someone other than one who drinks Soma'

1. This rule allows deletion of *n*, of *naÑ* '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 *tiÑ*, and the derivate denotes contempt (*avakṣepa*). Thus, *akaroṣi tvam jālm!* 'hey, you, how come you are not doing this'.

6.3.74 तस्मान्नुडचि

tasmān nuḍ aci
/ tasmāt 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1
(*uttarapade* #1 *nañaḥ* #73)
tasmāl luptanakārān nañaḥ nuḍ āgamo bhavati ajādāv uttarapade
Augment *nUṬ* is introduced after that *naÑ* which goes through deletion of its *n*, provided a *pada* beginning with a vowel follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

anajaḥ 'non-goat'
anaśvaḥ 'non-horse'

1. This rule introduces *nUṬ* after a *naÑ* which has lost its *n* to deletion and which combines with a following constituent beginning with a vowel. Since *nUṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, one may be tempted to introduce *nUṬ* before the *a* of *naÑ* (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But why delete *n*, and subsequently restore the same with *nUṬ*? It is, therefore, claimed that *tasmāt* facilitates introduction of *nUṬ* at the beginning of a constituent which occurs after *naÑ*.

6.3.75 नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या

nabhrāṇnapānnavedānāsatyānamucinakulanakhanapuṃsakanakṣatranakranākeṣu prakṛtyā
/ nabhrāṭ-napāt-navedāḥ-nāsatyāḥ-namuci-nakula-nakha-napuṃsaka-nakṣatra-nakra-nākeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *prakṛtyā* 3/1/
(*naña*ḥ #73)
'*nabhrāṭ, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra, nāka*' *ity eteṣu naña prakṛtyā bhavati*
The *naÑ* in *nabhrāṭ, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra* and *nāka* remains as is.

EXAMPLES:

nabhrāṭ = na bhrājata iti 'cloud'
napāt = na pātīti 'nephew'
navedāḥ = na vettīti 'ignorant'
nāsatyāḥ = satsu sādhavaḥ satyāḥ, na satyāḥ = asatyāḥ = na asatyāḥ 'twins; the Aśvins'
namuciḥ = na muñcatīti 'demon'
nakulaḥ = nāsya kulam asti 'mongoose'
nakham = nāsya khamastiti 'nail'
napuṃsakam = na strī na pumān 'neuter'
nakṣatram = na kṣarate kṣīyata iti 'asterism, constellation'
nakraḥ = na krāmatīti 'that which does not walk; alligator'
nākam = nāsmin akam asti '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 *naÑ* does not go through deletion.

6.3.76 एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक्

ekādiś caikasya cāduk

/ekādiḥ 1/1 = *eka ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ *ekasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *āduk* 1/1 (*uttarapade* #1 *naña*ḥ #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)
ekādiś ca nañ prakṛtyā bhavati ekaśabdasya cādug āgamo bhavati
The *naÑ* with *eka* at its beginning also remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow; additionally, augment *āduK* is introduced to *eka*.

EXAMPLES:

ekānnaviṃśatiḥ = *ekena na viṃśatiḥ* 'nineteen'
ekānnatriṃśat 'twenty-nine'

1. This rule retains *naÑ* when the same combines with a preceding *eka*. Additionally, *eka* receives augment *ādUK*. Thus, *eka* + *Ṭā* + *naviṃśati* + *sU* = *eka* + *ād* + *naviṃśati* = *ekādnaviṃśati*, where a compound between *naÑ* and *viṃśati* is formed first. Note that *eka* and *naviṃśati* combine to form a *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* under the split-interpretaion (*yogavibhāga*) of 2.2.21 *tṛtīyā*. . . .

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 *ekādnaviṃśati* and *ekādnatriṃśat*.

6.3.77 नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम्

nago' prāṇiṣv anyatarasyām
/nagaḥ 1/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 = *na prāṇinaḥ* (*naÑ.*), *teṣu*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*uttarapade* #1 *naña*ḥ #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)
naÑ prakṛtyā bhavaty anyatarasyām aprāṇiṣu vartamāno yo nagaśabdas tatra naÑ prakṛtyā vikalpena bhavati
The *naÑ* in *naga*, used with the signification of *aprāṇin* 'non-sentient', optionally remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

nagāḥ (*vṛkṣāḥ / parvatāḥ*) 'trees; mountains'
agā vṛkṣāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *ga* of *naga* is a derivate of the *Uṇādi* affix *Ḍa* (235: *gamer ḍaḥ*), where *am* of *gam* goes through *ṭi*-deletion. This optional retention of *naÑ* is not available to *agaḥ*, of *ago vṛṣalaḥ śītena* 'a vṛṣala (lowly untouchable) who cannot move because of cold', since the derivate denotes a *prāṇin* 'living being'. That is, *n* of *naÑ* cannot be retained.

6.3.78 सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम्

sahasya saḥ saṃjñāyām
/sahasya 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The word *saha* is replaced with *sa* when it combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

sāśvattham 'a forest with Aśvattha trees'
sapalāśam 'a forest with Palāśa trees'
saśiṃśapam 'a forest with Śiṃśapa trees'

1. This rule offers *sa* as a replacement for *saha* combining with a following constituent and the derivate signiying a name. Thus, *saha aśvatthena* = *sāśvattham*, etc., where a *bahuvrīhi* 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 derivates 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 *bahuvrīhi*. Elsewhere, for example, in the *avyayībhāva* compounds *seṣṭi* and *sapaśu*, this accent will be blocked by *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.3.79 ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च

granthāntādhike ca
/granthāntādhike 7/1 = *granthasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *granthāntaś ca adhikaṅ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
granthānte, adhike ca vartamānasya sahaśabdasya 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:

sakalaṃ jyautiṣam adhīte 'studies the entire Jyautiṣa'
sasaṃgrahaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīyate 'grammar is studied along with the Saṃgraha'
sadroṇā khārī 'a khārī in excess of a droṇa'
samāṣaḥ kārṣāpaṇaḥ 'a kārṣāpaṇa in excess of a māṣa'

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 *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa.* . . . It is for this reason that, elsewhere, this replacement is allowed by 6.3.81 *avyayībhāve 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

dvitīye cā nupākhye
/dvitīye 7/1 *ca* ϕ *anupākhye* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
anumeye dvitīye 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 kapotaḥ 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of fire'
sapiśācā vātyā 'a hurricane indicative of the presence of goblins'
sarākṣasīkā śālā 'a house indicative of the presence of demons'

1. The word *dvitīya* is explained as *dvayoḥ sahayuktayor apradhānaḥ* 'the non-principal among two entities associated with *saha*'. Thus, *agni* is non-principal in *sāgniḥ kapotaḥ* = *agninā saha yuktaḥ kapotaḥ* 'pigeon in association with fire'. The word *anupākhya* is explained as *upākhyād anyaḥ* = *anumeyaḥ* '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 अव्ययीभावे चाकाले

avyayībhāve cākāle
/avyayībhāve 7/1 *ca* ϕ *akāle* 7/1 = *na kālaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
avyayībhāve ca samāse' kālavāciny uttarapade sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha* is replaced with *sa*, also in a compound termed *avyayībhāva* which ends in a following constituent with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

sacakraṃ (*dhehi*) '. . . with the wheel'
sadhuraṃ (*prāja*) '. . . with the axle'

1. This rule allows *saha* to be replaced with *sa* when *saha* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound with a following constituent denoting something other than *kāla* 'time'. The condition of *akāle* is needed so that a compound such as *sahapūrvāhṇam* does not qualify for this replacement. Obviously, since *pūrvāhṇa* 'first half of a day' denotes time. Incidentally, *sadhuram* and *sacakram* are both *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa . . .*, where *sadhuram* also involves the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ . . .*).

6.3.82 वोपसर्जनस्य

vopasarjanasya
/va ϕ upasarjanasya 6/1/
(*sahasya saḥ* #78)
yasya sarve' vayavā upasarjanībhūtāḥ sa sarvopasarjano bahuvrīhiḥ; tadavayavasya sahaśabdasya 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 *prathamānirdiṣṭa . . .*). This option, as one understands from 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, is only available to *bahuvrīhi* 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*: *avayavadharmeṇa samudāyadharmasya tathā nirdeśāt*).

The *saha* of *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* cannot be replaced with *sa* since these *tatpuruṣa* compounds have *saha* alone as an *upasarjana*. This replacement can also not be allowed in *sahakṛtvapriyaḥ* and *priyasahakṛtvā* where *saha* is part of the *bahuvrīhi*. But the constituent which immediately follows *saha* is not directly relatable to the *bahuvrīhi* in reference. The first example has an intervening *kṛtvā*. The second has *sahakṛtvā* as the following constituent.

6.3.83 प्रकृत्याशिषि

prakṛtyāśiṣi

/prakṛtyā 3/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1/
(*sahasya* #78)
prakṛtyā sahaśabdo bhavati āśiṣi viṣaye
The word *saha* remains as is when a constituent combines to follow and *āśīs* '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: *prakṛtyāśiṣy agovatsahaleṣu*, where *agovatsahaleṣu* 'when a constituent other than *go* 'cow', *vatsa* 'calf' and *hala* 'plough' follows' is an addition made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. The *gavādi* '*go*, etc.' of this *vārttika* proposal is illustrated by Patañjali with *svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya sahalāya* 'blessings to you wih your cow, calf and plough'. The option of the preceding rule will still offer *sahagave*, etc. I have decided not to include *agovatsahaleṣu* as part of the reading of this *sūtra*.

6.3.84 समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु

samānasya chandasi amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkeṣu
/samānasya 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkeṣu* 7/3 = *mūrdhā ca prabhṛtiś ca udarkaś ca = mūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *na mūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78)
samānasya 'sa' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye 'mūrddhan, prabhṛti, udarka' ity etāny uttarapadāni varjayitvā
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa*, in the Vedic, when a constituent other than *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

anubhrātā̲ sa̲gárbhyaḥ 'younger brother'
anusakhā̲ sayûthaḥ 'a companion who follows'
yo na̲ḥ sanútyaḥ '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 *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka*. Consider *sagarbhyaḥ*, a derivate of affix *yaN* (4.4.114 *sagarbhasayūtha* . .), introduced after *sagarbha* + *Ni*. Thus, *samānaḥ garbhaḥ = sagarbhaḥ*, *tatra bhavaḥ = sagarbhyaḥ* 'same womb, born there = born in the same womb'. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.58 *pūrvāparaprathama*. . . . This *sa* replacement is negated for *samānamūrddhā*, *samānaprabhṛtayaḥ* and *samānodarkāḥ*. But how would one derive *samānaḥ pakṣo' sya = sapakṣaḥ* 'he who is on the

same side', *samāno dharmo' sya = sādharmyam* '. . . whose *dharma* 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 *bahuvrīhi.*

6.3.85 ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु

jyotirjanapadarātrināmagotrarūpasthānavarṇavayovacanabandhuṣu /jyotir-janapada-rātri-nābhi-nāman-gotra-rūpa-sthāna-varṇa-vayas-vacana-bandhuṣu 7/3/
(*uttarapade* 31 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
'*jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana, bandhu' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu samānasya 'sa' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana,* and *bandhu* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sajyotiḥ 'having the same glow'
sajanapadaḥ 'belonging to the same principality'
sarātriḥ 'similar night'
sanābhiḥ 'having the same center (navel)'
sanāmā 'having the same name'
sagotraḥ 'having the same *gotra*'
sarūpaḥ 'having the same appearance'
sasthānaḥ 'residing at the same place'
savarṇaḥ 'having the same color (sub-class)'
savayāḥ 'being of the same age'
savacanaḥ 'having similar speech'
sabandhuḥ 'having same clansman'

1. These examples are mostly interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* compounds. Thus, *samānā jyotir asya* 'that whose glow is the same', etc. Note, however, that a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of these compounds cannot be ruled out. Thus, *samānaṃ jyotiḥ = sajyotiḥ* 'same glow', etc.

6.3.86 चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि

caraṇe brahmacāriṇi
/caraṇe 7/1 *brahmacāriṇi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
caraṇe gamyamāne brahmacāriṇy 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 *veda.* The word *caraṇa* is used in the sense of a Vedic branch. The word *brahmacārin* '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 *sabrahmacārin.* 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)
tīrthaśabde uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha,* terminating in *yaT,* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

satīrthyaḥ '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 vāsī*). The word *tīrtha* is used here in the sense of a teacher's place.

6.3.88 विभाषोदरे

vibhāṣodare
/vibhāṣa 1/1 *udare* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
udaraśabda uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasaya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* only optionally when *udara,* terminating in affix *yaT,* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sodaryaḥ 'brother
samānodaryaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule optionally allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *udara*

'belly, womb', ending in *yaT*, combines to follow. Thus, *samānodaryaḥ* and *sodaryaḥ*, where *samānodara* and *sodara* receive affixes *yaT* and *ya*, respectively (4.4.108 *samānodare śayita . . .*; 4.4.109 *sodarād yaḥ*).

6.3.89 दृग्दृशवतुषु

dṛgdṛśavatuṣu
/ dṛg-dṛśa-vatuṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
'*dṛk, dṛśa, vatu*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ samānasya* '*sa*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sadṛk 'similar to . . .'
sadṛśaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow. Recall that affixes *kaÑ* and *KvIN* are introduced after verbal root *dṛśIR* when *tyad*, 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* (*samānānyayoś ceti vaktavyam*). This gives us *sadṛk* and *sadṛśa*. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made there to allow affix *ksa* after *dṛśIR* to derive *dṛkṣa*. 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*: *vatugrahaṇam uttarārtham*). Note that affix *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad, tad* and *etad*, when the signification is *parimāṇa* 'measure' (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe*). Obviously, examples of *vatU* with *samāna* are impossible (*asambhavāt*) to find.

6.3.90 इदं किमोरीश्की

idaṅkimorīśkī
/ idaṅkimoḥ 6/2 = *idaṃ ca kiṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *īśkī* (deleted 1/1)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dṛgdṛśvatuṣu* #89)
'*idam, kim*' *ity etayor īś, kī, ity etau yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśau bhavato dṛgdṛśvatuṣu*
The word *idam* and *kim* are replaced, respectively, with *īś* and *kī*, when *dṛk, dṛśa*, and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

īdṛk 'like this'
īdṛśaḥ 'ibidem'

iyān 'this large'
kīdṛk 'like what'
kīdṛśaḥ 'ibidem'
kiyān 'how large'

1. This rule offers *īŚ* and *kī* as replacement for *idam* and *kim*, respectively, when *dṛk*, *dṛśa* and *vatU* follow. Refer to notes under 5.3.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe* and 5.3.40 *kimidaṃbhyām* . . . for deriving *iyān* and *kiyān*. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow these replacements when *dṛkṣa* follows in combination after *kim* and *idam*. Thus, we also get *īdṛkṣaḥ* and *kīdṛkṣaḥ*.

6.3.91 आ सर्वनाम्नः

ā sarvanāmnaḥ
/ā (1/1 deleted) *sarvanāmnaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dṛg-dṛś-vatuṣu* #89)
sarvanāmna ākārādeśo bhavati dṛgdṛśvatuṣu
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 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*) when *dṛk*, *dṛśa* and *vatU* follow in combination. Here again we find a *vārttika* proposal (*dṛkṣe ceti ca vaktavyam*) to include *dṛkṣa* as a following constituent. Thus, we get *tādṛkṣaḥ* and *yādṛkṣaḥ*.

6.3.92 विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये

viṣvagdevayoś ca ṭeradryañcatau vapratyaye
/viṣvag-devayoḥ (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ *ṭeḥ* 6/1 *adri* (1/1 deleted) *añcatau* 7/1 *vapratyaye* 7/1 = *vaḥ pratyayo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*uttarapade* 7/1 *sarvanāmnaḥ* #91)
'viṣvak, deva' ity etayoḥ sarvanāmnaś ca ṭeḥ 'adri' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati añcatau vapratyayānta uttarapade
The form *adri* comes in place of the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak*, *deva*, and a *sarvanāman* as well, when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

viṣvadryaṅ = viṣvag añcati 'all-pervading'
devadryaṅ 'turned towards divine'
tadryaṅ 'turned towards that'
yadryaṅ 'turned towards the thing which . . .'

1. This rule offers *adri* as a replacement for the *ṭi* part (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak* and *deva*, and of pronominals as well, when a constituent with *añc* ending in *vA* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag* . . .) follows. Thus, *viṣv*(*a*→*adri*) + *aṅ* = *viṣvadr*(*i*→*y*) + *aṅ* = *viṣvadryaṅ* and *dev*(*a*→*adri*) + *aṅ* = *devadr* (*i*→*y*) + *aṅ* = *devadryaṅg*, through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Refer to the appendix of rule 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag* . . . for deriving *aṅ* from *añc* + *KvIN*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tadryaṅ* and *yadryaṅ*, derivates with pronominal *tad* and *yad*.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to mark *adri* and *sadhri* with a final *udātta*, via *nipātana*. This will block the *kṛt* accent of 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consequently, after the *i* is replaced with *y* (*yaṇādeśa*), the following constituent will receive *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

Kāśikā offers *aśvam añcati* = *aśvācī* 'moves the horse', *viṣvagyuk* and *viṣvagañcanam* as counter-examples where *adri* cannot be used as a replacement. The first example does not have *viṣvak* and *deva*; the second lacks *añc*; and the third does not have affix *v*. That is, *añcana* is a derivate of *LyuṬ*.

Why state *vapratyaye* when *añcatau* itself could have served the purpose. This specification with *vapratyaye* 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 dhātugrahaṇe dhātvādeḥ prakṛtipratyayasamudāyasya pratipattiḥ*). This *tadādividhi* 'beginning with that . . .' interpretation will facilitate a *s*-replacement for *ḥ* (*visarga*; 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsa* . . .) also in *ayaḥ* + *kṛtam*→*ayaskṛtam* and *ayaskāraḥ*. Otherwise, *s* could replace *ḥ* only where *kṛ* alone was used as the following constituent, for example, in *ayaskṛt*. Incidentally, the final *t* (*tUK*) will be treated as part of *kṛ*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal states that, in the Vedic, especially in the feminine, *adri* is found variously (*bahulam*). Consider *viśvācī* and *ghṛtācī* where it is not found, and *kadrīcī* where it is found.

6.3.93 समः समि

samaḥ sami
/*samaḥ* 6/1 *sami* (1/1 deleted)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #92)
'*sam*' *ity etasya* '*sami*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
The form *sami* comes in place of *sam* when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

samyak 'nominative singular; turned together in one direction;
samyañcau 'nominative dual'
samyañcaḥ 'nominative plural'

1. This rule offers *sami* as a replacement for *sam* when verbal root *añc* terminating in *vA* follows. Thus, consider *samyaṅ/ samyañcau/ samyañcaḥ.*

6.3.94 **तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे**

tirasas tiry alope
/ tirasaḥ 6/1 *tiri* 7/1 *alope* 7/1 (*nañ. tat., tasmin*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau va pratyaye* #92)
'*tiras*' *ity etasya* '*tiri*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
The form *tiras* is replaced with *tiri* when verbal root *añcU* terminates in affix *vA* and combines to follow without going through any deletion.

EXAMPLES:

tiryaṅ 'nominative singular; crooked, slanted, oblique'
tiryañcau 'nominative dual'
tiryañcaḥ 'nominative plural'

1. This rule allows *tiras* to be replaced with *tiri* when *añc*, ending in *vA*, follows, provided the *a* of *añc* has not gone through deletion. Recall that the *a* of *añc* gets deleted by 6.4.138 *acaḥ*, as in *tiraścā* and *tiraśce.* Note that *alope* is not desired to be interpreted as: *asya lopaḥ, tasmin* 'when deletion of *a* has occurred'.

6.3.95 **सहस्य सधिः**

sahasya sadhriḥ
/ sahasya 6/1 *sadhriḥ* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #92)
'*saha*' *ity asya* '*sadhri*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
The word *saha* is replaced with *sadhri* when a constituent with *añcU* terminating in affix *va* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sadhryaṅ 'nominative singular of *sadhryañc* 'turned in the same direction'
sadhryañcaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sadhrīcaḥ 'accusative dual . . .'
sadhrīcā 'instrumental singular'

1. Note that the *a* of *añc* is deleted (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) in *sadhrīcaḥ* 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 *ñ* of *añc* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala. . . .*

6.3.96 सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि

sadha mādasthayoś chandasi
/sadha (1/1 deleted) *māda-stha-yoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *chandasi* 7/1/ (*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya* #95)
chandasi viṣaye 'māda, stha' ity etayor upapadayoḥ sahasya 'sadha' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha* is replaced with *sadha* when, in the Vedic, *māda* and *stha* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sa̲dha̲mādó dyu̲mnini̲rāpáḥ
sadhasthā

1. Note that *sadhamāda* is paraphrased as *mādena saha* where *māda*, as a derivate of *GHaÑ*, combines to follow *saha*. A similar interpretation applies to *sadhastha* where *sthā* ends in affix *ka* (3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*).

6.3.97 द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्

dvyantarupasargebhyo' pa īt
dvy-antar-upasargebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*) *apaḥ* 6/1 *īt* 1/1/ (*uttarapade* #10)
'dvi, antar' ity etābhyām 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'
antarīpam 'a portion of land stretching out into the sea'
samīpam '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 *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ . . .*) is introduced in deriving *dvīpam*. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃgatā āpaḥ asmin = saṃgam, vigatā āpaḥ asmin = vīpam* and *nigatāḥ āpaḥ asmin = nīpam* as examples where an *upasarga* is in combination. Incidentally, the last should have been *nirgtā āpaḥ = nirīpam.*

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *samā āpaḥ asmin; samāpaṃ nāma devayajanam* = *samāpaḥ* 'a sacrifice'. Some say that this replacement in long *ī* should not apply when *ap* is used with a prefix ending in *a*. Thus, *pra* + *ap* + *a* = *prāpa*. 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, *ap* is not a verbal root.

6.3.98 ऊदनोर्देशे

ūdanor deśe
/ūt 1/1 *anoḥ* 6/1 *deśe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *apaḥ* #97)
anor uttarasya ap ūkārādeśo bhavati deśābhidhāne
The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *anu* and the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

anūpo deśaḥ = *anugatā āpo' smin* 'a place named Anūpa'

1. This rule offers *ūT*, as a replacement for the *a* of *ap*, 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 अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु

aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasyānyasya dug āśīrāśāsthāsthitotsukotīkārakarāgaccheṣu
/aṣaṣṭhy-atṛtīyā-sthasya 6/1 = *na ṣaṣṭhī* = *aṣaṣṭhī*; *na tṛtīyā* = *atṛtīyā* (*nañ.*); *aṣaṣṭhī ca atṛtīyā ca* = *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīye* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ tiṣṭhati* = *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthaḥ, tasya; anyasya* 6/1 *duk* 1/1 *āśīr-āśā-āsthā-āsthita-utsuka-ūti-kāraka-rāga-cchеṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1)
aṣaṣṭhīsthasya atṛtīyāsthasya cānyaśabdasya dug āgamo bhavati 'āśis, āśā, āsthā, āsthita, utsuka, ūti, kāraka, rāga, cha' ity eteṣu parataḥ
Augment *dUK* is introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*, provided *āśis* 'benediction', *āśā* 'hope', *āsthā* 'faith, regard', *āsthita* 'preoccupied', *utsuka* 'eager', *ūti* 'help, assistance', *kāraka* 'doer, agent', *rāga* 'attachment, passion', and affix *cha*, combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

anyadāśīḥ = *anyā āśīḥ* 'a different benediction'
anyadāśā = *anyā āśā* 'a different hope'
anyadāsthā = *anyā āsthā* 'a different consideration'
anyadāsthitaḥ = *anya āsthitaḥ* 'differently preoccupied'

anyadutsukaḥ = *anya utsukaḥ* 'eager for something else'
anyadūtiḥ = *anyā ūtiḥ* 'a different help'
anyatkārakaḥ = *anyaḥ kārakaḥ* 'a different agent'
anyadrāgaḥ = *anyo rāgaḥ* 'a different passion'
anyadīyaḥ = *anyasmin bhavaḥ* '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 *āśīḥ*, etc., its following constituents. Thus, we get *anyadāśīḥ*, etc. Note that affix *cha* is introduced to derive *anyasmin bhavaḥ* = *anyadīyaḥ* from *anya* + *Ṅi* + *cha* (4.2.138 *gahādibhyaś ca*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . .).

Kāśikā offers *anyasya āśīḥ* = *anyāśīḥ* and *anyena āsthitaḥ* = *anyāsthitaḥ* as counter-examples to the condition of *aṣaṣṭhy-atṛtīyāsthasya* '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* = *anyadīyam*, where *anya* is used with genitive? This negation of genitive and instrumental is non-obligatory (*anitya*). How do we know this? The use of negatives in *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā* both serve as a mark (*jñāpaka*). For, Pāṇini would have simply stated *aṣaṣṭhītṛtīyāsthasya*. A verse summarizes this introduction of *dUK* as follows:

dugāgamo' viśeṣeṇa vaktavyaḥ kārakacchayoḥ/
ṣaṣṭhītṛtīyayor neṣṭa āśīrādiṣu saptasu//
'augment *dUK* is to be generally stated before *kāraka* and *cha*; it is not desired before the other seven items listed beginning with *āśīḥ*, especially when *anya* is used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*'

6.3.100 अर्थे विभाषा

arthe vibhāṣā
/arthe 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasya anyasya duk* #99)
arthaśabde uttarapade anyasya vibhāṣa dug āgamo bhavati
Augment *dUK* is optionally introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*, 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 कोः कत् तत्पुरुषेऽचि

koḥ kat tatpuruṣe' ci
/koḥ 6/1 *kat* 1/1 *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
'*ku*' *ity etasya* '*kad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati tatpuruṣe 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:

kadajaḥ 'bad goat'
kadaśvaḥ 'bad horse'
kaduṣṭraḥ '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 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Other examples are similarly derived.

2. Note that a non-*tatpuruṣa* compound, for example, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kūṣṭraḥ* 'he whose camel is bad' (as in *kūṣṭro rājā*), will not qualify for this replacement. A similar exclusion will be made for *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* and *kupuruṣaḥ*, where *brāhmaṇa* and *puruṣa* begin with a consonant.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow this replacement when *tri* combines after *ku*. Thus, *kutsitāḥ trayaḥ* = *kattrayaḥ* 'three bad ones'.

6.3.102 रथवदयोश्च

rathavadayoś ca
/ratha-vadayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ kad* #101)
'*ratha, vada*' *ity etayoś cottarapadayoḥ koḥ* '*kad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *ku* is replaced with *kad* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kadrathaḥ 'a bad chariot'
kadvadaḥ 'a bad speaker'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kat* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow. Thus, *kadrathaḥ* and *kadvadaḥ*. 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 तृणे च जातौ

tṛṇe ca jātau

/tṛṇe 7/1 *ca* ϕ *jātau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ kad* #101)
tṛṇaśabda uttarapade jātāv abhidheyāyāṃ koḥ kad ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is replaced with *kat* also when *tṛṇa* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'

EXAMPLES:

kattṛṇā nāma jātiḥ 'any class of bad vegetation'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kad* when *tṛṇa* combines to follow and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kattṛnā* 'bad grass; leek'. This replacement will not be available to *kutṛnāni* 'bad grass', where the derivate denotes *nindā* 'reporoach'.

6.3.104 का पथ्यक्षयोः

kā pathyakṣayoḥ
/kā (1/1 deleted) *pathya-kṣayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *kioḥ* #101)
'pathin, akṣa' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ koḥ 'kā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is replaced with *kā* when *pathin* 'path' and *akṣa* 'eye' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāpathaḥ = kutsitaḥ panthāḥ 'a bad road'
kākṣaḥ = kutsite akṣiṇy asya 'he whose eyes are bad (evil)'

1. This rule offers *kā* as a replacement for *ku* when *pathin* and *akṣa* combine to follow. Thus, *kutsitaḥ panthāḥ = kāpathaḥ* 'bad road' and *kutsite akṣiṇī yasya = kākṣaḥ* 'he whose eyes are bad', where *kā* replaces *ku* of (*ku*→*kā*) + *pathin* and 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . introduces the *samāsānta* affix *a*. We thus get *kāpath*(*in*) + *a* = *kāpatha*, through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound *kākṣa* is derived with the *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Note that *kākṣaḥ* can also be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *kutsito' kṣaḥ = kākṣaḥ* 'bad axle'.

6.3.105 ईषदर्थे च

īṣadarthe ca
/īṣadarthe 7/1 = *īṣadaḥ arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104)
īṣadarthe vartamānasya koḥ 'ka' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku*, when used with the signification of *īṣad* 'slight', is replaced with *kā*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāmadhuram 'slightly sweet'
kālavaṇam 'slightly salted'
kāmlam 'slightly sour'
koṣṇam '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 āmlam = kāmlam* and *īṣal lavaṇam = kālavaṇam* 'a little salt'. Note that *īṣad āmlam = kāmlam* and *īṣad uṣṇam = koṣam*, where *āmlam* 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 *koḥ kat tatpuruṣe' ci*).

6.3.106 विभाषा पुरुषे

vibhāṣā puruṣe
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *puruṣe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104)
puruṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā koḥ 'kā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kā* when *puruṣa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāpuruṣaḥ 'a coward; contemptible person'
kupuruṣaḥ '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 *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'.

6.3.107 कवञ्चोष्णे

kavañ coṣṇe
/*kavam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *uṣṇe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104 *vibhāṣā* #106)
uṣṇaśabda uttarapade koḥ kavam ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kā ca vibhāṣa
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaṄ* when *uṣṇa* 'hot' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kavoṣṇam 'slightly warm'
koṣṇam 'ibidem'
kaduṣṇam 'not warm enough'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be optionally replaced with *kavaN* when *uṣṇa* follows in combination. Thus, we get (*ku→kava*) + *uṣṇam* = *kavoṣṇam*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kā*. Thus, we also get (*ku→kā*) + *uṣṇam→koṣṇam*. Note that *vibhāṣā* is also carried. That is, we get a third form where *ku* gets replaced with *kat*. Thus, (*ku→ka*(*t→d*)) + *uṣṇam* = *kaduṣṇam*.

6.3.108 पथि च च्छन्दसि

pathi cac ʻ handasi
/*pathi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #103 *vibhāṣa* #106 *kavam* #107)
pathiśabda uttarapade chandasi viṣaye koḥ ʻkava, kāʼ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhāṣā
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaṄ*, 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–*ϕ) + *a* = *kavapatha*, through the *samāsānta* affix (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ . . .*) and *ṭi*-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 पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्

pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam
/*pṛṣodarādīni* 1/3 = *pṛṣodara ādiḥ yeṣām tāni* (*bv.*); *yathopadiṣṭam* = *yāni yāni upadiṣṭāni* = (*avyayībhāva*)/
pṛṣodarādīni śabdarūpāṇi (*yeṣu lopāgamavarṇavikārāḥ śāstreṇa na vihitāḥ, dṛśyante ca, tāni*) *yathopadiṣṭāni bhavanti*
Words such as *pṛṣodara*, etc., are accepted as derived.

EXAMPLES:

pṛṣodaram = *pṛṣad udaram yasya* 'he whose belly is spotted'
pṛṣodvānam = *pṛṣad udvānaṃ yasya* 'he whose vomit is . . .'
balāhakaḥ = *vārivāhakaḥ* 'he who carries water; cloud'

jīmūtaḥ = *jīvanasya mūtaḥ* 'container for water'
śmaśānam = *śavānāṃ śayanam* 'reclining of corpses; crematorium'
ulūkhalam = *ūrdhvaṃ kham asya* 'that which opens upward; a mortar'
piśācaḥ 'goblin'
mayūraḥ 'peacock; that which cries on ground'

1. Note that *yathopadiṣṭa* is here used in the sense of *śiṣṭoccārita* 'as used by the learned'. This rule is needed to account for *pṛṣodara*, etc., with no need to explain what rules apply to accomplish *LOPA* 'deletion', *āgama* 'augment', *varṇavikāra* 'sound modification', etc. Consider *pṛṣad udaram yasya* = *pṛṣodaraḥ* and *pṛṣad udvānam yasya* = *pṛṣodvānam*, where the final *t* of *pṛṣat* gets deleted. A replacement in *ba* for *vāri*, and in *l* for *v* of *vāhaka*, produces (*vāri*→*ba*) + (*v*→*l*) *āhakaḥ* = *ba* + *lāhakaḥ* = *balāhakaḥ*. We can similarly accept *śavānāṃ śayanam* = *śmaśānam*, where *śava* and *śayana* are, respectively, replaced with *śma* and *śāna*, to produce *śmaśāna*. The word *ulūkhala* is similarly derived by replacing *ūrdhva* with *ulū* and *kha* with *khala* to produce *ulūkhala*, paraphrased as *ūrdhvaṃ kham yasya*. A replacement in *pi* and *śāca* is ordered to derive *piśāca* from *piśita* and *āśa*. Thus, *piśitā āśā yasya* = *piśācaḥ* 'he whose hopes are shattered'. Or else, *piśitam ācāmati* 'he who sips on powdered food'. The word *mayūra* is derived parallel to *mahyāṃ rauti*, where affix *aC* (3.1.62 *acaḥ*) is introduced after *ru* used in construction with *mahī* + *Ṅi*. 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 *kapittha*, etc.

2. A series of *vārttika* proposals are also offered to derive *uttaratāram* and *dakṣiṇatāram*, optionally, to *uttaratīram* and *dakṣiṇatīram*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

6.3.110 संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहन्नन्यतरस्यां ङौ

saṃkhyāvisāyapūrvasyāhnasyāhan anyatarasyām ṅau
/ *saṃkhyā-vi-sāya-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca viś ca sāyaś ca* = *saṃkhyā-visāyam* (*sam. dv.*); *saṃkhyāvisāyaṃ pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ahnasya* 6/1 *ahan* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *ṅau* 7/1/
'*saṃkhyā, vi, sāya*' *ity evam pūrvasya ahnaśabdasya* '*ahan*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ ṅau parataḥ*
The word *ahna*, when used in combination after *saṃkhyā*, *vi* and *sāya*, is optionally replaced with *ahan* when *Ṅi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvyahnaḥ = *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* 'born of two days'
dvyahni 'locative singular . . .'
dvyahani 'ibidem'
dvyahne 'ibidem'

vyahnaḥ 'he whose day has elapsed'
vyahni 'locative singular . . .'
vyahani 'ibidem'
vyahne 'ibidem'
sāyāhnaḥ 'end of the day; evening'
sāyāhni 'locative singular'
sāyāhani 'ibidem'
sāyāhne 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *ahna*, when used before the locative singular *Ṅi*, to be optionally replaced with *ahan*, provided *saṃkhyā* 'number word', *vi*, and *sāya* are used in combination to precede. Thus, *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* = *dvi* + *ahan* + *Ṅi* + *ṭhaÑ* = *dvi* + *ahna* + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + (*ṭhaÑ*→ϕ) = *dvi* + *ahna*, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced by 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*, and is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Our present rule then introduces *ahan* as a replacement for *ahna*, thereby producing *dvi* + (*ahna*→*ahan*) = *dv*(*i*→*y*) + *ahan* = *dvyahan*. We will get *dvyahna* if the option of replacing *ahna* with *ahan* is not accepted. An introduction of *Ṅi* after *dvahna* will again involve the replacement of *ahna* with *ahan* in deriving *dvyahni* and *dvyahani*, where the *a* of *an* of *ahan* will be optionally deleted by 6.4.134 *vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ*. A compound with *sāya* is formed at the strength of the formulation of this rule.

6.3.111 ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः

ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ
/*ḍhralope* 7/1 = *ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca* = *ḍhrau* (*itar. dv.*); *tayor lopo yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *pūrvasya* 6/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *aṇaḥ* 1/1/
ḍhralope pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*, when occurring before that which causes the deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

upagūḍham 'concealed, embraced'
mūḍhaḥ 'idiot, infatuated'
nīraktaḥ 'with no blood'
anīrathaḥ 'fire-chariot'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a short sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*, provided a deleted *ḍh* and *r*, and what caused this deletion, follows. Consider the derivation of *līḍha*, a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* introduced after *lih* 'to lick, taste', where 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* replaces the *h* of *lih* with *ḍh*. Rules 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho* . . . and 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* then

apply on *liḍh* + *ta* to yield *liḍh* + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a* = *liḍh* + *ḍha*. Rule 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then causes deletion of *ḍh* of *liḍh* + *ḍha*, whereby we get *li*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍha* = *liḍha*. Our present rule then applies on *liḍha* to replace its short *i* with its long counterpart *ī*. We thus get *l*(*i*→*ī*) + *ḍha* = *līḍha*. Similar application of rules are witnessed in deriving *mīḍham*, *upagūḍham* and *nīraktam*. The *r* of *nir* + *raktam*, subsequent to compound formation by 2.2.18 *kugati* . . ., goes through deletion of 8.3.14 *ro ri*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *agnir* + *rathaḥ* = *agnīrathaḥ* and *indūrathaḥ*.

2. The word *ḍhralope* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with internal *dvandva*, paraphrased as *ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca* = *ḍhrau* '*ḍh* and *r*'; *ḍhryor lopo yasmin* = *ḍhralopaḥ* 'that which conditions deletion of *ḍh* and *r*'; *tasmin* 'when that follows'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *ḍhralope* will yield the following meaning: 'when deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows'. This will make it impossible for the rule to apply, since *LOPA* means non-appearance (*adarśana*) and hence, there will be nothing there to follow. Why can we not revive the deleted *ḍh* and *r* by means of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a *LOPA* as what it replaced'? This will create problems in deriving *karaṇīya*, where, after an assumed deletion of *r*, the *a* of *ka* will be subject to lengthening. It is to resolve such problems that *ḍhralopa* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*.

6.3.112 सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य

sahivahor od avarṇasya
/*sahivahoḥ* 6/2 = *sahiś ca vahaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ot* 1/1 *avarṇasya* 6/1 = *aś cāsau varṇaś ca* (*karmadhāraya*), *tasya* /
(*ḍhralope* #111)
'*sahi, vahi*' *ity etayor avarṇasyaukāra ādeśo bhavati ḍhralope*
The *a* of verbal roots *sahI* and *vahI* is replaced with *oT* (1.1.70 *taparas* . . .) when deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, by means of *LOPA*, occurs.

EXAMPLES:

soḍhā 'he who endures'
soḍhum 'to endure'
soḍhavyam 'that which is to be endured'
voḍhā 'he who carries'
voḍhum 'to carry'
voḍhavyam 'that which is to be carried'

1. This rule offers *o* as a replacement for the *a* of *sah* and *vah*, when that which caused deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows. Thus, we get (*sah* + *Kta*) + *ṬāP* = *soḍha* + *ā* = *soḍhā*, etc. Note that *soḍha* of *soḍhā* is similar in derivation to *līḍha*, 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 *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 *aṇudit savarṇasya*. . . . This would have served the purpose, had it not been for the specification of *o* with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*). 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 tatkālasya*). 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*→*ḍh*)) + *LUṄ*))). The *vṛddhi*-replacement of *a* in *vah* is accomplished by 7.2.3 *vadavraja*. . . .

6.3.113 साढय्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे

sāḍhyai sāḍhvā sāḍheti nigame
/sāḍhyai ϕ *sāḍhvā* ϕ *sāḍhā* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *nigame* 7/1/
'*sāḍhyai, sāḍhvā, sāḍhā*' *iti nigame nipātyante*
The words *sāḍhyai, sāḍhvā* and *sāḍhā* are derived in the Vedic via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

sāḍhyai 'having prevailed, or conquered'
sāḍhvā 'ibidem'
sāḍhā 'overcome, prevailed'

1. This rule offers *sāḍhyai* and *sāḍhvā* as derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. That is, a replacement in *dhyai* for *Ktvā*, and a lack of replacement in *o* for *a* of *saha* can both be accomplished, via *nipātana*. The word *sāḍhvā* retains *Ktvā* and does not avail *o*-replacement. Finally, *sāḍhvā*, a derivate of *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*), again involves no replacement in *o*. The long *ā* in all these examples can be accomplished by 6.3.110 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . .

6.3.114 संहितायाम्

saṃhitāyām/
saṃhitāyām 7/1/
'*saṃhitāyām*' *ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ*
'*saṃhitāyām*' *ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*
When *saṃhitā* 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 *saṃhitā* is explained as 'close proximity between sounds' (1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*). 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 *saṃhitā* can thus be performed obligatorily. That is, in consonance with the general understanding that *saṃhitaikapade nityā* '*saṃhitā* is obligatory within a single *pada*'. Why do we then have *saṃhitāyām* 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 *dvyaco' tas tiṅaḥ* 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 कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य

karṇe lakṣaṇasyāviṣṭāṣṭapañcamaṇibhinnacchinnacchidrasruvasvastikasya / *karṇe* 7/1 *lakṣaṇasya* 6/1 *āviṣṭa-aṣṭan-pañcan-maṇi-bhinna-chinna-chidra-sruva-svastikasya* 6/1 (*na viṣṭa-pañcan . . . svastikasya* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*) / (*pūrvasya dīrghaḥ aṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
karṇaśabde uttarapade lakṣaṇavācino dīrgho bhavati '*viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva, svastika*' *ity etān varjayitvā*
A final short vowel denoted by *aN* of a nominal which denotes *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark', and is other than *viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva,* and *svastika,* is replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

dātrākarṇaḥ 'branded with mark of a sickle on the ear'
dviguṇākarṇaḥ 'branded with two marks on the ear'
triguṇākarṇaḥ 'branded with three marks on the ear'
dvyaṅgulākarṇaḥ 'branded with a mark equal in measure to two fingers on the ear'
aṅgulākarṇaḥ '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 *karṇa* '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 sambandhaḥ*) as 'that by means of which a particular relationship (here, ownership) is marked to be known'. Thus, *dātrākarṇaḥ* '. . . one on whose ear there is mark of a sickle'. Other example compounds, mostly *bahuvrīhis*, can be similarly understood.

6.3.116 नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ

nahivṛtivṛṣivyadhirucisahitaniṣu kvau
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhi, ruci, sahi, tani*' *ity eteṣu*
kvipratyayāntеṣūttarapadeṣu pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati saṃhitāyām viṣaye
A final short vowel denoted by *aṆ* of a nominal is replaced with its long counterpart when *nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhi, ruci, sahi, tani,* all ending in *KvIP,* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

upānat 'shoe, sandal'
nīvṛt 'an inhabited place'
prāvṛṭ 'rainy season'
hṛdayāvit 'heart-piercing
nīruk 'tasteless, insipid'
ṛtīṣat 'conquering enemies'
parītat 'encircling'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *aṆ* at the end of what precedes, when verbal roots *nahI, vṛtI, vṛṣI, vyadhI, rucI, sahI,* and *tanI,* used with affix *KvIP,* follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope. Thus, consider *upānat* 'shoe' where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *nah* by a *vārttika* (*sampadādibhyaḥ kvip*; ad 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*). The root-final *h* is then replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*), via *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhaḥ*) and *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Our present rule will then replace the short *a* of *upa,* in *upanat,* with its long counterpart yielding *upānat.*

2. Other derivates involve similar operations. Thus, *parīṇat* where, given *pari* + *nah* + *KvIP,* the *n* of *nah* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi . . .*). Affix *KvIP* is introduced by 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate.* This same *KvIP* is also introduced in deriving *nīvṛt.* Replacements in *jaŚ* (*d*; *jaśtva*) and *caR* (*ṭ*; *cartva*) are also seen in *prāvṛṭ.* The *samprasāraṇa* of *vyadh* in *marmāvit* is accomplished by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadha. . . .* The *c* in *nīruk* goes through *kutva* of 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ.* The *s* of *sah* in *ṛtiṃ sahate* = *ṛtīṣat* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.109 *saheḥ pṛtanartābhyāṃ 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 *vārttika* (*gamanādīnām iti vaktavyam*; ad 6.4.40 *gamaḥ kvau*). Augment *tUK* is then introduced subsequently (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*).

6.3.117 वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम्

vanigiryoḥ saṃjñāyāṃ koṭarakiṃśulakādīnām
/*vana-giryoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *koṭara-kiṃśulaka-ādīnām* 6/3

= *koṭaraś ca kiṃśulakaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *koṭara-kiṃśulakau ādī yeṣām* (*bv.*)/ (*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*vana, giri*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ koṭarādīnāṃ kiṃśulakādīnāṃ ca dīrgho bhavti saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
The final sound segment of nominals listed in the group headed by *koṭara* and *kiṃśulaka* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, combine to follow them in *saṃhitā* and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

koṭarāvaṇam 'name of a forest'
miśrakāvaṇam 'ibidem'
sidhrakāvaṇam 'ibidem'
sārikāvaṇam 'ibidem'
kiṃśulakāgiriḥ 'name of a mountain'
añjalāgiriḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowels of nominals enumerated in the list headed by *koṭara* and *kiṃśula*, when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, follow to combine. Additionally, the derivates must denote a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, *koṭarāvaṇam* 'name of a forest' and *miśrakāvaṇam* 'ibidem'; and *kiṃśulakāgiriḥ* and *añjalāgiriḥ*. Note that, in accord with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ 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 *kiṃśulaka* group when *giri* combines to follow. It is for this reason that *asipatravanam* and *kṛṣṇagiriḥ* are treated as counter-examples.

2. All example compounds are genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.4 *vanaṃ puragāmiśrakā*. . . .

6.3.118 वले

vale
/*vale* 7/1/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)
vale parataḥ pūrvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a constituent is replaced with its long counterpart when *vala* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

āsutīvalaḥ 'distiller, brewer'
kṛṣīvalaḥ 'farmer'
dantāvalaḥ 'elephant'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for *aṆ*, also when *vala* follows and

derivates denote a name. Note that *vala* does not here refer to a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Instead, and especially in view of association (*sāhacarya*) of *matUP* in the following rule, it here refers to affix *valaC* (5.2.112 *rajaḥkṛṣyāsut . . .*). Thus, *āsut*(*i*→*ī*)*valaḥ* = *āsutīvalaḥ*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block this lengthening in case of *utsāha*, *bhrātṛ* and *pitṛ*. Thus, we should still get *utsāhavalaḥ*, as against *utsāhāvalaḥ*, etc.

6.3.119 मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम्

matau bahvaco' najirādīnām
/*matau* 7/1 *bahvacaḥ* 6/1 = *bahvaco yasmin sa* (*bv.*); *anajirādīnām* 6/3 = *ajir ādir yeṣām* = *ajirādayaḥ*, *na ajirādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*), *teṣām*)/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)
matau parato bahvaco' jirādivarjitasya dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
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:

udumbarāvatī 'name of a river'
maśakāvatī 'name of a place'
vīraṇāvatī 'ibidem'
puṣkarāvatī 'ibidem'
amarāvatī 'ibidem'
brīhimatī 'name of a river'
valayavatī '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*)*vatī*, 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 *brīhimatī* 'rich in rice', *ajiravatī* 'she who has a mole . . .' and *valayavatī* (*matUP*; 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti . . .*) as counter-examples for conditions of *bahvac*, *anajirādi* and *saṃjñāyām*, respectively.

6.3.120 शरादीनां च

śarādīnāṃ ca
/*śarādīnāṃ* 6/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #116 *matau* #119)
śarādīnāṃ ca matau dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

The final *aṆ* 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:

śarāvatī 'name of a river'
vaṃśāvatī '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 *brīhimatī*. It, however, cannot be permitted in cases where nominals of the *yavādi* group are involved (8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś . . .*).

6.3.121 इको वहेऽपीलोः

iko vahe' pīloḥ
/ikaḥ 6/1 *vahe* 7/1 *apīloḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
igantasya pūrvapadasya pīluvarjitasya vaha uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *iK* of a nominal other than *pīlu* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vaha* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṣīvaham 'name of a place'
kapīvaham 'ibidem'
munīvaham 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final *iK* of a preceding constituent when the same is not *pīlu*, but is combined before *vaha*. Our examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *vaha* is a derivate of affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyaḥ . . .*). *Kāśikā* offers *piṇḍavaham* and *pīluvaham* as counter-examples to conditions of *ikaḥ* and *pīloḥ*, respectively. These derivates both denote names. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* lists the examples in the masculine nominative singular.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. apīlvādīnām iti vaktavyam*) proposal is made to read the exclusion as: *apīlvādīnām* 'except for *pīlu*, etc.' This extended exclusion can also block lengthening in additional derivate, for example, *dāruvaham*, etc.

6.3.122 उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्

upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam
/upasargasya 6/1 *ghañi* 7/1 *amanuṣye* 7/1 = (*nañ.*); *bahulam* 1/1
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
upasargasya ghañante uttarapade' manuṣye' bhidheye bahulaṃ dīrgho bhavati

The final of a preverb (*upasarga*) is variously replaced with its long counterpart when affix *ghaÑ* follows, and the derivate does not denote *manuṣya* 'human'.

EXAMPLES:

vīkledaḥ 'getting wet'
vīmārgaḥ 'a broom'
apāmārgaḥ 'a plant'

1. This rule variously allows a long replacement for the short of an *upasarga* when the same combines with a derivate of *GHaÑ*. Thus, *nīkledaḥ*, *vīmārgaḥ* and *apāmārgaḥ*, where *GHaÑ* has been introduced after *klid* and *mṛj* by 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. The initial *vṛddhi*, and the *g*-replacement for *j* of *mṛj*, is accomplished by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* and 7.3.52 *cajo ku*. . . . This replacement will be blocked when the derivate denotes a human (*manuṣya*). Thus, consider *niṣādo manuṣyaḥ* '*niṣāda* is a human'. Incidentally, since it is impossible to find affix *GHaÑ* introduced after a preverb, *GHaÑ* of *ghañi* is interpreted as 'that which ends in *GHaÑ*'.
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, *prativeśaḥ*/*pratīveśaḥ* 'neighborhood' and *pratirodhaḥ*/*pratīrodhaḥ* 'obstacle'.

6.3.123 **इकः काशे**

ikaḥ kāśe
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *kāśe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *upasargasya* #122)
igantasyopasargasya kāśaśabda uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when *kāśa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

nīkāśaḥ 'look, appearance'
vīkāśaḥ 'progression'
anūkāśaḥ 'reflection of light'

1. This rule allows a long replacement when an *upasarga* ending in an *iK* combines with a following *kāśa*. Note that *kāśa* is not a derivate of *GHaÑ*. It is a derivate of *aC*, instead (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*. . .). The condition of *iK* is imposed so that *pra* could not receive a long *ā* in *prakāśaḥ* 'light'.

6.3.124 दस्ति

das ti
/daḥ 6/1 *ti* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *upasargasya* #122 *ikaḥ* #123)
'*dā*' *ity etasya yas takārādir ādeśas tasmin parata igantasyopasargasya dīrgho bhavati*
The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when a replacement of *dā* beginning with *t* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nīttam 'made as a gift'
vīttam 'that which has passed'
parīttam '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 savarṇe* then deletes the preceding *t*. This produces *ni* + (*d*→*t*) + (*t*→ϕ) + *ta*. Our present rule then offers a long *ī* for the short of *ni*. This same happens in case of *vīttam* and *parīttam*.

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 ghoḥ*).

3. Note that the genitive of *daḥ* is here interpreted as signifying *sthānyādeśa-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 अष्टनः संज्ञायाम्

aṣṭanaḥ saṃjñāyām
/aṣṭanaḥ 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* 31 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*aṣṭan*' *ity asyottarapade saṃjñāyāṃ dīrgho bhavati*
The final *aṆ* 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 *nalopaḥ* . . . accomplishes *n*-deletion of *aṣṭan*.

6.3.126 छन्दसि च

chandasi ca
/*chandasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *aṣṭanaḥ* #125)
chandasi viṣaye' ṣṭan uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart, also in the Vedic, when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

āgneyámaṣṭâkapālaṃ nírvapet cárum '. . . offer oblations in eight vessels . . .'
aṣṭāhiraṇyā dakṣiṇā 'a ritual gift of eight gold coins?'
aṣṭāpadī devatā sumatī 'a verse of eight quarters . . .'

1. Note that *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* is a derivate of *aṆ*, introduced by 4.2.16 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*. This affix, however, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. The final *a* of *pāda*, of *aṣṭau pādāḥ asyāḥ* = *aṣṭapadī*, is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . . An optional affix *ṄīP* is then introduced by 4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām*. A compound such as *aṣṭau hiraṇyāni parimāṇam asyāḥ* = *aṣṭahiraṇyā* 'that whose measure is eight gold coins' is formed in the sense of a *taddhita* affix (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). 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, *aṣṭāgavaṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart pulled by eight bullocks'.

6.3.127 चितेः कपि

citeḥ kapi
/*citeḥ* 6/1 *kapi* 7/1/

(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
citiśabdasya kapi parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *citi* is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *kaP* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ekacitīkaḥ 'that which has one layer of bricks'
dvicitīkaḥ 'that which has two layers of bricks'
tricitīkaḥ 'that which has three layers of bricks'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *citi* when *kaP* follows. Thus, *ekā citir asya = ekacitīkaḥ*. Note that *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣita. . . .* Affix *kaP* is introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

6.3.128 विश्वस्य वसुराटोः

viśvasya vasurāṭoḥ
/*viśvasya* 6/1 *vasurāṭoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
viśvaśabdasya '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 *KvIP* is introduced after *rājṚ* by 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa. . . .* Note that a specification with *rāṭ* is made to ensure lengthening only where we find the form *rāṭ* (*yatrāsyaitad 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 संज्ञायाम्

nare saṃjñāyām
/*nare* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *viśvasya* #129)
naraśabda uttarapade saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nara* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

viśvānaro nāma yasya vaiśvānariḥ 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* = *vaiśvānariḥ* 'a son of Viśvānara'. This lengthening will be blocked, for example, in *viśve narā yasya sa* = *viśvanaraḥ* 'he whose all these men are'.

6.3.130 मित्रे चर्षौ

mitre carṣau
/ *mitre* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *ṛṣau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *viśvasya* #129)
mitre cottarapade ṛṣāv abhidheye 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 ṛṣiḥ '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' yaṃ māṇavakaḥ* 'this boy is a friend of all'.

6.3.131 मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ

mantre somāśvendriyaviśvadevyasya matau
/ *mantre* 7/1 *soma-aśva-indriya-viśvadevyasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*); *matau* 7/1/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
mantraviṣaye 'soma, aśva, indriya, viśvadevya' ity eteṣāṃ matup pratyaye parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *soma, aśva, indriya* and *viśvadevya* is, in the *mantra* usage, replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:.

so̱mā̱va̱tī 'possessing soma'
aśvāvatī 'possessing horses'
indriyāvatī 'powerful'
viśvadévyāvatī 'dear to all gods'

1. This rule allows lengthening in *soma, aśva, indriya* and *viśvadevya*, when *matUP* follows and the usage belongs to the *mantra* literature of the Vedic. The examples are all derivates of the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*).

6.3.132 ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम्

oṣadheś ca vibhaktāv aprathamāyām
/oṣadheḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ *vibhaktau* 7/1 *aprathamāyām* 7/1 = *na prathamāyām* (*nañ.*)/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *mantre* #131)
oṣadhiśabdasya vibhaktāv aprathamāyāṃ parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *oṣadhi* is also, in the *mantra* literature, replaced with its long counterpart when a nominal terminating in an ending other than *prathamā* 'first triplet (nominative)' follows.

EXAMPLES:

oṣadhībhir apīpatat
namáḥ pṛthi̲vyai nama̲ oṣádhībhyaḥ 'obeisance to earth and vegetations'

1. This rule allows lengthening to *oṣadhi*, again in the *mantra* literature, when a nominal ending other than the nominative (*prathamā*) follows. Thus, *namaḥ oṣadhībhyaḥ* '(our) salutation to vegetations'. A counter example to the condition of *prathamā* will be *sthireyam astv oṣadhiḥ* 'let this vegetation be here forever'.

6.3.133 ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्

ṛci tunughamakṣutaṅkutroruṣyāṇām
/ṛci 7/1 *tu-nu-gha-makṣu-taṅ-kutra-uruṣyāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
ṛci viṣaye 'tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, kutra, uruṣya' ity eteṣām dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of *tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, ku, tra* and *uruṣya* is replaced with its long counterpart when the usage is a Vedic hymn, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ā tū ná indra vṛtrahan 'come to us O, Indra, killer of Vṛtra'
nū karaṇe
u̲ta vā́ ghā syā̲lāt
ma̲kṣū́ gómantamīmahe
bharátā jā̲tave̲dasam 'make Agni happy'
kūmanaḥ 'wicked-minded'
atrā gauḥ
u̲ruṣyā̲ ṇó' gneḥ 'protect us O, Agni'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *tu*, etc., in the context of *ṛcā* 'Vedic hymn'. Note that *taṄ* '*ta* with *Ṅ* as an *it*' refers to the active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of second personal plural *tha* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ tāṃtaṃtāmaḥ*). Recall that a replacement of *LOṬ* is treated as a replacement

of *LAṄ*, marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, by extension (*atideśa*; 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*). The *tra* of *atrā* has its source in affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*). A replacement in *aN*, for *etad* of *etad* + *traL*, is accomplished by 5.3.5 *etado' n*. The word *uruṣyā*, paraphrased as *ātmana urum icchati*, is a derivate of *uru* + *am* + *KyaC*, where augment *sUK* (*vt* ad 7.1.51 *aśvakṣravṛṣa . . .: sarvaprātipadikebhyo lālasāyāṃ sug vaktavyaḥ*) is introduced to produce *uru* + *sUK* + *KyaC*→*urusya*. Given *urusya* + (*LOṬ*→*hi*) = *urusya* + (*hi*→ϕ), where *hi* gets deleted by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* and *s* of *urusya* gets replaced with *ṣ*, 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 ghaḥ*). 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 *ṛcā*.

6.3.134 इकः सुञि

ikaḥ suñi
/ikaḥ 6/1 *suñi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)
igantasya suñi parato ṛci viṣaye dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of a word which ends in *iK* is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *suÑ* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

a̲bhī ṣu ṇa̲ḥ sákhīnām
ū̲rdhva ū̲ ṣu ṇá ū̲taye̲

1. This rule allows an *iK* which occurs before *suÑ* to be replaced with its long counterpart, provided the context is *ṛcā*. Note that *suṬ* is a particle, where its *s* is replaced with *ṣ*. The *n* of the pronominal *naḥ* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātustho. . . .*

6.3.135 द्व्यचोऽतस्तिङः

dvyaco' tas tiṅaḥ
dvyacaḥ 6/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya; ataḥ* 6/1 *tiṅaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)
dvyacas tiṅantasyāta ṛgviṣaye dīrgho bhavati
The *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vi̲dmā hi tvā̲ gopátiṃ śū̲ra go̲nām 'O, brave Indra, we know you as the master of many cows'
vidmā śa̲rasyá pi̲tarám

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels. Of course, when the context is *ṛcā*. Thus, consider *vidmā*, a form of *LOṬ* ending in *mas* 'first person plural active verbal ending'. *Kāśikā* offers *bharata* and *vakṣi* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvyacaḥ* and *ataḥ*, respectively.

6.3.136 निपातस्य च

nipātasya ca
/ nipātasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *ṛci* #133)
nipātasya ca ṛgviṣaye dīrgha ādeśo bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a particle, in a Vedic hymn, is also replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ēvā té
acchā́ te

1. A particle is also subjected to lengthening in a context of *ṛcā*. Thus, *evā* and *acchā* which are *nipātas* because of their membership in the *cādi* group (1.4.57 *cādayo' sattve*).

6.3.137 अन्येषामपि दृश्यते

anyeṣām api dṛśyate
/ anyeṣām 6/3 *api* ϕ *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
anyeṣām api dīrgho dṛśyate
A final *aṆ* is also seen replaced with its long counterpart, elsewhere.

EXAMPLES:

keśākeśi 'a fight where one pulls the hair of another'
kacākaci 'ibidem'
jalāṣāt 'he who endures rain'
nārakaḥ pūruṣaḥ 'a sinful man'

1. This rule covers examples not enumerated thus far. Consider what the *Kāśikā* says: *yasya dīrghatvaṃ na vihitaṃ dṛśyate 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, *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci*, etc., where the compounds are formed by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam . . .*, 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, daṃṣṭrā, karṇa, kunda, varāha, puccha* and *pada* follow.

6.3.138 चौ

cau
/cau 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
cau parataḥ pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a preceding word is replaced with its long counterpart when *cU* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* 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 lenghtening when *cu* follows a sound denoted by *aṆ*. The word *cu* here refers to verbal root *añc* with its deleted nasal. Consider *dadhīca* where *añc* receives affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .) and its nasal is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal* . . . . The *a* of *ac* + *KvIN* is deleted by 6.4.138 *acaḥ*. The word *dadhīcaḥ* is thus a derivate of *dadhi* + *c* + *Śas*, with long *ī* replacing the short of *dadhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *madhūcaḥ*. Affix *KvIN*, as usual, gets deleted.

Note that a replacement denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*; 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) is applicable here on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). This, however, does not apply at the strength of this express provision of long-vowel replacement (*dīrghādeśa*; *Kāś*: *antaraṅgo' pi hi yaṇādeśo dīrghavidhānasāmarthyān na pravarttate*).

6.3.139 सम्प्रसारणस्य

samprasāraṇasya
/samprasāraṇasya 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
samprasāraṇāntasya pūrvapadasyottarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final of a word which has gone through *samprasāraṇa* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhīputraḥ 'son of a female who smelled like dried cow-dung'
kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of . . .'
kaumudagandhīputraḥ 'son of a female who smelled like lily'
kaumudagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of . . .'

1. Note that *uttarapade* is still carried. This rule offers a long replacement for the short final *aṆ* of a preceding constituent ending in a vowel termed

samprasāraṇa. Of course, when a constituent in combination follows. Thus, we get *kārīṣagandhīputraḥ* and *kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ*, 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 *ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* for derivational details of these examples.

2. A question is raised as to why 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo* . . . 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 *anyatarasyām* 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 *Kāś*) finds *vipratiṣedha* 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 *grāmaṇiputraḥ*. 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 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). Why can *hrasva* not apply after the application of *dīrgha* in consonance with *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñāna*, a renewed context of application? This cannot be done since that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* once, and hence is blocked, remains blocked forever (*PŚ* 41: *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitaṃ tad bādhitam eva*).

Pāda Four

6.4.1 अंगस्य

aṅgasya 6/1/
adhikāro' yam ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo' ṅgasyety evaṃ tad veditavyam
Of that which is termed an *aṅga*. . . .

Examples:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. It is carried over to all rules contained within its domain, valid through the end of the seventh chapter (*saptamādhyāya*).

2. Some claim that this *adhikāra* 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 yaṅlukoḥ*. Why? Rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyaylakṣaṇam* can account for its purpose. If such an *adhikāra*

of *aṅgasya* 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 *aṅga*. Of course, based on deletions accomplished via *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. The *LUK* of 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* is stated so that *guṇa* 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 *aṅgasya*. The author of the *vṛtti* considers *vraśc* + *LIṬ*→*vavraśca* where, given *va* + *vraśc* + *LIṬ*, 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* would apply to replace *r* with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *ṛ*. This *samprasāraṇa* will become applicable again to *v* after the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The negation of this *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*) 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 *samprasāraṇa* vowel. One cannot invoke *sthānivadbhāva* here because the *samprasāraṇa* condition of *paranimitta* 'following condition' can then not be satisfied (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *vṛttikāras tu manyate-yadi prāg abhyāsavikārebhyoṅgādhikāraḥ vavraś ceti vṛścater liṭi 'liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām' iti rephasys samprasāraṇe uradatva halādiśeṣe ca kṛte vakārasyāpi samprasāraṇaṃ prāpnoti, tasya 'na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam' iti pratiṣedha iṣyate, sa na prāpnoti; uradatvasyāsamprasāraṇatvāt. na ca tasya sthānivatvam, aparanimittatvāt*). It is to facilitate the derivation of *vavraśca* (and not of **vraśca*) that *aṅgasya* is treated as valid up to the end of the seventh chapter (*adhyāya*).

If one accepts the extent of the domain of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter, the result of 7.4.66 *ur at* will constitute the following condition. For, an *aṅga* will then expect its own affixal right condition (*PM*: *ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ punar aṅgādhikāre saty uradatvaṃ paranimittakaṃ bhavati, aṅgena svanimittasya pratyayasyāpekṣepāt*). The idea that one need not specify *luk* in 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* 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 *aṅgasya*. It is true that this negation applies to an *aṅga* which has gone through deletion of its affix via *LUK*. But it is also true that operations relative to an *aṅga*, such as this one, will apply whether they are limited to the domain of *aṅga* or not. (*PM*: *lumatā lupte pratyaye vastuto yad aṅgaṃ tasya prāptaṃ yat kāryam āṅgam anāṅgaṃ vā tasya sarvasya pratiṣedhaḥ*). It is therefore wise to accept the scope of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter.

3. I shall now offer some illustrations where *aṅgasya* plays a role in proper interpretation and application of rules contained within its domain. For example, Pāṇini says 6..4.2 *halaḥ* which, when read with 6.4.1. *aṅgasya*, yields the following interpretation:

> 'a long replacement is introduced to the *aṅga*-final *samprasāraṇa* vowel which is denoted by *aN* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*'

Consider *hve*(*Ñ*) + (*K*) *ta*→*hūtaḥ*, where *v* goes through a replacement in *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām . . .*; 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) and the resultant vocalic sequence is replaced with a single vowel homogeneous with the preceding (*pūrvasavarṇa*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Thus, *h*(*v*→*u*)*e*(*Ñ*)+ (*K*) *ta*→*h*(*u* + *e*→*u*) + *ta*→*h*(*u*→*ū*) + *ta*→*hūta* + *sU*→*hūtaḥ*. A long replacement for the short *u* is subsequently accomplished by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar applications of *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and long replacement (*dīrgha*) produce (*jyā* + *Kta*) + *sU*)→*jīnaḥ* where 8.2.44 *lvādibhyaḥ* replaces the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix with *n*.

Why do we need this specification by *aṅgasya* 'of (part) of an *aṅga*'? Consider (*nir-veÑ* + *Kta*)→(*nir*-(*v*→*u*) + *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., *veÑ* and *i*. The *samprasāraṇa* 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 dīrghaḥ*). Thus, *agni* + *ām*→*agn*(*i*→*ī*) + *ām*→*agnī* + *nUṬ* + *ām*→*agnīnām*, when augment *nUṬ* is introduced by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*.

Why do we have the condition of *aṅgasya*? Consider *krimiṇā* + *am* and *pāmanā* + *am* where *krimiṇā* and *pāmanā* are derivates of *krimiṇa* + *ṬāP* and *pāmana* + *ṬāP*. Note that *krimiṇa* and *pāmana* are derivates of affix *na* (5.2.100 *lopādipāmādo . . .*) which, in turn, is introduced after *krimi* + *Jas* and *pāman* + *Jas* with the signification of *krimayaḥ santy asyām* 'that in which there are worms' and *pāmānaḥ santy asyām* 'that which itches'. Since this is the domain of *aṅgasya* we do not get a long replacement for the final short of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. For *pāmana* and *krimiṇa* are derivates of *na*. The forms *pāma* and *krimi* cannot be assigned the term *aṅga* before *nām*. The *nām* of *krimiṇām* 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 *ato bhis ais* whereby *bhis* 'instrumental plural', which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* (*aT*), is replaced with *ais*. Consider *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissiṭā* where *aT* is not the final of an *aṅga* and *bhis* of *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā* is not an affix with reference to which the term *aṅga* could be assigned. Both *brāhmaṇa* and *odana* cannot be termed an *aṅga* before *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā*. The preceding two examples focus on *bhis* as part of a compound. Now consider *he brāhmaṇa bhissā tatva vartate* where *bhis* is part of a nominal stem, i.e., *bhissā* which, in turn, is not a compound constituent. We also find that *bhis* occurs after *brāhmaṇa* which ends in *a*. But *brāhmaṇa* is not an *aṅga*. For, *bhis* is not an affix here. Incidentally, *bhissā*

means 'rice' and *bhissiṭā* 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 *paribhāṣā* (15): *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* 'a specification applicable to something meaningful does not allow inclusion of something non-meaningful'. That is, this *paribhāṣā* will not permit a non-meaningful *bhis* to condition lengthening in *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissiṭā*. 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' nyārthaḥ, nāmi dīrghatvād api vyavasthāpayatīti tadartham arthavadgrahaṇaparibhāṣā 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 eṣā ṣaṣṭhī yathāyogaṃ viśeṣv avatiṣṭhate*). Thus, the genitive of *hanteḥ* (6.4.36 *hanter jaḥ*) is interpreted as *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'. The same in 6.4.89 *ūd upadhāyāḥ* . . . is interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*). The genitive of *yuvoḥ* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) is similarly interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'condition-conditioned' (*nimitta-nimitti*).

Commentarors also offer another proposal. They state that the stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) of *aṅga*, with no meaning of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), is carried to all rules. This stem notion keeps adjusting with the denotation of 'ablative' (*pañcamī*) or genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), 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 *ajjhanagamāṃ 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*)→*vivīṣati*, 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 saṃyogādeḥ*, 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 *LIṄ* marked with *K* or *Ṅ* follows. Consider *gleyāt* or *glāyāt* where *ai* of *glai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). The *e* (*etva*) of this rule produces *gl*(*ā*→*e*)*yāt*→*gleyāt*. This replacement is not pos-

sible in deriving *nirvāyāt* where *r* of *nir* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, the root is not conjunct-initial.

(*iii*) 7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ . . .*, whereby *tu* and *hi* are replaced, optionally, with *tātAṄ* when the denotatum is benediction (*āśiṣi*). We thus get *jīvatād bhavān/jīvatu bhavān* 'may you live long'; *jīvatāt tvam/jīva tvam*. This replacement in *tātAṄ* cannot apply on *jīva tu tvam* because *jīva* is not an *aṅga* with reference to *tu*, an indeclinable particle.

(*iv*) 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṃ . . .*, whereby the final *i* and *u* of some specified *aṅga* is, respectively, replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* before a vowel initial affix. Thus, we get *niyau/niyaḥ* and *luvau/luvaḥ*, where these bases are derived with *KvIP*, and *ī* and *ū* of *nī* and *lū* are replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, respectively.

(*v*) 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*, whereby augment *nUṬ* is introduced to *ām* which, in turn, occurs after an *aṅga* ending, either in a short vowel or in a *nadī* word, or else, in a feminine affix with *āP*. Thus we get *agnīnām*, *kumārīṇām* and *mālānām*. We cannot get *nUṬ* in *kumārī ām ity āha* 'the girl said "*ām*" (yes)', because *kumārī* cannot be indentified as an *aṅga* before *ām*, a non-affixal indeclinable.

(*vi*) 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*, whereby a vowel denoted by *aṆ* is replaced with its short counterpart before affix *ka*. We thus get (*kumār*(*ī*→*i*) + *ka*) + *ṬāP*→*kumārikā* + *sU*→*kumārikā*. We cannot get this replacement in *kumārī kasmai spṛhayati* 'who does the girl love' and *kumāryaḥ kaṃ sukham* 'what happiness does this girl have', where *ka*, of *kasmai* and *kam*, is not an affix before which *kumārī* can be termed an *aṅga*. Besides, both *kumārī* and *kumāryāḥ* are already fully derived words.

(*vii*) 7.4.48 *apo bhi*, whereby the *aṅga*-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*→*ḥ*) = *adbhiḥ* and *adbhyaḥ*. Now consider the counter-example, i.e., (*a*(*p*→*b*)+ *bhārḥ*))→*abbhāraḥ*, where this replacement cannot apply since *ap* is not an *aṅga*.

6.4.2 हलः

halaḥ
/halaḥ 5/1/
(*dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #6.3.111 *samprasāraṇasya* #6.3.139 *aṅgasya* #1)
aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇam tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati
The final sound of an *aṅga*, which terminates in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel denoted by *aṆ* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

hūtaḥ 'called, summoned'
jīnaḥ 'subdued, conquered'
samvītaḥ 'properly covered'

1. This rule offers a long replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within it.

This rule can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

(*i*) *hala uttarasya samprasāraṇāntasya aṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to the final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant';

(*ii*) *aṅgāvayavādd hala uttarasya samprasāraṇasya dīrgho bhavati* 'long replacement applies to a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*';

(*iii*) *aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇaṃ tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*'

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the third interpretation.

If the first interpretation is accepted, long replacement will apply to the *u* of (*nir-ve*($\tilde{N}$) + (*K*)*ta*)) + *sU*→*nirutam* and (*dur-ve*$\tilde{N}$+ (*K*)*ta*)) + *sU*→*durutam*. Note that the *u* of *nir-u* + *tam* is a *samprasāraṇa* 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 *samprasāraṇāc 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 *samprasāraṇa*. The lengthening of *u* and *i*, in *nirutam* and *durutam*, is, however, not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Accepting the first interpretation will yield wrong forms **nirūtam* and **durūtam*. For, we find an *aṅga* which, here, ends in a *samprasāraṇa* 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 *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ*. This interpretation will provide lengthening in *viddhaḥ*/*vicitaḥ* and yield undesired forms: *vīddhaḥ* and **vīcitaḥ*. Incidentally, we get *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ* from (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*)) and (*vyac* + *Kta*) + *sU*)), where 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicati* . . . requires *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. The *v* of *vyadh* and *vyac* is saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* as a result of the negation of 6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*. Notice also that we have the *samprasāraṇa* 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 *hal*, or be used for specifying operational locus (*kārya-pratipatti*). A single use of *aṅgasya* can be accepted only as a qualifier to *halaḥ*. We also need another *aṅgasya* so that its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) can be interpreted as denoting *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of' and can serve as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) to *samprasāraṇam*. We can then get the sense of 'an *aṅga* ending in a *samprasāraṇa*', via applying *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting a specification as also that which ends in that' to the qualifier *samprasāraṇa*. The first *aṅgasya* will be treated as a qualifier to *halaḥ* 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 *halaḥ*, a long replacement cannot be made available to an *aṅga* which may end in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and be followed by a consonant. *Kāśikā*, therefore, uses the word *aṅga* twice, by way of repetition (*āvṛtti*) of *aṅgasya* already made available. Thus, we get two phrases in the *vṛtti*: *aṅgāvayavādd halaḥ* and *tadantasyāṅgasya dīrghaḥ*. How can a single *aṅgasya* be used twice? Like a single pot used for feeding many not eating concurrently (*yathaikaṃ bhājanam asahabhujām anekeṣāṃ bhujikriyāyām*). Thus,

> *āvarttamānaṃ vastv ekaṃ apy anekasya śeṣatām/*
> *bhajate bhājanaṃ yadvan nṛṇām asahabhojane//*
> '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:

> *nanv ekam aṅgagrahaṇaṃ prakṛtaṃ tadd halo yadi/*
> *viśeṣaṇaṃ syāt kāryitvam aṅgasyeha na labhyate//*
> *tataś ca viddham ity ādāv api dīrghaḥ prasajyate/*
> *atha nirdiśyate kāryī nāhalaḥ syād viśeṣaṇam//*
> *tato nirutam ity ādāv api dīrghatvam āpatet/*
> *sakṛc chrutasya caikasya yujyate nobhayārthatā//*
> 'if *aṅgasya*, as given, is interpreted as a qualifer to *halaḥ*, 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 *halaḥ*. 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 *halaḥ* and once again for specifying the operational locus (*Kāś*: *aṅgagrahaṇam āvartayitavyam*: *halviśeṣaṇārtham, aṅgakāryapratipatyarthaṃ ca*).

Note that *aṇaḥ* (6.3.111), *dīrghaḥ* (6.3.111) and *samprasāraṇasya* (6.3.139) are all carried over. But how could *aṇaḥ* be carried here when its *anuvṛtti* is already canceled by the incompatible *ik* of 6.3.123 *ikaḥ kāśe*. No problem.

Carry *iK* as a qualifier to *aṆ*, thereby yielding the meaning: an *aṇ* which is denoted by an *iK* (*a ig iti*). But qualifying *aṆ* with *iK* will create problems in applying rule 6.3.138 *cau*, where *aṆ* alone is desired to be carried. Consequently, lengthening cannot be accomplished in *avācā* and *svarācā*. In that case, just carry *aṆ* from 6.3.138 *cau*. Or else, bring *iK* by *maḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' process of *anuvṛtti*. Incidentally, *aṆ* is required because lengthening can apply only to a vowel denoted by *aṆ*

6.4.3 नामि

nāmi
/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:

agnīnām 'genitive plural of *agni*'
vāyūnām 'genitive plural of *vāyu*'
kartṝṇām '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 ṣaṣṭhī-bahuvacanam āgatanuṭkaṃ gṛhyate*). This rule thus allows lengthening of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows. The *aṆ* of 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇ* is not carried here. That is, lengthening can also apply to *ṛ*.

2. A specification with *nUṬ* is made so that (*i*) *ām* is interpreted as *nām* and (*ii*) introduction of augment *nUṬ* is accomplished before a replacement in long. For, 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will introduce *nUṬ* under the condition of *hrasva* 'short', etc. Consider *agni* + *ām*, where, unless *ām* 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 (*paraḥ*), but *dīrgha* 'long replacement' is obligatory (*nitya*). 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 *bhūtapūrvagati* '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 nuṭ* will becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). 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 *dīrgha*'. This way, *nUṬ* can be accomplished without making its provision vacuous.

But this method of applying *nUṬ* is not valid. The provision of *nUṬ* cannot become vacuous because its application is seen, for example, in *tisṛṇām*, etc., where *dīrgha* 'long' is not available. It is thus clear that applying *nUṬ* simply because its provision will otherwise become vacuous is not acceptable. Also recall that 6.4.7 *nopadhāyāḥ* negates a long replacement to the penultimate sound of an *aṅga* when the *aṅga* ends in *n* (*nānta*). That is, *nUṬ* must be introduced before a long replacement is accomplished. For, in the absence of *nUṬ*, there will be a long replacement in *carman* + *ām* → **carmāṇām*. A long replacement before *ām*, used with *nUṬ* (*sanuṭka*; *nām*), will not allow a long replacement in *carman* + *ām* = *carmaṇām*. It is, therefore, recommended that *nUṬ* be introduced first:

> *nāmidīrgha āmi cet syāt kṛte dīrghe na nuḍ bhavet/*
> *vacanād yatra tan nāsti nopadhāyāś ca carmaṇām//*
> 'if the long replacement provision of *nāmi* is accomplished when *ām* follows, *nUṬ* cannot be introduced after the long replacement. It is not proper to argue that *nUṬ* can be introduced at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement (*ārambha-sāmarthya*). For, *nUṬ* is not in any danger of becoming vacuous. This provision is also made there by the lengthening of *nopadhāyāś ca*'

6.4.4 न तिसृचतसृ

> *na tisṛcatasṛ*
> */ na ϕ tisṛ-catasṛ* (6/2 deleted cf. 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk . . .*; *itar. dv.*)/
> (*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)
> '*tisṛ, catasṛ' ity etayor nāmi dīrgho na bhavati*
> The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, is not replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *tisṛṇām* 'genitive plural of *tisṛ*'
> *catasṛṇām* 'genitive plural of *catasṛ*'

1. This rule disallows a long replacement when *nām* follows *tiṣṛ* and *catasṛ*. Note that *tri* and *catur* are replaced with *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* in the feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo . . .*). Thus, we get (*tri*→*tisṛ*) + *nām* = *tisṛṇām*. A long replacement for *ṛ*, 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 *tisṛ* + *ām*, *nUṬ* and *r* as a replacement for *ṛ* (7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ*), both become applicable simultaneously. If a replacement in *r*, based on 7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ* being subsequent in order, is accomplished first, *tisṛ* + *ām* will not qualify to receive *nUṬ*. 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 *nUṬ* 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 *nUṬ* is introduced. Our present rule, however, negates this provision of replacement in long. It is for this reason that we state: *numciratṛjvadbhāvebhyo nuḍ bhavati pūrvavipratiṣedhena* '. . . *nUṬ* is accomplished by conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'.

6.4.5 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasy ubhayathā
/ chandasi 7/1 *ubhyathā* 1/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *tisṛ-catasṛ* #5)
chandasi viṣaye 'tisṛ-catasṛ' ity etayor nāmi parata ubhayathā dṛśyate
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:

tisṝṇāṃ madhyadine '. . . mid-day'
tisṛṇāṃ madhyadine 'ibidem'
catasṝṇāṃ madhyadine '. . . mid-day'
catasṛṇāṃ madhyadine 'ibidem'

1. This rule states that both, a long replacement (*dīrgha*), or its absence (*dīrghābhāva*), is witnessed in the Vedic usage. Thus, *tisṛṇām* and *tisṝṇām*; *catasṛṇām* and *catasṝṇām*.

6.4.6 नृ च

nṛ ca
/ nṛ 1/1 *ca* ϕ
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *chandasy ubhayathā* #5)
'nṛ' ity etasya nāmi pare ubhayathā bhavati
The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *nṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvaṃ nṝṇāṃ nṛpate 'O you, the king of men'
tvam nṝṇāṃ nṛpate 'ibidem'

1. This provision of a long replacement, or its optional absence, is made in the Vedic where *nṛ* 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 नोपधायाः

nopadhāyāḥ
/na ϕ upadhāyāḥ 6/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)
nāntasyāṅgasyopadhyāyā 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)'
navānām '. . . *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 *naḥ*, in the genitive, is made to indicate the nasal sound (*varṇa*) *n*. The interpretation of this specification of *naḥ* 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 (*ādyacaḥ*).

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*→ *pañc*(*a*→*ā*) *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 *naḥ*, where we find *nUṬ*, though *catur* does not end in *n*. A long replacement must, in this context, occur before *nām*. That is why, *carman* + *ām*→*carmaṇām*, 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 चासम्बुद्धौ

sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau
/sarvanāmasthāne 7/1 *ca ϕ asambuddhau* 7/1 = *na sambuddhau* (*nañ.*)/
(*dīrghaḥ* #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 . . .'
rājānaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
rājānam 'accusative singular of . . .'
rājānau '. . . dual of . . .'
sāmāni tiṣṭhanti 'the impartial ones are sitting'
sāmāni 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 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* and 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* assign the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to a set of nominal endings. Thus, *rājā/rājānau/rājānaḥ*; *rājānam/rājānau*. Additionally, *sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* and *sāmāni paśya* where *Jas* and *Śas*, which occur after *sāman*, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*).

2. Note that *ca* is used here to attract *nopadhāyāḥ* (*Kāś: cakāraḥ nopadhāyā ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). But this should not be accepted, since *nopadhāyāḥ* carries beyond this rule. Besides, what is attracted by means of *ca* cannot be carried subsequently (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratrābhisambadhyate*). 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 sarvanāmasthāne*. It is therefore suggested that *ca* could have been used for stylistic variation (*vaicitryārtham*).

3. Because of the negation of *sarvanāmasthāna*, we cannot get a long replacement in *sāmani*, a locative (*saptamī*) singular. Similar negation applies to *he rājan*! and *he takṣan*!, both vocative (*sambuddhi*) singular forms.

6.4.9 वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे

vā ṣapūrvasya nigame
/vā ϕ ṣapūrvasya 6/1 = *ṣaḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *nigame* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)
ṣapūrvasyāco nopadhāyā nigamaviṣaye sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau vā dīrgho 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 *ṣ*, and a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sá tákṣāṇa̲ṃ tíṣṭhantamabravī̲t
sa takṣaṇam . . .
ṛbhukṣāṇamindram
ṛbhu̲kṣaṇa̲mindra̲m

1. This rule makes yet another optional proposal for a replacement in long in the vedic (*nigama*). That is, the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when the same occurs after *ṣ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus, consider the optional accusative singular forms of *takṣan*: *takṣāṇam* and *takṣaṇam*.

Note that the base is *takṣin*, a derivate of *inI* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*) introduced after *takṣan*. The *a* of *takṣa* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *i* of *inI* is replaced with *a* (7.4.86 *ito' t sarvanāmasthāne*). We can now derive *takṣānam* from *takṣan* + *am* with the application of optional long replacement. Of course, the *n* will be also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). We will get *takṣaṇam* if this optional long replacement is not accomplished. This samę applies to *ṛbhukṣāṇam* and *ṛbhukṣaṇam*.

6.4.10 सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य

sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya
/sānta (6/1 deleted) *mahataḥ* 6/1 *saṃyogasya* 6/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)
sakārāntasya saṃyogasya yo nakāraḥ mahataś ca tasyopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau
The next to the last vowel of a *saṃyoga* '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)'
śreyāṃsau '. . . dual . . .'
śreyāṃsaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
mahān 'nominative singular of *mahat* (great)'
mahāntau '. . . dual . . .'
mahāntaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
śreyāṃsi 'neuter nominative plural of *śreyas*'
yaśāṃsi '. . . 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 (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). 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 *saṃyogasya*. The *n* (*nakāra*) is then qualified by *saṃyoga*, 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*, *saṃyoga* and *mahat*. This is how *Kāśikā* phrases its *vṛtti* as: *sakārāntasya saṃyogasya nakāraḥ mahataś ca* 'the *n* of a conjunct ending in *-s*, and that of *mahat* as well . . .'. Note that *Kāśikā* uses *tasya* of *tasyopadhāyāḥ* 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-sāmānya*). 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 *tadavayatva* 'part of that' in relation to the genitive of *aṅgasya* will always be there.

Refer to derivational details of *payāṃsi* and *yaśāṃsi* under the appendix of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*. Recall that *śreyān*, *śreyāṃsau* and *śreyāṃsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *śreyas*, a derivate of *praśasya*, where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*) before affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajoyopapade*). Augment *nUM* is further introduced to *śreyas* + *sU*, etc. A deletion of *ṭi* (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*) is blocked because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. The *-s* of the nominative singular gets deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Given *śreyans* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *śreyans*, the final *-s* will be deleted (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*), and the *a* before *n* will be replaced with its long counterpart. We will thus get *śrey*(*a*→*ā*) *n*(*s*→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 *ugid acām* . . .), and *mahān*, etc., are derived by treating it as ending in affix *ŚatṚ* (cf. *vt*: *vartamāne pṛṣan* . . ., ad 7.3.109 *jasi ca*).

6.4.11 अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तॄणाम्

aptṛntṛcsvasṛnaptṛneṣṭṛtvaṣṭṛkṣatṛhotṛpotṛpraśāstṝṇām
/ap-tṛn-tṛc-svasṛ-naptṛ-neṣṭṛ-tvaṣṭṛ-kṣatṛ-potṛ-praśāstṝṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*dīrghaḥ*#6.3.111 *aṅgasya*#1 *upadhāyāḥ*#7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ap* 'water', or of an *aṅga* which ends in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*, or else, an *aṅga* which is constituted by *svasṛ* 'sister', *naptṛ* 'grand (daughter's) son', *neṣṭṛ* 'priest', *tvaṣṭṛ* 'artisan', *kṣatṛ* 'charioteer', *hotṛ* 'the priest who reads invocation, *potṛ* 'priest performing ritual purification' and *praśāstṛ* 'one who presides', is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than one termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āpaḥ 'water'
kartārau kaṭān 'those two whose nature it is to make mats'
kartārau kaṭasya '(the two) mat-makers'
svasā/svasārau/svasāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *svasṛ* 'sister''
naptā/naptārau/naptāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *naptṛ* 'daughter's son''
neṣṭā/neṣṭārau/neṣṭāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *neṣṭṛ* 'one of the chief officiating priests at the Soma sacrifice''
tvaṣṭā/tvaṣṭārau/tvaṣṭāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tvaṣṭṛ* 'fashioner of the universe''
kṣattrā/kṣattrārau/kṣattrāraḥ 'nominative singular' dual and plural of *kṣattṛ* 'door-keeper, charioteer''
hotā/hotārau/hotāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hotṛ* 'presiding priest''
potā/potārau/potāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *potṛ* 'purifying priest''
praśāstā/praśāstārau/praśāstāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *praśāstṛ* 'administrative priest''

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' of an *aṅga* constituted by (*i*) *ap*, (*ii*) a form which ends in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*, (*iii*) *svasṛ*, (*iv*) *naptṛ*, (*v*) *neṣṭṛ*, (*vi*) *tvaṣṭṛ*, (*vii*) *kṣattṛ*, (*viii*) *hotṛ*, (*ix*) *potṛ*, and (*x*) *praśāstṛ*. Of course, when a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Why are *naptṛ*, etc., specified here when they can easily be covered by the specification of forms ending in *tṛC* and *tṛN*? 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 *tṛC* and *tṛN*, a separate specification is made for restricting long replacement only with reference to these cited forms. That is, nominals such as *pitṛ* and *mātṛ* which are not separately specified cannot avail this long replacement. We will thus get *pitarau/pitaraḥ*; and *mātarau/mātaraḥ*, 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 kartaḥ* 'O doer', etc. Refer to derivational details of examples with *tṛC* under rule 1.1.2 *ād guṇaḥ*. Derivates of *tṛN* share identical forms with those of *tṛC*. They, however, differ in accent.

6.4.12 इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ

inhanpūṣāryamṇāṃ śau
/in-han-pūṣan-aryamṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *śau* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)
'*in-han-pūṣan-aryaman*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ śau 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'
bahuvṛtrahāṇi 'a place where there are many killers of brāhmaṇas'
bahubhrūṇahāṇi 'a place where there are many killers of fetuses'
bahupūṣāṇi 'many who offer nourishment'
bahvaryamāṇi '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): *aninasmangrahaṇāny arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*. There are other forms which can also not constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi*. Thus, *han* which is a derivate of *KvIP*. Since this *KvIP* (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 *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*) introduced after a neuter (*napuṃsaka*) base. One needs to interpret them via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*'. The examples are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed with *bahu*. Refer to *kuṇḍāni*, under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*, for derivational details. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ* . . . will replace the *n* of *han* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). This *ṇatva* 'replacing *n* with *ṇ*', 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 *chattriṇau*, *vṛtrahaṇau*, *pūṣaṇau* and *aryamaṇau*, etc. A proposal for split-interpretation of this rule is also made in the *Mahābhāṣya* as follows:

(*i*) *inhanpūṣāryamṇām* and (*ii*) *śau*.

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 *inhanpūṣāryamṇām*, 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 *bhrūṇahani* cannot get a long replacement, thereby to yield **bhrūṇah*(*a*→*ā*)*ni*.

6.4.13 सौ च

sau ca
/sau 7/1 *ca* ϕ*/*
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *inhanpūṣāryamṇām* #12)
sāv asambuddhau parata inhanpūṣāryamṇām 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 a *sU*, not termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍī 'nominative singular of *daṇḍin*'
vṛtrahā 'nominative singular of *vṛtrahan*'
pūṣā 'nominative singular of *pūṣan*'
aryamā 'nominative singular of *aryaman*'

1. The *upadhā* of *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* 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 *inahpūṣāryamṇām*. Thus, consider *daṇḍī*, etc. This long replacement will be blocked in case of *he daṇḍin*, where the nominal ending is termed *sambuddhi*.

6.4.14 अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः

atvasantasya cādhātoḥ
/atv-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/*

(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *sau* #13)
'*atu, as*' *ity evam antasya adhātor upadhāyāḥ sāv asambuddhau parato dīrgho 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'
supayāḥ 'possessing good milk'
suyaśāḥ 'having good fame'
suśrotāḥ 'good listener; he who has good ears'

1. This rule allows a long replacement also for the *upadhā* of a non-*dhātu* form which ends in *atU* and *as*, provided a *sU* which is not a *sambuddhi* follows. Thus, consider *bhavān, gomān, supayāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*, etc.

Note that *atU* refers to forms ending in affixes *ḌavatUP, KtavatU* and *matUP*, etc. A specification with *as* is made to refer to forms which end in *as*, i.e., *supayas* and *suyaśas*, etc., where it is not necessary for *as* to be also meaningful (*Kāś*: *anarthako' pi asaśabdo gṛhyate*; also the *Paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi: *aninasmaṅgrahaṇān arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*). The word *anta*, in this rule, is used so that a reference with *atvas* can also refer to forms which may end in a part of *atvas*, 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 *ḌavatUP* (*Uṇādi* I:63: *bhāter ḍavatup*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for derivational details of forms derived with *KtavatU*. Examples such as *gomān* and *yavamān* derive from (*go* + *matUP*) + *sU* and (*yava* + *matUP*) + *sU* where penultimate lengthening (*upadhā-dīrgha*) and introduction of *nUM* at the strength of *UK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .) are important operations. Now consider *supayas* + *sU*→*supayāḥ*, *suyaśas* + *sU*→*suyaśāḥ* and *suśrotas* + *sU*→*suśrotāḥ* 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 karttavyaḥ*). 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., *upadhā*, will be removed (*Kāś*: *yadi hi paratvān nityatvāc ca num syāt, dīrghasya nimittaṃ tūpadhā vihanyeta*). Thus, given (*kṛ* + *Ktavat*) + *sU*, we get *kṛtavān* where long replacement of the second *a* of *tavat* is accomplished before *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ* . . .) is introduced. A decision to apply

nUM prior to the long replacement will produce *kṛtavant* where long replacement cannot be accomplished, due mainly to *n* which now constitutes the *upadhā*.

3. The negative condition of *adhātoḥ* is imposed so that *piṇḍaṃ grasate* = *piṇḍagraḥ*, etc., could be blocked from receiving a long replacement. The condition of *asambuddhau* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement in *he goman* and *he supayaḥ*, etc.

6.4.15 अनुनासिकस्य क्विज्झलोः क्ङिति

anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ kṅiti
/ anunāsikasya 6/1 *kvi-jhaloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kṅiti* 7/1 = *kaś ca ṅaś ca; kṅau itau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) /
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)
anunāsikāntasya aṅgasya upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati kvipratyaye parato jhalādau ca kṅiti
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 *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* 'non-nasal consonant' (*Śs.* 8–14) and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

praśān 'tranquil'
pratān 'languid'
śāntaḥ 'calm, quiet'
śāntavān 'ibidem'
śaṃśāntaḥ 'extremely tranquil'
tantāntaḥ 'extremely languid'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in affix *KvI*, or in an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. A reference with *KvI* is here made to affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* which go through total (*sarvāpahārī*) deletion (*lopa*). Also note in this connection that *kṅiti* is here relatable only to *jhalādau*. It cannot be relatable to affix *KvIP*. For, a qualifier-qualified relationship obtains only when removability of a qualifier is possible (*sambhava-vyabhicāra*). Thus, one can find an affix which may begin with a *jhaL* sound and which may also be marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *K* as an *it* in *KvI* is absolutely not separable. The question of whether or not *Ṅ* is separable does not arise.

2. Note that *praśān* and *pratān* are derived from *praśān* + *sU* and *pratān* + *sU*, where affix *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*) is introduced after verbal roots *śamU* and *tamU*, used with the preverb *pra*. Their final *m* is changed to *n* (8.2.64 *mo no dhātoḥ*) after deletion of *KvIP* and the long replacement of the *upadhā*.

Deriving *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān*, from *śam* + *Kta* and *śam* + *KtavatU* where both involve affixes termed *niṣṭhā*, is no problem. The word *śānti* is a derivate of affix *KtiN*, introduced after *śam*. Refer to derivational details of *pāpaṭhīti* under the appendix of 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca*. Examples such as *śaṃśāntaḥ* and *tantāntaḥ* derive from (*śam* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*→*śaṃśam* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) and (*tam* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*→*taṃtam* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*), where affix *yaṄ* goes through deletion (*yaṅluk*) and affix *LAṬ* is replaced with *tas*. The *anusvāra* results from the *nUK* of 7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikasya*. A long replacement of their *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) 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 *anunāsikasya* 'of a nasal' is imposed so that *odanapāk* 'cooking of rice', *pakvaḥ* 'cooked, ripe', and *pakvavān* '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 *kvijjhaloḥ* 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 *kvijjhaloḥ*. The condition of *kṅiti* is similarly not satisfied by the *tṛC*-derivates *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 अज्झनगमां सनि

ajjhanagamāṃ sani
/*ajjhanagamām* 6/3 = *ac ca hanaś ca gam ca* = *ajj-han-gamaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *sani* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *jhali* #15)
ajantānām aṅgānāṃ hanigamyoś ca sani jhalādau pare dīrgho bhavati
The final sound of an *aṅga* 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:

cicīṣati 'desires to heap'
tuṣṭūṣati 'desires to pray'
cikīrṣati 'desires to make'
jihīrṣati 'desires to carry'
jighāṃsati 'desires to kill'
adhijigāṃsate 'desires to go'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short vowel of an *aṅga* 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 *iṄ* 'to study' (2.4.48 *iṇaś ca*). This is in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal made under this rule (*vt. gamer iṇādeśasyeti vaktavyam*). Refer to derivational details of *tuṣṭūṣati*, etc., under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers *saṃjigaṃsate* 'he wishes to go with', a *saN*-derivate of *samgam*, as a counter-example with no long replacement. We get *samajigāṃsat* in the Vedic where *iṄ* does not get replaced with *gam* but a long replacement is accomplished in view of 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. A proposal is also made to formulate this rule simply as *hanagamāṃ sani* 'long replacement of the final sound of an *aṅga* when *saN* 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 *iṄ*, ending in a vowel. This proposed formulation will rule out any need for the word *acaḥ* in the wording of this rule. It will also rule out any need for the *vārttika* just mentioned.

Derivational details of *adhijigāṃsate*, where *gam* is a replacement of *iṄ*, can be found under the appendix of 2.4.48 *iṇaś ca*. Deriving *jighāṃsati* from *han* should pose no problem. Note, however, that the *h* occurring after the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *gh* (7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*).

6.4.17 तनोतेर्विभाषा

tanoter vibhāṣā
/ tanoteḥ 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhali* #15 *sani* #16)
tanoter aṅgasya sani jhalādau vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanU*, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

titāṃsati 'desires to extend'
titaṃsati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *tan* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhAL* follows. Follow derivational details of *saN*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that an optional *iṬ* augment is also made available to *tan* (*vt*: ad 7.2.49 *sanvantardha . . .*). There is no long replacement when the option of augment *iṬ* is accepted. For, there will not be a following affix beginning with *jhaL*. The derivate with this option of augment *iṬ* will be *titaniṣati*. We will thus get three forms: *titāṃsati* and *titaṃsati*, with optional long replacement, and *titaniṣati*, with optional augment *iṬ* and no long replacement.

6.4.18 क्रमश्च क्त्वि

kramaś ca ktvi
/kramaḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ *ktvi* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhali* #15 *sani* #16 *vibhāṣā* #17)
krama upadhayā vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati ktvā pratyaye jhalādau parataḥ
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kramU* 'stride', is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Ktvā*, with a sound denoted by *jhaL* 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 *jhaL*. Thus, we get *krantvā* and *krāntvā*.

Why do we have to still retain *jhalādi* as a qualifier to *Ktvā*? So that no long replacement could be allowed when *Ktvā* receives augment *iṬ* (7.2.56 *udito 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 (*bahiraṅga*), is applied first blocking an internally conditioned operation (*antaraṅga*) 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 *jhaL*. 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 jagdhir. . .*: *antaraṅgān vidhīn bahiraṅgo lyab bādhate* 'a replacement in *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned, blocks internally conditioned operations.

6.4.19 छ्वोः शूडनुनासिके

chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike ca
/chvoḥ 6/2 = *cchaś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *śūṭh* 1/1 = *śaś ca ūṭh ca* (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ knīti* #15)
'*cch, va*' *ity etayoḥ sthāne yathāsaṃkhyam* '*ś, ūṭh*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato*'
nunāsikādau pratyaye parata kvau jhalādau ca knīti

The *ch* and *v* of an *aṅga* are replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

praśnaḥ 'query, question iterrogation'
viśnaḥ 'ibidem'
syonaḥ 'auspicious, pleasant'
śabdaprāṭ 'he who asks about words'
goviṭ 'procuring cows'
akṣadyūḥ 'gambling with dice'
hiraṇyaṣṭhyūḥ
pṛṣṭaḥ
pṛṣṭavān
dyūtaḥ
dyūtavān
dyūtvā

1. This rule allows *cch* (*tUK* + *ch*) and *v* of an *aṅga* to be replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, resectively, when what follows is (*i*) an affix beginning with a nasal; (*ii*) an affix constituted by *KvI* (*KvIP*, etc.), or (*iii*) an affix which begins with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, we get *pracch* + *naṄ*→*pra*(*cch*→*ś*) + *na*(*Ṅ*) = *praśna*, where *cch* includes augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). Affix *naṄ* is, of course, introduced by 3.3.90 *yaja-yācayata*. . . . We similarly derive *viśna* from *vicch naṄ*→*vi*(*cch*→*Ś*) *na* = *viśna*.

We also get *siv* + *na*→*si*(*v*→*ūṬH*) + *na*→*si*(*v*→*ū*) + *na* = *s*(*i*→*y*) + *ū* + *ona*→*sy* + (*ū*→*o*) + *na* = *syona* + *sU* = *syonaḥ*, with the *Uṇādi* affix *na* (III.9). Note that augment *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*) 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*→*ū*) + *na* = **seūna* if *guṇa* is applied before *ūṬH*. We can apply *sandhi* of *s*(*i*→*y*) before *ū* because this replacement in *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*) 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 (*PŚ* (56): *varṇād āṅgaṃ balīyo bhavati*). But this *paribhāṣā* cannot be invoked here since its applicational conditions are different. For example, *yaṆ* is conditioned by *ūṬH*; *guṇa* is conditioned by suffixes termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Augment *ūṬH* is thus internally conditioned, as against *guṇa* which is externally conditioned. A replacement in *yaṆ* is then accomplished first since it depends on *varṇa* 'sound' as its condition.

The word *śabdaṃ pṛcchati* = *śabdaprāṭ* derives from *śabda* + *am* + *pracch* + (*KvIP*→ϕ), where *samprasāraṇa* is blocked and *a* of *pracch* goes through a long replacement (*vt*: *kvibvacipracchyāyatastu* . . .; cf. 3.2.178 *anyebhyo' pi*

dṛśyate). Our present rule then applies to produce *śabdapr*(*a*→*ā*) *cch*→ *śabdaprā*(*cch*→*ś*) = *śabdaprāś*. This *ś* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*. . . . We finally get *śabdaprā*(*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *śabdaprāṭ*, through *ṣ*→*ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) and *ḍ*→*ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

6.4.20 ज्वरत्वरस्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च

jvaratvarasrivyavimavām upadhāyāś ca
/*jvar-tvar-srivy-avi-mavām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ knniti* #15 *cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh* #19)
'*jvara, tvara, srivi, ava, mava*' *ity eṣām aṅgānāṃ vakārasya upadhāyāś ca sthāne* '*ūṭh*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kvau parato' nunāsike jhalādau ca knniti*
The *v* and next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *jvarA* 'to be feverish', *tvarA* 'to hasten', *srivI* 'to become dry', *avI* 'to help, protect' and *mavA* 'to move, go', is replaced with *ūṬH* when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or else, one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jūḥ/jūrau/jūraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *jūr* 'fever''
jūrttiḥ 'fever'
tūḥ/tūrau/tūraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tūr* 'hasteful''
tūrttiḥ 'haste'
srūḥ/sruvau/sruvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *srū* 'dryness''
srūtaḥ 'dry'
ūḥ/uvau/uvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *ū* 'protector''
ūtiḥ 'protection'
mūḥ/muvau/muvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mū* 'mover''
mūtaḥ '. . . has moved'

1. This rule offers *ūṬH* as a replacement for *v*, and the penultimate vowel as well, of an *aṅga*, namely *jvara, tvara, srivi, ava* and *mava*, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or beginning with a *jhaL* marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jvar* + *KvIP*→*j* (*va*→*ūṬH*) + *KvIP*→*jū* + (*KvIP*→ϕ)→*jū* + *sU*→*jūḥ*, *jūrau* and *jūraḥ*. We similarly get *tūḥ*, *tūrau* and *tūraḥ*. Derivates of *srivI*, *avI* and *mavA* will have their *iv* and *av* replaced with *ū*. Note that *srivI* also has a different reading as *śrivI*.

6.4.21 रालोपः

rāl lopaḥ

/rāt 5/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ knniti* #15 *cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh* #19)
rephād uttarayayoś chvor lopo bhavati kvau parato jhalādau knniti ca parataḥ
A *cch* and *v* which occurs after *r* in an *aṅga* is replaced with *LOPA* when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a *jhaL*, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

mūḥ/ murau/ muraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mur* 'swoon''
mūrttaḥ 'formed, manifest'
hūḥ/ hurau/ huraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hur* 'crooked''
hūrṇaḥ 'deceived'
hūrttiḥ 'deception'
tūḥ/ turau/ turaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *tur* 'harm''
tūrṇaḥ '. . . has harmed'
tūrttiḥ 'harm'
dhūḥ/ dhurau/ dhuraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *dhur* 'yoke''
dhūrṇaḥ '. . . has yoked'
dhūrttiḥ 'yoke'

1. This rule offers deletion via *LOPA* of *cch* and *v* when *KvI* and other specified affixes follow. Thus, *mur*(*ch*→ϕ) + (*K*)*v*(*iP*)→*mur* + (*v*→ϕ)→ *m*(*ū*→*uṬH*)*r* = *mūr* 'swoon'. We similarly get *hūr* from *hurchā*. Deletion applies only to *ch* since we do not get augment *tUK* here (*Kāś*: *rāllope satukkasya chasyābhāvāt kevalo gṛhyate*). Deletion of *v* is witnessed in *tur* and *dhur* from *truvī* and *dhurvī*.

6.4.22 असिद्धवदत्राभात्

asiddhavad atrābhāt
/ asiddhavat ϕ = *na siddhaḥ; asiddhena tulyaṃ vartate* = *asiddhavat; atra* ϕ *ābhāt* 5/1/
asiddhavad ity ayam adhikāro yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma ā adhyāya-parisamāptes tad asiddhavad ity evaṃ veditavyam
Operations with identical conditions are, from here to the extent of the domain of 6.1.129 *bhasya*, treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*).

EXAMPLES:

edhi 'second singular imperative active of *as*'
śādhi 'second singular imperative of *śās* 'instruct''
āgahi '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 saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ*).

The phrase *ā bhāt* 'up to *bha*' (6.4.29 *bhasya*) is used to specify the context (*viṣaya*) 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 *bhasya* (*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: atreti samānāśrayapratipatyartham*).

Consider the derivation of *śādhi* 'second person singular imperative active' of *śās* 'to instruct' for illustration. We get *śās* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*)→*śās* + *ŚaP* + *siP*→*śās* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *si*(*P*→ϕ)→*śās* + (*si*→*hi*) = *śās* + *hi*, where *hi* replaces *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*), itself a replacement of *LOṬ*, and *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.72 *aditprabhṛti . . .*). A replacement in *śā* 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 dhiḥ* becomes applicable. But there is a problem. This replacement in *dhi* 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 *dhi*, both are accomplished by rules contained within this domain, a *śā*-replacement can be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *dhi*. That is, our string will still be *śās* + *hi*, as far the application of 6.4.101 *hu jhalyo her dhiḥ* is concerned. Thus, we get (*śā*←*śās* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *śā* + *dhi* = *śādhi*. A similar situation is also involved in deriving *edhi* from (*as* + *LOṬ*→*siP*)→*as* + *si*, where *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* and *sa* + *hi* gets its *s* replaced with *e* (6.4.119 *dhvasor eddhāv . . .*) to produce *e* + *hi*. Rule 6.4.101 *hujalyo her dhiḥ* now applies to replace *hi* with *dhi*, with the understanding that *e* (*etva*) as a replacement is *asiddha*. Thus we get (*e*←*s* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *edhi*.

Now consider the derivation of *āgahi* and *jahi*, both second person singular imperative active forms of *ā-gam* and *han*, where *si* has replaced *LOṬ*, and *ŚaP* has again been deleted. Additionally, the *m* of *gam* has been deleted (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa . . .*), and *han* has been replaced with *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jaḥ*). Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* then becomes applicable to *āga* + *hi* and *ja* + *hi* to delete *hi*. Note that this deletion is required after an *aṅga* (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-pratiṣedhārtham*).

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*(*Ṅ*) of *ā bhāt* 'up to *bha*' is used in the sense of *maryādā* 'exclusive and inclusive (*abhividhi*) 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 uttarasya nakārasya 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 *abhāji* 'he broke' and *rāgaḥ* 'affection, coloring', *asiddhavat* does not apply to contexts of penultimate (*upadhā*) *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus, *bhañj* 'to break' and *rañj* 'to color' which go through deletion of their nasal by 6.4.33 *bhañjeś ca ciṇi* and 6.4.26 *rañjeś ca*, respectively, do not get their deleted nasal treated as *asiddha* in the context of application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. For, 7.2.116 is not contained within this section generally known as *ābhīya*.

3. Why is *atra* 'here' used in this rule So that *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* could not be treated as *asiddha* when deletion of *ā* (*āl-lopa*), replacement in *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*) and replacement in *unAṄ* is to be accomplished. For, *ā-lopa*, etc., are accomplished when *vas* follows, and a form ending in *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* before a nominal endign (*vibhakti*). Thus, the conditions of these two operations both are identical. Consider the derivation of *papuṣaḥ*, *cicyuṣaḥ* and *luluvuṣaḥ*, as in *papuṣaḥ paśya*, etc., where we get *papā* + *us*, *cici* + *us* and *lulu* + *us*, after *LIṬ* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) and *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.77 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*). Since the condition of *samprasāraṇa* is different from those of the deletion of *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) in *papā*, *yaṆ*-replacement for the final *i* (6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*) of *cici*, and *uvaṄ*-replacement for *u* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*) of *lulu*, *samprasāraṇa* cannot be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing them.

Recall that an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) 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 *vāh ūṭh*, it also becomes part of this *ābhīya* 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, *samprasāraṇa*, etc., whose *asiddhatva* we are talking about, will not allow any conflict between *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga*. Rule 6.3.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam* is also *ābhīya*. Hence, there is no conflict after the same becomes *asiddha*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is made here to consider *vUK* and *yUT* as *asiddha* when *uvAṄ* and *yaṆ* are to be accomplished as replacements. Consider *babhūva*/*babhūvatuḥ* and *babhūvuḥ*, where *vUK* is introduced (6.4.88 *bhuvo yug*...). This *vUK* is treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *uvAṄ*. That is, a replacement in *uvAṄ* 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*(*Ṅ*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*e*(*Ś*)). Rule 6.4.63 *dīṅo yuḍ aci kṅiti* now offers augment *yUṬ* to derive *upadidīye.* This *yUṬ* is treated as *siddha* with reference to the application of 6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya.* This is what the *vārttika* offers. More generally, an *ābhīya* like this remains *siddha* in applying another *ābhīya.*

6.4.23 **श्नान्नलोपः**

śnān nalopaḥ
/śnāt 5/1 *nalopaḥ* = *na*(*kāra*)*sya lopaḥ* (*ṣāṣ 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 *añjŪ* 'to show, protect, move, anoint'
bhanakti '. . . of *bhañj* 'to split, break''
hinasti '. . . of *hisI* '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 *rudhādibhyaḥ 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 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam,* respectively, for derivational details of our current examples. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced to *hisI* to derive *hins* (7.1.58 *idito 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 *yatnānām,* which derive from *yajña* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *ām* and *yatna* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *ām.* Augment *n*(*UṬ*) 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 *yatnānām.* If *Śna* was specified as *na,* instead, the long *ā* of *yajñā* and *yatnā* could still be treated as its short counterpart via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. This would then allow deletion of *n* by this rule. Recall that *yajña* and *yatna* are derivates of affix *naṄ* (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 *viśnānām* 'genitive plural' of *viśna* 'splendor' and *praśnānām* '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 (*lākṣaṇika*). 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): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahṇam* '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 nasyāyaṃ vidheyo nanu lubaniditāṃ
nanditā cāpi siddhyed
hiṃser na prāptir evam knīti sati tathā
nandāmāno na siddhyet//
knīn nāc cec cātha yatnād bahuvacanavidhau
duṣyati sthānivatvād
viśnānāṃ lakṣaṇoktapratipadavacanāt
siddha evety adoṣaḥ//

6.4.24 अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति

aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ knīti
/aniditām 6/3 = *ikāra it yasya* (*bv.*)) = *iditaḥ*; *na iditaḥ* = *aniditaḥ* (*nañ.*), *teṣām*; *halaḥ* 6/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *knīti* 6/1 = *knau itau yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23)
aniditām aṅgānāṃ halantānām upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati knīti pratyaye 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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

srastaḥ
dhvastaḥ
srasyate
dhvasyate
sanīsrasyate
danīdhvasyate

1. This rule allows deletion of a *n* which is penultimate in an *aṅga* and occurs before an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* 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 *srastaḥ* and *dhvastaḥ* from (*sransU*+ *Kta*) + *sU* and (*dhvansU*+ *Kta*) + *sU*, 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 *srasyate* and *dhvasyate* where

we introduce *yaK* to the same *aṅga* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) under the condition of *sārvadhātuke*. The signification condition of this *yaK* must be *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. Refer to derivational details of *pāpacyate*, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *sanīsrasyate* and *danīdhvasyate*, both with roots derived with *yaṄ* denoting *paunaḥpunya* 'over and over again'. Note that augment *nīK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhāsaḥ*) by 7.4.84 *nīgvañcusransudhvansu*. . . .

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 *ṬUṇadI* 'to be prosperous, happy' and it is because of its *I* as an *it* that we get *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). There is no deletion of *n* since the root has *I* as an *it*. Deriving *nānandyate* from *na* + *nand* + *yaṄ* + *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 *nīyate* and *nenīyate* where the root is *ṇīÑ* 'to lead'. Note that *nenīyate* is also a derivate of *yaṄ* where a *guṇa*-replacement (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*) of the *abhyāsa* yields *ne* at the beginning.

Why is this deletion intended for the penultimate *n*? Consider *nahyate* and *nānahyate* where *ṇaḥ* 'to tie' does not have any penultimate *n*. Consequently, there is no deletion. The condition of *knīti* similarly blocks this deletion in *sransitā* and *dhvansitā*, both derivates of *tṛC* with augment *iṬ*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *laghI* and *kapI* where 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces *nUM*. This deletion is made available under the condition of *upatāpa* 'affliction' and *śrarīravikāra* 'body-product' (*vt. laṅgikampyor upatāpaśarīravikārayor upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*). Since these roots are both marked with *I* as an *it*, *n*-deletion was not available. Consider *vigalitaḥ* and *vikapitaḥ* as examples. Note that *upatāpa* here does not refer to *roga* 'disease'. For, *śarīravikāra* then would not make any sense. It here means *kṛcchraprāptiḥ* 'obtaining with difficulty'. Elsewhere, derivates will be *viliṅgitaḥ* 'afflicted' and *vikampitaḥ* 'shaken', with no deletion.

Another *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *rañjI* 'to color' when *Ṇi* follows and the derivate denotes *mṛgaramaṇa* 'sporting of deer'. Thus, *rajayati mṛgān* 'he who has the deer sport'. Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *n*-deletion when affix *GHinUṆ* (3.2.142 *sampṛcānurudhā*. . .) follows *rañjI*. Thus, *rāgin* from *rañjI* + *GHinUṆ*, where *n*-deletion, penultimate *vṛddhi* and *kutva* (*j*→*g*) apply. It can also be derived via *nipātana*. An additional *vārttika* proposal accounts for deriving *rajaka* from *rañjI* + (*ṢvuN*→*aka*), *rajana* from *rañjI* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*) and *rajas* from *rañjI* + *asUN*, through deletion of *n*.

6.4.25 दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि

daṃśasañjasvañjāṃ śapi
/daṃśa-sañja-svañjām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *śapi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
'*daṃśa, sañja, ṣvañja*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *daṃśa, sañja*, and *ṣvañja*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

daśati
sajati
pariṣvajate

1. This rule allows deletion of *n* of a penultimate *aṅga*, namely *daṃśA, sañjA* and *svañjA*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, *daśati, sajati* and *pariṣvajate*. The *s* of *svañj* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti. . . .*

6.4.26 रञ्जेश्च

rañjeś ca
/rañjeḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *śapi* #25)
rañjeś ca śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI* 'to color', is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rajati 'third singular present active of *rañjI*'
rajataḥ 'third dual . . .'
rajanti 'third plural . . .'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, we get '*rajati, rajataḥ* and *rajanti*'. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding? So that *rañjeḥ* alone could be carried to subsequent rules (*Kāś*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*). A joint formulation would have also required the following rule to carry the *anuvṛtti* of *daṃś* and *svañj*.

6.4.27 घञि च भावकरणयोः

ghañi ca bhāvakaraṇayoḥ
/ghañi 7/1 *ca* ϕ *bhāva-karaṇayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *rañjeḥ* #26)
bhāvakaraṇavācinī ghañi parato rañjer upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'most instrumental means' follows.

EXAMPLES:

āścaryo rāgaḥ 'wonderful color'
vicitro rāgaḥ 'strange color'
rajyate' neneti rāgaḥ 'that by means of which something is colored'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of *rañj* also when affix *GHaÑ* follows with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'means; instrument'. Thus, *rāgaḥ* 'coloring' and *rāgaḥ* 'that by means of which one colors', respectively. Now consider *raṅgaḥ* '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 स्यदो जवे

syado jave
/ syadaḥ 5/1 *jave* 7/1/
(aṅgasya #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *ghañi* #27)
jave' bhidheye 'syadaḥ' iti ghañi nipātyate
The word *syada* is derived, via *nipātana*, when affix *GHaÑ* follows and the signification is *java* 'speed'.

EXAMPLES:

gosyadaḥ 'charge of a bull'
aśvasyadaḥ 'horse-speed'

1. This rule takes recourse to *nipātana* for deriving *syada* with affix *GHaÑ*. Of course, under the meaning condition of 'speed'. It is via *nipātana* that *vṛddhi* is blocked and the penultimate *n* is deleted. Thus, *syanda* + *GHaÑ* = *syanda*, as in *gosyandaḥ* and *aśvasyandaḥ*. Note that a *vṛddhi* characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣaṇā*; 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*) can be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa. . .*, mostly because of deletion of *n*. The *vṛddhi* which is blocked here is related to *upadhā* (*upadhālakṣaṇā*; 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Thus, *nipātana* must be used for blocking *vṛddhi*.

6.4.29 अवोदैधोद्मप्रश्रथहिमश्रथाः

avodaidhodmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ
/ avoda-edha-odma-praśratha-himaśrathāḥ 1/3 *(itar. dv.)/*
(aṅgasya #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *ghañi* #27)
'avoda, edha, odma, praśratha, himaśratha' ity ete nipātyante
The word *avoda, edha, odma, praśratha* and *himaśratha* are derived, via *nipātana*, when affix *GHaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avodaḥ 'soaking'
edhaḥ 'glowing'
odmaḥ 'flowing'
praśrathaḥ 'abandoning, rejoicing'
himaśrathaḥ 'melting of snow'

1. This rule derives *avoda, edha, odma, praśratha* and *himaśratha*, again via *nipātana*. Here again *GHaÑ* forms the right context of derivation. Consider *ava* + *und* + *GHaÑ*→*ava* + *u*(*n*→ϕ) *da* + *a*→*av*(*a* + *u*→*o*) *d* + *a* = *avoda*, through *n*-deletion and *guṇa* of *undI* 'to wet, be damp'. This *guṇa* 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 *indhI* 'to kindle, glow'. Yet another derivate of *undI* is *odma*, derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *maN*, through *guṇa*. Derivates 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 नाञ्चेः पूजायाम्

nāñceḥ pūjāyām
/*na* ϕ *añceḥ* 6/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
añceḥ pūjāyām arthe nakārasya lopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *añcI*, is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when the derivate denotes *pūjā* 'respect'.

EXAMPLES:

añcitā asya guravaḥ 'revered (by him is) his teacher'
añcitam iva śiro vahati 'he is respectful; he carries his head in reverence'

1. This rule blocks deletion of *n* when derivates denote *pūjā* 'praise, respect'. Consider *añcita* 'respected', of *añcitā asya guravaḥ*, from *añc* + *Kta* (3.2.188 *matibuddhi* . . .) with augment *iÑ* (7.2.35 *añceḥ pūjāyām*). This negation of *n*-deletion goes against the positive provision of 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ*.

Kāśikā orders *udaktam* 'drawn, taken out', of *udaktam udakaṃ kūpāt* 'water fetched from the water-well' as a counter-example. Deletion of *n* applies here since *pūjā* 'respect' is not the derivational meaning. The *iṬ* in *udakta* is here negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*.

6.4.31 क्त्वि स्कन्दिस्यन्दोः

ktvi skandisyandoḥ
/*ktvi* 7/1 *skandi-syandoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *na* #30)
ktvā pratyaye parataḥ 'skanda, syanda' ity etayor nakāralopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *skanda* 'to leap' and *syanda* 'to move (with speed)', is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows

EXAMPLES:

skantvā 'having leaped over . . .'
syantvā 'having moved over . . .'
syanditvā 'ibidem'

1. Note that this negation of *n*-deletion of *skand* and *syand* is made against positive provisions of 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . Since *syandŪ* is marked with *Ū* as an *it*, we also get optional *iṬ* (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .). That is, we will get *syanditvā*, optionally with *syantvā*. Recall that *syanditvā* will automatically avail non-deletion of *n* at the strength of negation of *KiT*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*). A specification with *ktvi* demands that *Ktvā* follows *syand* immediately. An optional introduction of augment *iṬ* after *syandU* will impair this condition. That is why, the negation of *n*-deletion in case of *syanditvā* is accomplished based on non-*Kit* status of 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*. This rule does not do anything in saving *n* from deletion, especially when *iṬ* is introduced. Besides, the positive provision of *n*-deletion (cf. 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala* . . .) applies only when an affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Verbal root *skandI* does not have any *iṬ* made available. It also does not have its *n* deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ 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-*iṬ* 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 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. Thus, *skand* + *Ktvā*→*skan*(*d*→*t*) + *tvā*→*skan*(*t*→ϕ) + *tvā* = *skantvā*. This same applies to *syantvā*.

6.4.32 जान्तनशां विभाषा

jāntanaśāṃ vibhāṣā
/jāntanaśām 6/3 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *na* #30 *ktvi* #31)
jāntānām aṅgānāṃ naśeś ca ktvāpratyaye parato vibhāṣa nakāralopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *j*, and also the *n* of *ṇaś* 'to perish', is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

raṅktvā 'having colored'

raktvā 'ibidem'
bhaṅktvā 'having split, broken'
bhaktvā 'ibidem'
naṣṭvā 'having destroyed'
naṃṣṭvā 'ibidem'
naśitvā 'ibidem'

1. This rule negates deletion of *n*, optionally, when an *aṅga* ends in *n*, or else, is constituted by *naś*. Consider *raṅktvā* and *raktvā*; *bhaṅktvā* and *bhaktvā*, the two sets of forms of *rañj* 'to color' and *bhañj* 'to break, shatter'. Note that *j*→*g* and *g*→*k* are accomplished by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*, respectively. The nasal of *rañj* + *tvā*, when not deleted, is replaced with *ṅ* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarah*), via *ṃ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya . . .*). This optional deletion of *n* will yield two forms of *ṇaś* 'to disappear, be destroyed': *naṣṭvā* and *naṃṣṭvā*. A third form, i.e., *naśitvā*, will be gotten with optional *iṬ*. Recall that the *n* which optionally goes through deletion here is the *n* of *nUM* (7.1.60 *naśjer naśor jhali*). The *ś* then goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj . . .*). The *t* of *Ktvā* must then go through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.4 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. Note that a specification made with a sound automatically invokes *tadantavidhi* '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 *anta*? Commentators explain that *anta* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.33 भञ्जेश्च चिणि

bhañjeś ca ciṇi
/ bhañjeḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ *ciṇi* 7/1/
(*aṅjasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *vibhāṣā* #32)
bhañjeś ca ciṇi parato vibhāṣā nakāralopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhañjI*, is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *CiṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhāji 'it was broken (into pieces)'
abhañji 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *n* of *bhañjI* when *CiṆ* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) follows. Recall that *CiṆ* is an affix not marked with *K* or *Ṅ* 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 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will apply in deriving *abhāji*.

A non-deletion of *n* will block this *vṛddhi* to produce *abhaṇji*. Incidentally, the third singular middle verbal ending *ta* will be deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. Refer to *akāri* (III:724–25) under the appendix of 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* for derivational details.

6.4.34 शास इदङ्हलोः

śāsa id aṅhaloḥ
śāsaḥ 6/1 *it* 1/1 *aṅ-haloḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
śāsa upadhāyā ikāra ādeśo bhavati aṅi parato halādau ca kṅiti
The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *i* when *aṄ*, or an affix which begins with a consonant (*haL*) and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

anvaśiṣat 'third singular active *LUṄ* form of *śās* 'instruct' used with the preverb *anu*''
anvaśiṣatām 'third dual . . .'
anvaśiṣan 'third plural'
śiṣṭaḥ 'derivate of *Kta*; instructed; taught'
śiṣṭavān 'derivate of *KtavatU*; ibidem'
āvāṃ śiṣvaḥ 'first dual active *LAṬ* form of *śās*'
vayaṃ śiṣmaḥ 'first plural . . .'

1. This rule allows he *upadhā* of an *aṅga* constituted by *śās* to be replaced with *i* when either *aṄ*, or a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Consider *anvaśiṣat*, a third singular active derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after verbal root *śās* used with the preverb *anu*. At the stage when the string is: *anu* + (*aṬ* + *śās* + *CLi* + *ti*), *aṄ* comes as a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.56 *śarttiśāstyartibhyaś ca*). The *s* of *śis*, after the penultimate *ā* is replaced with *i*, is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca*). Refer to derivational details of *aśiṣat*, under the appendix of 3.1.56 *sartiśaṣtyartibhyaś ca*, for deriving *anvaśiṣat*, etc., where *śās* is used with the preverb *anu*. Derivational details of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), i.e., *śiṣṭaḥ* and *śiṣṭavān*, can be found under *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān* (appendix, vol. II under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). Note that *śiṣvaḥ* and *śiṣmaḥ* are derivates of *śās* + (*LAṬ*→*vas*) 'first person dual active present' and *śās* + (*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 (*upadhā*) sound of *śās*. Their *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca*) after *ā* is replaced with *i* (*itva*).

2. Note that *śās* is here intended as referring to *śāsU*, used with the signification of *anuśiṣṭi* 'instruction, command'. This is the root that allows *CLI* to

be replaced with *aṄ* (3.1.56 *sartiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*). A specification with *śās* thus does not refer here to *śāsU* 'to wish'. Consider *āśāste* and *āśāsyamānaḥ* where *ā* is not replaced with *ī*, even when a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* 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 (*parasmaipada*) endings. This is in consonance with its association with *sṛ* (*sarti*) and *ṛ* (*arti*) of 3.1.56 *sartiśāstyartibhyaś ca*, further qualified with the introduction of *aṄ* for *CLI*. Verbal root *śās*, when used with the preverb *āṄ*, 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 *KvIP* follows. Thus, consider *āśīḥ*, *āśiṣau* and *āśiṣaḥ*, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *āśiṣ*. These examples can also be derived via *nipātana* (8.2.104 *kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu tiṅākāṅkṣam*). That is, if *itva* is not accomplished under the *vārttika* proposal.

6.4.35 शा हौ

śā hau
/śā 1/1 *hau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *śāsaḥ* #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 *ṅiti* 'when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows'. The genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) of *śāsaḥ* is thus interpreted as meaning 'in place of' (*sthāne*). Dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *ṅiti* 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 हन्तेर्जः

hanter jaḥ
/hanteḥ 6/1 *jaḥ* 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* + (*LOṬ→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 atrā' bhāt*.

6.4.37 अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति

anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo jhali kṅiti
/ anudāttopadeśa-vanati-tanoty-ādīnām 6/3 = *anudāttaś ca te upadeśāś ca = anudāttopadeśāḥ* (*karmadhāraya*); *tanotir ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *anudāttopadeśāś ca vanatiś ca tanotyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *anunāsika* (6/1 deleted); *lopaḥ* 1/1 *jhali* 7/1 *kṅiti* 7/1/
anudāttopadeśānām aṅgānāṃ vanates tanotyādīnāṃ cānunāsikalopo bhavati kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely that which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, 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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yatvā 'having stopped, waited on'
yataḥ 'stopped'
yatavān 'ibidem'
yatiḥ 'stopping'
ratvā 'having sported'
rataḥ 'sported'
ratavān 'ibidem'
ratiḥ 'sporting'
vatiḥ 'liking'
tataḥ 'extended'
tatavān 'ibidem'
kṣataḥ 'wounded, wound'
kṣatavān 'wounded'

1. This rule specifies contexts under which the nasal of an *aṅga* 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*)*ta*)) + *sU* = *yataḥ*, (*yamU* + (*K*)*tavat*(*U*)) + *sU* = *yatvān* and *yam*(*U*) + (*K*)*ti*(*N*)) + *sU* = *yatiḥ*. This deletion also facilitates similar forms of verbal roots *vanU* and *tanU*. Thus, *van*(*A*) + (*K*)*ti*(*N*) = *vati* + *sU* = *vatiḥ*. A form of *vanU* with affix *KtiC* does not go through deletion of its nasal because of negation of 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*.

Elsewhere, since we get augment *iṬ* before affixes beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, this deletion does not apply. Forms of *tanU* are: *tan(U)* + *Kta→tata* + *sU* = *tataḥ* and *tatavān* with *KtavatU*. Verbal root *kṣaṇU* will similarly get *kṣataḥ*, and *kṣatavān*. We will similarly get *ṛtaḥ*; *ṛtavān* and *ghṛtaḥ*; *ghṛtavān* from verbal roots *ṛṇU* 'to go, move' and *ghṛṇU* 'to glow', respectively. Verbal root *vanA* will yield *vataḥ* 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 *anudāttopadeśa*. Their *m* and *n* is thus subject to deletion.

Now some examples of roots where a *jhaL*-initial affix marked with *Ṅ* follows. Consider *tanU* + *LUṄ*, where *LUṄ* gets replaced with third and second personal middle endings to yield: *aṬ* + *tan* + *ta* and *aṬ* + *tan* + *thās*. Note here that *ta* and *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) are marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* on account of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). Thus, we get *atataḥ* and *atathāḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc.? Consider *śāntaḥ*, *śāntavān*; *tāntaḥ*, *tāntavān*; and *dāntaḥ*, *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 *anudāttopadeśa*.

Why do we have the deletion of a nasal (*anunāsika*)? Consider *pakvaḥ* '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 *jhaL*? Consider *gam* + *yaK* + *te* = *gamyate* '. . . is gone to' and *ram* + *yaK* + *te* = *ramyate* '. . . sports' where, in the absence of a *jhaL*-initial suffix we do not get the deletion of *m*.

Why the condition of *kṅiti* '. . . marked with *K* and *Ṅ*'? Consider (*yam* + *ṭrC*) + *sU* = *yantā* where *ṭrC* is not marked with *K* or *Ṅ*. 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 *upadeśa*? 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 *śamU* 'to be tranquil' of *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān* where *śamU* is not marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. Incidentally, the penultimate lengthening in (*śamU* + *Kta*) + *sU→śāntaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ*. Rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iṬ* which was optionally made available (7.2.56 *udito vā*) against 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*.

6.4.38 वा ल्यपि

vā lyapi
/vā ϕ lyapi 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)

lyapi parato' nudāttopadeśa vanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo vā bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely one which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, 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*, only optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prayatya 'absolutive form of *pra-yam*'
prayamya 'ibidem'
praratya 'absolute form of *pra-ram*'
praramya 'ibidem'
praṇatya 'absolutive form of *pra-nam*'
praṇamya 'ibidem'
āgatya 'absolutive form of *ā-gam*'
āgamya 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the earlier provision optional when affix *LyaP* follows. Note that this option is fixed (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). That is, an *aṅga* 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*→*LyaP*) = *prayamya* and *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)→*pra-ya*(*m*→ϕ) + *ya*→*pra-ya* + *tUK* + *ya* = *prayatya* 'after having restrained'. We similarly get *pra-*(*n*→*ṇ*)*mya* = *praṇamya*, *praṇatya*; *ā*(*Ṅ*)*-gamya* = *āgamya*, *āgatya*; *āhanya*, *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 क्तिचि दीर्घश्च

na ktici dīrghaś ca
/ na ϕ *ktici* 7/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ*/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsika lopaḥ* #37)
ktici parato' nudāttopadeśādīnām anunāsikalopo dīrghaś ca na bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga* which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* and *tanU*, etc., is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA*, nor is a short vowel of the *aṅga* replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yantiḥ 'restraint'
vantiḥ 'liking'
tantiḥ 'extension'

1. This rule does not allow nasal-deletion and lengthening to an *aṅga* included within the specification of the earlier rule. That is, when affix *KtiC* (3.3.174 *ktticktau ca saṃjñāyām*) follows it. Consider *yantiḥ*, *vantiḥ* and *tantiḥ* where *m* and *n* of *yam*, *van* and *tan* are not deleted before *KtiC*. 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 kvijjhaloḥ knniti*).

6.4.40 गमः क्वौ

gamaḥ kvau
/gamaḥ 6/1 *kvau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)
gamaḥ kvau partato' nunāsikalopo bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *gam*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *KvI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgagat 'those who go to the country of the Aṅgas'
kaliṅgagat 'those who go to the country of the Kaliṅgas'
adhvagato harayaḥ 'the horses are gone on road'

1. A nasal also gets deleted when the *aṅga* is followed by affix *KvI*. This rule begins deletion where the following affix does not begin with a sound denoted by *jhaL* (*ajhalādyartha ārambhaḥ*). Thus, *aṅgagat* = *aṅgān gacchanti* and *kaliṅgagat* = *kaliṅgān gacchanti* and *adhvagato harayaḥ*. 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: gamādīnām iti vaktavyam* 'nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., should also be stated'). This will acccount for *sam-yam* + *KvIP* = *saṃyat* and *pariyam* + *KvIP* = *parītat*, 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 gamādīnām iti vaktavyam*). Thus, we will get *agregūḥ* = *agre gacchanti* 'leader; he who goes ahead of everyone', etc.

6.4.41 विड्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात्

viḍvanor anunāsikasyāt
/viḍvanoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *anunāsikasya* 6/1 *āt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #10)
viṭi-vani ca pratyaye parato' nunāsikāntasyāṅgasyākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*) is replaced with *ā* when affixes *vIṬ* and *van* follow.

EXAMPLES:

abjāḥ 'born in water'; *gojāḥ* 'born among cows'
ṛtajāḥ 'born with excellent values'
ádrijāḥ 'mountain-born'
kūpakhāḥ 'those who dig water-wells'
agregā unnetṝṇām 'leader'
goṣā indro nṛṣā asītyatra 'bestower of cows . . .'
vijāvā 'born'
agrejāvā 'born earlier'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ā* for the nasal of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal and is followed by affixes *vIṬ* and *van*. Refer to relevant derivational details under the appendix of rule 3.2.67 *janasanakhana* . . . (II:739–40). Thus we get *apsu jāyate* = *abjāḥ*; *goṣu jāyate* = *gojāḥ*, *ṛteṣu jāyate* = *ṛtajāḥ* and *adriṣu jāyate* = *adrijāḥ*, etc., where affix *vIṬ* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārī-lopa*) and the *n* of *jan* is replaced with *ā*. The example derivates are syntactically coordinated compounds (*upapada-samāsa*). Other examples follow similar patterns where this rule replaces *n* or *m* with *ā*. Thus, we get *kūpaṃ khanati* = *kūpakhā* and *agre gacchati* = *agragā*, etc. The *s* of verbal root *san* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.108 *sanoter anaḥ*) after this rule replaces its *n* with *ā* before affix *vIṬ*. Thus, we get *goṣu sāyate* = *goṣā* and *nṛṣu sāyate* = *nṛṣā* of *goṣā indro nṛṣā asi*. Derivates such as *vijāvā* and *agregāvā* derive parallel to *vijāyate* and *agre gacchati* with affix *vanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). Thus, *vi-ja*(*n*→*ā*) + *van*→*vijāvan* + *sU*→*vijāvā*.

2. Why was the word *anunāsika* used explicitly in this rule when the same could have been carried via *anuvṛtti*? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., could be blocked from applying to this rule. Note that *anunāsika* is associated with *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., in the earlier rule. Carrying one would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of others. This rule thus offers a replacement in *ā* only to an *anunāsika*.

Why was the replacement not given as *aT*? We could have gotten desired forms with the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus, *vi-jan* + *van*→*vija*(*n*→*ā*) + *van*→*vij*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) + *van* = *vijāvan*. One should not worry that an application of 6.1.97 *guṇe* will block the derivation of desired forms. One cannot argue here that Pāṇini should have offered deletion of *anunāsika* to avoid conflicts between the two applications of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. For, this would have created problems with the derivation of *ghu*(*ṇ*→*ā*) + *van*(*IP*) = *ghu* + *ā* + *van*→*ghvāvan*, as in *ghvāvā*. Consequently, provision of a long replacement (*dīrgha-vidhāna*) alone is proper (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś. hrasve hi sati 'ghuṇa ghūraṇe' ity asmād vanipi vihite ghvāvā iti na siddhyet. tato dīrghasyaiva vidhānaṃ yuktam*).

6.4.42 **जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः**

janasanakhanāṃ sañjhaloḥ
/jana-sana-khanām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *sañ-jhaloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *jhali kṅiti* #37 *āt* #41)
'*jana, sana, khana*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ sani jhalādau kṅiti jhalādau ca pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo 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 *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jātaḥ 'born'
jātavān 'ibidem'
jātiḥ 'birth'
siṣāsati 'he wishes to gain, or bestow'
sātaḥ 'gained, bestowed'
sātavān 'ibidem'
sātiḥ 'gaining, bestowing'
khātaḥ 'dug'
khātavān 'ibidem'
khātiḥ '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 *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jan* + *Kta*→*ja*(*n*→*ā*) + *ta* = *jāta* + *sU* = *jātaḥ*, (*jan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *jātavān* and (*jan* + *KtiN*) + *sU* = *jātiḥ*. Now consider *siṣāsati*, a third person singular present (*LAṬ*) indicative active form of the derived root *siṣāsa*, where affix *saN* is introduced after verbal root *ṣaṇU*→*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' bhyāsaḥ*). We will get *sisa*(*n*→*ā*) + *saN*→*sis*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) + *saN*→*si*(*s*→*ṣ*) *ā* + *sa* = *siṣāsa* + *LAṬ* = *siṣāsati*, through *n*→*ā*, *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and operations relative to *LAṬ*→*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*, *jijaniṣati*, *sisaniṣati* and *cikhaniṣati*, where 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasja* . . . offers an optional introduction of augment *iṬ*. These forms do not avail this replacement in *ā* because, subsequent to the introduction of *iṬ*, the condition of a following *jhaL*-initial affix (*jhalādi-pratyaya*) cannot be met. Thus, *sisan* + *iṬ* + *saN*→*sisanisa* + *LAṬ*→*sisaniṣati*.

3. Note that affix *saN* is used here only on account of verbal root *san*. For, this verb alone could get an optional augment *iṬ*. 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 *aṅga*-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 *anudāttopadeśa...*? A conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) arises since enumeration of *tanoti*, etc., by 6.4.37 also includes verbal root *san*. That is why, operations relative to *tan*, paricularly of rules such as 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyaḥ uḥ* and 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas 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 *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength' here. But Pāṇini anticipates *vipratiṣedha* also in this section of *ābhīya* rules. It is to indicate this that he includes *hali* in the wording of rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali*. This enables the replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) to apply only when a consonant-initial (*halādi*) affix follows. That is, it does not apply in *godaḥ* 'cow-giver' and *kambaladaḥ* 'blanket-giver' where a vowel-initial affix, namely *Ka*, follows. If Pāṇini had not anticipated *vipratiṣedha* as operative in this section of *ābhīya*, he did not have to include *hali* in the wording of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*.... For, *ā*-deletion of 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* would then have been blocked by *ī*-replacement (*ītva*) of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*... on the basis of *paratva*. This is why *godaḥ* and *kambaladaḥ* go through deletion of *ā* (of *dā*), as per 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*.

6.4.43 ये विभाषा

ye vibhāṣā
/ye 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #37 *āt* #41 *janasanakhanām* #42)
yakārādau ṅiti pratyaye parato janasanakhanām ākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san*, and *khan*, is optionally replaced with *ā* when an affix beginning with *y* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jāyate/janyate '... comes into existence; optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jan* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva*'
jājāyate/jañjanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jaN* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
sāyate/sanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *saN* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva* or *karman*'
sāsāyate/saṃsanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *san* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
khāyate/khanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with *yaK* denoting *karman*'
cākhāyate/caṅkhanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with affix *yaṄ*'

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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Consider (*jan* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ→te*)) with optional forms: *janyate* (with no replacement in *ā*) and *jāyate*. We similarly get *jājāyate* and *jañjanyate*, from (*jan* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ→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' kitaḥ*), finally produce *jājāyate*. When the option of *ā* is not accepted, the *abhyāsa* is introduced with augment *nUM* (7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikasya*). Thus, *ja* + *nUM* + *jan* = *janjan*. An application of *anusvāra*, followed by *parasavarṇa* 'replacement homogeneous with what follows', will produce: *ja*(*n→ṃ→ñ*)*jan* = *jañjan* + *ya* + *te* = *jañjanyate*. We will similarly get *sāyate* and *sanyate*, with *yaK* and *LAṬ→te*, where *LAṬ* may denote *bhāva* 'root-sence' or *karman* 'object'. The long replacement of the *abhyāsa* will again be accomplished by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*. This same also applies to *sāsāyate* which is an optional derivate of *san* + *yaṄ*, used with *LAṬ→ta→te*. We will get *saṃsanyate*, with *nUM* and *anusvāra*, when the option of replacing *n* with *ā* is not accepted. Derivates such as *khāyate/ khanyate*; *cākhāyate/ caṅkhanyate* follow similar derivational patterns where *ā*-replacement, homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇa-dīrgha*); doubling, operations relative to *abhyāsa*, long vowel replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, *nUM* and *parasavarṇa* 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 तनोतेर्यकि

tanoter yaki
/*tanoteḥ* 6/1 *yaki* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *āt* #41 *vibhāṣā* #43)
tanoter yaki parato vibhāṣa ākārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *tan* 'to extend', is replaced with *ā* when affix *yaK* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tāyate '*LAṬ*-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 *yaṄ*, as against *yaK*, will thus not involve this replacement in *ā*. We will, therefore, get: *tantanyate*.

6.4.45 सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चान्यतरस्याम्

sanaḥ ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām
/*sanaḥ* 6/1 *ktici* 7/1 *lopaḥ* #1 *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *āt* #41)

sanoter aṅgasya ktici pratyaye 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 *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sātiḥ 'gain'
santiḥ 'ibidem'
satiḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional *ā*, against an optional deletion of *n* of *san*, when affix *KtiC* follows. Thus, since both *ā* and deletion are optional, we get three forms: *sātiḥ* (with *ā*), *satiḥ* (with *n*-deletion) and *santiḥ* (with no *ā* and *n*-deletion).

2. Since we have an express mention of *KtiC* 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 *y*. This rule introduces a new condition of *ktici*. So that there is no confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*, especially because of the use of *KtiC*, this rule uses *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' (*Kāś*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.46 आर्धधातुके

ārdhadhātuke
/ārdhadhātuke 7/1/
'ārdhadhātuke' ity adhikāraḥ; 'na lyapi' iti prāg etasmād yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'ārdhadhātuke' ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
When an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) follows . . .

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣitā 'he who wishes to do (with affix *tṛC*)'
bebhiditā 'he who wishes to repeatedly break (*yaṄ* + *tṛC*)'
kāraṇā 'instigation; (*kāri* + (*yuC→ana*) + *ṬāP*))'
hāraṇā 'to have carried away; (*hāri* + (*yuC→ana*) + *ṬāP*))'
yānti 'they go'
dīyate '. . . is given'
sneyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *snā* 'to bathe''
kāriṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *kṛÑ*'
hāriṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *hṛÑ*'

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 lyapi*. Consider the following rules:

(*i*) 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* 'the final *a* of an *aṅga* goes through deletion by *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* 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 lopaḥ* under the express condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Note that, given *bh*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *bhava* + *ti*, we cannot delete the final *a* of *bhava* because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix. It is termed *sārvadhātuka*, instead.

This counter-example to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* is, however, questioned. It is argued that we do not need this counter-example to show how deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. We already have 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* as an indicator that, elsewhere, deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. But 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* is not intended to do this. It is formulated to negate operations characteristic of affixes when those affixes get deleted (*Kāś*: *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapo lugvacanaṃ pratyayalopalakṣaṇapratiṣedhārthaṃ syād ity etan na jñāpakaṃ śapo lopābhāvasya*).

(*ii*) 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* 'the *ya* which occurs after a consonant goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider *bebhiditā*, *bebhiditum* and *bebhiditavyam* where the root derives as *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*bebhidya*, through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. We subsequently derive *bebhidya* + *tṛC* = *bebhiditṛ*, *bebhidya* + *tumUN*→*bebhiditum* and *bebhidya* + *tavyaT*→*bebhiditavya*, with augment *iṬ* and deletion of *ya*. Note that *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* are all termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Now consider *bebhidya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)→*bebhidya* + *ŚaP* + *te* = *bebhidyate*, where, since *te* is not an *ārdhadhātuka*, we do not get *ya*-deletion.

Note that 6.4.47 *yasya halaḥ* applies to delete *ya*, a sequence of *y* and *a*. Some argue here that *halaḥ* of 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* is specified with *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Consequently, 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* facilitates only the deletion of *y*. The *a* of *ya* is then deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

(*iii*) 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* '*Ṇi* goes through deletion via *LOPA*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix with no augment *iṬ* as its initial follows'

Consider *kāri* + (*yu*(*C*)→*ana*)→*kār*(*i*→ϕ) + *a*(*n*→*ṇ*)*a* = *kāraṇa* + *ṬāP* = *kāraṇā* and (*hāri* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP* = *hāraṇā* where deletion of the causal suffix *ṆiC* is accomplished under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yuC* (3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*). Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *kāri* + *ŚaP* + (*LA*→*tiP*)) = *kārayati* and *hārayati*, where deletion of *ṆiC* must be blocked because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

(*iv*) 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* 'an *aṅga*-final *ā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* when an *iṬ* or a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

Consider *yayatuḥ* and *yayuḥ*, 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 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .). 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 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*).

(*v*) 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali* 'a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) 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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

Consider *d*(*ā*→*ī*) + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)) = *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *yaK* is an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *adātām* and *adhātām*, third personal active immediate past (*LUṄ*) dual forms of *dā* and *dhā*, where, given *aṬ* + *dā* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + (*LUṄ*→*tas*→*tām*) and *aṬ* + *dhā* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + *LUṄ*→*tas*→*tām*), we do not get *ī* since, after the deletion of *sIC* (2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ* . . .), what follows the *aṅga* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*.

(*vi*) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ* 'a non-*ghu* verbal root which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā* receives a replacement in *e* (*etva*), optionally, when a *LIṄ*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider *snā* + *yāsUṬ* + (*LIṄ*→*ti*)→*sn*(*ā*→*e*) + *yās* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *sne* + *yā*(*s*→ϕ) + *t* = *sneyāt* where augment *yāsUṬ* is treated as part of the affix (*PŚ* 12): *yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). The term *ārdhadhātuka*, in this case, is assigned by 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*. We thus get *sneyāt* and *snāyāt* where *s* of *yāsUṬ* gets deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. One can also consider *snāyāt* as a counter-example where, since it is not a benedictive (*āśīḥ*) form of *LIṄ*, the affix cannot be termed *ārdhadhātuka*. This replacement in *e* thus does not apply in case of a non-benedictive derivate of *LIṄ*.

(*vii*) 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe* . . . 'operations similar to *CiṆ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*), an *iṬ* in addition, apply optionally to an *aṅga* which, in *upadeśa*, ends in a vowel, or else, is constituted by *han, grah* and *dṛś*, provided affixes *sya, sIC, sīyUṬ* and *tās* follow with the scope of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'

Consider *kṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*) and *hṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*) which produce *kṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *iṬ* + *ta*→*kāriṣīṣṭa* and *hṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *iṬ* + *ta*)→*hāriṣīṣṭa* with the application of *ciṇvadbhāva*. These forms in-

volve *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* with a following *r* (*rapara*), deletion of *y* (*yalopa*), replacements in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*). Now consider *kriyet* and *hriyet*, the two benedictive forms of *kṛ* and *hṛ*, where, in the absence of a following *ārdhadhātuka* affix, *ciṇvadbhāva* cannot be applied. An application of *ciṇvadbhāva*, based upon the *aṅga* ending in a vowel on account of *yaK*, would end in *ā* through *vṛddhi*. Given *kriyā* + *īy* + *ta*, *guṇa* and *yUK* would both become applicable. Augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*), since operations relative to an *aṅga* are more powerful, would have blocked *guṇa*. This would have yielded a wrong form. Thus, the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* 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*) *ṇi-lopa* 'deletion of *Ṇi*', (*iv*) *ā-lopa* 'deletion of *ā*', (*v*) *itva* 'replacement in *ī*', (*vi*) *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and (*vii*) *ciṇvadbhāva*, when *sīyUṬ* follows':

āto lopo yalopaś ca ṇilopaś ca prayojanam/
āllopa ītvam evaṃ ca ciṇvadbhāvaś ca sīyuṭi//

6.4.47 भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमन्यतरस्याम्

bhrasjo ropadhayo ram anyatarasyām
/bhrasjaḥ 6/1 *ropadhayoḥ* 6/2 = *rephaś ca upadhā ca* = *ropadhe* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ram* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
bhrasjo rephasyopadhāyāś ca ram anyatarasyām bhavati
Augment *rAM* is optionally introduced in place of the sequence of *r*, 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* + *tṛC*'
bharṣṭā 'ibidem'
bhraṣṭum '. . . for roasting; (*bhrasj* + *tumUN*)'
bharṣṭum 'ibidem'
bhraṣṭavyam 'ought to roast; *bhrasj* + *tavyaT*'
bharṣṭavyam 'ibidem'

1. This rule introduces augment *rAM* after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) of *bh~ sj*, in place of its *r* (*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* + *tṛC→bha(rAM)j* + *tṛC→bharṣṭā*, through applications of *ṣatva* (*j→ṣ*; 8.2.36 *vraś ca bhrasj . . .*) and *ṣṭutva* (*t→ṭ*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We will get *bhraṣṭā* if the option of *rAM* is not accepted. The *s* of *bhrasj* will then be deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyoḥ*. Operations such as *ṣatva* and *ṣṭutva* will still apply. They will also apply in deriving the *tavyaT* forms *bharṣṭavyam* (with *rAM*) and *bhraṣṭavyam*. The *s* of (*bhrasj* + (*LYUṬ→ana*))*→bhrasj* + *ana* will be replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhasi*). This *d* will be further replaced with *j* through *ścutva* (8.4.41 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Thus, (*bhra(s→d→j)j* + *ana*) + *sU→bhrajjanam*. A form with *rAM* will be *bharjjanam*.

2. Note that the condition of *upadeśe* is still valid. Thus, we do not get *rAM* in deriving *barībhṛjyate*, third singular middle intensive (*yaṄ*) of *bhrasj*, where 7.4.90 *rīg ṛdupadhasya ca* introduces augment *rīK*.

6.4.48 **अतो लोपः**

ato lopaḥ
/ataḥ 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46)
akārāntasya ārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣitā '. . . wishes to do; *tṛC*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
cikīrṣitum '*tumUN*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
cikīrṣitavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
dhinutaḥ 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhivI* 'to please''
kṛṇutaḥ 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛvI* 'to harm, to do''

1.This rule offers deletion of the final *a* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* which ends in *a*. Refer to derivational details of *cikīrṣitā*, etc., under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*. The third personal dual present (*LAṬ*) indicative active forms of *dhivI* and *kṛvI*, i.e., *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*, involve the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). Affix *u*, with concurrent replacement of *v* with *a*, is introduced in consonance with 3.1.8 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*. Thus, *dhiv* + (*LAṬ→tas*) *dhi* + *nUM* + *u* + (*v→a*) + *tas→dhin* + *u* + *a* + *tas* and *kṛṇ* + *u* + *a* + *tas*. This *a* is, however, deleted by our present rule. An application of *s→rU→ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*) finally produces *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*. Refer to the appendix (III:726) for derivational details of the singular forms *dhinoti* and *kṛṇoti*. Since they can be derived with *guṇa* of *u* and single replacement in *o* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*; *dhin* + (*u→o*) + *a* + *ti→dhin* + (*o* + *a→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*; *taparakaraṇa*)? Consider *yātā* and *vātā* where the long *ā* does not go through deletion. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *vṛkṣatvam* and *vṛkṣatā* where no deletion of short *a* can be accomplished. For, the *aṅga* 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 *vṛddhi* and long-replacement (*dīrgha*). Consider *cikīrṣa* + (*ṆvuL→aka*) where deletion of *a* and *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) both become applicable. Deletion of *a* blocks *vṛddhi* on the basis of *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'conflict between rules of equal strength where the rule which precedes in order wins'. Once this deletion applies condition of the application of *vṛddhi* is removed. This same happens in case of *jihīrṣakaḥ* (appendix, II: 406–7). A similar conflict between this deletion of *a* and long replacement is witnessed in deriving *cikīrṣa* + *yaK* + (*ta→te*)*→cikīrṣyate* and *jihīrṣa* + *yaK* + *te* = *jihīrṣyate*. The long replacement of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* is blocked by deletion of *a*. Here again the condition of *dīrgha* is removed by deletion of *a*.

6.4.49 **यस्य हलः**

yasya halaḥ
/*yasya* 6/1 *halaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)
hala uttarasya yaśabdasyārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati
A *ya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bebhiditā 'nominative singular of *bhid* 'to split' ending in affix *tṛC*'
bebhiditum 'derivate of *bhid* ending in *tumUN*'
bebhiditavyam '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 lopaḥ* 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 *halaḥ*. They will of course resort to deletion of *a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

2. Why is this specification made with the sequence *ya*? Consider *īrṣy* + *iṬ* + *tṛC→īrṣyitā* and *mavy* + *iṬ* + *tṛC→mavyitā* where, because of *ya* alone, this rule does not apply. Why the condition of *halaḥ* 'occurring after a conso-

nant'? Consider *lolūya* + *iṬ* + *tṛC* and *popūya* + *iṬ* + *tṛC* where *lolūya* and *popūya* are roots derived with *yaṄ*. This rule cannot apply here to delete *ya* because *ya* does not occur after a consonant. Consequently, *a*-deletion alone applies.

6.4.50 क्यस्य विभाषा

kyasya vibhāṣā
/kyasya vibhāṣā 1/1/
(*ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48 *halaḥ* #49)
kyasya 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 '*tṛC*-derivate of *sam-idh* + *KyaṄ*'
samidhyitā 'ibidem'
dṛṣaditā '*tṛC*-derivate of *dṛṣad* + *KyaṄ*'
dṛsadyitā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion to *ya* of *Kya*. All other conditions remain the same. Note that *Kya* here refers to affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) and *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*) both. Consider *samidh* + *KyaC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*→*samidh* + (*ya*→ϕ) + *iṬ* + *tṛC* = *samidhitṛ* + *sU*→*samidhitā*. We similarly get *dṛṣad* + *ya* + *iṬ* + *KyaṄ* + *tṛC*→*dṛṣaditṛ* + *sU* = *dṛṣaditā*. Forms with no optional deletion of *ya* 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 णेरनिटि

/ṇer aniṭi
/ṇeḥ 6/1 *aniṭi* 7/1 = *na iṭ yasya* = *aniṭ* (*bv.*), *tamsin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)
aniḍādāv ārdhadhātuke ṇer lopo bhavati
Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, not conjoined with *iṬ* at its beginning, follows.

EXAMPLES:

atatakṣat 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *takṣ*'
ararakṣat 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *rakṣ*'
āṭiṭat 'third singular causal active *LUṄ* of *aṭ*'
āśisat 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *aś*'
kāraṇā 'derivate of (*kṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*'
hāraṇā 'derivate of (*hṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*

kārakaḥ 'doer'
hārakaḥ 'he who carries'
kāryate 'that which is fetched'
hāryate 'that which is carried'
jñīpsati 'wishes to know'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ṆiC* as an exception to *iyAṄ, yaṆ, guṇa, vṛddhi* and *dīrgha* 'long replacement' (*Kāś: iyaṅyaṇguṇavṛddhidīrghāṇām apavādaḥ*). Since their application will render this deletion of *Ṇi* without any scope of application (*anavakāśa*), it is accepted as an exception (*apavāda*) to them (*PṂ* ad *Kāś: iyaṅādibhiḥ sarvasya viṣayasyāvaṣṭabdhatvād anavakāśo' yaṃ vijñāyate*).

Consider *ata* + *takṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *atatakṣat* 'he planed the wood' and *ara* + *rakṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *ararakṣat* 'he protected', where *iyAṄ* and deletion both become applicable to *i* of *ṆiC*. This deletion blocks *iyAṄ*, by way of being an exception. It also blocks the application of *yaṆ* (6.4.82 *er anekāco . . .*) in *āṭi* + *ṭi* + *ati* = *āṭiṭat* and *āśi* + *śi* + *a* + *ti* = *āśiśat*. An applicable of *guṇa* is blocked in favor of this deletion, also when *kāraṇā* and *hāraṇā* are derived from (*kāri* + *yuC→ana*) + *ṬāP* and (*hāri* + (*yuC→ana*) + *ṬāP*, respectively. Derivates such as *kāraka←kāri* + *ṆvuL* and *hāraka←hāri* + *ṆvuL* illustrate how *vṛddhi* is blocked by deletion. A blocking of *dīrgha* 'long replacement' (7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor . . .*) by deletion is illustrated by *kāri* + *ya* + *ta→kāryate* and *hāri* + *yaK* + *ta→hāryate*. A long replacement (6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ . . .*) is again blocked by deletion in deriving *jñīpsati*.

Refer to derivational details of these examples in the appendix. Note also that (*kāri* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU→kārayitā* 'he who will have it done' (*hāri* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU→hārayitā* 'he who wil have it carried' do not involve deletion of *ṆiC*. They must go through *guṇa* and *ay* of *i* since *iṬ* precedes *tṛC*.

6.4.52 निष्ठायां सेटि

niṣṭhāyām seṭi
/niṣṭhāyām 7/1 *seṭi* 7/1 = *iṭā saha* = *seṭ* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi parato ṇer lopo bhavati
Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* conjoined with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kāritam 'that which was arranged to be done'
hāritam 'that which was arranged to be carried'
gaṇitam 'that which was counted'
lakṣitam 'that which was marked'

1. This rule allows deletion of *Ṇi* when a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktvaktavatU niṣṭhā*)

suffix augmented with *iṬ* follows. Thus, we get *kāri* + *iṬ* + *Kta*→*kārita* and *hāri* + *iṬ* + *Kta*→*hārita*, *gaṇi* + *Kta*→*gaṇita* and *lakṣi* + *Kta*→*lakṣita*.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃjñapitaḥ paśuḥ* as a counter-example for the condition of *seṭi*. That is, *saṃjñapita* does not go through deletion of *ṆiC* since its *Kta* is not augmented with *iṬ*. Actually, an *iṬ* is optionally introduced after *jñap* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasj* . . .). But this optional *iṬ* is negated before a *niṣṭhā* suffix (7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*). If *iṬ* is negated based on the followig *niṣṭhā* then why can *aniṭi* of the earlier rule not accomplish *Ṇi*-deletion? This is not possible since our present rule expressely mentions *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi*. 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 *seṭi* to this rule. Many consider it unnecessary. Some state that *seṭi* is added to determine operational timing (*kālāvadhāraṇa*). That is, deletion of *Ṇi* must follow introduction of *iṬ*.

6.4.53 जनिता मन्त्रे

janitā mantre
/janitā 1/1 *mantre* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #48 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
janiteti mantraviṣaye iḍādau ṇilopo nipātyate
The word *janitā*, in the *mantra*, is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*yo náḥ pi̯tā já*n̯*i̯tā* 'he who is our father the progenitor'

1. This rule derives *janitā*, via *nipātana*, when the usages is *mantra*. Thus, given (*jan* + *ṆiC*) = (*jān* + *i* + *iṬ* + *tṛ*) + *sU*, we get *janitā* in the *mantra* and *janayitā* in the classical usage. Recall that 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* allows *Ṇi*-deletion only when an *ārdhadhātuka* not augmented with *iṬ* follows. This *nipātana* allows deletion even when an *ārdhadhātuka* augmented by *iṬ* follows. The *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* of *jāni* goes through shortening on the basis of *mit* (*Dhātupāṭha*: *janījṛṣknasurañjo' mantāś ca*). The shortening is accomplished on the basis of its listing in the *mitādi* (*mit*) group (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*).

6.4.54 शमिता यज्ञे

śamitā yajñe
/śamitā 1/1 *yajñe* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
yajñakarmaṇi śamiteti iḍādau tṛci ṇilopo nipātyate
The word *śamitā*, in ritual sacrifices (*yajñakarmaṇi*), is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

śṛtaṃ haviḥ = *śamitaḥ* 'vocative singular of *śam* + *ṆiC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*'

1. This rule offers *śamitā*, again via *nipātana*, when the context is sacrificial offering (*yajñakarma*). Our example *śamitaḥ* is an address (*sambuddhi*) form in the singular. Thus, (*śam* + *ṆiC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU* produces *śamitaḥ*. The *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The *ṛ* of *tṛC* goes through *guṇa* (*ṛto* . . .) and its resultant *r* goes through replacement in *visarga*. This all is accomplished after deletion of *ṆiC*.

6.4.55 अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्न्विष्णुषु

ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu
/ *ay* 1/1 *ām-anta-ālv-āyya-itnu-iṣṇuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51)
'*ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu, iṣṇu*' *ity eteṣu parato ṇer ay ādeśo bhavati*
The *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ay* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārayāñcakāra '. . . had it made'
hārayāñcakāra '. . . had it carried'
maṇḍayantaḥ 'ornamentation'
spṛhayāluḥ 'desirous, compassionate'
gṛhayāluḥ 'householder'
spṛhayāyyaḥ 'desirous'
gṛhayāyyaḥ 'householder'
stanayitnuḥ 'thunder'
poṣayiṣṇavaḥ 'desirous of nourishing'
pārayiṣṇavaḥ 'desirous of going across'

1. This rule is an exception to *Ṇi*-deletion of 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. It allows *ay* to replace *Ṇi* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* 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 *Ṇi*? This provision of non-deletion would have eventually resulted into a replacement in *ay*, via *guṇa* of *Ṇi*. This would also have proved more economical. Commentators note that a replacement in *ay* is intended more for subsequent rules (*Kāś*: '*na*' *iti vaktavye ayādeśavacanam uttarārtham*).

6.4.56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात्

lyapi laghupūrvāt
/ *lyapi* 7/1 *laghupūrvāt* 5/1 = *laghuḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51 *ay* #55)

lyapi parato laghupūrvād varṇād uttarasya ṇer ay ādeśo bhavati
A *Ṇi*, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed *laghu* 'short', is replaced with *ay*, provided an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, namely *LyaP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

praṇamayya '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 *ay* to replace *Ṇi*, when *LyaP* follows *Ṇi*, and what precedes *Ṇi* is preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Thus, Consider *pra* + *nam* + *ṆiC* + *LyaP*→*praṇamayya*, etc., where a *laghu* vowel, i.e., *a*, precedes *m* occurring before *ṆiC*. The *LyaP*, of course, is a replacement of *Ktvā*, used after a verbal root signifying prior action (*pūrvakāla*; 7.1.37 *samāse' nañpūrve . . .*). Recall that *praśāmi*→*praśami*, etc., entail shortening of 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. Note also that *prabebhidayya*, etc., are derivates of *LyaP* introduced after a *ṆiC*-derivate of *bhid*, etc., ending in *yaṄ*, used with the preverb *pra*. Thus, *pra* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*pra* + *bhi* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*pra* + *bi* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→(*pra* + *be* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*) + *ṆiC*. The *ya* of *yaṄ*, however, gets deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ*. This same also applies to other examples. The *curādi* verbal root *gaṇa* is enumerated as ending in *a*. This *a* goes through deletion as a result of being an *it*. The *vṛddhi* in *pragaṇayya* is blocked via *sthānivadbhāva*.

2. Note that shortening (*hrasva*) of *praṇāmi*, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. This rule accomplishes a replacement in *ay*. These two operations both are contained within the domain of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. Why can we not accept *hrasva*, which enables *m* to be preceded by the *laghu* vowel *a*, as *asiddha*? Commentators state that such operations, i.e., *hrasva* 'shortening', *yalopa* 'deletion of *ya*', *āllopa* 'deletion of *ā*' cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since they do not share similar operational loci (*samānāśraya*) with, for example, this replacement in *ay*. That is, *hrasva*, etc., are conditioned by *Ṇi* and *ay* in place of *Ṇi* 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 *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi* of *prapātya gataḥ*. Notice that *t* of *prapāti* is not preceded by a *laghu* vowel.

6.4.57 **विभाषाऽऽपः**

vibhāṣā" paḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *āpaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51 *ay* #55 *lyapi* #56)

āpa uttarasya ṇer lyapi parato vibhāṣā' yādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ay* comes optionally in place of affix *Ṇi* when *Ṇi* 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 *Ṇi*, when *Ṇi* occurs after *āp* and is followed by *LyaP*. Note that *āp* refers here to *āpḶ* 'to attain' (*cur-ādi*) and *āpḶ* 'to pervade' (*sv-ādi*), both.

6.4.58 युप्लुवोदीर्घश्छन्दसि

yupluvor dīrghaś chandasi
/yu-pluvoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56)
'yu, plu' ity etayor lyapi parataś chandasi viṣaye dīrgho 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:

dāntyánupū́rvaṃ vi̯yūyá
yatrā yo dakṣiṇā pariplūya

1. Note that this rule covers Vedic derivates. Elsewhere, we will get *saṃyutya* and *āplutya* 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 क्षिय:

kṣiyaḥ
/kṣiyaḥ 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56 *dīrghaḥ* #58)
kṣiyaś ca dīrgho bhavati lyapi parataḥ
The final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prakṣīya

1. This rule does not carry ths *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*.

6.4.60 निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे

niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe

/niṣṭhāyām 7/1 *aṇyadarthe* 7/1 = *ṇyato' rthaḥ* = *ṇyadarthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na ṇyadarthaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #58 *kṣiyaḥ* #59)
ṇyataḥ kṛtyasyārtho= bhāvakarmaṇī, tābhyām anyatra yā niṣṭhā tasyāṃ kṣiyo dīrgho 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 *ṆyaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣīṇaḥ 'decayed, having resided'
prakṣīṇaḥ 'ibidem'
parikṣīṇaḥ '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 *ṆyaT* follows. Recall that *ṆyaT* 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 *kartṛ* 'agent' and *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. Thus, *prakṣīṇa* and *parikṣīṇa* 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 *kṣiyo dīrghāt* whereby the *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n*. This *n* is subsequently replaced with *ṇ*.

6.4.61 वाऽऽ क्रोशदैन्ययोः

vā" krośadainyayoḥ
/vā ākrośa-danyayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #58 *kṣiyaḥ* #59 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe* #60)
ākrośe gamyamāne dainye ca kṣiyo niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe vā dīrgho 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 *ṆyaT* follows and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, reproach' and *dainya* 'pity'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣitāyuḥ edhi 'may you have a very short life-span'
kṣīṇāyuḥ 'ibidem'
kṣitakaḥ 'emaciated'
kṣīṇakaḥ 'ibidem'
kṣito' yaṃ tapasvī 'this ascetic is emaciated'
kṣīṇo' yaṃ tapasvī 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the long replacement optional when a *niṣṭhā* suffix not used with the signification of *ṆyaT* follows, and derivates denote *ākrośa* 'anger' and *dainya* 'pity'. The *Kta* or *kṣi* + *Kta* is used with the denotatum of *kartṛ* '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 tapasvinaḥ* 'this ascetic's (all) is wasted', because *Kta* of *kṣita* is used with the signification of *karman* 'object'.

6.4.62 स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशे ऽज्झनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च

syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇorupadeśe' jjhanagrahadṛśāṃ vā ciṇvad iṭ ca / sya-sic-sīyuṭ-tāsiṣu 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *upadeśe* 7/1 *ajj-hana-grāha-dṛśām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *vā* ϕ *ciṇvat* ϕ *iṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/ (*aṅgasya* #1)

'*sya, sic, sīyuṭ, tāsi*' *ity eteṣu bhāvakarmaviṣayeṣu parata upadeśe' jantānām aṅgānām* '*han, grah, dṛś*' *ity eteṣāṃ ca ciṇvat kāryaṃ bhavati*

An *aṅga*, namely *han* 'to kill', *grah* 'to sieze, hold' and *dṛś* 'to see', and also that which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa* 'initial citation', is optionally treated like an *aṅga* occurring before affix *CiṆ*, when *sya, sIC, sīyUṬ* and *tāsi*, with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' with a concurrenlty introduced augment *iṬ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

cāyiṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of *ciÑ* 'to heap' '
ceṣyate 'ibidem'
acāyiṣyata 'third singular middle *LṚṄ* . . .'
aceṣyata 'ibidem'
ghāniṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of *han* 'to kill' '
haniṣyate 'ibidem'
aghāniṣyata '. . . *LṚṄ* . . .'
ahaniṣyata 'ibidem'
grāhiṣyate '. . . *LṚṬ* form of *grah* 'to seize, hold' '
grahīṣyate 'ibidem'
agrāhiṣyata '. . . *LṚṄ* form of *grah*'
agrahīṣyata 'ibidem'
darśiṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of *dṛś* 'to see' '
drakṣyate 'ibidem'
adarśiṣyata '. . . *LṚṄ* form of *dṛś*'
adrakṣyata 'ibidem'
avāyiṣātām 'third dual middle *LUṄ* form of *ci* 'to heap' '
aceṣātām 'ibidem'
adāyiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *dā* 'to give' '

adiṣātām 'ibidem'
aśāmiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of causal *śami* 'be tired, quiet' '
aśamiṣātām 'ibidem'
aśamayiṣātām 'ibidem'
aghāniṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *han* 'to kill' '
avadhiṣātām 'ibidem'
ahasātām 'ibidem'
agrāhiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *grah* 'to seize, hold' '
agrahīṣātām 'ibidem'
adarśiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *dṛś* 'to see' '
adṛkṣātām 'ibidem'
cāyiṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle benedictive *LIṄ* form of *ci* 'to heap' '
ceṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
dāyiṣīṣṭa '. . . benedictive of *dā* 'to give' '
dāsīṣṭa 'ibidem'
śāmisīṣṭa '. . . of *śami*'
śamiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
śamayiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
ghāniṣīṣṭa 'of *han*'
vadhiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
grāhiṣīṣṭa '. . . of *grah*'
grahīsīṣṭa 'ibidem'
darśiṣīṣṭa '. . . of *dṛś*' '
dṛkṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
cāyitā 'third singular *LUṬ* form of *ci*'
cetā 'ibidem'
dāyitā '. . . of *dā* 'to give' '
dātā 'ibidem'
śāmitā '. . . of causal *śami*'
śamitā 'ibidem'
śamayitā 'ibidem'
ghānitā '. . . of *han*'
hantā 'ibidem'
grahitā '. . . of *grah*'
grahītā 'ibidem'
darśitā '. . . of *dṛś*'
darṣṭā 'ibidem'
draṣṭā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers operations similar to *CiṆ*, optionally, along with the introduction of augment *iṬ*, to verbal roots which end in a vowel in *upadeśa*, or to roots *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUṬ* and *tās* follow with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman*. Most of the cited examples are derivates of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ* where augment *aṬ* is introduced with derivates of *LṚṄ*.

Additionally, there is no replacement in *e* (*etva*) for *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). These and derivates of *LIṄ* and *LUṄ* follow operational provisions made for *sIC*, etc., with *ciṇvadbhāva* where applicable. Derivates of *LUṬ* should present no difficulty.

Note that *ciṇvat* ends in *vatUP*. Consequently, provisions of this rule are extensional (*atidiṣṭa*). There are two ways in which *ciṇvat* can be interpreted to facilitate operations:

(*i*) operations which *CiṆ* conditions and (*ii*) operations which may or may not be conditioned by *CiṆ*, but which generally obtain when *CiṆ* follows.

Commentators state that this second interpretation is generally accepted. Refer to my notes under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* for further details. Note that, in addition to operations listed there, *ciṇvadbhāva* always brings augment *iṬ*. This *iṬ*, because of being contained within the section known as *ābhīya*, becomes suspended (*asiddha*).

This rule anticipates *ciṇvadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *CiṆ* follows'. That is, operations relative to an *aṅga* (*aṅga-kārya*) should be performed before *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUṬ* and *tāsI*, in a manner similar to when *CiṆ* follows. There are basically four operations which are performed before *sya*, *sIC*, etc., under this extensional provision of *ciṇvadbhāva*:

(*i*) A *vṛddhi* conditioned by affixes marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*ṇin-nimittaka*; 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*);
(*ii*) Introduction of augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) to roots which end in *ā*;
(*iii*) Replacement in *gh* for the *h* of verbal root *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter ñṇinneṣu*) as conditioned by *Ṇ* as an *it* in *CiṆ*;
(*iv*) An optional long replacement for the short penultimate of an *aṅga* marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*; 6.4.93 *ciṇ ṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *ciṇvadbhāva* as follows:

ciṇvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvaṃ
dīrghaś cokto yo mitāṃ vā ciṇīti/
iṭ cā' siddhas tena me lupyate ṇir
nityaś cāyaṃ valnimitto vighātī//
'*ciṇvadbhāva* 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 *iṬ* which is concurrently introduced with *ciṇvadbhāva* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*), rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* applies to delete *ṆiC*. The *iṬ* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory (*nitya*); the *iṬ* which is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *vaL* (*valādi-lakṣaṇa*) is considered non-obligatory (*anitya*)'

Note that an operation is called *nitya* if it obtains irrespective of whether or not a competing operation obtains (*kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga*). Introduction of *iṬ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*, is considered obligatory (*nitya*). Introduction of *iṬ* 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 *ciṇvadbhāva* and the obligatory-non-obligatory nature of augment *iṬ*. Firstly, this provision of *ciṇvadbhāva* and introduction of augment *iṬ* is generally accepted as *sanniyogaśiṣṭa* 'concurrently introduced'. That is, if one is removed the other must also be removed (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*). Secondly, rule 6.4.62 *syasicsyuṭ* . . . is optional. It is within this stipulation that *iṬ* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory against the non-obligatory *iṬ* characterized with an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *vaL*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.62: *yāvān iṇ nāma sa sarva ārdhadhātukasyaiva bhavati*) clearly specifies the locus of two operations in *ciṇvadbhāva*. That is, *ciṇvadbhāva* is to apply on what is termed an *aṅga*; augment *iṬ* is introduced to *sya-sic-sīyuṭ*, etc. Now consider an illustration. We get two forms, *bhāvitā* and *bhavitā*, which both derive from *bhū* + (*LUṬ*→*ta*). We get *bhāvitā* via optional *ciṇvadbhāva* which yields *bhū* + *iṬ* + *tās* + *ta* = *bh*(*ū*→*au*) + *itās* + *ta*. Obviously, we have the concurrent introduction of *iṬ* to *tās* and *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of *bhū*, the *aṅga*. The *au* and *ta* are then replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) and *Ḍā* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya* . . .), respectively. We thus get *bh*(*ū*→*au*→*āv*) + *itās* + (*Ḍā*) = *bhāv* + *itās* + *ā*. An application of *ṭi*-deletion finally yields *bhāv* + *itā*(*sā*→ϕ) = *bhāvitā*. If the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted we will get *bhavitā*. Augment *iṬ* is then introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Of course, an application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*, relative to *ciṇvadbhāva*, cannot be availed here.

Now consider *bhāvitā* and *bhāvayitā*, the two causal derivates of *bhū* + *ṆiC*→*bhāvi*. Given *bhāvi* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*), we can get the introduction of *iṬ* + *tās*. That is, with the understanding that *bhāvi* ends in a vowel (*ajanta*), i.e., which is *aupadeśika* '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 *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) in *bhāvi* is what is accepted as *aupadeśika* here. Our form *bhāvitā* receives *iṬ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*. This *iṬ* is considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. These two operations both are contained in the *ābhīya* section with similar operational locus. Hence, deletion of *Ṇi* by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* is accomplished. This gives us (*bhāvi*→ϕ) + *tas* + *ta*. We finally get *bhāvitā* with replacement in *Ḍā* and *Ṭi*-deletion. In the absence of not accepting *ciṇvadbhāva* we will bring *iṬ* from 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. This *iṬ* cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since it is not contained within the *ābhīya* section. We thus do not get the deletion of *ṆiC*. We will thus get the application of *guṇa*

(7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha . . .*) and replacement in *ay* on: *bhāv*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *iṬ* + *tās* + *ta*→*bhāvay* + *itā*(*s* + *ta*→ϕ) = *bhāvayitā*. Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.4.63 दीङो युडचि क्ङिति

dīṅo yuḍ aci kṅiti
/*dīṅaḥ* 5/1 *yuṬ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1 *kṅiti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46)
dīṅo yuḍ āgamo bhavati ajādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ
Augment *yUṬ* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *dīṅ*, when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

upadidīye 'third singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate'
upadidīyāte 'third dual middle . . .'
upadidīyire 'third plural middle . . .'

1. Note that *yUṬ*, an augment marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, should be introduced at the beginning of *dīṄ* (cf. 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But such an introduction is possible only when *dīṅaḥ* is interpreted as ending in the genitive (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). It is to facilitate the introduction of *yUṬ* to the following affix beginning with a vowel that *dīṅaḥ* 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 (*ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ* (*pari*: 71)). Thus, consider the third personal middle forms of *LIṬ* introduced after *dī* used with the preverb *upa*. Recall that the *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* which replace *LIṬ* are further replaced with *eŚ*, *āte* and *ireC*, respectively. We get *upadidīye*, *upadidīyāte* and *upadidīyire* through iteration (*abhyāsa*/*dvitva*), shortening (*hrasva*) and *yUṬ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor . . .*), introduced before *eŚ*, etc.

Note that augment *yUṬ*, and a replacement in *yaṆ* of 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*, are both contained within this *ābhīya* domain of rules. Commentators state that this *yUṬ* cannot be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) when considering the application of *yaṆ*. For, that will produce wrong forms such as **upadidyire*, etc. Besides, this express provision of *yUṬ* will then become meaningless (*vyartha*). Thus, *yUṬ* cannot be treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*) when 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ . . .* applies to cause a replacement in *yaṆ* (*Kāś*: '*dīṅaḥ*' *iti pañcamīnirdeśād ajāder yuḍ āgamo bhavati. vidhānasāmarthyac ca* '*er anekācaḥ . . .*' *iti yaṇādeśe kartavye tasyāsiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*). That is, this application of *yaṆ* is blocked.

6.4.64 आतो लोप इटि च

āto lopa iṭi ca

/ātaḥ 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *iṭi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *aci knṅiti* #63)
iḍyajādāv ārdhadhātuke knṅiti cākārāntasyāṅgasya lopo bhavati
The final vowel of an *aṅga* ending in *ā* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with augment *iṬ*, or one which begins with a vowel and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* 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 . . .'
tasthita 'second person singualr 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 *aṅga* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix either augmented with *iṬ*, or beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. A specification with *iṬ* is made separately to also allow this deletion before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix not marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Now consider the second person active singular *LIṬ* forms of *pā* and *sthā*. Recall that *siP* is further replaced here with *thaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ . . .*). We get *papā* + *i* + *tha* and *tasthā* + *i* + *tha*, after iteration, operations relative to *abhyāsa* and introduction of agument *iṬ* (7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*). The *ā*-deletion of this rule thus produces *papitha* and *tasthita*. Refer to derivational details of *papatuḥ* and *papuḥ* in the appendix of 1.1.59 *dvir vacane' ci*. Rule 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *goda* and *kambalada*. Affix *aṄ* is similarly introduced by 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge* in deriving *pradā* and *pradhā*. These are both derivates of *ṬāP*, introduced after deletion of *ā*.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *yānti* 'they go' and *vātni* '. . . move' as counter-examples to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Recall that *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*. Similar counter-examples are offered in *vyatyare* and *vyatyale*, the first person singular derivates of *LAṄ* signifying reciprocal action (*karmavyatihāra*). Since there is no *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, the *ā* (of *rā* and *lā*) and *i* (of affix *i*) receive a single replacement in *guṇa*. This *ā*-deletion can also not be possible in *glāyate* and *dāsīya* where the condition of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' cannot be met.

6.4.65 **ईद्यति**

īd yati

/īt 1/1 *yati* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ātaḥ* #64)
īkāra ādeśo bhavati ākārāntasyāṅgasya
The final *ā* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ī* when affix *yaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

deyam '. . . to be given'
dheyam '. . . 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 घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि

ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali
/ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahāti-sām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṅiti* #63 *īt* #65)
ghu-saṃjñakānām aṅgānāṃ 'mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti, sā' ity eteṣāṃ halādau ṅiti pratyaye 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 replaced with *ī*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

dīyate 'third singular passive *LAṬ* of *dā* 'to give' with affix *yaK* denoting *karman* 'object' '
dedīyate '. . . with verbal root *dā* ending in *yaṄ*'
dhīyate 'third singular passive *LAṬ* of *dhā* 'to place' '
dedhīyate '. . . with verbal root *dhā* ending in *yaṄ*'
mīyate 'it is measured (with *yaK* denoting object)'
memīyate '. . . with verbal root *mā* ending in *yaṄ*'
sthīyate 'third singular *LAṬ* of *sthā* with *yaK*'
teṣthiyate '. . . with verbal root *sthā* ending in *yaṄ*'
gīyate 'third singular *LAṬ* with *yaK* denoting object'
jegīyate '. . . with verbal root *gā* ending in *yaṄ*'
adhyagīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *adhi-i* 'to study diligently' '
adhyagīṣātām 'third dual middle *LUṄ* . . .'
adhyagīṣata 'third plural middle . . .'

pīyate 'third singular middle *LAṬ* of *pā* 'to drink' where *yaK* denotes object' '
pepīyate '. . . with verbal root *pā* ending in *yaK*'
hīyate '. . . verbal root *hā* with *yaK*; '. . . is abandoned' '
jehīyate '. . . with verbal root *hā* ending in *yaṄ*'
avasīyate '. . . is destroyed; *ava-so* + (*LAṬ→te*) with *yaK*'
avasesīyate '. . . with verbal root *so* ending in *yaṄ*'

1. This rule allows *ī* as a replacement for an *aṅga*-final *ā*, provided the *aṅga* is either termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā* (*meṄ, sthā, gā, pā, hā* (of *jahāti*)) and *sā*. Additionally, the following suffix must begin with a consonant and must be marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *ta* replaces *LAṬ* with the denotatum of *karman*, and *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced. Verbal roots *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* and their *ā* is replaced with *ī*, under the condition of *yaK*. Note that *yaK* is marked with *K* and begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The consonant initial affix in *dedīyate* is *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .*). Thus, *dā* + *yaK→dī* + *yaK*, etc. Refer to full derivational details of similar forms under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco. . . .* Similar rules apply in deriving *mīyate, memīyate, pīyate, pepīyate*, etc. Derivational details of *adhyagīṣṭa*, etc., can be found under the appendix of 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo. . . .* Operations relative to *dvitva* 'iteration' and *abhyāsa*, particularly retention of *khaR* (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*) in *teṣṭhīya* and replacement with *jaś* in *gigīya→jegīya*, should pose no problem. Refer to many example derivates under 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi . . .*, etc., and also rules dealing with *dvitva* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve . . .*) and *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Note that verbal root *ṣo* gets its *ṣ* replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ . . .*). It further receives *ā* as a replacement for *o* (6.1.45 *ādeca . . .*).

Note that *mā* refers to three verbal roots: *mā, meṄ* and *māṄ*. A similar reference with *gā* is made to *gāṄ, gai* and *gā*. Verbal roots *pā* 'to drink' and *Ohāk* 'to abandon' alone are referred to by *pā* and *hā*.

2. *Kāśikā* illustrates the conditions of *hali* and *ṅiti* with *dadatuḥ/ daduḥ* and *dātā/ dhātā*, respectively. Affixes *atus* and *us* do not allow *ā* of *dā* to be replaced with *ī* since they begin with a vowel. Affix *tṛC* of *dātā* and *dhātā* is marked with *C*, as against the required *K* and *Ṅ*.

Note that *hali* of this rule also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). That is, its use indicates that *vipratiṣedha* applies in this section of *ābhīya* rules. Thus, this rule finds its independent scope in deriving *dīyate* and *dhīyate* with *ī* as a replacement. Rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa . . .* finds its scope in *yayau* and *yayuḥ* to delete *ā* of *yā*. These two rules both find their scope in *dadatuḥ* and *daduḥ*. If *hali* was not used here, *ī*-replacement could have blokced *ā*-deletion on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe . . .*). One can argue here that the question of *vipratiṣedha* arises only when both rules are not *asiddha*. Both these rules, because of their inclusion in this section, are *asiddha*. Thus, the ques-

tion of *vipratiṣedha* does not arise. But since Pāṇini uses *hali* with the express purpose of only allowing *ī* before a consonant-initial affix, *hali* has been used to block deletion on the basis of *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, *vipratiṣedha* obtains in this section of *ābhīya* rules. For, if one does not accept *vipratiṣedha, ītva* will not find its scope. That is, a specification with *hali* to block *vipratiṣedha* will not be needed.

6.4.67 एर्लिङि

er liṅi
/eh 6/1 *liṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *kṅiti* #63 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)
ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām aṅgānāṃ liṅi parata ekārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, 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 *LIṄ* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

deyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ* (benedictive)
derivate of *dā* 'to give''
meyāt '. . . of *māṄ* '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*'
dāsīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ* (benedictive)
derivate of *dā* 'to give''
dhāsīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *dhā* 'to place''

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* for the final *ā* of *ghu* and *mā*, etc., when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Recall that 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to a *tiṄ* which replaces *LIṄ*. Rule 3.4.104 *kid āśiṣi* extends *kit*-status to augment *yāsUṬ* which, in turn, is introduced to an active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of *LIṄ*. Example derivates are all given for verbal roots which are active (*parasmaipada*). Examples for a following affix marked with *Ṅ* are impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

6.4.68 वाऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः

vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ
/vā ϕ anyasya 6/1 *saṃyogādeḥ* 6/1 = *saṃyogasya ādir yaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ātaḥ* #64 *er liṅi* #67)
ghvādibhyo' nyasya saṃyogāder ākārāntasya vā ekārādeśo bhavati liṅi parataḥ
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* 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 *LIṄ* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gleyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *glai* 'to be glum''
glāyāt 'ibidem'
mleyāt 'third singular active benedictive (*LIṄ*) derivate of *mlai* 'to fade away, be sad''
mlāyāt 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *e* as an optional replacement for roots which begin with a conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) and end in *ā*, but which are not covered by the specification of *ghu*, etc. The condition of a *LIṄ*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* is still valid. The condition of *kṅiti* 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 upadeśe* . . .). The exclusion of *ghu*, etc., is made in view of the obligatory (*nitya*) application of the preceding rule.

6.4.69 न ल्यपि

na lyapi
/na ϕ lyapi 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)
lyapi pratyaye parato ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which is stated for an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or one constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, does not become operative when *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pradāya 'after having given'
pradhāya 'after having placed'
pramāya 'after having measured'
prasthāya 'after having started'
pragāya 'after having praised'
prapāya 'after having drunk'
prahāya 'after having abandoned'
avasāya 'after having destroyed'

1. The *ī*-replacement of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā* . . . is here negated when *LyaP* follows. The question of negating a replacement in *e* does not arise since

that requires *LIṄ*. Recall that *LyaP* is a replacement of *Ktvā* (7.1.37 *samāse' nañ . . .*), treated as marked with *K* via *sthānivadbhāva*.

6.4.70 मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम्

mayater id anyatarasyām
/ matayeḥ 6/1 *it* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #69)
mayater aṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati lyapi parato' nyatarasyām
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *meṄ*, is replaced optionally with *i* when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apamitya 'having exchanged after . . .'
apamāya 'ibidem'

1. Note that *mayateḥ* here specifies verbal root *meṄ* 'to exchange, barter' as an *aṅga*. This rule offers *i* as an optional replacement for the *ā* of *m*(*e*→*ā* = *mā*). Of course, when *LyaP* follows. The *Ktvā* which subsequently gets replaced by *LyaP* is introduced in example derivates by 3.4.19 *udīcāṃ māṅo. . . .* A replacement in *i* also brings augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛiti . . .*). Thus, *apamitya* and *apamāya*.

6.4.71 लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः

luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ
/ luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *aṭ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1)
(*aṅgasya* #1)
'luṅ, laṅ, lṛṅ' ity eteṣu parato' ṅgasyāḍ āgamo bhavati udāttaś ca sa bhavati
Augment *aṬ*, concurrently marked *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīt 'he made'
ahārṣīt 'he carried, fetched'
akarot 'he did'
aharat 'he carried, fetched'
akariṣyat 'he had done'
ahariṣyat 'he had carried, fetched'

1. This rule introduces the *udātta* augment *aṬ* to an *aṅga* when *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow. Refer to derivational details of *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*. Derivational details of *akariṣyat* and *ahariṣyat* can be found under 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .* (II: 511). Refer to the appendix of 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* for derivational details of

akarot. This same also applies to *aharat* where *ŚaP* is introduced before *tiP* as *vikaraṇa.*

6.4.72 आडजादीनाम्

āḍ ajādīnām
/āṭ 1/1 *ajādīnām* 6/3 = *ac ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu udāttaḥ* #71)
āḍ āgamo bhavaty ajādīnāṃ luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu parataḥ; udāttaś ca sa bhavati
Augment *āṬ*, with concurrent marking of *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel (*aC*) when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

aikṣiṣṭa 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ* 'to see, perceive''
aihiṣṭa '. . . of *īh* 'to desire, strive''
aubjīt'
aumbhīt
aikṣata 'third singular middle *LAṄ* form of *īkṣ*'
aihata '. . . of *īh*'
aubjata 'third singular active *LAṄ* form of *ubj* 'to subdue, be straight''
aumbhata '. . . of *umbh* 'to confine, fill''
aikṣiṣyata 'third singular middle *LṚṄ* form of *īkṣ*'
aīhiṣyata '. . . of *īh*'
aubjiṣyata '. . . *ubj*'
aumbhiṣyata '. . . of *umbh*'

1. This rule introduces an *udātta* augment *āṬ* to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel. The right condition of *LUṄ*, etc., is still valid. Refer to my notes under 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* for derivational details of many of these examples.

Note that *aijyata*, *aupyata* and *auhyata* are derivates of *LAṄ* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. Given *yaj* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*), etc., we get *yaj* + *yaK* + *ta*, etc., with the introduction of *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). Recall that augment *āṬ* is accepted an *anitya* 'non-obligatory' as compared with *lādeśa* 'replacements of *LA*', *vikaraṇa* and *samprasāraṇa*. Thus, *ta* replaces *LAṄ* before *āṬ* on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *yaK*, is obligatory (*nitya*; *Paribh.*(44): *śabdāntarasya prāpnuvan vidhir anityo bhavati*). Consequently, it applies before *āṬ*. That is, *āṬ* is introduced to an *aṅga* qualified with the introduction of *vikaraṇa*. This renders *āṬ* as non-obligatory. A conflict is also witnessed between the application of *samprasāraṇa* and introduction of *āṬ*. Since *samprasāraṇa* is *nitya*, as compared with the introduction of *āṬ*, *samprasāraṇa* applies first. This is how (*yaj* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., produce *ij* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., which, after the introduction of *āṬ*, produce *aijyata*, etc., through *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.4.73 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

chandasy api dṛśyate
/ chandasi 7/1 *api* ϕ *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*) /
(*aṅgasya* #1 *udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72)
chandasi viṣaye āḍ āgamo dṛśyate
Augment *āṬ*, concurrently marked with *udātta*, is also seen in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

surucó veṇa âvaḥ
ānak 'third singular active *LUṄ* form of *ṇaś* 'to perish' '
āyunak 'third singular active *LUṄ* 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 *āvaḥ* is a derivate of *LUṄ→tiP*, where *ī* of *vṛ* goes through *guṇa* and *CLI*, before *LUṄ*, is deleted (2.4.80 *mantre*...). Augment *āṬ* is then introduced to produce *āvar* + *ti* which, after the deletion of *ti* and *r→ḥ*, yields *āvaḥ*. Deriving *ānak*, from (*ṇ→n*) *aś* + *LUṄ→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* + *LUṄ*. Recall, however, that the *vikaraṇa* is *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). The *j* of *yuj* goes through *kutva* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) followed by *cartva* (8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*).

6.4.74 न माङ्योगे

na māṅyoge
/ na ϕ *māṅ-yoge* 7/1 = *māṅo yogaḥ* (*ṣāṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72)
māṅyoge luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* which are stated when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow an *aṅga* do not become operative in connection with *māṄ* 'not'.

EXAMPLES:

mā bhavān kārṣīt 'do not do (it)'
mā bhavān hārṣīt 'do not fetch (it)'
mā sma karot 'he did not do'
mā sma harat 'he did not carry'
mā bhavān īhiṣṭa 'do not try'
mā bhavān īkṣīṣṭa 'do not see'
mā sma bhavān īhata 'you did not strive'
mā sma bhavān īkṣata 'you did not understand'

1. This rule does not allow augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* when *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow and the root is used in conjunction with *māṄ*. Thus, *mā bhavān kārṣīt* and *mā bhavān hārṣīt*, where 3.3.175 *māṅi luṅ* introduces *LUṄ*. Affix *LUṄ* is similarly introduced after *kṛ* and *hṛ* in *mā sma karot* and *mā sma harat*. Other examples of *LUṄ* and *LAṄ* are *īhiṣṭa/ikṣīṣṭa*; and *īhata/īkṣata*, respectively. These derivates all follow patterns of *LUṄ* and *LAṄ*, except for introduction of *aṬ*

6.4.75 बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि

bahulaṃ chandasy amāṅyoge' pi
/bahulam 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *amāṅ-yoge = na māṅyoge* (*nañ.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *api* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72 *na māṅyoge* #74)
chandasi viṣaye māṅyoge' pi bahulam aḍāṭau bhavataḥ
Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* are introduced variously in the Vedic even when there is, or is not, any connection with *māṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

janíṣṭhaā ugráḥ 'has been born . . .'
kāmámūnayīḥ '. . . has decreased'
mā vaḥ kṣetre parabījānyavāpsuḥ mā bhitthāḥ
. . . *bījāny avāpsuḥ* '. . . procured'
mā āvaḥ

1. Note that *amāṅyoge' api* makes the *bāhulaka* provision rather wide. That is, in the Vedic, we find *aṬ* and *āṬ* variously when *māṄ* is used in conjunction. They are also, variously, not found when *māṄ* does not occur in conjunction. Consider *janiṣṭhāḥ* where *māṄ* does not occur but no augment is introduced. Thus, *jan* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + (*LUṄ→thās*) = *janiṣṭhāḥ*, through *s→ṣ* (*ṣatva*), *t→ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*) and *s→r→ḥ*. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . . for derivational details of *ūnayīḥ* and *ardayīt*. Note that *abhitthāḥ* receives *aṬ* even when it is used in conjunction with *māṄ*. It goes through deletion of *sIC* by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Follow the derivational pattern of *kārṣuḥ* (under 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . .) for deriving *avāpsuḥ*.

6.4.76 इरयो रे

irayo re
/irayaḥ 6/2 *re* (1/1 deleted)/
(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #75)
'ire' ity etasya chandasi visaye bahulaṃ 're' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The form *ire*, in the Vedic, is variously replaced with *re*.

EXAMPLES:

garbháṃ prathamaṃ dádhra āpaḥ
yāṣ' sya paridadhre
paridadṛśre

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 *liṭas thayayor*...). Thus, consider *paridadhre*, from *paridhā* + (*LIṬ*→*jha*)→*paridhā* + (*jha*→*ireC*) = *paridhā* + *ire*, where deletion *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) is accomplished eventhough *re* replaces *ire*. This is done in view of *re* being *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*).

2. A question is raised against *irayoḥ* in dual. Why did Pāṇini not use *ire* in singular? Commentators state that *re* may become *ire* when *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) is introduced. It is to ensure that *re* alone replaces *jha*→*ire* and *iṬ* + *re* that *ire* is specified in the dual. Consider *cakrire* 'they have made' as an example of *iṬ* + *re*.

6.4.77 अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ

aci śnudhātubhruvāṃ yvor iyaṅuvaṅau
/ *aci* 7/1 *śnu -dhātu-bhruvām* 6/3 = *śnuś ca dhātuś ca bhrūś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *yvoḥ* 6/2 = *iś ca uś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *iyaṅ-uvaṅau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) / (*aṅgasya* #1)
śnupratyayāntasya aṅgasya dhātor ivarṇovarṇāntasya 'bhrū' ity etasya can 'iyaṅ, uvaṅ' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato' jādau pratyaye parataḥ
The final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* 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 *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

āpnuvanti 'they obtain'
rādhnuvanti 'they accomplish'
śaknuvanti 'they are able to do'
cikṣiyatuḥ 'those (two) wasted away'
cikṣiyuḥ 'they wasted away'
luluvatuḥ 'those (two) have cut'
luluvuḥ 'they have cut'
niyau 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *nī* 'to lead''
niyaḥ 'nominative plural...'
luvau 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *lū* 'to cut''
luvaḥ 'nominative plural...'
bhruvau 'nominative singular *KvIP* derivate of *bhrū*'
bhruvaḥ 'nominative plural...'

1. This rule introduces *iyAṄ* and *unAṄ*, respectively, as replacements for the final *i* and *u* (1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*) 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 *yvoḥ* 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* + (*LAṬ→jh→ant*) *i* = *āpnuvanti*, where a replacement in *iyaṆ* for *u* is blocked in favor of *unAṄ*. This same also happens in *rādhnuvanti* and *śaknuvanti*. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details of examples.

6.4.78 अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे

abhyāsasyāsavarṇe
/ abhyāsasya 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci yvor iyaṅuvaṇau* #77)
abhyāsasyevarṇovarṇāntasyāsavarṇe' ci parata 'iyaṅ uvaṅ' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
The fianl sound segment of an *abhyāsa* which, in an *aṅga*, ends in *i* and *u*, is replaced with *iyaṄ* and *uvaṄ* 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 *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* for the final *i* and *u* of an *abhyāsa* when a non-homogeneous vowel follows. Consider *iyeṣa* and *uvoṣa* which derives from *iṣ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*) and *uṣ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*). Given *iṣ* + *a* and *uṣ* + *a*, we get *eṣ* + *a* and *oṣ a* through *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (6.2.88 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). Operations related to iteration (*dvitva*) are then performed by accepting *e* and *o* of *eṣ* and *oṣ* as if they were *i* and *u*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. This produces *i* + *eṣ* and *u* + *oṣ* which, after a replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, yield (*i→iyAṄ*) + *eṣ* + *a* and (*u→uvAṄ*) + *oṣ* + *a*. Thus, *iy* + *eṣ* + *a* = *iyeṣa* and *uv* + *oṣ* + *a* = *uvoṣa*. Now consider *iyartti* which is a third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṛ* 'to go'. Given *ṛ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP→ṛ* + *ŚLU* + *ti* where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU*, we get *ṛ* + *ṛ* + *ti*, via iteration (*dvitva*). The *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced by *a*, with a following *r* (7.4.65 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). The *r* which follows *a*, however, is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The *a* of *i* + *ṛ* + *ti* is then replaced with *i* (7.4.77 *arttipipartyoś ca*) to yield: (*i→a*) + *ar* + *ti*. This rule then replaces *i* with *iyAṄ* to produce (*i→iy*) + *ar* + *ti* = *iyarti*.

Note that this replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* cannot be accomplished if the *abhyāsa* is followed by a vowel homogeneous with it. Thus, consider *īṣatuḥ*/

īṣuḥ and *ūṣatuḥ/ūṣuḥ*, both derivates of *atus* and *us*. The *i* and *u* of *i* + *iṣ* + *atus* and *u* + *uṣ* + *atus*, etc., cannot be replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* 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 *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, in the context of this rule, can only replace an *abhyāsa* when what follows also begins with a vowel.

6.4.79 **स्त्रिया:**

striyāḥ
/striyāḥ 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci iyaṅ* #77)
'*strī*' *ity etasyājādau pratyaye parata iyaṅādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyaṄ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

strī 'nominative singular of *strī* 'woman'
striyau 'nominative dual . . .'
striyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *iyAṄ* as a replacement for the final *ī* of *strī* when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *strīṇām* does not involve a replacement in *iyaṄ*. It, instead, requires introduction of augment *nUṬ* (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*), which, for reasons of being subsequent (*para*) in order (*paratvāt*), blocks (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .) *iyaṄ* (*Kāś*: '*strīṇām*' *ity atra paratvān nuḍ āgamaḥ*). This being the case, we do not get a vowel-initial affix to follow.

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*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

6.4.80 **वाम्शसो:**

vā aṃśasoḥ
/vā ϕ *aṃ-śasoḥ* 7/2 = *am ca śas ca* = *aṃśasau* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoḥ/*
ami śasi parataḥ striyā vā iyaṅādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyaṄ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow.

EXAMPLES:

strīṃ paśya 'accusative singular of *strī*'
striyaṃ paśya 'ibidem'
strīḥ paśya 'accusative plural . . .'
striyaḥ paśya 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow. This option is available against a single replacement of *ī* + *a* similar to *ī*, when *am* follows (6.1.103 *ami pūrvaḥ*). It is made against the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* 'long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a sequence' when *Śas* follows. Thus, we get two forms: *striyam/ strīm* and *striyaḥ/ strīḥ*.

6.4.81 इणो यण्

iṇo yaṇ
/iṇaḥ 6/1 *yaṇ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
iṇo' ṅgasya yaṇādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ
The final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' is replaced with *yaṆ* 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 *iyaṄ*. Thus, an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' gets its *i* replaced with *yaṆ*, when a vowel follows (*aci*). Recall that an exception read in between operations only blocks preceding operations, and not any subsequent. This replacement in *yaṆ* will thus block *iyaṄ*, but cannot block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* which follow. Commentators cite *yanti*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)) and *yantu*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*LAṬ*→*antu*)) as examples where *yaṆ* finds its independent scope. They cite *cayanam* 'heaping' and *cāyakaḥ* 'he who heaps' as examples for independent scope of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. They state that *ayanam* 'return' and *āyakaḥ* 'he who returns' may entail *yaṆ* and *guṇa-vṛddhi* both. They state that *yaṆ* is blocked here by *guṇa* ((*i*→*e*) + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) = *ayana* and *vṛddhi* (*i* + *ṆvuL* = *āyaka*) on the basis of *paratva*. Incidentally, *āyan* derives from *āṬ* + *i* + (*LAṄ*→(*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 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āṭ ajādīnām* on the basis of the vowel-initial root as well as *asiddhatva* 'suspension'.

6.4.82 एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य

er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya
/eḥ 6/1 *anekācaḥ* 6/1 = *na ekaḥ* = *anekaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aneko' c yasmin sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasya/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci dhātoḥ* #77 *yaṇ* #81)

dhātor avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇān na bhavaty asāv asaṃyogapūrvaḥ, tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco' ci parato yaṇādeśo bhavati
An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in an *i*, where *i* is not preceded by a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṆ*, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

ninyatuḥ 'those two led'
ninyuḥ 'they led'
unnyau 'nominative dual of *unnī* 'leader' '
unnyaḥ 'nominal plural . . .'
grāmaṇyau 'nominative singular of *grāmaṇī* 'village leader' '
grāmaṇyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ* as a replacement for the final *i* of an *aṅga* 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 *saṃyoga* '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 avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇāt*). A specification with *eḥ* is made here so that it could be qualified with *asaṃyogapūrvasya*. For, *asaṃyogapūrvasya* is not intended as a qualifier for *i*.

It is argued that if *eḥ* was not stated in this rule, *yaṆ* could replace *i* and *u* in general. This would then not require the formulation of 6.4.83 *oḥ supi*, whereby a final *u* is replaced with *yaṆ* before *sUP*. Rule 6.4.83 then becomes restrictive, requiring *yaṆ* only where *sUP* follows. This restrictive provision does not permit *yaṆ* where a *tiṄ* follows. This is why *luluvatuḥ*, etc., get a replacement in *uvAṄ*, as against *yaṆ*.

2. Why do we have to state *anekāc*? So that *yaṆ* could be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ* in the nominative dual and plural forms of *nī*, i.e., *niyau* and *niyaḥ*. For, this derivate of *KvIP* consists of a single vowel (*ekāc*). Now consider *yavakriyau* and *yavakriyaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *yavakrī*, again a derivate of *KvIP*. The *ī* of *yavakrī* must be replaced with *iyAṄ* because it is preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Now consider *unnyau* and *unnyaḥ* where the conjunct, i.e., *nn*, occurs before *ī* in *unnī*. This conjunct is not any part of the *dhātu* 'verbal root'. Consequently, *ī* is replaced with *yaṆ*. This is how *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' must be qualified with *dhātu*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block *yaṆ* in case of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *i* is not preceded by anything other than a *gati* and *kāraka*. Consider *paramaniyau* and *paramaniyaḥ*, where *nī*, a derivate of *KvIP*, combines with *parama*. Since *parama* is neither a *gati* nor a *kāraka*, *yaṆ* must be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ*.

6.4.83 ओः सुपि

oḥ supi
/oḥ 6/1 *supi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya* #82)
dhātvavayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād uvarṇān na tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco' jādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati
An *aṅga* 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 *yaṆ* when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

khalapvau 'nominative dual of *khalapū* 'those who clean the threshing floor''
khalapvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
śatasvau 'nominative dual of *śatasū* 'he who produces a hundred . . .''
śatasvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sakṛllvau 'nominative dual of *sakṛllū* 'he who cuts only once''
sakṛllvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ*-replacement for *u* before a vowel-initial *sUP*. That is, when an *aṅga* 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 *khalapvau* and *khalapvaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *khalapū*, where a derivate of *KvIP* combines to form a compound paraphrased as *khalaṃ punāti*. This same is also true of other examples. They all get their *ū* replaced with *yaṆ*. Incidentally, the *t* of *sakṛt* is replaced with *l* before *lū* (8.4.60 *tor li*). Recall that this replacement in *yaṆ* can be possible only when a *sUP* follows. Thus, *luluvatuḥ* and *luluvuḥ* will get a replacement in *uvAṄ* because *atus* and *us* are not denoted by *sUP*. This *uvAṄ* again blocks *yaṆ* in *luvau* and *luvaḥ* because the *aṅga*, i.e., *lū*, is monosyllabic (*ekāc*). We also get *uvAṄ* in *kaṭapruvau* 'nominative dual of *kaṭaprū* 'he who makes a mat while going' and *kaṭapruvaḥ* '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 *yaṆ* where something other than a *gati* and *kāraka* precedes. Thus, consider *paramaluvau* and *paramaluvaḥ*.

6.4.84 वर्षाभ्वश्च

varṣābhvaś ca
/varṣābhvaḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *supi* #83)
'varṣābhū' ity etasyājādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati

The final *u* of *varṣābhū* 'born in the rainy season', termed an *aṅga*, is replaced with its *yaṆ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

varṣābhvau 'nominative dual of *varṣābhū*'
varṣābhvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule is formulted so that a replacement in *yaṆ*, negated by 6.4.85 *na bhūsudhiyoḥ*, can be made available. Thus, *varṣābhū* gets its *ū* replaced with *v* when a vowel-initial affix follows.
2. A *vārttika* proposal also allows *yaṆ* when *bhū* occurs in combination preceded by *punar* and *kārā*. Thus, we get *punarbhvau/punarbhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *punarbhū* 'nail'; *kārābhvau/kārābhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *kārābhū* 'born in jail'.

6.4.85 न भूसुधियोः

na bhūsudhiyoḥ
/ na ϕ bhū-sudhiyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *supi* #83)
'*bhū, sudhī*' *ity etayor yaṇādeśo na bhavati*
The final vowels of an *aṅga*, namely *bhū* and *sudhī*, are not replaced with their *yaṆ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

pratibhuvau 'nominative dual of *pratibhū* 'guarantor''
pratibhuvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sudhiyau 'nominative dual of *sudhī* 'intellectuals''
sudhiyaḥ '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*: *bhūgrahaṇena tadantasya grahaṇam, na kevalasya*).

6.4.86 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasy ubhayathā
/ chandasi 7/1 *ubhayathā ϕ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhūsudhiyoḥ* #85)
chandasi viṣaye '*bhū, suddhī*' *ity etayor ubhayathā dṛśyate*
An *aṅga* constituted by *bhū* and *sudhī*, in the Vedic, is seen with forms of both kinds.

EXAMPLES:

váneṣu citraṃ vibhvám viśe
viśe vibhuvám
sudhyo havyamagne
sudhiyo havyamagne

1. This rule states that *yaṆ*, and *iyAṄ/uvAṄ*, both, are found in the Vedic usage. Thus, *vibhvam/vibhuvam*; *sudhyaḥ/sudhiyaḥ*

6.4.87 हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके

huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke
/hu-śnuvoḥ 6/2 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya* #82)
'*hu*' *ity etasyāṅgasya śnupratyayāntasyānekāco' saṃyogapūrvasyājādau sārvadhātuke parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*
The *u* of an *aṅga*, particularly *hu* 'to call, perform sacrifice', or of an *aṅga* which consits of more than one vowel and does not begin with a conjunct, though ends in *Śnu*, is replaced with *yaṆ* when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

juhvati 'they offer oblations'
juhvatu 'let them offer oblations'
juhvat 'nominative singular of *juhvat* ending in *ŚatṚ*'
sunvanti 'they press-out'
sunvantu 'let them press-out'
asunvan 'they pressed out'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ* to the *u* of *hu*, and an *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *Śnu*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel follows, and the *u* is not preced by a conjunct. As usual, this *yaṆ* is an exception to the *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* replacements. Note that *asaṃyogapūrvaḥ* is interpreted as a qualifier to *u*. The word *anekācaḥ* is similarly interpreted as a qualifier to *aṅgasya*. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (under 1.1.61 *pratyayasya . . .*) and *juhvat* (under 3.2.124 *lataḥ . . .*) in the appendix. A replacement in *at* for *jhi* is offered by 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Deriving *sunvanti*, etc., with *Śnu* should present no problem.

2. The condition of *hu* and *Śnu* blockes *yaṆ* in favor of *unAṄ* in *yoyuvati* and *roruvati*. These are both derivates of verbal roots *yu* 'to mix' and *ru* 'to cry', respectively, with deletion of *yaṄ*, via *LUK*. The conditions of *sārvadhātuke* and *asaṃyogapravasya* are also valid. Thus, *juhuvatuḥ* and *juhuvuḥ* illustrate how *uvAṄ* is favored against *yaṆ* because of the third person dual and plural *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us*. Examples such as *āpnuvanti* 'they obtain'

and *rādhnuvanti* 'they accomplish' illustrate how, because of *asaṃyogapūrvasya*, *yaṆ* is again blocked in favor of *uvAṆ*.

6.4.88 भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः

bhuvo vugluṅliṭoḥ
/bhuvaḥ 6/1 *vuk* 1/1 *luṅliṭoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
bhuvo vug āgamo bhavati luṅi liṭi cājādau parataḥ
Augment *vUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *bhū*, when a *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhūvan 'third person plural active *LUṄ* of *bhū*'
abhūvam 'first person singular active *LUṄ* of *bhū*'
babhūva 'third person singular *LIṬ* of *bhū* 'to be' '
babhūvatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
babhūvuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *vUK* to *bhū* when a replacement of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* which begins with a vowel follows. Thus, consider *abhūvan* and *abhvam*, the third and first person singular derivates of *LUṄ*. The last three examples are third singular, dual and plural derivates of *LIṬ* with *ṆaL*, *atus* and *us* as replacement (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). Refer to many examples of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* in the appendix and notes for derivational details.

6.4.89 ऊदुपधाया गोहः

ūdupadhāyā gohaḥ
/ūt 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *gohaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
goho' ṅgasya upadhāyā ūkārādeśo bhavati ajādau pratyaye parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *goh*, is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

nigūhayati '. . . hides, preserves'
nigūhakaḥ 'he who preserves, hides'
sādhu nigūhī 'ibidem'
nigūhaṃnigūham '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 *guṇa* of *u* in *guh* when *ṆiC* follows. The *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *o* of *goh* is then replaced by *ū* of our present rule. Thus, *nigūhayati* and *nigūhakaḥ*, 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: vikṛtagrahaṇaṃ viṣayārtham*). That is, a replacement in *ū* is blocked where *goh* is not found. Thus, *nijuguhatuḥ* and *nijuguhuḥ*.

Some claim that this modified form of *goh* is specified to block *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi*, for example, in *nigūh* + *Ṇi*. They think that this *ū* replacement will become *asiddha* in view of the *ay* of 6.4.56 *lyapi laghupūrvāt*. But this view is not correct. These replacements do not share identical condition of application. Negating *ay* of *Ṇi* could hardly be accepted as the purpose of specifying *guh* with *goh*.

6.4.90 दोषो णौ

doṣo ṇau
/doṣaḥ 6/1 *ṇau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā ūt* #89)
doṣa upadhāyā ūkāra ādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ*, is replaced with *ū* when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dūṣayati 'he contaminates, corrupts'
dūṣayataḥ 'those two contaminate'
dūṣayanti 'they (all) contaminate'

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the *o* of *doṣ* when *ṆiC* 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 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā ūt* #89 *doṣo ṇau* #90)
cittavikārārthe doṣa upadhāyā vā ūkārādeśo bhavati ṇau 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 *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cittaṃ doṣayati '. . . agitates mind'

cittaṃ dūṣayati 'ibidem'
prajñāṃ dūṣayati '. . . corrupts intelligence'
prajñāṃ doṣayati 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in *ū* when the derivate denotes *cittavirāga* 'distraction, indifference (of mind)'. Thus, *doṣayati cittam* and *dūṣayati cittam.* This replacement will be obligatory, as against optional, in *sādhnaṃ dūṣayati* 'fouls up the means'. It will be blocked in *cittasya doṣaḥ* where *doṣa* is a derivate of *GHaÑ.*

6.4.92 मितां ह्रस्वः

mitāṃ hrasvaḥ
mitām 6/3 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā* #89 *ṇau* #90)
mito dhātavaḥ 'ghaṭādayo mitaḥ' ity evam ādayo ye pratipāditāḥ teṣām upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga,* namely one specified with *m* as an *it* (*mit*), is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ghaṭayati '. . . brings about'
vyathayati '. . . causes pain'
janayati '. . . brings into existence'
rajayati '. . . sports (colors)'
śamayati '. . . quiets down, afflicts'
jñapayati '. . . informs'

1. This rule offers *hrasva* 'short' as a replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by roots called *mit* 'those which have *M* as their *it*'. This replacement is valid before affix *ṆiC.* 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 चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ciṇṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām
/ciṇ-ṇamuloḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90 *mitām* #92)
ciṇpare ṇamulpare ca ṇau parato mitām aṅgānām upadhāyā dīrgho bhavaty anyatarasyām
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga,* namely one specified as *mit,* is replaced with its long counterpart when affixes *cIṆ* and *ṆamUL,* preceded by *Ṇi,* follow.

EXAMPLES:

aśami 'first person singular *LUṄ*-derivate of causal'
śāmi 'to quiet down, cause affliction'
aśāmi 'ibidem'
atami 'first person singular *LUṄ* derivate of causal'
tāmi 'to cause desire'
atāmi 'ibidem'
śamaṃśamam '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'
śāmaṃśāmam 'ibidem'
tamantamam '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'
tāmantāmam 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aśami/aśāmi* and *atami/atāmi* are derivates of *LUṄ* introduced after causal verbal roots *śāmi* and *tāmi*. Given *aṬ* + *śāmi* + (*CLI*→*CiṆ*) + (*LUṄ*→*ta*), where *CiṆ* is introduced by 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* as a replacement of *CLI*, we get the deletion of *Ṇi* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*). The *ta* is then deleted (6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*) after this rule introduces its optional long replacement. The remaining examples illustrate optional replacement in derivates of *ṆamUL*, introduced with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again'. Recall that 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ* requires repeating a form such as *śamam* in toto. Thus, *śamaṃśamam*, 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 *Ṇi* could be retained as long. But this cannot be done. Consider *śam* + *ṆiC* which yields *śāmi* after *vṛddhi*-replacement, *Ṇi*-deletion and shortening. If *ṆiC* is introduced again, we cannot get *aśami*. For, given *aśāmi*, we cannot get optional shortening because of the earlier *ṆiC* appearing again in place of deletion, via *sthānivadbhāva*. If, however, a long is offered as opiton, *Ṇi*-deletion does not become *sthānivat* in accomplishing vocalic replacements (*ajādeśa*; 1.1.58 *na padānta* . . .). This same is also applicable to deletions (of *a* (of *yaṄ* and *ṆiC*) in deriving *aśaṃśami* and *aśaṃśāmi*. An optional replacement for *vṛddhi* is not possible here. For, the deleted *Ṇi* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. A *ṆiC*, when occurring after a verbal root ending in *yaṄ*, will block *vṛddhi*. For, the deleted *a* of *yaṄ* will reappear via *sthānivadhbāva*. Consequently, there will not be any penultimate *a* to go through *vṛddhi*. Thus, an optional provision of long is justified.

6.4.94 खचि ह्रस्वः

khaci hrasvaḥ
/khaci 7/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90)
khacpare ṇau parato hrasvo bhavaty aṅgasyopadhāyāḥ

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *Ṇi*, occurring before *KHaC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣantapaḥ 'he who torments his enemy'
parantapaḥ 'he who torments others'
purandaraḥ '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 *pūḥsarvayor. . . .*

6.4.95 ह्लादो निष्ठायाम्

hlādo niṣṭhāyām
/hlādaḥ 5/1 *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)
hlādo' ṅgasyopadhāyā hrasvo bhavati niṣṭhāyām parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *hlād*, is replaced with its short counterpart when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prahlannaḥ '. . . has rejoiced'
prahlannavān 'ibidem'

1. Note that 8.4.42 *radābhyām . . .* replaces the *t* of *niṣṭhā*, and the preceding *d* as well, with *n*. This rule allows shortening and 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām* blocks introduction of *iṬ*. Thus, *prahlannaḥ* and *prahlannavān*.

Why do we state the condition of *niṣṭhāyām* 'when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows'? Consider *prahlādayati* '. . . 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 *hlādaḥ*. This is done so that a short replacement can be accomplished when affix *KtiN* follows. Thus, we get *prahlattiḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) claims that this proposal is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

6.4.96 छादेर्घेऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य

chāder ghe' dvyupasargasya
/chādeḥ 6/1 *ghe* 7/1 *a-dvy-upasargasya* 6/1 = *dvau upasargau yasya* (*bv.*);
na dvyupasargaḥ (*nañ.*), *tasya/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)
chāder aṅgasyādvyupasargasya ghapratyaye parata upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi* when not used after two preverbs, is replaced with its short counterpart, provided affix *GHa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uraśchadaḥ 'that which covers the chest; armor'
pracchadaḥ 'that which properly covers'
dantacchadaḥ 'that which covers teeth; lips'

1. This rule allows a short replacement to the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *chādi* and is not used with two preverbs at the beginning. Of course, when affix *GHa* follows. Look for derivational details under rule 3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyām*. . . .

Note that this rule will become vacuous if deletion of *Ṇi* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad* . . .), or else, is treated as *sthānivat* (1.1.57 *acaḥ 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 *ṆiC* is not accepted here.

6.4.97 इस्मन्त्रन्क्विषु च

ismantrankviṣu ca
/is-man-tran-kviṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94 *dhādeḥ* #96)
'*is, man, tran, kvi*' *ity eteṣu parataś chāder upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi*, is replaced with its short counterpart when affixes *is, man, tran* and *KvI* follow.

EXAMPLES:

chadiḥ 'cover'
chadma 'cover; roof'
chattram 'umbrella'
dhāmacchat 'that (a roof) which covers a house'
upacchat 'a cover in general'

1. Note that *is* (II:108: *arciśuci* . . .), *manIN* (IV:145: *sarvadhātubhyo manin*) and *traN* (IV:159: *sarvadhātubhyaṣ ṣṭran*), of *chadi, chadma* and *chatra*, are all *Uṇādi* affixes. Rule 3.2.76 *kvip ca* introduces *KvIP*. Deletion of *ṆiC*, as usual, is accomplished by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

6.4.98 गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि

gamahanajanakhanaghasāṃ lopaḥ knity anaṅi
/gama-hana-jana-khana-ghasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *lopaḥ* 1/1/ *knīti* 7/1/ *anaṅi* 7/1 = *na aṅ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89)
'*gama, hana, jana, khana, ghasa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām upadhāyā lopo bhavaty ajādau pratyaye knity anaṅi parataḥ*

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, 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-*aṄ* affix beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jagmatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *gam* 'to go''
jagmuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jaghnatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *han* 'to kill''
jaghnuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jajñe 'he came into existence (*LIṬ*; *ātmanepada*)'
jajñāte 'those (two) came into existence'
jajñire 'they (all) came into existence'
cakhnatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *khan* 'to dig''
cakhnuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
jakṣatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ad* 'to eat, consume''
jakṣuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
akṣánnamīmadanta pitáraḥ

1. This rule offers deletion of an *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' when *gam, han, jan, khan* and *ghas* constitute an *aṅga*, provided the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel, is not *aṄ* and is marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *jakṣatuḥ, jakṣuḥ, jaghnatuḥ, jaghnuḥ* and *akṣan* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Examples of *jan* are middle (*ātmanepada*) derivates of *LIṬ* where *ta* and *jha* are replaced with *eŚ* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .). Refer to many derivates of *LIṬ* already derived in the appendix (II:412–13).

6.4.99 तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि

tanipatyoś chandasi
/tani-patyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kṅiti* #98)
'*tani, pati*' *ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye upadhāyā lopo bhavati ajādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanI* and *patI* in the Vedic, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vitátnire kavayaḥ 'the weavers weaved'
śákunā iva paptima '. . . fell like a bird'

1. Note that *vitatnire* derives from *vitan* + (*LIṬ*→*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* + (*LIṬ→mas*), after iteraton. The condition of a following vowel-initial affix is met via introducing augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya . . .*).

6.4.100 घसिभसोर्हलि च

ghasibhasor hali ca
/ghasi-bhasoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kniti* #98 *chandasi* #99)
'*ghasi, bhas*' *ity etayoś chandasi upadhāyā lopo bhavati halādāv ajādau ca kniti pratyaye parataḥ*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ghasI* 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 *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sagdhíś ca me sapītíś ca me
babdhāṃ te harī dhānāḥ

1. Refer to derivational details of *sagdiḥ* '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 (*chāndasatvāt*), 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 vowle-initial affix follows'. Thus, *bhas*+ (*LAṬ→*(*jh→at*(*i*))*→bhas*+ (*ŚaP→ŚLU*) + *ati→babhas*+ *ati.* We finally get *babh*(*a→ϕ*) *s*+ *ati→ba*(*bh→p*) *s*+ *ati*= *bapsati,* through penultimate deletion and *cartva* (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 *Ṅ* as an *it.*

6.4.101 हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिः

hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ
/hujhalbhyoḥ 5/2 = *huś ca jhalaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *heḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *hali* #100)
'*hu*' *ity etasmāt 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 *LOṬ*-derivate of *hu* 'to call out' '

bhindhi 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *bhid* 'to split''
chindhi 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-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 (*LOṬ*). It is also treated as 'not marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*). Derivational details of *juhudhi* can be found in the appendix (3.3.166 *adhīṣṭe ca*). Deriving *bhindhi* and *chindhi*, from *bhid* + (*siP*→*hi*) and *chid* + (*siP*→*hi*), requires introduction of *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi* and 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* 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 *iṬ*, may not remain consonant-initial. This is what happens in *rudihi* and *svapihi*, where *iṬ* (*rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke*...) is introduced. The augment is treated as part of *hi* (*Pari* (12): *yad āgamā*...).

It is stated that an optional *tātAṄ* (7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ*) blocks *dhi*, as a replacement for *hi*, on the basis of *paratva*. Thus, we get *juhutāt* and *bhintāt*, the two derivates of *hu* and *bhid*. Furthermore, *dhi*, which has gone through blocking under *vipratiṣedha* once, will remain blocked forever (*Paribh* (*PŚ*: 41): *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe 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 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac*...) was blocked on the basis of *paratva*. It was, however, introduced subsequently in consonance with: (*Paribh* (40): *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*).

6.4.102 श्रुशृणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि

śruśṛṇupṛkṛvṛbhyaś chandasi
/śru-sṛṇu-pṝ-kṛ-vṛbhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *her dhiḥ* #101)
'*śru, śṛṇu, pṝ, kṛ, vṛ*' *ity etebhya uttarasya her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye*
A *hi* which occurs after *śru, śṛṇu, pṝ, kṛ*, and *vṛ* is replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

śr̲ṳdhī havámindr̲a 'listen to the invocation, O Indra'
śṛṇ̲ṳdhī g̲iráḥ 'listen carefully to the speech'
pūrddhi 'fulfill'

uruṇáskṛdhi 'make . . . wide'
apâvṛdhi 'uncover'

1. This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *śru*, *śṛṇu*, *pṝ*, *kṛ* and *vṛ*. Note that, except for *śṛṇudhi*, all other examples receive *ŚaP*, via *bāhulaka* (3.21.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*). This *ŚaP* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *i* of *śṛṇudhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. Thus, *śru* + (*LOṬ*→*hi*→*dhi*) = *śru* + *dh*(*i*→*ī*) = *śrudhī*. Remember that *Śnu* is not introduced here because of *bāhulaka*. We, however, do find *Śnu* in *śṛṇudhī*. Note that *pūrddhi* is optional to *pūrdhi*, both deriving from *pṝ* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*→*hi*→*dhi*). Rule 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* replaces *ṝ* with *u*, followed by *r*. This *u* is replaced with its long counterpart by 8.2.77 *hali ca*. The *dh* of *pūrdhi* goes through optional iteration (8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*) and subsequent replacement in *d* (*dh*→*d*; *jaśtva*). Thus, *pūr*(*dh*→*d*) + *dhi* = *pūrddhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *skṛdhi* and *apāvṛdhi*.

6.4.103 अङितश्च

aṅitaś ca
/*aṅitaḥ* 6/1 = *ṅ it yasya* (*bv.*); *na ṅit* (*nañ.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*her dhiḥ* #101 *chandasi* #102)
aṅitaś ca her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A *hi* which is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* is also replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

sómaṃ rārandhi
asmabhyaṃ taddháryaśva prayándhi
yuyodhyasmajjúhurāṇaménaḥ

1. A *hi*, when not marked with *Ṅ* 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 *sārvadhātukam apit* will treat it as marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, if *Ṅit* status of *hi* is not accepted, this rule will apply on the basis of *Ṅit* status of *hi*. Consider *rārandhi*, the second person *LOṬ*-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 *ŚaP*. The *abhyāsa* also goes through lengthening after iteration (6.1.7 *tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya*). The *m* of *ramU* is not deleted because *hi* is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* (*Ṅit*; 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa* . . .). The *ŚaP* which occurs after *yam* 'to strive' goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *ŚaP* after *yudh* 'to fight' goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This causes iteration and optional *pit* and non-*Ṅit* status of *hi*. An application of *guṇa* yields *yuyodhi*.

6.4.104 **चिणो लुक्**

ciṇo luk
/ciṇaḥ 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1)
ciṇa uttarasya pratyayasya lug bhavati
An affix which occurs after *CiṆ* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

akāri '. . . made'
ahāri '. . . fetched'
alāvi '. . . cut'
apāci '. . . cooked'

1. Note that *LUK* is used as a term for *adarśana* 'non-appearance' of an affix (1.1.61 *pratyayasya* . . .). That is, this rule offers deletion of an affix which occurs after *CiṆ*. Refer to derivational details of *akāri* under the appendix of rule 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ahāri*, etc. This rule deletes *ta* which occurs after *CiṆ* in *kṛ* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)→*aṬ* + *kṛ* + (*CLI*→*CiṆ*) + *ta*→*aṬ* + *kār* + *CiṆ* + (*ta*→ϕ) = *akāri*. But consider *akāri* + *tarām* = *akāritarām*, where *ta*-deletion becomes *asiddha* in view of deletion of *tarām*. This is done by interpreting 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk* differently in view of contextual requirements. Yet another suggestion is made to bring *kṅiti* from *anuvṛtti* and changing *ciṇaḥ*, the ablative, into genitive. This makes it possible for deletion of affixes which are marked with *k* and *Ṅ* as *it*. It saves *taraP* and *tamaP* from deletion since they are marked with *P* as an *it*.

6.4.105 **अतो हेः**

ato heḥ
/ataḥ 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!'
paṭha '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 *punhi* where, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* 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 उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्

utaś ca pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt
/utaḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *pratyayāt* 5/1 *asaṃyogapūrvāt* 5/1 = *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luk* #104 *heḥ* #105)
ukāro yo' asaṃyogapūrvas tadantāt pratyayād 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* + (*LOṬ→si→hi*) and *su* + (*LOṬ→si→hi*), *Śnu* is introduced as a *vikaraṇa* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). The *vikaraṇa* in case of *kṛ* of *kuru* is *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya* . . .). Our present rule deletes *hi*. We thus get *cinu* and *sunu*. Recall that *kṛ* + *u* + *hi* goes through *guṇa* to produce *k*(*ṛ→ar*) + *u* + *hi*. The *a* of *ar*, in addition to deletion of *hi*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

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 *kṛṇuhi* 'do!' where this deletion does not apply.

6.4.107 **लोपश्चान्यतरस्यां म्वोः**

lopaś cānyatarasyāṃ mvoḥ
/lopaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *mvoḥ* 7/2 = *maś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *utaḥ pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt* #106/
yo' yam ukāro' saṃyogapūrvaḥ tadantasya pratyayasyānyatarasyāṃ lopo bhavati vakāramakārādau pratyaye 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:

sunvaḥ 'first person dual active *LOṬ* of *sUÑ* 'to press out''
sunuvaḥ 'ibidem'
sunmaḥ 'first person plural . . .'
sunumaḥ 'ibidem'
tanvaḥ 'first person dual *LOṬ* of *tanU* 'to extend''
tanuvaḥ 'ibidem'
tanmah 'first person plural . . .'
tanumaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Notice how all derivates end in *vaḥ* and *maḥ* in consonance with the affixal condition of *mvoḥ*. Note also that *asaṃyogapūrva* is here interpreted as an adjective to *u*, and not to the affix which may end in *u*. The *vikaraṇa* in these examples is *Śnu*. This deletion applies only to an *u* which belongs to an affix. Thus, there is no deletion in *yuvaḥ* and *yumaḥ* where *u* is part of verbal roots. Now consider *śaknuvaḥ* and *śaknumaḥ* 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 *anuvṛtti*? 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 करोतेः**

nityaṃ karoteḥ
/nityam ϕ *karoteḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *utaḥ pratyayāt* #106 *lopaḥ mvoḥ* #107)
karoter uttarasya ukārapratyayasya vakāramakārādau pratyaye parato nityaṃ lopo bhavati
Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kurvaḥ 'first person dual active *LOṬ*-derivate of *kṛ* 'to do''
kurmaḥ 'first person plural . . .'

1. An affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ* is obligatorily deleted by *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *v* or *m* follows. Thus, *k(ṛ→ar) + u + mas→kar + (u→ϕ) + mas→k(a→u) r + mas = kurma (s→r→ḥ)*. This same is also applicable to *kurvaḥ*. Recall that 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyaḥ* . . . introduces *u* as the *vikaraṇa*. The *a* of the *guṇa*, i.e., *ar*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

6.4.109 ये च

ye ca
/ye 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* # 1 *utaḥ pratyayāt* # 106 *lopaḥ* # 107 *nityaṃ karoteḥ* # 108)
yakārādau ca pratyaye parataḥ karoter uttarasyokārapratyayasya nityaṃ 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.

EXAMPLES:

kuryāt 'third person singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *kṛ*'
kuryātām 'third person dual . . .'
kruyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule obligatorily deletes an affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *y*. Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt*, *kuryātām* and *kuryuḥ* (III:784), under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade*. . . . The affix which conditions deletion of *u* is *yāsUṬ*.

6.4.110 अत उत्सार्वधातुके

ata ut sārvadhātuke
/ataḥ 6/1 *ut* 1/1 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #98 *utaḥ pratyayāt* #106 *lopaḥ* #107 *karoteḥ* #108)
ukārapratyayāntasya karoter akārasya sthāne ukāra ādeśo bhavati sārvadhātuke ṅiti 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 *taparas tatkālasya*) when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kurutaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛ*'

kurvanti 'third person plural . . .'

1. Refer to the appendix of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* for derivational details of *kurutaḥ* and *kurvanti*. This rule introduces *u* as a replacement for the *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, when the same ends in *u*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows. Thus, *k(ṛ→ar) + u + tas→k(u→ar) + u + tas→k(a→u) r + u + tas = kuruta(s→r→ḥ) = kurutaḥ*.

1. Why do we have to use *sārvadhātuke*? So that this replacement can take palce even under the condition of a previously existing *sārvadhātuka*. Thus, consider *kuru* which I derive under 6.4.106 *utaś ca*. . . . Recall that *hi*, a *sārvadhātuka*, is deleted after *kar + u*. The *utva* of this rule, because of the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*, 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 apic ca*). This enables *hi* to be accepted as marked with *K* and *Ṅ*. It is still argued that the *utva* can be accomplished even without the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*? How? The deletion of *hi* will be considered as *asiddha* (*PM*: *asiddho hi, tasyāsiddhatvād utvaṃ bhaviṣyati*). Thus, *hi* being there, *utva* cannot be blocked. In that case, an express mention of *sārvadhātuke* can be accepted as made for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

Why is *u* specified here with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? So that the penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) 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 *Ṅ* is still valid. Consider *karoti*, *karoṣi* and *karomi* where *tiP*, *siP* and *miP* are marked with *P* as an *it*. This *utva* does not apply there since the condition of *kṅiti* is not satisfied.

6.4.111 श्नसोरल्लोपः

śnasor allopaḥ
/śnasoḥ 6/2 = *śnaś ca aś ca = śnasau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *allopaḥ = ato lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)*/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110)
śnasyāsteś cākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ
The *a* of *ŚnaM*, and that of verbal root *as* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rundhaḥ 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *rudh* 'to obstruct''
rundhanti 'third person plural . . .'
bhintaḥ 'third person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *bhid* 'to split''
bhindanti 'third person plural . . .'
santi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *as* 'to be''

1. This rule allows deletion of *a* of *ŚnaM* and *as*. Consider *rudhIR* +

(*LAṬ→tas*)→*ru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *tas*, where *ŚnaM* is introduced after *u* of *rudh* (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*). Refer to *ruṇaddhi* (appendix, 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ . . .*) for further derivational details. Our present rule deletes the *a* of *ŚnaM*. The *n* then goes through replacements in *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) and back to *n* again via *parasavarṇa* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya . . .*). This *n* cannot be replaced with *ṇ* because of *asiddhatva* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Examples such as *bhintaḥ* and *bhindanti* follow similar rules. Refer to derivational details of *staḥ* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta. . . .* Deriving *santi* from: *as* + (*LAṬ→jhi→anti*) should then become easier.

Note that this deletion is also available before an affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* 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 *śnasoḥ*. It should be *śna* + *asoḥ* = *śnāsoḥ*. The *a* of *śna* goes through *pararūpa* because of the listing of *śakandhvādi* (cf. *vt* ad 6.1.94 *eṅi pararūpam*).

6.4.112 श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः

śnābhyastayor ātaḥ
/śnā-abhyastayoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ātaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *lopaḥ* #107 *sārvadhātuke* #110)
'*śnā*' *ity etasyābhyastānāṃ cāṅgānām ākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ*
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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lunate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut''
lunatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
alunata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
mimate 'third singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *māṄ* 'to measure''
mimatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *māṄ*'
amimata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *māṄ*'
sañjihate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *OhāṄ* 'to go' used with the preverb *sam*'
sañjihatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate . . .'
samajihata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-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 *Ṅ*. 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

kartari . . .) for deriving *lunate.* The *e* of the derivate of *LOṬ* gets *ām* (3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*). Thus we get *lunatām.* The third plural middle form *alunata* is derived with *LAṄ* and introduction of augment *aṬ.* We find *mimate, mimatām,* and *amimata* as examples for items termed *abhyasta.* Recall that *māṄ* '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 *bhṛñām 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 *ātmanepada* derivates of *LAṬ, LOṬ* and *LAṄ.* Derivational details of *sañjihate, sañjihatām* and *samajihata* are not very different. These are examples of verbal root *OhāṄ,* used with the preverb *sam.* The *m* of *sam* goes through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* '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 *Ṅ* follows. That is why this deletion is blocked before *tiP* in *alunāt, ajahāt.* A *mit* and *ṅit* status is not allowable in the context of *tiP.*

3. Why was this specification made with *ā* used with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*? That is, a specification with *a* should have accounted for it. A specification with *āt* is made for clarity (*spaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.113 ई हल्यघोः

ī haly aghoḥ
/ī (1/1 deleted) *hali* 7/1 *aghoḥ* 6/1 = *na ghuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ* #122)
śnāntānām aṅgānām abhyastānāṃ ca ghuvarjitānām āta īkārādeśo bhavati halādau sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā,* or else, is termed an *abhyasta* but is not termed *ghu,* is replaced with *ī* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lunītaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
punītaḥ 'third person dual . . . of *pūÑ* 'to cleanse''
lunīthaḥ 'second person dual active *LAṬ* of *lūÑ*'
punīthaḥ '. . . of *pūÑ*'
punīte 'third person singular middle *LAṬ* of *pūÑ*'
mimīte '. . . of *māṄ*'
mimīṣe 'second person singular . . .'
mimīdhve 'second person plural . . .'
sañjihīte 'third person singualr middle *LAṬ* of *OhāṄ* used with the

preverb *sam*'
sañjihīse 'second person singular . . .'
sañjihīdhve 'second person plural . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *parikrīṇīte* (appendix, 1.3.18 *parivyavebhyaḥ . . .*) for deriving *lunīte* and *punīte* from *lū* + *LAṬ* and *pū* + *LAṬ*. Deriving *lunītaḥ* and *lunīthaḥ* with active (*parasmaipada*) *sārvadhātuka* affixes *tas* 'third dual' and *thas* 'second dual' should not present any difficulty. Recall that these affixes are termed *Ṅit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Derivates such as *mimīte, mimṣe*, etc., will involve iteration as usual. Derivates of *OhāṄ*, 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 *ī* is blocked in deriving *lunanti* and *punanti* where *jhi* is replaced with *anti*. The condition of *aghoḥ* is needed to block this *ī* in deriving *dattaḥ* and *dhattaḥ*. Recall that *dā* and *dhā*, with the exception of *dāP*, are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*). The condition of *kṅiti* is again valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in *lunāti* and *jahāti* where *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

6.4.114 इद् दरिद्रस्य

id daridrasya
/it 1/1 *daridrasya* 6/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *ātaḥ* #112 *hali* #113)
daridrāter halādau sārvadhātuke kṅiti parata ikārādeśo bhavati
The final *ā* of *daridrā* is replaced with *i* when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

daridritaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *daridrā* 'to be poor' '
daridrithaḥ 'second person dual . . .'
daridrivaḥ 'first person dual . . .'
daridrimaḥ '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 *Ṅ* follows. We get *daridritaḥ, daridrithaḥ, daridrivaḥ* and *daridrimaḥ*, where *daridrā* occurs before *LAṬ* replaced with the active endings *tas, thas, vas* and *mas*. Note that *daridrā* is a root of the *adādi* class. A *ŚaP* which occurs after it is thus deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ . . .*).

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *daridrati* and *daridrāti* because of the twin conditions of *halādi* and *kṅiti*, respectively.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *ā* of *daridrā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows (*vt. daridrāter ārdhadhātuke lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Additionally, it is stated that *ā*-deletion remains valid in affixal operations (*vt.*

siddhaś ca pratyayavidhau bhavatīti vaktavyam). Thus, *daridrātīti* = *daridraḥ* 'poor'.

The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes:

> *na daridrāyake lopo daridrāṇe ca neṣyate/*
> *didaridrāsatīty eke didaridraṣatīti vā//*
> 'there is no deletion in *daridrāyakaḥ*; no deletion is also desired in *daridrāṇaḥ*; some accept optional deletion in *didaridrāsati* and *didaridriṣati*'

6.4.115 भियोऽन्यतरस्याम्

> *bhiyo' nyatarasyām*
> */bhiyaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114)
> '*bhī*' *ity etasyāṅgasyāntarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati halādau kṅiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*
> The final *ī* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhī*, is optionally replaced with *i* when an affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* an an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *bibhitaḥ* 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *Ñibhī* 'to fear'
> *bibhītaḥ* 'ibidem'
> *bibhithaḥ* 'second person dual . . .'
> *bibhīthaḥ* 'ibidem'
> *bibhivaḥ* 'first person dual . . .'
> *bibhīvaḥ* 'ibidem'
> *bibhimaḥ* 'first person plural . . .'
> *bibhīmaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. The *i*-replacement of the preceding rule is made optional (*anyatarasyām*) in case of verbal root *bhī*. Thus, we get two forms. Note that example derivates all involve iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This replacement in short *i* comes in place of the final *ī* of *bī* + *bhī*. The first *ī* goes through shortening.

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *bibhyati* where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *at*. That is, a consonant-initial affix does not follow. The final *ī* is thus replacement with *yaṆ*. A lack of meeting the condition of *kṅiti* again blocks this replacement in *bibheti*. This example goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. The condition of *sārvadhātuke* similarly does not allow this replacement in *bhīyate*. Affix *yaK* is obviously an *ārdhadhātuka*.

6.4.116 **जहातेश्च**

jahāteś ca
/jahāteḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *knīti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115)
jahāteś ca ikārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ halādau knīti sārvadhātuke parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK* 'to abandon', is also optionally replaced with *i*, when an affix which begins with a consonant and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahitaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *OhāK*'
jahītaḥ 'ibidem'
jahithaḥ 'second person dual . . .'
jahīthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended so that, in subsequent rules, only *jahāteḥ* could be carried (*pṛthag 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 *ī haly aghoḥ* offers *ī* as an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement for the final *ā* of *abhyāsa*. That *ī* 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 *hīyate* and *jehīyate* where affixes *yaK* and *yaṄ* are termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

6.4.117 **आ च हौ**

ā ca hau
/ā ca ϕ *hau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115 *jahāteḥ* #116)
jahāter ākāraś cāntādeśo bhavati ikāraś cānyatarasyāṃ hau parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is optionally replaced with *ā*, in addition to an optional *i*, when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahāhi 'second person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *OhāK* 'to abandon''
jahihi 'ibidem'
jahīhi 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *ā* as an optional replacement for an *aṅga* in *hā*. The optional *i* of the preceding rule is also applicable. The *ca* is used here to attract *anyatarasyām* and *i* both (*Nyāsa*: *cakāra ittvānyatarasyāṃgrahaṇayor*

anukarṣaṇārthaḥ). Since these two options are both made against *ī* of 6.4.113 *haly aghoḥ*, we will end up with three forms: *jahāhi, jahihi* and *jahīhi.* Operations relative to deletion by *ŚLU* (of *ŚaP*) and iteration all obtain as usual.

6.4.118 लोपो यि

lopo yi
/lopaḥ 1/1 *yi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #100 *jahāteḥ* #116)
lopo bhavati jahāter yakārādau ṅiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ
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 *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahyāt 'third person singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *OhāK*'
jahyātām 'third person dual . . .'
jahyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ā* when *hā* is followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ*. 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 *LIṄ*-derivates in the appendix where operational steps common to these examples, i.e., *ŚaP*, *ŚLU*-deletion, doubling, introduction of *yāsUṬ*, and *tām* and *us*, have been explained.

6.4.119 घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च

ghvasor edd hāv abhyāsalopaś ca
/ghvasoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *et* 1/1 *hau* 7/1 *abhyāsa-lopaḥ* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* *ϕ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #98)
ghusaṃjñakānām aṅgānām asteś ca ekārādeśo bhavati hau parato' bhyāsalopaś 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 *LOṬ*-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 *dādhāghv 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 atrābhāt* shows derivational details of *edhi*.

2. Commentators explain that this *lopa* is here intended as marked with *Ś* (*Kāś*: *śid ayaṃ lopaḥ*). Consequently, deletion applies to an *abhyāsa*, in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). This provision now becomes an exception to deletion of the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*).

6.4.120 अत एकहल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि

ata ekahalmadhye' nādeśāder liṭi
/ataḥ 6/1 *ekahalmadhye* 7/1 = *ekaś ca ekaś ca = ekau; ekaś ca tau halau ca = ekahalau* (*karmadhāraya*); *ekahalor madhyaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *anādeśādeḥ* 6/1 = *avidyamāna ādeśa ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *liṭi* 7/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #98 *eta abhyāsalopaś ca* #119)
liṭi parata ādeśa ādir yasyāṅgasya nāsti tasya ekahalmadhye asahāyayor halor madhye yo' kāras tasya ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi ṅiti parataḥ
An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

reṇatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *raṇ* 'to be happy''
reṇuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
yematuḥ 'third dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *yamA* 'to be indifferent''
yemuḥ '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''
demuḥ '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 *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *raṇ* + *atus* where *atus* is a replacement of *LIṬ*, via *tiP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatusus* . . .). This string produces *ra* + *raṇ* + *atus* after iteration (*dvitva*) and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). Our present rule replaces the *a* of *ra* with *e* and deletes *ra*. We thus get *reṇatu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ* = *reṇatuḥ*).

Notice how the *aṅga*, i.e., *ra* + *raṇ*, meets the condition of *anādeśādi* '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 *reṇuḥ* from *ra* + *raṇ* + (*LIṬ→tas→us*). Other examples follow similar derivational applications.

The word *eka* is not used here in the sense of a number (*saṃkhyā*). 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 *ekaś 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* + *LIṬ*, where *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa* do not apply. Obviously, because there is no *a*. Since this *a* is specified with *taparakaraṇa* 'marking with *T*', our present rule does not apply on the string yielded by *rās* + *LIṬ→rarāse/ rarāsāte/ rarāsire*. 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., *tatsaratuḥ* and *tatsaruḥ*. A condition of *anādeśa* blocks the application of this rule on *cakaṇatuḥ* and *cakaṇuḥ*, etc., where the initial *k* of *kaṇ* goes through a replacement in *c*.

3. Note that the negation of *anādeśādeḥ* is also construed with *liṭi*. That is, *liṭi* of this rule is read twice via repetition (*āvṛtti*). One *liṭi* is thus read with *anādeśādeḥ* and the other with *kniti*, constrained by the condition of a following *LIṬ*. Thus, replacements which may block the application of this rule must result under the condition of a following *LIṬ*. Consider *nematuḥ/ nemuḥ*; and *sehe/ sehāte*. These sets of examples involve a replacement of *ṇ* and *ṣ* with *n* and *s*, respectively. These consonants, *ṇ* and *ṣ*, are replaced with *s* and *n* when occurring as initial of a verbal root (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ . . .*; 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*). Obviously, they are replaced prior to the introduction of *LIṬ* and are thus not conditioned (*animittika*) by *LIṬ*. 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 (*bheda*) 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 śaṣadadivādiguṇānām* which negates *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and *abhyāsalopa* 'deletion of *abhyāsa*' in *viśaśasatuḥ* and *viśaśasuḥ*, etc. Now consider 8.1.54 *abhyāse car 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 *dad*. If the

negation of *anādeśādiḥ* does not make a difference in replacements depending on formal difference or a lack of it, *śas* and *dad* will become *ādeśādi*. This rule itself will be able to block *etva* and *abhyāsalopa*. What is the need of formulating 6.4.126 *na śaṣadadivādi*...? This, in turn, indicates that our present rule considers a replacement resulting in formal difference.

Finally, the condition of *kiti* is also valid. Consider *ahaṃ papaca* and *ahaṃ papaṭha* where *ṆaL*, of *pac*+ (*LIṬ*→*miP*→*ṆaL*) and *paṭh*+ (*LIṬ*→*miP*→*ṆaL*), cannot be considered as *kñit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). That is, it will still be accepted as marked with *P* as an *it*, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. A replacement in *e*, with concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, is blocked.

4. There are four *vārttika* 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 *debhuḥ*. This *vārttika* is necessitated because deletion of *m* in *dambh* becomes *asiddha*, 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 *LUṄ* 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* + (*CānaŚ*) + *sU*→*vyemānam*, where augment *mUK* is not introduced. Examples of *pac* in *LIṬ*: *pac*+ *a*+ *sīyUṬ*+ (*LIṄ*→*jha*→*ran*)) = *peciran*.

   (*iv*) An *etva* must also be stated for *yaj* and *vac*, in the Vedic. Thus, we get (*āy*(*a*→*e*)*j*(*a* + *i*→*e*)) = *āyeje* and *āvepe*, both derivates of *LAṄ*, where augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.73 *chandasy api dṛśyate*. Note that this *āṬ* is introduced to *anajādi* 'that which does not begin with a vowel'.

6.4.121 थलि च सेटि

thali ca seṭi
/thali 7/1 *ca* ϕ *seṭi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ekahalmadhye' nādeśāder liṭi* #120)
thali ca seṭi parato' nādeśāder aṅgasya ekahalmadhyagatasyātaḥ sthāne ekāra ādeśo 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 *Ṅ* as an *it*. This rule is thus formulated for allowing *etva*, and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, in contexts outside of *kṅiti*. Consider *pecitha* and *śekitha* (appendix (III:787), 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) where *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* apply before *LIṬ*. A condition of *seṭi* is imposed so that, in case of the non-*iṬ* option of 7.2.63 *ṛto 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 *kṅiti*. The condition of *seṭi*, outside the context of *kṅiti*, can only be met by *thaL*. Why then make an explicit mention of *thaL*? It is made for clarity (*Kāś*: *thalgrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*).

The conditions of *at*, *ekahalmadhya* and *anādeśādi* are also valid. Thus, consider *didevitha* where *i* is not replaced with *i*. The deletion of the *abhyāsa* also does not apply. Now consider *tatakṣitha* where replacement does not apply because the vowel does not happen to be used in between two single consonants. Finally, consider *cakaṇitha* and *babhaṇitha* 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 तॄफलभजत्रपश्च

tṝphalabhajatrapaś ca
/ tṝ-phala-bhaja-trap-aḥ 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'*tṝ, phala, bhaja, trapa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ata ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi*
The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *tṝ* '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 *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

teratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *tṝ*'
teruḥ 'third person plural . . .'
teritha 'second person singular . . .'
phelatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *phal*'
pheluḥ 'third person plural . . .'
phelitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhejatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *bhaj*'
bhejuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
bhejitha 'second person singular . . .'

trepe 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *trap*'
trepāte 'third person dual . . .'
trepire 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, where a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ*, or a *thaL* with *iṬ*, follows. Note that *ṝ* of *tṝ* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *ar* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*). We thus get (*ta*→ϕ) + *t*(*a*→*e*)*r* + *atus* = *teratu*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *teratuḥ*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is negated by 6.4.126 *na śaśadada*. . . . Our present rule makes it available. Examples such as *phelatuḥ/ pheluḥ/ phelitha*; and *bhelatuḥ/ bhehuḥ/ bhelitha* 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 *anādeśādi*. 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 *ekahalmadhya*. This rule again facilitates *etva* and deletion.

2. A *vārttika* proposal recommends that *etva* and deletion should also be stated for *śranth*, i.e., in *śrethatuḥ* and *śrethuḥ*.

6.4.123 राधो हिंसायाम्

rādho hiṃsāyām
/rādhaḥ 6/1 *hiṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
rādho hiṃsāyām arthe' varṇasya ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi
The *a* of an *aṅga*, i.e., *rādh*, signifying *hiṃsā* 'wishing harm to' is replaced with *e* with the additional provision of deletion of its *abhyāsa* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aparedhatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *rādh* used with the preverb *ap*'
aparedhuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
aparedhitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa* as well, when *rādh* is used with the signification of *hiṃsā* 'harm'. All other conditions remain similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, consider *aparedhatuḥ/ aparedhuḥ* and *aparedhitha*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is not available to *rarādhatuḥ/ rarādhuḥ* and *rarādhitha*, mainly because this *rādh* is not used with the signification of *hiṃsā*.

2. Note that *ataḥ* is still carried. It thus requires *e* as a replacement in place of the short *a*. What we find in *rādh* is a long. Commentators state that *ataḥ* 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 *rādh*, we must carry *ātaḥ* from 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. Others say that this is not necessary. Since a specification for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is made with express mention of *rādh*, 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, *etva* applies to *ā*.

6.4.124 वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम्

vā jṝbhramutrasām
/vā ϕ jṝ-bhramu-trasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'*jṝ, bhramu, trasa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ataḥ sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi*
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *jṝ* '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 *abhyāsa* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jeratuḥ/jajaratuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *jṝ*'
jeruḥ/jajaruḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jeritha/jararitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhrematuḥ/babhramatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *bhram*'
bhremuḥ/babhramuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
bhremitha/babhramitha 'second person singular . . .'
tresatuḥ/tatrasatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *tras*'
tresuḥ/tatrasuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
tresitha/tatrasitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. This is an optional rule. It offers *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa* to an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *jṝ*, *bhramU* and *tras*. All other conditions, namely *ataḥ*, *liṭi*, *thali ca seṭi* and *kṅiti*, also remain in force. Thus, consider *jajaratuḥ*, etc., where *ṝ* goes through *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*) and yields *a* followed by *r*. Consequently, *etva* and deletion, both get blocked in view of negation of 6.4.126 *na śasadavādiguṇānām*. Our present rule allows it in case of *a* of *jar*. Derivates of verbal root *bhramU* involve a replacement at the beginning and do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. Derivates 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 सप्तानाम्

phaṇāṃ ca saptānām
/phaṇām 6/3 *ca* ϕ *saptānām* 6/3/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121 *vā* #124)
phaṇādīnāṃ saptānāṃ dhātūnām avarṇasya sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi
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 *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pheṇatuḥ/ paphaṇatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *phaṇ*'
pheṇuḥ/ paphaṇuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
pheṇitha/ paphaṇitha 'second person singular . . .'
rejatuḥ/ rarājatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *rāj* 'shine''
rejuḥ/ rarājuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
rejitha/ rarājitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhreje/ babhrāje 'third person singular middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhrāj* 'to shine''
bhrejāte/ babhrājāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhrejire/ babhrājire 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhreśe/ babhrāśe 'third person singualr middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhrās* 'to shine''
bhreśāte/ babhrāśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhreśire/ babhrāśire 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhleśe/ babhlāśe 'third person singular middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhlāś* 'to shine''
bhleśāte/ babhlāśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhleśire/ babhlāśire 'third person plural middle . . .'
syematuḥ/ sasyamatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *syam* 'to sound''
syemuḥ/ sasyamuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
syemitha/ sasyamitha 'second person singular . . .'
svenatuḥ/ sasvanatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *svan* 'to sound''

svenuḥ/ sasvanuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
svenitha/ sasvanitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. Note that a specification with the genitive plural of *phaṇām* is made to indicate the meaning of *ādi* 'a set of verbs beginning with *phaṇ*'. We get the meaning of 'seven roots beginning with *phaṇ*' when *phaṇām saptānām* is read together. Recall that *pha* is listed as a root in the *bhvādi* class. This listing *phaṇ, rājR, ṬUbhrājR, ṬUbhāŚR, ṬUbhlāŚR, 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 *anādeśādiḥ, eahalmadhya* and *ataḥ*. This rule expressly provides for *etva* and concurrent deletion against such requirements, optionally. Thus, *pheṇatuḥ/ pheṇuḥ/ pheṇitha* and *paphaṇatuḥ, paphaṇuḥ* and *paphaṇitha*, 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 शसददवादिगुणानाम्

na śasadadavādiguṇānām
/ na ϕ śasa-dada-vādi-guṇānām 6/3 *vakāra ādir yasya sa vādiḥ* (*bv.*); *śasaś ca dadaś ca vādiś ca guṇaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'*śasa, dada*' *ity etayor vakārādīnāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ guṇa ity evam abhinirvṛt-tasya ca yo' akāras tasya sthāne ekārādeśo na bhavati*
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śas, dad, vādi* '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 *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

viśaśasatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *śas* 'to cut' used with the preverb *vi*'
viśaśasuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
viśaśasitha 'second person singular active . . .'
dadate 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dā* 'to give''
dadadāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
dadadire 'third person plural middle . . .'
vavamatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vamA* 'to vomit''
vavamuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'

vavamitha 'second person singular active . . .'
viśaśaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *śṝ* 'to harm' used with the preverb *vi*' '
viśaśaruḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
viśaśaritha '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 *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* in contexts where an *aṅga* involves *śaśU* 'to harm', *dadA* 'to give', or a verbal root beginning with *v*, or else, an *aṅga* where a replacement in *guṇa* has applied. Consider *viśaśasatuḥ*, etc., where *śaś* is used with *vi* before *LIṬ*. This rule negates *etva* for *a* of *viśaśas* + *atus*. This same is also true in case of *dadade*, where *ta* of *dad* + (*LIṬ→ta*) is replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor . . .*). Other examples of *dadA* are similarly derived with doubling and related operations. This rule blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*. An example where the *aṅga* invovles *vam*, a verbal root beginning with *v*, is: *vavamatuḥ*. Derivates such as *viśaśaratuḥ* and *lulavitha* illustrate instances where *etva* gets a *guṇa*-replacement in *a* as its focus. Thus, *viśṝ* + (*LIṬ→tas→atus*), where *ṝ* yields *ar* through application of *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*). The *lū* of *lū* + (*LIṬ→siP→tha*) also goes through *guṇa*, though followed by a replacement in *av* before *iṬ*. Commentators point out that the *a* which forms the focus of *etva* must result out of an application of expressly mentioned *guṇa*. Thus, we get *a* of *ṝ→ar* and *ū→o→av* as the focus.

6.4.127 **अर्वणस्त्रसावनञ:**

arvaṇas tṛ asāv anañaḥ
/*arvaṇaḥ* 6/1 *tṛ* (1/1 deleted) *asau* 1/2 (*nañ.*); *anañaḥ* 5/1 (*nañ.*)/ (*aṅgasya* #1)
'*arvan*' *ity etasya aṅgasya* '*tṛ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suś cet tataḥ paro na bhavati sa ca nañ uttaro na bhavati*
The final sound segment of *arvan* is replaced with *tR*, provided *arvan* is not combined after *naÑ* and *sU* does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

arvantau 'nominative dual of *arvan* 'courser' '
arvantaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
arvantam 'accusative singular . . .'
arvantau 'accusative dual . . .'
arvataḥ 'accusative plural . . .'
arvatī 'nominative singular (feminine with *ṄīP*)'
ārvatam 'a derivate of *aÑ* denoting *apatya* 'offspring' '

1. This rule allows *tṚ* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by *arvan*, provided it does not occur after *naÑ* and is also not followed by *sU*. This replacement in *tṚ* comes in place of the final *n* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *arvan*. Thus, *arva*(*n*→*tṚ*) + *au*. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced here as a result of *Ṛ* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām . . .*), before an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*). Thus, *arva* + (*n*→*tṚ*) + *au*→*arva* + *nUM* + *t* + *au* = *arvantau*. Other forms, i.e., *arvantaḥ*; *arvantam, arvantau, arvataḥ*, follow similar rules. Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) is introduced in deriving feminine forms, also as a result of *Ṛ* as an *it*. Thus, we get *arvatī*. Our last example, i.e., *ārvata*, is derived from *arvat*, through initial *vṛddhi*, with affix *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyā' 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 grahaṇam, na saptamībahuvacanasya*). This condition of *asau* blocks *tṚ*, 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 *anañaḥ* 'not used after *naÑ*' also blocks *tṚ*. We thus get *anarvāṇau* and *anarvāṇaḥ*, where *anarvan* is interpreted as *na arvā* 'non-*arvan*'.

6.4.128 मघवा बहुलम्

maghavā bahulam
/*maghavā* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *tṛ* #127)
'*maghavan*' *ity etasyāṅgasya bahulam* '*tṛ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *maghavan*, is variously replaced with *tṚ*.

EXAMPLES:

maghavān 'nominative singular of *maghavan* 'Indra''
maghavantau 'nominative dual . . .'
maghavantaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
maghavantam 'accusative singular . . .'
maghavantau 'accusative dual . . .'
maghavataḥ 'accusative plural . . .'

1. Note that *maghavān* is derived from *maghavan* + *sU*, where *n* gets replaced with *tṚ* to yield *maghavat* (*Ṛ*→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 *halṅābbhyo . . .*) and the conjunct final *t* (*saṃyogānta*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Our final form *maghavān* 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 *tṚ* does not have to be accepted as a replacement. We thus get forms such as *maghavā*, etc., parallel to *rājā* (appendix, 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*): *maghavā/ maghavānau/ maghavānaḥ*, in the nominative, and *maghavānam/ maghavānau/ maghonaḥ*, in the accusative. Our accusative plural form involves *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.133 *śvayuvamaghonām . . .*), 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 guaḥ* 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*→*ḥ*) = *maghonaḥ*. Recall that augment *nUM* is not introduced when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* ending follows. Derivational details of *maghavat* and *māghavatam* are similar to those of *arvatī* and *ārvatam* of the previous rule. Deriving *maghonī* from *maghavan* + *ṄīP* will again involve *samprasāraṇa*, etc. Deriving *māghavanam* from *maghavan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, with initial *vṛddhi*, should pose no problem.

6.4.129 **भस्य**

bhasya
/ *bhasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1)
'*bhasya*' *ity ayam adhikāra ā adhyāyaparisamāpteḥ*
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 (*āpādaparisamāpteḥ*). Thus, the following rule offers *pat* 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* (*svādi*). This covers affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ* . . . through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. Thus, a *non-sarvanāmasthāna* affix which is listed as part of *svādi* 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 *pada* and *bha* also depends on whether or not an affix is assigned the term *sarvanāmasthāna*. A *Śi* replacement of nominative and accusative plural endings *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*). Affixes *su, au, Jas; am* and *auṬ* (*sUṬ*) are also termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*). A non-neuter string which occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix is neither termed a *pada*, nor a *bha*. A neuter which occurs before *su* is termed *pada*. It is termed *bha* when occurring before *au* and *am*. Since a *Jas* and *Śas* is replaced with *Śi* which, in turn, is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, we do not get *pada* or *bha* before them. The term *bha* is also assigned before affixes *Śas, Ṭā, Ṅe, ṄasI, Ṅas, os* and *Ṅi*, obviously because they begin with a vowel. A string before the genitive plural *ām* can also be termed *bha*, provided it has not receive augment *nUṬ*. Note that *nUṬ* impairs the vowel-initial status of *ām* which, in turn, occasions the assignment of the term *pada*. Similar reasoning applies in assigning the terms *pada* and *bha*, outside the domain of nominal endings.

6.4.130 **पादः पत्**

pādaḥ pat
/pādaḥ 6/1 *pat* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'*pādaḥ*' *iti pādaśabdo luptākāro gṛhyate, tadantasyāṅgasya bhasya* '*pat*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The final *pād* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *pat*.

EXAMPLES:

dvipadaḥ (*paśya*) 'accusative plural . . .'
dvipadā 'instrumental singular . . .'
dvipade 'dative singular of *dvipād*'
dvipadikāṃ (*dadāti*) 'gives two quarters each'
vaiyāghrapadyaḥ 'offspring of Vyāghrapād'

1. The base in *pādaḥ* is specified with its final *a* deleted (*luptākāra*). Since such a deletion takes place only in a compound, *pādaḥ* is interpreted as referring to 'that which ends in *pād* (*tadantasya*)'. Note that *pat* will come in place of *pād*, since a replacement is introduced in place of that which is specified (*nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*). That is, *pat* will not replace the final *d* of *pād*. Nor will it replace the *aṅga* which ends in *pād*.

Note that *dvipat*, of *dvipadaḥ paśya*, is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), where 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* deletes the final *a* of *pāda*. Our present rule replaces this *pād* with *pat*. The word *dvipadikā*, parallel to *dvau dvau pādau*, is derived with affix *vuN* (5.4.1 *pādaśatasya . . .*) introduced after *dvipāda*. A deletion of the final *a*, and subsequent replacement of *pād*

with *pāt*, produces *dvipat* + *vuN*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* then replaces *vu* with *aka*. An introduction of *ṬāP*, 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 *vaiyāghryapadyaḥ*, derived parallel to *vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya, tasyāpatyam* 'a son of he whose feet are similar to that of a tiger's', with affix *yaÑ* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *vyāghrapāda* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). The *a* of *pāda* is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . . The *ā* of *vyāghra* gets replaced with *aiC* in accord with 7.3.3 *na yvābhyām*. . . .

6.4.131 वसोः सम्प्रसारणम्

vasoḥ samprasāraṇam
/*vasoḥ* 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
vasvantasya bhasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *vasu* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

viduṣaḥ 'accusative singular of *vidvas* 'scholar''
viduṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
viduṣe 'dative singular . . .'
pecuṣaḥ 'accusative singular of *pecvas* 'he who has cooked''
pcuṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
pecuṣe 'dative singular . . .'
papuṣaḥ 'nominative singular of *pecvas*'

1. Note that *viduṣaḥ* is derived from *vidvas* + *Śas*, where *vidvas* itself derives with *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .), introduced after *vid* as a replacement of *LAṬ*. A replacement in *vasU* is then introduced for *ŚatṚ* as per 7.1.36 *videḥ śaturvasuḥ*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* on *vidvas* + (*Ś*)*as*, followed by the *pūrvarūpa* of resultant *u* + *a*, produces *vid*(*v*→*u*) + *as* + (*Ś*) *as*→*vid* (*u*+*a*→*u*)*s* + (*Ś*)*as* = *vidus* + *as*. Our final form *viduṣaḥ* results from the application of *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*) and *s*→*r*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). Our next examples are derivates of *LIṬ*, introduced after *pac*, where *LIṬ* gets replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). An application of doubling and related operations then produces *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*KvasU*)→*papac* + *vas*. Rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhya* . . . then orders *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa*, thereby yielding *pecvas*. We get *pecvas* + *Śas*→*pecuṣaḥ*, through *samprasāraṇa*, *ṣatva* and *rutva-visarga*. The singular instrumental and dative forms, i.e., *pecuṣā* and *pecuṣe*, are similarly derived by introducing *Ṭā* and *Ṅe* after *pacvas*. Deriving *yayuṣaḥ*, from *yā* + (*LIṬ*→*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 *K* as *it*, is deleted (6.4.64

āto lopa iṭi 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 *ā*? These two operations both have different conditions (*nimitta*; *Kāś*: *ākāralope karttavye vasusamprasāraṇasya vyāśrayatvād asiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*). Note that a specification with *vasU* is also desired to include a reference to *KvasU* (*Kāś*: *vasugrahaṇe kvasor api grahaṇam iṣyate*).

6.4.132 वाह ऊठ्

vāha ūṭh
vāha 6/1/*ūṭh* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *samprasāraṇam* #131)
'*vāhaḥ' ity evam antasya bhasya 'ūṭh' ity etat samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
A form termed *samprasāraṇa*, namely *ūṬH*, comes in place of the final *vāh* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*.

EXAMPLES:

praṣṭhauhaḥ 'accusative plural of *praṣṭhavāh* 'a calf under training' '
praṣṭhauhā 'instrumental singular . . .'
praṣṭhauhe '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 *ṆvI* (3.2.64 *vahaś ca*). The assingment of the term *samprasāraṇa* to *ūṬH* facilitates its introduction in place of *v*, a sound denoted by *yaN* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ . . .*). That is, *ūṬH* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to derivational details under notes of 6.1.86 *etyedhatyūṭhsu*. Our example *dityavāh* follows derivational patterns similar to *praṣṭhavāh*.

2. Why do we have to introduce the *samprasāraṇa* as *ūṬH*? Why can we simply not introduce the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *u*? This general *u* can then be replaced with *o* (*guṇa*; 7.2.88 *puganta . . .*), under the condition of *ṆvI* revived via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope. . . .* This can easily offer us desired results after the *vṛddhi* of *o*. But specifying a general *samprasāraṇa* will render *ūṬH* vacuous (*vyartha*). This, in turn, indicates that the *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' rule of interpretation is valid here. That is, a *guṇa*-replacement conditioned by *ṆvI* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), as opposed to assignment of the term *bha* which is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by vowel-initial affixes. This will render the *samprasāraṇa* as *asiddha* in replacing *u* with *o*. The question of any *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* will thus not arise. It is for this reason that *ūṬH*, and subsequent *vṛddhi* by 6.1.89 *etyedhaty . . .*, is necessary.

6.4.133 श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते

śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite
/śva-yuva-maghonām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ataddhite* 7/1 (*nañ.*), *tasmin/* (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *samprasāraṇam* #131)
'*śvan, yuvan, maghavan*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ataddhite pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *śvan* 'dog', *yuvan* 'young', and *maghavan* 'Indra', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a non-*taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

śunaḥ 'accusative plural of *śvan* 'dog''
śunā 'instrumental singular . . .'
śune 'dative singular . . .'
yūnaḥ 'accusative plural of *yuvan* 'young''
yūnā 'instrumental singular . . .'
yūne 'dative singular . . .'
maghonaḥ 'accusative plural of *maghavan* 'Indra''
maghonā 'instrumental singular . . .'
maghone 'dative singular . . .'

1. Derive *śunaḥ* 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 *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + *Śas*, involves *savarṇadīrgha*, in addition to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Thus, *yu*(*v*→*u*)*an* + (*Ś*)*as*→*yu*(*u* + *a*→*u*)*n* + *as*→*y*(*u* + *u*→*ū*)*n* + *as* = *yūna*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *yūnaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *maghonaḥ* under notes of 6.4.128 *maghavā bahulam*.

Why do we have the condition of a non-*taddhita* affix? Consider *śauvam* of *śauvaṃ māṃsam* 'dog's meat'. This derivate of *aÑ* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo . . .*) produces *śauvan*, where *au* is introduced as an augment (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* then requires *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *śau* + *v*(*an*→ϕ) + *a* = *śauva*. This *ṭi*-deletion, however, is blocked by 6.4.167 *an* in deriving *yauvana* with *aṆ* (5.1.130 *hāyanānta . . .*). Thus, *y*(*u*→*au*)*van* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *yauvana* 'youth'.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* notes that *samprasāraṇa* of *śvā*, etc., is desired only when the derivates denote feminine, or end in *n*. Thus, consider *yuvatīḥ paśya* where *yuvan* is used with affix *ti* with the signification of feminine. Examples with no denotation of feminine are: *maghavataḥ*, *maghavatā* and *maghavate*.

6.4.134 अल्लोपोऽनः

allopo' naḥ
/allopaḥ 1/1 = *ato lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anaḥ* 6/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'an' ity evam antasya bhasya akāralopo bhavati
The *aT* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

rājñaḥ 'accusative plural of *rājan* 'king''
rājñā 'instrumental singular . . .'
rājñe 'dative singular . . .'
takṣṇaḥ 'accusative plural of *takṣan* 'carpenter''
takṣṇā 'instrumental singular . . .'
takṣṇe 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule deletes *a* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an*. Thus, *rājñaḥ* from *rājan* + (*Ś*) *as* where deletion of *a* applies. Rule 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* now applies on *raj*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *as* = *rāj* + *n* + *as* to yield *rāj* + (*n*→*ñ*) + *as* = *rājñas*. Similar deletion of *a* also applies on *takṣan* + (*Ś*) *as* to yield *takṣṇaḥ*, through *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

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 *rājñaḥ idam* = *rājakyam* 'regal', where *n* gets replaced with *k* (4.2.140 *rājñaḥ ka ca*).

6.4.135 षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि

ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñām aṇi
/*ṣapūrva-han-dhṛtarājñām* 6/3 = *ṣakāraḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*); *ṣapūrvaś ca han ca dhṛtarājā ca* = *ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*;
aṇi 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
ṣakārapūrvo yo' n hano dhṛtarājñaś ca tasyākāralopo bhavati aṇi parataḥ
The *a* of *an* occurring after *ṣ* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, and the *a* of *an* of *han* and *dhṛtarājan* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aukṣṇaḥ 'offspring of Ukṣaṇ'
tākṣṇaḥ 'offspring of Takṣan'
bhrauṇaghnaḥ 'he who killed a fetus'
dhārttarājñaḥ 'offspring of Dhṛtarājan'

1. Note that the 'as is' (*prakṛtibhāva*) 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* + *aṆ*→*aukṣṇa* and *takṣan* + *aṆ*→*tākṣṇa*, where *ṣ* occurs before *an*. Note that the base which is used in deriving *bhrauṇaghna* with *aṆ* (3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) is *bhrūṇahan*, a compound termed *upapada* paraphrased as *bhrūṇaṃ hatavān* 'killed a fetus'. Affix *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhṛṇa* . . .) which occurs after *bhrūṇahan* is deleted as usual.

Our final form *bhrauṇaghna* is derived with initial *vṛddhi*, *a*-deletion and *h*→*gh* (*kutva*; 7.4.54 *ho hanter . . .*). Deriving *dhārtarājña*, from *dhṛtarājan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, involves *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). That is, in addition to initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a*.

2. This *a*-deletion is constrained by conditions of *ṣapūrva*, etc., so that, elsewhere, *an* could be retained (6.4.67 *an*). That is, deletion of *a* or *ṭi*, i.e., *an*, is blocked. Thus, we get *sāmanaḥ* and *vāmanaḥ* with no deletion of *a*. That this deletion applies to specified *bha* only when *aṆ* follows is also important. Consider *tākṣaṇyaḥ* where this deletion is not allowed because *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo yaḥ*) follows. A retention of *an* in this case is in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

6.4.136 विभाषा ङिश्योः

vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *ṅi-śyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *allopo' naḥ* #134)
ṅau parataḥ śīśabde ca ano vibhāṣā akāralopo bhavati
The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Ṅi* and *Śī* follow.

EXAMPLES:

rājñi 'locative singular of *rājan* 'king''
rājani 'ibidem'
sāmni 'locative singular of *sāman* 'chant''
sāmani 'ibidem'
sāmnī 'nominative/accusative neuter dual of *sāman*'
sāmanī 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *a*, provided *Ṅi* and *Śī* follow. Recall that *Śī* here refers to a replacement of *Jas* (7.1.17 *jasaś śī*) and *auṄ* (*au* and *auṬ*; 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*). Thus, we get *rājan* + *Ṅi* = *rājñi*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*). We will get *rājani* if the optional deletion of *a* is not applied. Similar deletion is seen in deriving *sāman* + *Ṅi* = *sāmni*, or else, *sāmani*. Now consider *sāmnī* and *sāmanī*, where the nominative accusative dual endings *au* and *auṬ*, when occurring after a neuter, are replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*).

6.4.137 न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्

na saṃyogād vamantāt
/na ϕ *saṃyogāt* 5/1 *vamantāt* 5/1 = *vaś ca maś ca* = *vamau* (*itar. dv.*);
vamāv ante yasya (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopo' naḥ* #134)
vakāramakārāntāt saṃyogād 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:

parvaṇā 'instrumental singular of *parvan* 'junction, section''
parvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'
atharvaṇā 'instrumental singular of *atharvan* 'fire-priest''
atharvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). It blocks *a*-deletion when *an* occurs after a conjunct formed with *v* or *m* as its final. Thus, we get *parvan* + *Ṭā*→*parvaṇā*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*). An example where *m* forms the final of a conjunct is *carmaṇā* 'instrumental singular' of *carman* 'skin, hide'.

2. The condition of *saṃyogāt* 'after a conjunct consonant' is imposed so that *a*-deletion cannot be blocked in *pratidivan* + *Ṭā*→*pratidiv*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *Ṭā* = *pratidīvnā* 'instrumental singular' of *pratidivan* 'sun'. Incidentally, the penultimate *i* of *pratidivn* + *ā* is replaced with *ī* (8.2.77 *hali ca*). That the conjunct must end in *v* or *m* is also important. Thus, consider *takṣṇā* and *takṣṇe* where, because of an absence of *v* and *m*, deletion of *a* cannot be blocked.

3. The word *antāt* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, *v* and *m* are used as qualifiers to *saṃyoga*, and consequently, the sense of *antāt* could have been available via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*'. That is, a specification with *vamaḥ* should have been enough.

6.4.138 **अचः**

acaḥ
/*acaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopaḥ* #134)
'*acaḥ*' *ity ayam añcatir luptanakāro gṛhyate, tadantasya bhasya akārasya lopo bhavati*
The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhīcaḥ 'accusative plural of *dadhīc* 'he who loves yogurt''
dadhīcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
dadhīce 'dative singular . . .'
madhūcaḥ 'accusative plural of *madhūc* 'he who loves honey''
madhūcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
madhūce 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *a*-deletion to a *bha* which ends in *ac*. Commentators explain that this *ac* refers to verbal root *añc*. Our rule has specified *añc* 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 *yasyeti 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 ईत्

uda īt
/udaḥ 5/1 *īt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *acaḥ* #138)
uda uttarasya ac īkārādeśo bhavati
The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after the preverb *ud* is replaced with *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

udīcaḥ 'accusative plural of *udīc* 'north-bound''
udīcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
udīce 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule replaces the *a* of *ac* with *ī*, provided *ac* occurs after the preverb *ud*. Consider *udīc* + (*Ś*)*as* = *udīcaḥ*, where *ud* is a preverb and *udīc* is an *upapada* compound with *KvIN* introduced after *añc*. 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 *ādeḥ parasya*.

6.4.140 आतो धातोः

āto dhātoḥ
/ātaḥ 6/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)
ākārāntasya dhātor 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:

kīlālapaḥ 'accusative plural of *kīlālapā* 'protector of honey''
kīlālapā 'instrumental singular . . .'
kīlālape 'dative singular . . .'
śubhaṃyaḥ 'accusative plural of *śubhaṃyā* 'auspiciously inclined''
śubhaṃyā 'instrumental singular . . .'
śubhaṃye '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 *kīlālapā* and *śubhaṃyā* are *upapada* compounds with affix *vIC* (3.2.74 *āto manin . . .*). Affix *vIC* is, as usual, deleted. Thus, *kīlālap*(*ā*→ϕ) + *as* = *kīlālapaḥ*, *klālap*(*ā*→ϕ) + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *kīlālapā* and *kīlālap*(*ā*→ϕ) + (*Ṅ*) *e* = *kīlālape*, etc.

3. It is because of the twin condition of *ātaḥ* and *dhātoḥ* that *niyā* 'instrumental singular of *nī* 'lead(er)' and *niye* 'dative singular'; and *khatvāḥ* 'accusastive plural' of *khaṭvā* 'cot' and *mālāḥ* 'accusative plural' of *mālā* 'garland' 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., *ātaḥ*, enables *ā*-deletion also where a root is not used. This is how *ā*-deletion of *ktvā* and *śnā*, in the wording of rules 7.1.37 *ktvo lyap* and 3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ . . .*, can be justified.

6.4.141 मन्त्रेस्वाङ्यादेरात्मनः

mantreṣv āṅy āder ātmanaḥ
/*mantreṣu* 7/1 *āṅi* 7/1 *ādeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)
mantreṣv āṅi parata ātmana āder lopo bhavati
The initial *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātman*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* in the usage of the *mantra* when *āṄ*, i.e., *Ṭā*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanā 'instrumental singular of *ātman* 'self, soul' '

1. Note that *āṄ* is used for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' by earlier grammarians (*pūrvācāryaiḥ*). Thus, *āṄ* does not refer here to a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The *ādi*, of *ādeḥ* 'of initial', is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Recall that *ātaḥ* is carried, and hence, *ā*-deletion could only apply to initial *ā* of *ātman*.

3. The condition of *mantreṣv āṅy* does not permit *ā*-deletion in *ātmanā* of the classical usage. It blocks *ā*-deletion also in *ātmanaḥ* of the *mantra*, where *ātman* occurs before the genitive singular ending *Ṅas*. This, however, does not rule out usage such as *tmanaḥ*, etc., found before non-*Ṭā* endings in the *Ṛgveda*. Thus, consider *tmani* where *ā*-deletion of *ātman* is seen before *Ṅī* 'locative singular'.

6.4.142 ति विंशतेर्डिति

ti viṃśater ḍiti
/*ti* (6/1 deleted) *viṃśateḥ* 6/1 *ḍiti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)

bhasya viṃśates tiśabdasya ḍiti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati
The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely of *viṃśati*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

viṃśakaḥ = *vimśatyā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty . . .'
viśaṃ śatam 'one hundred twenty'
ekaviṃśaḥ 'twenty-one'

1. This rule offers *ti*-deletion to a *bha* constituted by *viṃśati*, provided an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get *viṃśa*(*ti*→ϕ) + *ḌvuN*→*viṃśa* + (*ḌvuN*→*aka*) = *viṃśa* + *aka*. An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* produces *viṃś*(*a* + *a*→*a*)*ka*, paraphrased as *viṃśatyā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty'. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *viṃśa* from *viṃśati* + *ḌaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya prae ḍaṭ*).

The condition of a following affix marked with *Ḍ* is imposed so that *ṭi*-deletion does not apply where an affix is marked otherwise. Consider *viṃśati* + *Ṭā* = *viṃśatyā* 'instrumental singular of *viṃśati*' where *Ṭā* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*.

6.4.143 टेः

ṭeḥ
ṭeḥ 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ḍiti* #142)
ṭisaṃjñakasya ḍiti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati
The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* 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'
upasarajaḥ 'born near a pond'
mandurajaḥ 'born in a stable'
triṃśakaḥ = *triṃśatā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a thirty'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) to a *bha* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Consider *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān*, where affix *ḌmatUP* (4.2.87 *kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatUP*) follows *kumuda*, *naḍa* and *vetasa*. The *m* of *kumud*(*a*→ϕ) + *mat* and *naḍ* (*a*→ϕ) + *mat* is replaced with *v* after *ṭi*-deletion. The *m* of *vetas*(*a*→ϕ) + *mat* is replaced with *v* by 5.4.111 *jhayaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *upasarajaḥ* and *mandurajaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. Similar *ṭi*-deletion applies in deriving

triṃśaka from *triṃś*(*at*→ϕ) + (*ḌvuN*→*aka*) = *triṃśaka*. Note that, at the strength of affixal *Ḍ* as an *it*, even a non-*bha* can go through deletion of its *ṭi* (*Kāś*: *anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāṭ ṭilopo bhavati*).

6.4.144 नस्तद्धिते

nas taddhite
/*naḥ* 6/1 *taddhite* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143)
nakārāntasya bhasya ṭer lopo bhavati taddhite parataḥ
The *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

āgniśarmiḥ 'offspring of Agniśarman'
auḍilomiḥ 'offspring of Uḍuloman'

1. The *ṭi* of a *bha* which ends in *n* is also deleted when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, consider (*a*→*ā*)*gniśarm*(*an*→ϕ) + *iÑ* = *āgniśarmi* 'son of Agniśarman' and (*u*→*au*)*ḍulom* (*an*→ϕ) + *iÑ*= *auḍulomni* 'son of Uḍuloman', where *iÑ* is introduced with the signification of *apatya* 'offsrping' (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*).

2. The condition of *nānta* 'ending in *n*' is imposed so that *ṭi*-deletion does not apply elsehwere. Consider *satvataḥ apatyam* = *sātvataḥ* where a *taddhita* affix, i.e., *aṆ*, follows. But *satvat* does not end in *n*. The condition of *taddhite* similarly blocks *ṭi*-deletion, elsewhere. Thus, consider *śarmaṇā* and *śarmaṇe* where the following affixes, i.e., *Ṭā* and *Ṅe*, 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 *ṭi*-deletion of a *bha*: *sabrahmacārin, pīṭhasarpin, kalāpin, kuthumin, taitalin, lāṅgalin, śilālin, śikhaṇḍin, sūkarasadman*, and *suparvan*.
Note that rule 6.4.164 *inaṇy anapatye* 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 *aśman* 'rock' should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *āśmaḥ*, as against *āśmanaḥ*.

(*iii*) A derivate of *carman* 'hide', when denoting *kośa* 'sheath', should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *cārmaḥ kośaḥ*.

(*iv*) Deletion of *ṭi* is also recommended for a derivate of *śvan* 'dog' when *saṃkoca* 'contraction' is denoted. Thus, *śauvaḥ*, as against *śauvanam*.

(*v*) Indeclinables, when *sāyamprātika*, etc., are to be derived, should also go through *ṭi*-deletion.

Thus, *sāyamprātaḥ bhavaḥ* = *sāyamprātikaḥ* 'that which occurs at dusk and dawn'.

6.4.145 अह्नोष्टखोरेव

ahnoṣ ṭakhor eva
/ahnaḥ 6/1 *ṭakhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *eva* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143 *taddhite* 144)
'*ahan*' *ity etasya ṭakhor eva paraṣ ṭilopo 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:

dvyaḥ = *dve ahanī samāhṛte* 'a period of two days'
tryahaḥ 'a period of three days'
dvyahīnaḥ = *dve ahanī adhiṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'he who was hired for two days, etc.'
tryahīnaḥ 'he who was . . . for three days'
ahīnaḥ = *ahnāṃ samūhaḥ 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 *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* under the appendix of 2.1.24 *dviguś ca*. Deriving *dvyahīna* with affix *kha* (5.1.87 *rātryahaḥ . . .*) with a replacement in *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ . . .*) and *ṭi*-deletion of *bha* is easy. Deriving *ahīna* from *ahan* + *kha* should not present any difficulty.

2. It is stated that *eva* is used here for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). 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 *ātmādhvānau khe* will also become vacuous if it offers retention of *an* of *ātman* '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 ओर्गुणः

or guṇaḥ
/oḥ 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)
uvarṇāntasya bhasya guṇo bhavati taddhite parataḥ

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

bābhravyaḥ 'descendant of Babhru'
māṇḍavyaḥ 'descendant of Maṇḍu'
śaṅkavyaṃ dāru 'wood fit for making a ritual peg'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'beneficial for cotton'
kamaṇḍalavyā mṛttikā 'lump of clay fit for making a kamaṇḍalu'
paraśavyam ayaḥ 'iron fit for making an axe'
aupagavaḥ 'descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ '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 *bābhravya* and *māṇḍavya* from *babhru* + *yaÑ* (4.1.106 *madhubabhruvor . . .*) and *maṇḍu* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), 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, *śaṅkavya*, *picavya*, *kamaṇḍalavya* and *śaṅkavya* are derivates of *yaT* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*). Refer to derivational details of *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*.

2. Why use the technical term (*saṃjñā*) *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 (*saṃjñā*) *guṇa* indicates that 'an operation specified with a technical term is non-obligatory' (*anitya*; *Kāś*: *saṃjñāpūrvako vidhir anityaḥ*; cf. *PŚ* (94)). One derives *svāyambhuvaḥ* to indicate this. We derive *svayambhū*, parallel to *svayaṃ bhavati* 'he who comes about by himself' with affix *KvIP*. Affix *aÑ* is then introduced with the denotatum of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his', i.e., *svayambhuvaḥ idam*, where *uvAÑ*, and no *guṇa*, comes as a replacement for *ū*.

6.4.147 ढे लोपोऽकद्रवाः

ḍhe lopo' kadrvāḥ
/ḍhe 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *akadrvāḥ* 6/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144 *oḥ* #146)
ḍhe parata uvarṇāntasya bhasyākadrvā lopo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is, with the exception of *kadrū*, deleted by means of *LOPA* when the *taddhita* affix *ḍha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kāmaṇḍaleyaḥ 'offspring of Kamaṇḍalu'

śaitabāheyaḥ 'offspring of Śitabāhu'
jāmbeyaḥ 'offspring of Jambu'
mādrabāheyaḥ 'offspring of Madrabāhu'

1. This rule offers deletion of a *bha* which ends in *u*, provided affix *ḍha* follows. Note that *kadrū* is made an exception to this deletion. Thus, *kadr*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + (*ḍhaK*→*eya*)) = *kādraveya* does not go through deletion. Deriving *kāmaṇḍaleya, jāmbeya, mādrabāheya* and *śaitibāheya* from *kamaṇḍalu* + *ḍhaÑ, jambu* + *ḍhaÑ, madrabāhu* + *ḍhaÑ* and *śitibāhu* + *ḍhaÑ*, with initial *vṛddhi* and *ḍha*→*eya*, is straightforward.

6.4.148 यस्येति च

yasyeti ca
/*yasya* 6/1 = *iś ca aś ca* = *yam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *īti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *taddhite* #147)
ivarṇāntasyāvarṇāntasya ca bhasya īkāre 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 *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

dākṣī 'female descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣī 'female descendant of Plakṣa'
sakhī 'female friend, companion'
dauleyaḥ 'descendant of Duli'
āttreyaḥ 'descendant of Atri'
kumārī 'girl'
śāṅgaravī '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 *ī*, or 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 *anuvṛtti*. The *ya*←*i* + *a* of this rule refers to *i* and *y*. Since a specification made by means of a sound segment generally involves *tadantavidhi*, *Kāśikā* states '. . . of that which ends in *i* and *u* (*īvarṇāntasyovarṇāntasya ca*)'.

Note that *dākṣī, plākṣī* and *sakhī* illustrate instances where *i* of *dākṣi, plākṣi* and *sakhi* occur before *ī* of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ*; 4.1.52 *sakhy* . . .). Needless to say that *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* are *taddhita*-derivates with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) signifying an offspring (*apatya*). Commentators warn that deriving these forms with *savarṇadīrgha*, as against *i*-deletion, will create problems. For example, we will encounter negation of assignment of the term *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), and *guṇa*, in *atisakhaḥ*, parallel to *atisakhīm atikramya*.

Affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*) is used in deriving *duli* + *ḍhaK*→*dauleya*, *vali* + *ḍhaK*→*vāleya* and *atri* + *ḍhaK*→*ātryeya*. The examples all go through deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*. Refer to derivational details of *kumārī*, *gaurī* and *śārṅgaravī* under the appendix (IV: 764–67) of 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . These illustrate the deletion of *a* before *ī*. Derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), such as *dākṣi*, *plākṣi*, *cauḍi*, *bālāki* and *saumitri*, illustrate instances where *a* is deleted before a *taddhita* affix. Incidentally, the *iÑ* of *bālāki* and *saumitri* is introduced by 4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates deletion of *i* and *a* where *auṄ* gets replaced with *Śī* (7.1.18 *auṇa āpaḥ*; 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Thus, this proposal negates deletion of *a* before *Śī* of *kāṇḍa* + (*au*→*Śī*) and *kuḍya* + (*au*→*Śī*). We derive *kāṇḍe* and *kuḍye* with *a*→*ī*→*e*, instead. We similarly get *saurye* from *saurya* + (*au*→*Śī*). The deletion of *a*, at the end of *saurya* before *ī*, would also have occasioned deletion of *y* (6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastya*. . .). Refer to the appendix (IV: 763–90) for derivational insights on feminine and *taddhita* derivates.

How come *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* are not introduced in deriving *vātsapreya* and *laikhābhreya* from *vatsaprī* + *ḍha* and *lekhābhrū* + *ḍha*, respectively? Deletion of *a* blocks *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order' (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*. . .).

6.4.149 सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः

sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānāṃ ya upadhāyāḥ
/ *sūrya-tiṣya-agastya-matsyānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *yaḥ* 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #147 *īti* #148)
'*sūrya, tiṣya, agastya, matsya*' *ity eteṣāṃ yakārasya upadhāyā bhasya lopo bhavati īti paratas taddhite ca*
The penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tiṣya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

saurī balākā = *sūreyeṇaikadik* 'unidirectional with sun, a crane going in the direction of sun'
taiṣamahaḥ 'a day when moon may be in the constellation Tiṣya'
taiṣī rātriḥ 'a night when moon may be . . .'
āgastī = *agastyasyāpatyam strī*
āgastī 'a female descendant of Agastya'
matsī 'fish'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows, and the *y* is part of *sūrya*, *tiṣya* and *āgastya*. Note that this deletion of *y* will follow after the deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The word *upadhā* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y*. For,

y could not be found before *ī*, or before a *taddhita*, when *a*-deletion is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). This condition of *upadhā* blocks deletion in *matsya* + *caraṬ* + *ṄīP* = *matsyacarī*, a derivate of affix *caraṬ* with the denotation of *bhūtapūrva* 'formerly'.

2. It is stated that *yaḥ* 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 *Ṅī* 'feminine affix' follows. Thus, we get deletion in *matsya* + *ṄīP*→*matsī*, but not in *matsyasya māṃsam* = *mātsyam* 'fish-meat'.

(*ii*) The *y* of *sūrya* and *āgastya* gets deleted only when *cha* and *Ṅī* follow. Thus, we get deletion in *sūrya* + *aṆ* => *saurya* + *ṄīP*→*saurī* and *āgastya* + *ṄīP*→*āgastī*, but not in *sauryam* and *āgastyaḥ*.

(*iii*) The *y* of *tiṣya* and *puṣya* goes through deletion when *aṆ* follows and a constellation is denoted. Thus, we get deletion in *tiṣyeṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* = *taiṣaḥ* and *pauṣaḥ*. Incidentally, *tiṣya* and *puṣya* are synonyms.

(*iv*) The *t* and *k* of *antika* is deleted before affix *tasI*. Thus, *antitaḥ* 'from nearby' of *antito na dūrāt*.

(*v*) The *tika* and *ka* of *antika* is deleted before *tamaP*. Thus, *atiśayena antikaḥ* = *antamaḥ* and *antitamaḥ*.

(*vi*) This deletion of *ka* applies variously (*bahulam*). That is, deletion of *y* is also seen. Thus, we get *antike sīdati* = *antiṣad*.

(*vii*) This deletion of *ka* is also seen after *ya*. Thus, *antike bhavaḥ* = *antiyaḥ*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of many of these examples.

6.4.150 हलस्तद्धितस्य

halas taddhitasya
/halaḥ 5/1 *taddhitasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *īti* #149 *ya upadhāyāḥ* #149)
hala uttarasya taddhitayakārasya upadhāyā īti 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 *ī* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī 'female descendant of Garga'
vātsī 'female descendant of Vatsa'

1. Refer to derivational details of *gārgī* and *vātsī* under the appendix of rule 4.1.16 *yañaś ca*. Note that the *a* at the end of *gārgya* and *vātsya* is deleted. This deleted *a* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*) in

applying *y*-deletion. This is how *y* qualifies for its status as penultimate (*upadhā*).

2. This deletion of *y* does not apply in (*kārikā* + (*ḍhaK→eya*)) + *ṄīP* = *kārikeya* + *ī*, since *y* does not occur after a consonant. It also does not apply in *vaidyasya patnī* = *vaidya* + *ṄīP* = *vaidyī*, since *y* is not part of a *taddhita* affix.

3. Why is *taddhita* specified in this rule when it could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti* from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*? This *anuvṛtti* is suspended. Our next rule should not have used *taddhite* again if the *anuvṛtti* was valid (*PM*: *uttarasūtre punas taddhitagrahaṇāt*).

6.4.151 आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽनाति

āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti
/,*āpatyasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *taddhite* 7/1 *anāti* 7/1 = *na āt* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *yaḥ* #148 *halaḥ* #150)
apatyayakārasya hala uttarasya taddhite anakārādau yalopo bhavati
A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* 'off-spring' of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgakam = *gargāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a gathering of the descendants of Garga'
vātsakam '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 *apatya*, provided a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows. Consider *gārgakam* and *vātsakam* which derive from *gārgya* + (*vuÑ→aka*) and *vātsya* + (*vuÑ→aka*). Affix *vuÑ* is here introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrīr* . . .). The *yaÑ* of *gārgya* and *vātsya* denotes an *apatya*, 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* + *vuÑ* = *kāmpilyaka* and *sāṅkāśya* + *vuÑ* = *sāṅkāśyaka*, where *kāmpilya* and *sāṅkāśya* are derivates of *Ṇya* (4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭha* . . .), a *taddhita* affix not used with the signification of *apatya*. Incidentally, affix *vuÑ* (4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād* . . .) here denotes the sense of *tatra jātaḥ* 'born there'. Now consider *gārgyāyaṇa* and *vātsyāyana*, where *y*-deletion cannot apply since the following affix begins with *ā* (*āyana←phaK*; 2.4.64 *yañayoś ca*). That this deletion cannot apply where *y* does not occur after a consonant is illustrated by *kārikeyasyāpatyam* = (*kārikeya* + *iÑ*) + *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* + *ṬyaṆ*) + *ṄīP* (6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*), even when an *apatya* is not denoted. Recall that *ÑyaṆ* 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 *ī*, follow' (*āpatyasyaivānākārādau taddhite īti ca*). This interpretation will block *y*-deletion in *saumī iṣṭiḥ*. 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 ākhyātety āpatyānāpatyayor dvayor api pūrveṇa īti lopo vidhīyata iti saumī iṣṭir ity atrāpi yalopaḥ siddhyaty atas taddhitagrahaṇam*).

6.4.152 क्यच्व्योश्च

kyacvyoś ca
/kya-cvyoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya*#1 *bhasya*#129 *lopaḥ*#147 *yaḥ*#148 *halaḥ*#150 *āpatyasya*#151)
'*kya, cvi*' *ity etayoś ca parata āpatyayakārasya 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:

vātsīyati '. . . wishes a *vātsya* for his son'
gārgīyati '. . . wishes a *gārgya* for his son'
gārgāyate 'he acts as if he was a Gārgya'
vātsāyate 'he acts as if he was a Vātsya'
vātsībhūtaḥ 'he who was not a Vātsya became one'
gārgībhūtaḥ '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 ārambhaḥ*). A specification with *Kya* includes references to *KyaC* and *KyaṄ* both. Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ* . . . and 3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*. Note here that *vātsyīyati* and *gārgyīyati* are derivates of *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is introduced after derivates of *KyaC*, i.e., *gārgīya* and *vātsyīya*. Thus, *gārgya* + *KyaC* and *vātsya* + *KyaC* yield *gārg*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ya* and *vāts*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ya*. The *a* which follows *y* is then replaced with *ī* (7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). The *a* of derivates of *KyaṄ*, i.e., *vātsāyate* and *gārgāyate*, is similarly replaced with *ā* (7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayoḥ*). A similar *a* of *gārgībhūtaḥ* and *vātsībhūtaḥ* is replaced with *ī* (7.4.22 *asya cvau*) 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, *sāṅkāśyate* and *sāṅkāśyabhūtaḥ* do not go through deletion of their *y*. The condition of *halaḥ* is also applicable. We thus do not get this deletion in *kārikeyīyati* and *kārikeyībhūtaḥ*.

6.4.153 बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक्

bilvakādibhyaś chasya luk
/bilvakādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *bilvaka ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *chasya* 6/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)
bilvakādibhya uttarasya chasya bhasya taddhite parato lug bhavati
The *cha* which, of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, occurs after *bilvaka*, etc., is deleted by means of *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

bilvakīyāḥ = *bilvā yasyāṃ santi*; *tasyāṃ bhavaḥ* = *bailvakāḥ* '. . . found in a Bilva grove'
veṇukīyāḥ = *vaiṇukāḥ* '. . . found in a bamboo forest'
vetrakīyāḥ = *vaitrakāḥ* 'found in a cane forest'
tṛṇakīyāḥ = *tārṇakāḥ* 'found in straw'

1. Note that the *bilvakādi* nominals are read as part of the *naḍādi* group. Rule 4.2.91 *naḍādīnāṃ 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*→*īya*)) + *ṬāP* = *bilvakīyā*; *bilvakīyā* + *aṆ* = *bailvakīyaḥ*, paraphrased as *bilvāḥ yasyāṃ santi* = *bilvakīyā*; *tasyāṃ bhavāḥ* = *bailvakāḥ*. Other examples are similarly derived. Affix *aṆ* which forms the condition of deletion of *cha* is introduced by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

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 *sanniyogaśiṣṭānāṃ anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy apāyaḥ* '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 *gaṇasūtra* informs that *kruñcā* also goes through shortening of its final *ā* when *kruñcakīyāḥ* and *krauñcakāḥ* are derived.

6.4.154 तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु

tur iṣṭhemeyassu
/tuḥ 6/1 *iṣṭha-imā-īyassu* 7/3 = *iṣṭhaś ca imā ca īyāṃś ca* = *iṣṭhemeyāṃsaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147)
'*iṣṭhan, imanic, īyasun*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ tṛśabdasya lopo bhavati*

The *tṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

āsutiṃ kariṣṭhaḥ 'most active among those pressing out'
vijayiṣṭhaḥ 'most winning'
vahiṣṭhaḥ 'most carrying'
dohīyasī dhenuḥ 'most milk-giving cow'

1. Note that *tṛ* specifies both *tṛN* and *tṛC*. This rule is formed separately from the following to accomplish total deletion of *tṛ*. A deletion of final *ṛ* 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 *guṇa* of *ji* in *vijayiṣṭhaḥ*, etc. It is for this reason that this deletion is accomplished by *LOPA*. Why is *imanIC* stated in this rule when this affix (cf. 5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ . . .*; 5.1.123 *varṇadṛḍhādibhyḥ ṣyañ ca*) is not found after *tṛ*? This specification is made here for use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Refer to derivational details of *kariṣṭhaḥ* and *dohīyas* under notes of 5.3.59 *tuś chandasi*.

Note that *h*→*ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) becomes suspended in applying deletion of *tṛ*. Thus, *tṛ*-deletion applies first. Consequently, *ḍhatva* does not apply. For, the conditions under which *ḍhatva* applies are removed. We thus get *vah* + *iṣṭhaN* = *vahiṣṭha*. A similar suspension of *gh* (*ghatva*) is also found in deriving *dohīyas* from (*dogdhṛ* + *IyasUN*) + *ṄīP*. Deriving *vijayiṣṭha* from *vijitṛ* + *iṣṭhaN* involves *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements.

6.4.155 टेः

ṭeḥ
/*ṭeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
bhasya ṭer lopo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ
The *ṭi* part of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

paṭiṣṭhaḥ 'most clever'
paṭimā 'cleverness'
paṭīyān 'clever'
laghiṣṭhaḥ 'shortest, smallest'
laghimā 'shortness, smallness'
laghīyān 'shortest, smallest'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of a *bha* which occurs

before *īṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN*. Refer to derivational details under notes of 5.3.58 *ajādi guṇavacanād eva*. Derivates of *īyasUN* will involve augment *nUM* and operations similar to *citavān* (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*).

2. It is proposed that a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), when followed by *Ṇi*, goes through operations similar to when the same is followed by *iṣṭha* (*vt*: *ṇāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya*). Commentators enumerate following operations as part of *iṣṭhavadbhāva*:

(*i*) *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation', as is stated before the *tasilādi* affixes (6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ*) which also include *īṣṭhaN*.

Consider *enim ācaṣṭe = etayati*, where *ṆiC* is introduced by a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e., *tat karoti tadācaṣṭe* (ad 7.4.97 *ī ca gaṇaḥ*). Thus, *etad* + *ṄīP* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt . . .*) produces *enī*, through *ṭi*-deletion and a replacement of *t* with *n*. One can now derive *etayati*, paraphrased as *enīṁ karoti enīm ācaṣṭe*, form (*enī* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where, as a result of removal of *ṄīP* (*puṃvadbhāva*) and *sUP*-deletion, we get *e*(*n*→*t*) + *i* = *eti* + *LAṬ*. Recall here that the *t* of *etad* was replaced with *n* concurrently with the introduction of *ṄīP*. A removal of *ṄīP* will thus also cause removal of *n* as a replacement of *t*. It should be remembered here that *puṃvadbhāva* also applies before *ṆiC*, as it does before *iṣṭhaN*. Similar derivational details can also be offered for *śyetayati* and *haritayati*, parallel to *śyenīṁ karoti śyenīm ācaṣṭe* = *śyetayati* and *hariṇīṁ karoti hariṇīm ācaṣṭe* = *haritayati*.

(*ii*) *rabhāva* 'change of *ṛ* to *r*', as is stated by 6.4.161 *ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ*.

Consider (*pṛthu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*→*prathayati*, (*mṛdu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* = *mradayati*, etc., where *ṛ* is replaced with *r* and *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements produce desired derivates.

(*iii*) *ṭi*-deletion, as is stated by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*.

Consider *paṭayati* and *laghayati* from (*paṭu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*laghu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, parallel to (*paṭum*/ *laghum*) *ācaṣṭe*, through *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and replacements of *e* with *ay* (*ayādeśa*).

(*iv*) *yaṇādilopa* 'deletion of that which occurs subsequent to a preceding sound denoted by *yaṆ*', as is stated by 6.4.156 *sthūladūra . . .*, whereby an *iK* which precedes *yaṆ* also goes through a replacement in *guṇa*.

Consider *sthūlam ācaṣṭe* = *sthavayati* from (*sthūla* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *la* is deleted and its preceding *ū* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. Thus, *sth*(*u*→*o*) (*la*→ϕ) + *i* = *sth*(*o*→*av*) + *i*) + *LAṬ* = *sthavayati*, again with *guṇa* 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 *sragviṇam ācaṣṭe = srajayati* from (*sragvin* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LIṬ*, 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*) + *LIṬ*, where deletion of *matUP* and *ṭi*-deletion apply.

(*vi*) *kan* as a replacement of *yuvan* and *alpa*, as is stated by 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoḥ. . . .*

Consider *yuvānam ācaṣṭe = kanayati*, from (*yuvan* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *yuvan* gets optionally replaced with *kan*. Recall that our next rule will produce *yavayati*, through *yaṇādilopa*, *guṇa* and *av*-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* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *pra* replaces *priya* and augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artihrīvlī . . .*) is introduced subsequently. Thus, (*priya*→*pra*) + *ṆiC*→*pr*(*a*→*ā*) + *pUK* + *ṆiC*; *prāpi* + *LAṬ* = *prāpayati.*

6.4.156 स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः

sthūladūrayuvahrasvakṣiprakṣudrāṇāṃ yaṇādiparaṃ pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ
/ sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrāṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *yaṇādiparam* 1/1 *yaṇ ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *yaṇādi ca adaś ca parañ ca* (*karmadhāraya*); *pūrvasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
'*sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, kṣudra*' *ity eteṣāṃ yaṇādiparaṃ lupyate iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ, 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 *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

sthaviṣṭhaḥ 'fatest of all'
sthavīyān 'ibidem'
daviṣṭhaḥ 'farthest'
davīyān 'ibidem'
yaviṣṭhaḥ 'youngest, smallest'
yavīyān 'ibidem'
hrasiṣṭhaḥ 'smallest'
hrasīyān 'ibidem'
hrasimā 'smallness'

kṣepiṣṭhaḥ 'fastest'
kṣepīyān 'ibidem'
kṣepimā 'fastness'
kṣodiṣṭhaḥ 'smallest'
kṣodīyān 'ibidem'
ksodimā 'smallness'

1. This rule allows deletion of a *yaṆ*-initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, with the additional provision that the *iK* vowel which precedes *yaṆ* 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*, *īyasUN* and *imanIC*. Thus we get deletion of *la/ra* followed by *guṇa* of their preceding vowels. Consider *sthūla* + *iṣṭhaN*→*sth*(*ū*→*o*) + (*la*→ϕ) + *iṣṭhaN*)) = *sth*(*o*→*av*) + *iṣṭhaN* = *sthaviṣṭha*, etc. Similar applications are seen in deriving *daviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭha*, etc. Examples of *īyasUN* are *sthavīyas* + *sU*→*sthavīyān*, *davīyān*, etc., where *nUM* is introduced before *sU*.

Note that examples of *imanIC* are offered only for *hrasva*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra* because 5.1.121 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ* . . . introduces *imanIC* under the condition of a listing under the *pṛthvādi* group of nominals. Others fall outside this listing, and hence, do not qualify for this affix. The condition of a following *yaṇādi* is imposed so that a preceding *yaṇādi* 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 (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, subsequent to deletion of *yaṇādi*, *guṇa* could only apply to what precedes.

6.4.157 **प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवरबंहिगर्वर्षिंत्रप्द्राघिवृन्दाः**

priyasthirasphirorubahulaguruvṛddhatṛpradīrghavṛndārakāṇāṃ prasthasphavarbaṃhigarvarṣitrapdrāghivṛndāḥ
/priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-vṛddha-tṛpra-dīrgha-vṛndārakāṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pra-stha-spha-var-baṃhi-gar-varṣi-trap-drāghi-vṛndāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
'*priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha, tṛpra, dīrgha, vṛndāraka*' *ity eteṣāṃ* '*pra, stha, spha, var, baṃhi, gar, varṣi, trap, drāghi, vṛnda*' *ity ete yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśā bhavanti iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha, tṛpra, dīrgha* and *vṛndāraka* is replaced with *pra, stha, spha, var, baṃhi, gar, varṣi, trap, drāghi*, and *vṛnda*, respectively, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

preṣṭhaḥ/ premā/ preyān 'dearest'
stheṣṭhaḥ/ stheyān 'most stable'
spheṣṭhaḥ/ spheyān 'more than any'
variṣṭhaḥ/ varimā/ varīyān 'best of all'
baṃhiṣṭhaḥ/ baṃhimā/ baṃhīyān 'more than any'
gariṣṭhaḥ/ garimā/ garīyān 'biggest'
variṣiṣṭhaḥ/ varṣīyān 'oldest'
trapiṣṭhaḥ/ trapīyān 'fastest'
drāghiṣṭhaḥ/ drāghīyān 'fastest among all'
drāghimā 'fastness'
vṛndiṣṭhaḥ/ vṛndīyān '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 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*). Thus, *priya→pra, sthira→stha, 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 *pṛthvādi* group (5.1.121 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ . . .*) of nominals. The *i* of *baṃhi* gets deleted by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*. This application of 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* 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 guṇaḥ* to yield *pr(a + i→e)ṣṭha = preṣṭha*.

6.4.158 बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः

bahor lopo bhū ca bahoḥ
/ bahoḥ 5/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *bhū* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *bahoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
bahor uttareṣām iṣṭhemeyasāṃ lopo bhavati tasya ca bahoḥ sthane 'bhū' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* 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, imaniC* and *īyasUN*, 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 (*pañcamī*). Consequently, deletion applies only to the initial sound segment of affixes (1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*). The second specification with *bahu*

is interpreted as made with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' to specify what gets replaced (*sthānī*). A replacement in place of affixes may, otherwise, have applied. That is, if this second specification was not made. Since *bhū* consists of more than one sound segment, it will replace *bahu* in toto (1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*).

6.4.159 इष्ठस्य यिट् च

iṣṭhasya yiṭ ca
/iṣṭhasya 6/1 *yiṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *bahoḥ bhū ca bahoḥ* #158)
bahor uttarasya iṣṭhasya yiḍ āgamo bhavati bahoś ca bhūr ādeśo bhavati
Affix *iṣṭhaN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, is also introduced with augment *yiṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

bhūyiṣṭhaḥ 'most'

1. This rule introduces augment *yIṬ* to *iṣṭha* when the same occurs after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* is replaced with *bhū*. Thus we get (*bahu→bhū*) + *yIṬ* + *iṣṭha* = *bhūyiṣṭha*. The *I* of *yIṬ* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtham*). Augment *yIṬ* is here introduced as an exception to deletion (*Kāś*: *lopāpavādo yiḍāgamaḥ*). Deletion cannot apply since *yIṬ* intervenes between *jya* and *īyasUN*.

6.4.160 ज्यादादीयसः

jyād ād īyasaḥ
/jyāt 5/1 *āt* 1/1 *īyasaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
jyād uttarasya īyasa ākāra ādeśo bhavati
A long *ā* comes in place of the initial sound segment of *īyasUN* when it follows an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *jya*.

EXAMPLES:

jyāyān 'biggest of them all'

1. The *ī* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* when the affix occurs after *jya*. Thus, we get *praśasya* + *īyasUN→*(*praśasya→jya*) + *īyasUN→jya* + (*ī→ā*)*yas*(*UN*) = *jya* + *āyas* = *jyāyas*. Deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU* with *nUM*, etc., is not difficult.

Note that *ī* would have been deleted if the *anuvṛtti* of *LOPA* was valid here. The *yas* after *jya* would have then caused lengthening of its final *a*. We could have then gotten the form *jyāyān*. Commentators state that this operational procedure is canceled in view of the *paribhāṣā* (93): *aṅgavṛtte punar vṛttāv avidhiḥ* 'an operation applied in this *aṅga* section cancels another equally applicable operation of this section'. Incidentally, *jya* is introduced as a replacement of *praśasya* by 5.3.61 *jya ca*.

6.4.161 र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः

ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ
/raḥ 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *halādeḥ* 6/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *laghoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
raśabda ādeśo bhavati ṛkārasya halāder laghor iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ
A *ṛ* which forms a light (*laghu*) syllable with a preceding consonant in an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *ra* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

prathiṣṭhaḥ/ prathimā/ prathīyān 'widest of them all'
mradiṣṭhaḥ/ mradimā/ mradīyān 'softest of them all'

1. This rule introduces *ra* as a replacement for a *laghu* 'short' (1.4.110 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) *ṛ* of a *bha*, where *ṛ* occurs after a consonant, and *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow *bha*. Thus we get *p(ṛ→ra)thu* + *iṣṭhaN→prath(u→ϕ)* = *prathiṣṭha*, through *ṭi*-deletion. Similar rules apply in deriving *mradiṣṭha*. Examples of *imanIC* and *īyasUN* can be similarly derived as *prathiman*, *prathīyas*; and *mradiman*, *mradīyas*. Refer to further derivational details in notes of 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt*.

2. Why is *ra* allowed only for *ṛ*. So that this replacement does not apply in *paṭiṣṭhaḥ*, *paṭimā* and *paṭīyān*. Why do we have the condition of *halādi* 'consonant-initial'? So that we do not get replacements in *ṛjuṣṭhaḥ*, *ṛjimā* and *ṛjīyān*, where *ṛju* 'straight, upright' does not begin with a consonant. Why do we have this condition of *laghoḥ*? So that *ra* does not replace a short *ṛ* used before a conjunct. Thus, we cannot get this replacement in *kṛṣṇiṣṭhaḥ* 'balckest', *kṛṣṇīyān* and *kṛṣṇimā*, etc., where *ṛ* will be termed *guru* (1.4.111 *saṃyoge guru*) before the conjunct *ṣṇ*.

3. A proposal is made to enumerate the derivates of this rule as follows:

pṛthuṃ mṛduṃ bhṛśaṃ caiva kṛśaṃ ca dṛḍham eva ca/
paripūrvaṃ vṛḍhaṃ caiva ṣaḍ etān ravidhau smaret//
'*pṛthu* 'wide', *mṛdu* 'soft', *bhṛśa* 'plenty', *kṛśa* 'thin' and *dṛḍha* 'solid', plus *vṛḍha* '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 विभाषर्जोश्छन्दसि

vihāṣarjoś chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *ṛjoḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154 *ra ṛtaḥ* #161)

'ṛju' ity etasya ṛtaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā repha ādeśo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataś chandasi visaye
A replacement *r* optionally comes in place of the *ṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ṛju* 'straight, upright' in the Vedic, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

rajiṣṭhamanu neṣi pánthām
tvamṛjiṣṭhaḥ

1. This rule allows *ra* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *ṛju*, in the Vedic, optionally, when *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. Thus, we get (*ṛ*→*ra*)*j*(*u*→ϕ) + *iṣṭhaN* = *raj*˙*ṣṭha*. This optional *ra*, if not accepted, will yield *ṛjiṣṭha*. Examples for other affixes are not available.

6.4.163 प्रकृत्यैकाच्

prakṛtyaikāc
/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *ekāc* 1/1 = *eko' c yasmin* (*bv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
ekāj yad bhasaṃjñakaṃ tadiṣṭhemeyessu parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which contains one vowel (*ekāc*) remains as is when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

srajiṣṭhaḥ 'possessing most garlands'
srajīyān 'ibidem'
srajayati 'third singular causal active present of *sraji*'
sruciṣṭhaḥ 'possessing most ritual ladles'
srucīyān 'ibidem'
srucayati 'third singular causal active present of *sruci*'

1. This rule allows a monosyllabic *bha* to retain its original form when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. That is, *ṭi*-deletion does not apply. Thus, consider *srajiṣṭhaḥ*, *srajīyān* and *srajayati*, where *sraj* is retained against *ṭi*-deletion. Note in this connection that *ṭi*-deletion becomes applicable twice. Thus, we first get *sraj* + *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .) where *vinI* gets deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*). We do not get any *ṭi*-deletion. This deletion is again blocked here in *sraj* + (*iṣṭhaN*/*īyasUN*). The first *ṭi*-deletion can be blocked by *LUK*-deletion of *vinI*. This retention of the original *bha* is thus needed to block the second *ṭi*-deletion. A similar *ṭi*-deletion in favor of retention of original form is also blocked in derivates of *matUP*. Thus, *srug asti yasya* = *srugvat*; *srug*(*vat*→ϕ) + *iṣṭha* = *sruciṣṭha*. Similar applications are found in deriving *srucīyān* with *īyasUN* and *srajayati* and *srucayati* with *ṆiC*, through *iṣṭhavadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *iṣṭha* follows'.

2. The condition of *ekāc* is imposed so that *vasiṣṭhaḥ* 'most wealthy' and *vasīyān* could be blocked from retaining their original form *vasu* 'wealth', a non-monosyllabic.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *rājanya* 'kṣatriya, royalty', *manuṣya* 'human' and *yuvan* 'young' to retain their original form when *aka* follows. Thus, *rājanya* + (*vuÑ→aka*) = *rājanyaka* 'group of kings' and *manuṣya* + (*vuÑ→aka*) = *mānuṣyaka* 'group of men', where *vuÑ* is introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭror . . .*). The *ya* of these derivates is saved from deletion (6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*) by this rule. The *ṭi*-deletion of *yuvan*, available from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*, is blocked in deriving *yauvanikā* with *vuÑ* (5.1.133 *dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*)

6.4.164 इनण्यनपत्ये

in aṇy anapatye
/in 1/1 *aṇi* 7/1 *anapatye* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163)
innantam anapatyārthe' ṇi parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows with the denotatum of something other than an *apatya* 'offspring'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃkūṭinam 'burning all around'
sāṃrāviṇam 'noisy all around'
sāṃmārjinam 'cleansing all around'
srāgviṇam 'belonging to one who possesses garlands'

1. Refer to derivational details of *sāṅkūṭinam* and *sāṃrāviṇam* (cf. appendix of 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva inuṇ*). A derivate of *mṛj*, i.e., *sāṃmārjinam*, is similarly derived. This rule allows a *bha* which ends in *in* to retain its original form, provided affix *aṆ* follows with no denotation of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *aṆ* of the first three examples denotes *bhāva*. The *aṆ* of *sragviṇa idam* = *srāgviṇam* denotes the sense of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). This rule goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

2. This retention of the original (*prakṛtibhāva*) is not available to *daṇḍināṃ samūhaḥ* = *dāṇḍam* 'a group of shaft-carrying ascetics', where affix *aÑ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*) follows. It is also not available to *medhāvinaḥ apatyam* = *maidhāvaḥ* 'son of an intelligent person', because *aṆ* follows *medhāvin* with the signification of *apatya*.

6.4.165 गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च

gāthividathikeśigaṇipaṇinaś ca
/gāthi-vidathi-keśi-gaṇi-paṇinaḥ 1/3 = *gāthī ca vidathī ca keśī ca gaṇī ca paṇī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *in aṇi* #164)
'*gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin, paṇin*' *ity ete cāṇi prakṛtyā bhavanti*
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in*, namely *gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin* and *paṇin*, remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gāthinaḥ = *gāthino' patyam* 'descendant of Gāthin'
vaidathinaḥ 'descendant of Vidathin'
kaiśinaḥ 'descendant of Keśin'
gāṇinaḥ 'descendant of Gaṇin'
pāṇinaḥ 'descendant of Paṇin'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of the original' even when affix *aṆ* with the denotation of *apatya* follows. These derivates all include *inI* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. This *prakṛtibhāva* was available to them from the previous rule. This rule allows it before *aṆ* signifying an *apatya*. *Nyāsa* states that this rule is formulated for derivates denoting *apatya* (*Nyāsa*: *apatyārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*). The *aṆ* of these derivates is introduced by 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.166 संयोगादिश्च

saṃyogādiś ca
/*samyogādiḥ* 1/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163 *in aṇi* #164)
saṃyogādiś ca in aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* and begins with a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), also remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śāṅkhinaḥ = *śaṅkhino' patyam* 'descendant of Śaṅkhin'
mādriṇaḥ 'descendant of Madrin'
vājriṇaḥ 'descendant of Varjin'

1. This provision of *prakṛtibhāva*, once again, is made before *aṆ*, used with the signification of *apatya*. This provision also goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.167 अन्

an
/*an* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164)
annantam aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati apatye cānapatye ca
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* remains as is, when affix *aṆ*,

irrespective of whether used with the signification of an *apatya*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sāmanaḥ 'relating to a sāman hymn'
vaimanaḥ 'relating to Viman'
sautvanaḥ 'descendant of Sutvan'
jaitvanaḥ 'descendant of Jitvan'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* of a *bha* which ends in *an*, irrespective of whether *aṆ* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *sāmanaḥ* and *vaimanaḥ* have their *aṆ* with the signification of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The *aṆ* of *sautvanaḥ* denotes an *apatya*. Incidentally, *sutvan* is derived with affix *ṄvanIP* (3.2.103 *suyajo . . .*), introduced after *ṣuÑ*. Augment *tUK* is also introduced subsequently. Similar applications are followed in deriving *jitvan* of *jaitvanaḥ* from *ji* + *KvanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.168 **ये चाभावकर्मणोः**

ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ
/ye 7/1 *ca* ϕ *abhāvakarmaṇoḥ* = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmaṇī, na bhāvakarmaṇī* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *an* #167)
yakārādau ca taddhite' bhāvakarmaṇor arthayor an prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* also remains as is when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, and denoting something other than *bhāva* and *karman*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sāmanyaḥ = *sāmasu sādhuḥ* 'skilled in the sāman hymns'
vemanyaḥ '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 *karman* 'object'. The examples both involve *yaT* with the signification of 'skilled in that' (4.4.98 *tatra sādhuḥ*). A similar *yaT*, for reasons of denoting *bhāva* and *karman* (5.1.128 *patyantāt . . .*), blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *rājan* + *yaT* = *rājyam* 'rule, kingdom', paraphrased as *rājñaḥ bhāvaḥ karma vā*. We thus get *ṭi*-deletion as a result.

6.4.169 **आत्माध्वानौ खे**

ātmādhvānau khe
/ātmādhvānau 1/2 = *ātmā ca adhvā ca* (*itar. dv.*); *khe* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163)
'*ātman, adhvan*' *ity etau khe paratah prakṛtyā bhavatah*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātmā* 'self' and *adhvā* 'road', remains as is when affix *kha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanīnah = *ātmane hitah* 'beneficial for one's self'
adhvanīnah = *adhvānam alaṃgāmī* 'traveler'

1. This rule again offers *prakṛtibhāva* against *ṭi*-deletion. The *bha* bases are *ātman* and *adhvan* when occurring before affix *kha*. Thus, *ātmanīnah* and *adhvanīnah*, where *kha*→*īna* is introduced by 5.1.9 *ātmanviśva* . . . and 5.2.16 *adhvano yatkhau*, respectively.

2. A condition of *khe* is imposed so that *pratyātmam* and *prādhvam* could not avail *prakṛtibhāva*. These derivates involve *ṬaC* (5.4.108 *anaś ca*) and *aC* (5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanah*), respectively. These examples both go through *ṭi*-deletion.

6.4.170 न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः

na mapūrvo' patye' varmaṇah
/*na* ϕ *mapūrvah* 1/1 = *makāraḥ pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*); *apatye* 7/1 *avarmaṇah* 1/1 *na varmā* = *avarmā* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164 *an* #167)
mapūrvo' n avarmaṇo' ṇi parato' patye' rthe na prakṛtyā bhavati
The final *an* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after *m*, but is not that of *varman*, remains as is when affix *aṆ*, used with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring' follows.

EXAMPLES:

sauṣāmah = *suṣāmṇo' patyam* 'descendant of Suṣāman'
cāndrasāmah '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 *aṆ* signifying an *apatya*. Thus, *suṣāmnah apatyam* = *sauṣāmah* and *candrasāmnah apatyam* = *cāndrasāmah*. The *an* of *suṣāman* and *candrasāman* thus goes through *ṭi*-deletion.

2. Note that *prakṛtibhāva* can not be blocked in *sutvanah apatyam* = *sautvanah* since *m* does not occur before *an* of *sutvan*. A similar *prakṛtibhāva* can also not be blocked in deriving *carmaṇā parivṛtah rathah* = *cārmaṇah*, since *aṆ* does not denote an *apatya*. An exclusion of *varman* is made to allow *prakṛtibhāva*, against *ṭi*-deletion, in *cakravarmaṇah apatyam* = *cākravarmaṇah* 'son of Cakravarman'.

3. A proposal is made to make this negation optional in case of *hitanāman*. Thus, *hitanāmnaḥ apatyam = haitanāmaḥ* 'descendant of Hitanāman', with *ṭi*-deletion and *haitanāmanaḥ* with no *ṭi*-deletion.

6.4.171 ब्राह्मोऽजातौ

brāhmo' jātau
/brāhmaḥ 1/1 *ajātau* 7/1 = *na jātiḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasyām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *apatye* #170)
'*brāhmaḥ*' *ity etad apatyādhikāre' pi sāmarthyād apatyād anyatrāṇi ṭer lopārthaṃ nipātyate*
The word *brāhma* is derived, though not with the signification of *jāti* 'class', via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmo garbhaḥ 'the golden embryo'
brāhmam astram 'weapon of the Brahman'
brāhmaṃ haviḥ 'oblation to Brahman'

1. This *sūtra* is read as two, via split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, (*i*) *brāhmaḥ*: '*ṭi*-deletion, against *prakṛtibhāva*, applies in deriving *brāhma*, when *aṆ* with no signification of *apatya* follows. We get examples such as *brāhmaḥ garbhaḥ, brāhmam astram* and *brāhmaṃ haviḥ*, where *aṆ* is 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* '*ṭi*-deletion does not apply on *brahman* when an offspring as a class is denoted'. Note that *ajātau* is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. That is, *naÑ* is construed with the verb: *jātau na bhavati* 'does not apply when class is denoted'. Thus, we get *brahmaṇo' patyam = brāhmaṇaḥ*. The *Bālamanoramā* (ad *SK*) reads this *sūtra* as *brāhmo jātau*, where it carries the *anuvṛtti* of *naÑ*. the *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* retain *a* (*naÑ*) as part of the rule, but interpret it as the negation of *prasajya* type.

6.4.172 कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये

kārmas tācchīlye
/kārmaḥ 1/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'*kārmaḥ*' *iti tācchīlye ṭilopo nipātyate*
The word *kārma* is derived via *nipātana* when the singification is *tacchīlya* 'characteristic habit of . . .'.

EXAMPLES:

kārmaḥ = karmaśīlaḥ 'diligent worker'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in deriving *kārma* from *karman* + *Ṇa*,

where *Ṇa* is introduced by 4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'.

2. What is the need for this rule when 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* can itself accomplish *ṭi*-deletion. This rule is formulated for indicating (*jñāpaka*) that 'operations similar to *aṆ* also apply when *Ṇa* follows with the signification of *tācchīlya*'. This is how affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*) could be introduced in deriving *caurī* and *tāpas*. A condition of *tācchīlya* is necessary so that *ṭi*-deletion could not take place in *karmaṇa idam* = *kārmaṇaḥ* 'something relating to one who works diligently', where *aṆ* denotes *sambandha* 'relation'.

6.4.173 औक्षमनपत्ये

aukṣam anapatye
/ aukṣam 1/1 *anapatye* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'*aukṣam*' *ity anapatye ṇi ṭilopo nipātyate*
The word *aukṣam* 'beneficial for a bull' is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is something other than *apatya* 'offspring'.

EXAMPLES:

aukṣam padam 'footprint of a bull'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion in *aukṣam*, derived from (*ukṣan* + *aṆ*) + *sU* where *aṆ* does not denote an *apatya* 'descendant'. This *aṆ* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his'. Note that this *ṭi*-deletion will be blocked where *aṆ* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *ukṣṇaḥ apatyam* = *aukṣṇaḥ* 'a descendant of Ukṣan', where *a* is deleted, instead, by 6.4.135 *ṣapūrvahan. . . .*

6.4.174 दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्माशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवैक्ष्वाक-मैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि

dāṇḍināyanahāstināyanātharvaṇikajaihmāśineyavāsināyanibhrauṇahatyadhaivatyasāravaikṣvākamaitreyahiraṇmayāni
/ dāṇḍināyana-hāstināyana-ātharvaṇika-jaihmāśineya-vāsināyani-bhrauṇahatya-dhaivatya-sārava-aikṣvāka-maitreya-hiraṇmayāni 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)
'*dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāśineya, vāsināyani, bhrauṇahatya, dhaivatya, sārava, aikṣvāka, maitreya, hiraṇmaya*' *ity etāni nipātyante*
The words *dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāśineya, vāsināyani, bhrauṇahatya, dhaivatya, sārava, aikṣvāka, maitreya*, and *hiraṇmaya* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍināyanaḥ 'descendant of Daṇḍin'
hāstināyanaḥ 'descendant of Hastin'

ātharvaṇikaḥ 'he who studies *atharvan*'
jaihmāśineyaḥ 'descendant of Jihmāśin'
vāsināyaniḥ 'a descendant of Vāsin'
bhrauṇahatyaḥ 'killing of a fetus'
dhaivatyaḥ 'intelligence'
sāravam 'water of river Sarayū'
aikṣvākaḥ 'descendant of Ikṣvāku; born in the country of the Ikṣvākus'
maitreyaḥ 'descendant of Mitrayu'
hiraṇmayaḥ 'golden; gold ornament'

1. This rule derives *dāḍināyana*, etc., via *nipātana*. Thus, *daṇḍin* and *hastin* are read in the *naḍādi* class of nominals (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*), whereby affix *phaK* is introduced. This rule blocks *ṭi*-deletion of *naḍin* before *phaK→āyana*. Some claim that *phaK* is also introduced via *nipātana*. Thus, *dāṇḍināyana* 'an offspring of Daṇḍin' and *hāstināyana* 'an offspring of Hastin'. The next nominal, i.e., *atharvan*, is read in the *vasantādi* class (4.2.63 *vasantādibhyaḥ ṭhak*) where *ṭi*-deletion of *atharvan* is blocked before *ṭhaK→ika*. Thus, *atharvāṇam adhīte* = *ātharvaṇikaḥ*. The next *jihmāśin* is read in the *śubhrādi* class (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), where affix *ḍhaK* is introduced. The *ṭi*-deletion of *jihmāśin* is blocked, again before *ḍhaK→eya*. Thus, *jihmāśino' patyam = jaihmāśineyaḥ*. Affix *phiÑ* gets similarly introduced after *vāsin*, where *ṭi*-deletion is also blocked before (*ph→āyan*) *i*. Thus, we get *vāsināyaniḥ*. The next two bases, i.e., *bhrūṇahan* and *dhīvan*, get *t* as a replacement for their final *n*, again via *nipātana*. But the affix is *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.123 *varaḍṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ*). Thus, *bhrauṇaha*(*n→t*) + *ṢyaÑ→bhrauahatya*, similarly, *dhaivatya*. Now consider *sarayvāṃ bhavam* = *sārvam* where, given *sarayū* + *aṆ* (4.3.35 *tatra bhavaḥ*), we get *yū* replaced with *va*, again via *nipātana*. We similarly get *ikṣvākuṣu janapadeṣu bhavaḥ* = *aikṣvākaḥ*, where given *ikṣvāku* + *aṆ* (4.1.166 *janapada-śabdād . . .*), *ū* is deleted via *nipātana*. The *yu* of *mitrayu* + *ḍhaÑ* (4.1.136 *gṛṣṭyādibhyaś ca*) is also deleted, via *nipātana*, against the *iy*-replacement of 7.3.2 *kekayamitrayu . . .*). Thus, we get *mitra*(*yu→ϕ*) + (*ḍha→eya*)→ *m*(*i→ai*) *tr*(*a→ϕ*) + *eya* = *maitreya*. Finally, *ya* of *hiraṇya* is also deleted, via *nipātana*, before *mayaṬ* to produce *hiraṇmaya*.

6.4.175 ऋत्व्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानि च्छन्दसि

ṛtvyavāstvyavāstvamādhvīhiraṇyayāni cchandasi
/ṛtvya-vāstvya-vāstva-mādhvī-hiraṇyayāni 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/ '*ṛtvya, vāstvya, vāstva, mādhvī, hiraṇya*' *ity etāni nipātyante chandasi viṣaye*
The words *ṛtvya, vāstvya, vāstva, mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya* are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

ṛtvyam 'found in seasons'

vāstvyam 'found in things'
vāstvaḥ 'ibidem'
mādhvīḥ '. . . honey . . .'
hiraṇyayam 'gold ornament'

1. This rule derives *ṛtvya, vāstvya, mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya,* in the Vedic, via *nipātana.* Given *ṛtu* + *yaT* (4.4.110 *bhave chandasi*) and *vastu* + *aṆ,* the *u* is replaced with *v,* via *nipātana.* A replacement in *yaṆ* is also allowed in deriving *mādhvī* from (*madhu* + *aṆ*) + *ṄīP.* The *ma* of *mayaṬ* is also, via *nipātana,* deleted after *hiraṇyaya.* Thus, *hiraṇya* + (*ma*→ϕ)*yaṬ* = *hiraṇyaya.*

Appendix

Derivational History of Examples

6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*
6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*
6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*
6.1.5 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
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 (*ekāc*) root. The second offers iteration to the second (*dvitīyasya*) 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 *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterared string. Obviously, these term assignments are intended to facilitate operations relative to the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta* (hereafter *abhyāsa-kārya*).

Consider (1) *jajāgāra* 'third singular active perfect' of *jāgṛ* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. This *tiP* is further replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām . . .*). The *jāg* of *jāgṛ* + *a* then goes through iteration (*dvitva*; 6.1.9 *ekāco dve . . .*). We thus get *jāg* + *jāgṛ* + *a*, where the first *jāg* is termed *abhyāsa* and *jāgjāg* is together termed *abhyasta*. Rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* states that an *abhyāsa* is allowed to retain only that unit which is formed with its first consonant. We thus get *jā*(*g*→ϕ) + *jāgṛ* + *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*) + *jāgṛ* + *a* = *jajāgṛ* + *a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti* now applies to replace the *ṛ* of *jajāgṛ* with *ār*, its *vṛddhi*-counterpart. We thus get *jajāg*(*ṛ*→*ār*) + *a* = *jajāgāra*. We similarly derive *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*papāca* (III:781), *iṆ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*iyāya* and *ṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *āra*. Note here that *pac* of *pac* + *a* will itself (as against its *pa*) go through iteration at the strength of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* (*Paribh.*(31): *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*). One resorts to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* because *pac, i* and *ṛ* are *ekāc* by themselves. That is, they are not part of a whole where 6.1.1 *ekāco 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 *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is invoked here. The *vṛddhi* of the second *a* of *pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *p*(*a*→*ā*)*c* + *a* = *papāca* will be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Note that *iyāya* follows similar derivational details. We get *iṆ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*i* + *a* where the *i* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*)

and subsequent replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). 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* (*rūpātideśa*)' with reference to 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci*. The *i* of the *abhyāsa* then receives *iyAṄ* (6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*) as a replacement especially in view of 1.1.52 *ṅic ca*. We thus get (*i→iyAṄ*) + *āy* + *a→*(2) *iyāya*. Our last example derives from *ṛ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*) where we get (*ṛ→ār*) + *a* through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*). The extensional provision of form in cosnonance with 1.1.52 *dvirvacane' aci* also applies here in iteration. The result is: *ṛ* + *ār* + *a*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* produces (*ṛ→ar*) + *ār* + *a* which, through the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, 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 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus (*ā* + *ā→ā*) *ra→*(3) *āra*. Derivates of this rule illustate three operations relative to *abhyāsakārya*, namely *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66), *hrasva* (7.4.59) and replacement of *ṛ* in *at* (7.4.66) and *dīrgha* (7.4.70).

6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*

(4) *undidiṣati*
(5) *aḍḍiḍiṣati*
(6) *arcicișati*

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) *undidiṣati*, (5) *aḍḍiḍiṣati* and (6) *arcicișati* involve roots derived with affix *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ . . .*). Affix *LAṬ*, subsequently replaced with *tiP*, is then introduced after verbal roots *arciṣa* 'to wish to respect', *undiṣa* 'to wish to be wet' and *aḍḍiṣa*. The *r*, *n* and *d* of the clusters cannot get iterated. This negation facilitates iteration of *ciṣ*, *diṣ*, and *ḍiṣ* only. The desired derivates are produced through application of 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣaḥ*

6.1.6 *jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*

(7) *jakṣati*
(8) *jāgrati*
(9) *daridrati*
(10) *cakāśati*
(11) *śāsati*
(12) *dīdhyate*
(13) *vevyáte*
(14) *dīdhyat*

Example (7) *jakṣati* derives from *jakṣ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *ŚaP* gets deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). Rule 6.1.6 identifies *jakṣa* as *abhyasta*, whereby 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* replaces *jh* of *jhi* with *at*. We thus get *jakṣ* + (*jh→at*) *i* = *jakṣati*. We similarly get *jāgṛ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi→jāgṛ* + *ati*, where *ṛ* of *jāgṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ*. We thus get *jāg*(*ṛ→r*) + *ati* = (8) *jāgrati*. Deriving (9) *daridrati*, from *daridrā* + *ŚaP* + *jhi→ati*, involves the application of 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. This rule deletes the *ā* of *daridrā*. We thus get *daridr* (*ā→ϕ*) + *ati* = *daridrati*. We similarly get (10) *cakāsati* from *cakāsṛ* + *ŚaP* + (*jhi→ati*)

and (11) *śāsati* from *śās* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*. Now consider (12) *dīdhyate* which derives from *dīdhī* + *ŚaP* + *jha*→*dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*jh*→*at*) *a*)) = *dīdhī* + *ata*, where *ŚaP* goes through deletion and the third plural middle ending *jha* gets replaced with *at*. An application of *yaṆ* (6.4.82 *er anekāco . . .*), followed by *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām . . .*), produces *dīdhyat*(*a*→*e*) = *dīdhyate*.

Recall that 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ* 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 *ī* of *dīdhī*, an *abhyasta*, is marked with *udātta* in view of the application of 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*. We get *dīdhyáte* through interaction of rules 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* and 8.4.66 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*. Of course, also with reference to 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttaḥ*. We see that assignment of the term *abhyasta* has accentual consequences. This same also applies to (13) *vevyáte*.

Now consider (14) *dīdhyat* which is a derivate of *dīdhīṄ* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*)→*dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *at*. Note that *ŚatṚ* could not be introduced after *dīdhīṄ* since it is an *ātmanepada* verbal root. It should accept *ŚānaC*, especially in view of 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*. This introduction of *ŚatṚ* is then to be accepted as the expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. Note that augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidcām sarvanāma . . .*) cannot be introduced to *dīdhyat* + *sU*, especially since 7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ* will negate it. This blocking is also one of the consequences of assigning the term *abhyasta*.

6.1.7 *tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya*
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya*

(15) *tūtujānaḥ*
(16) *māmahānaḥ*
(17) *dādhānaḥ*
(18) *mīmāya*
(19) *tūtāva*
(20) *dādhāra*

We derive (15) *tūtujānaḥ* and *māmahānaḥ* from *tuj* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*)→*tūtujāna* + *sU* and *mah* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*)→*māmahāna* + *sU*. Note that *KānaC* optionally replaces *LIṬ* (3.2.106 *liṭ kānaj vā*) when the denotation is past and the usage is Vedic. Iteration of *tuj* (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor . . .*) is facilitated via *sthānivadbhāva* by treating *KānaC* as if it was *LIṬ*. An application of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66) followed by a long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* by this rule produces *tūtujāna*. Similar rules apply in deriving (16) *māmahānaḥ*. Deriving (17) *dādhānaḥ* from *dhā* + *dhā* + (*LIṬ*→*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) *mīmāya*, a *LIṬ*-derivate of *ḌUmiÑ*, where *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*) is replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadāṇām . . .*). This yields *mi* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) which, through applications of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) produces *m*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* = *māy* + *a*. We now apply iteration with reference to 1.1.58

dvirvacane' ci 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 (*rūpātideśa*) of verbal root *mi*. Our present rule will now apply to yield *m*(*i*→*ī*) + *māy* + *a* = *mīmāya*, through a long replacement (*dīrgha*). Note that a replacement in *ā* for *i* of *mi* (6.1.49 *mīnātinotidūnāṃ . . .*) is not accomplished. Such exceptions are not hard to find in the Vedic. Similar rules also apply in deriving (19) *tūtāva* from *tu* + *ṆaL*→*tū* + *tau* + *a* and (20) *dādhāra* from *dhṛÑ* + *ṆaL*.

6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*
6.1.10 *ślau*
6.1.22 *caṅi*

(21) *pipakṣati*
(22) *pipatiṣati*
(23) *aririṣati*
(24) *pāpacyate*
(25) *yāyajyate*
(26) *aṭāṭyate*
(27) *arāryate*
(28) *prorṇonūyate*
(29) *āśiśat*
(30) *ārdidat*
(31) *apīpacat*
(32) *apīpaṭhat*

Deriving (21) *pipakṣati* from (*pac* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* requires iteration, *halādiśeṣa*, *i*-replacement of the *a* of *pa* (*abhyāsa*) and no introduction of *iṬ*. Recall that *pac* is a root which does not allow augment *iṬ* (*aniṭ*). We get a derived verbal root with the form of *pipakṣa* where *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *s* of *saN* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) as has been shown in many examples. We similarly derive (22) *pipatiṣati* and (23) *aririṣati* from (*pat* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* and (*ṛ* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* where the derived roots are *patiṣa* and *ariṣa*. Both these roots receive augment *iṬ*. The *ṛ* of *ariṣa* also goes through *guṇa* followed by *r*. Their affixal *s* is also replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). Operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa* finally produce desired derivates.

Note that (24) *pāpacyate* derives from *pāpacya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) where *LAṬ* is replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* affix *ta*. Verbal root *pāpacya* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) is derived from *pac* + *yaṄ* 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 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*). Of course, this applies subsequent to the application of *halādiśeṣa*. Thus, *pa*(*c*→ϕ)*pac* + *ya*→*p*(*a*→*ā*)*pac* + *ya*→*pāpacya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*)→*pāpacya* + (*Ś*)*a*(*P*) + *ta*→*pāpacya* + *a* + *t*(*a*→*e*) = *pāpacy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) + *te* = *pāpacyate*. The last two steps illustrate *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*) and *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), respectively. Similar steps apply in deriving (25) *yāyajyate*.

Deriving (26) *aṭāṭyate* with (*aṭ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ* requires the help of a *vārttika* to introduce *yaṄ* (*vt. sūtrimūtryaṭyartya . . .*; ad 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .*). Iteration applies here with reference to the second syllable formed with *ṭya* of *aṭ* + *ya*(*Ṅ*). Here again we find the application of *halādiḥ śeṣaḥ* (7.4.60; *aṭ*(*y*→ϕ)*a* + *ṭya*)) and *dīrgho' kitaḥ* (7.4.83; *aṭ*(*a*→*ā*) + *ṭya* = *aṭāṭya*)). Deriving *aṭāṭyate*

from *aṭāṭya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ→ta*) follows patterns similar to (24) *pāpacyate.*

Note that (27) *arāryate* also derives with a root ending in *yaṄ*, via the same *vārttika* proposal. The *ṛ* of the root goes through *guṇa* of 7.4.30 *yaṅi ca.* Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . . could not apply since 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* blocks it on account of *Ṅ* of *yaṄ* as an *it.* Iteration applies to *ar* + *ya* but with an exception made again by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* . . .; *vt: yakāraparasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavati*). We thus get *a* + *rya* + *rya.* An application of *halādiśeṣa* and *dīrgho' kitaḥ* (7.4.83) then produces: *ar*(*y→ϕ*) *a* + *rya→ar*(*a→ā*) + *rya* = *arārya.* Deriving *arāryate* from *arārya* + *ŚaP* + *ta* is easy.

Now consider (28) *prorṇonūyate* where affix *yaṄ* is also introduced after verbal root *pra-ūrṇuÑ* under the same *vārttika* proposal. We find that the focus of iteration is *nu.* The *r* of *ūrṇu* must here be excluded because of 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ.* . . . The *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *nu*, followed by *dīrgha* of the second *nū* is then accomplished by rules 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* and 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ*, respectively. We thus get: *pra-ūrṇu* + *ya*(*Ṅ*)*→pra-ūr* + *nu* + *nu* + *ya→pra-ūr* + *n*(*u→o*) + *nu* + *ya→pra-ūr* + *no* + *n*(*u→ū*) + *ya* = *prornonūya.* Follow derivational steps of earlier examples for deriving *prorṇonūyate* from *prorṇonūya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ→ta*). Note, however, that the *n* of *prorno* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .).

Note that (29) *āśiśat* and (30) *ārdidat* follow derivational patterns of *āṭiṭat*, in the appendix of rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* (II:416–17). The *r* of *ārd* in *ārdidat* will be excluded from iteration on account of 6.1.3 *nandrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ.* The next two derivates are causative. Thus, (31) *apīpacat* and (32) *apīpaṭhat* derive from (*pac* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ* and (*paṭh* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, respectively. We first get *pāci* from *pac* + *ṆiC* through applications of 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ.* Thus, *pac* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*)*→p*(*ā*)*c* + *i* = *pāci.* Applications of rules such as 3.2.110 *luṅ*, 3.1.43 *cli luṅi* and 3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ* . . . produce *pāci* + *LUṄ→pāci* + *CLI* + *LUṄ→pāci* + (*CLI→CaṄ*) + *LUṄ→pāci* + (*C*)*a*(*Ṅ*) + *LUṄ.* A replacement in *ti*(*P*) for *LUṄ*, followed by *i*-deletion (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and introduction of augment *aṬ* (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ* . . .), yields *pāci* + *a* + (*LUṄ→ti*(*P*)*→pāci* + *a* + *t*(*i→ϕ*)*→a*(*Ṭ*) + *pāci* + *a* + *t.* Deletion of *ṆiC* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*)) and shortening of the penultimate (*upadhā-hrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅi* . . .) then follow. We thus get *a* + *pāc*(*i→ϕ*) + *a* + *t→a* + *p*(*ā→a*)*c* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *pac* + *a* + *t.* Rule 6.1.11 *caṅi* then applies for iteration to yield *a* + *pac* + *paç* + *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 *sany ataḥ*) 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 *dīrgho lāghoḥ*). We thus get *a* + *p*(*a→i*) + *pac* + *a* + *t→a* + *p*(*i→ī*) + *pac* + *a* + *t→apīpacat.* Similar rules apply in deriving (32) *apīpaṭhat.*

6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .

(33) *uktaḥ* (34) *uktavān*

(35) *suptaḥ*
(36) *suptavān*
(37) *iṣṭaḥ*
(38) *iṣṭavān*
(39) *uptaḥ*
(40) *uptavān*
(41) *ūḍhaḥ*
(42) *ūḍhavān*
(43) *uṣitaḥ*
(44) *uṣitavān*
(45) *śūnaḥ*
(46) *śūnavān*

This section of rules deals with *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*), a replacement in *yaṆ* (*y/v/r/l*) for vowles denoted by *iK* (*i/u/ṛ/ḷ*). The term *samprasāraṇa* refers to both: (*i*) the process whereby a sound denoted by *yaṆ* 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 *yaṆ*. 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 derivates of the (*niṣṭhā*) suffixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (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) *uktaḥ*, 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 *coḥ kuḥ* then replaces the *c* with *k* (*kutva*). This same also applies to *vac* + *KtavatU*→*uk* + *tavat* = *uktavat* + *sU* = (35) *uktavān*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kniti ca* for additional derivational details (II: 336–37), especially for applications on derivates with *tavat*. Deriving *ūḍhaḥ* from (*vah* + *Kta*) + *sU*, requires *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *hoḍhaḥ*) 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 *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Rule 8.3.15 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then requires the preceding *ḍh* to be deleted. The short *u* which precedes is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 *ḍhralop pūrvasya* . . .). We thus get: (*v*→*u*) *a* + *h* + (*K*) *ta*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *h* + *ta*→*u*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *ta*→*uḍh* + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a*→*u*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍh* + *a*→(*u*→*ū*) + *ḍh* + *a*→*ūḍha* + *sU*→(40) *ūḍhaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vah* + *KtavatU*→*ūḍh* + (*K*) *tavat*(*U*)) + *sU* = (42) *ūḍhavān*. Examples (42) and (43) (*vas* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*uṣitaḥ* and (*vas* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *uṣitavān*, require a *ṣ* to replace *s* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.60 *śāsivasi* . . .). Our last two examples, i.e., (45) (*śvan* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*śūnaḥ* and (46) (*śvan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*→*śūnavān*, require that the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix be replaced with *n* (*niṣṭhā-natva*; 8.2.45 *odiś ca*).

6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . .

(47) *gṛhītaḥ*
(48) *gṛhītavān*
(49) *gṛhṇāti*
(50) *jarīgṛhyate*

(51) *jīnaḥ*
(52) *jināti*
(53) *jejīyate*
(54) *ūyatuḥ*
(55) *ūyuḥ*
(56) *viddhaḥ*
(57) *vṛkṇaḥ*
(58) *vṛkṇavān*
(59) *varīvṛścyate*
(60) *parīpṛcchyate*
(61) *bhṛjjati*
(62) *barībhṛjjyate*

Examples (47) *gṛhītaḥ* derives from (*grah* + *iṬ* + *Kta*) + *sU* where *iṬ* is replaced with its long counterpart (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*). This same also applies to (48) *gṛhītavān*. Our example (49) *gṛhṇāti* is a derivate of *grah* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. An introduction of *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*) and its subsequent treatment as marked with *Ṅ* (*nit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*) produces *grah* + *nā* + *ti*. An application of *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *ṇatva* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ . . .*) then produces *g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *nā* + *ti*→*g*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ṛ*) *h* + *nā* + *ti*→*gṛh* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ā* + *ti* = *gṛhṇāti*. Refer to (25) *pāpacyate* (under 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*) for derivational details of (50) *jarīgṛhyate*. This derivate requires introduction of augment *rīK* (7.4.90 *rīg ṛdupadhasya ca*) to the *abhyāsa*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* then follows under the condition of affix *yaṄ*. We thus get *g*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *grah* + *iṬ* + *ŚaP* + *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 *kuhoś cuḥ*.

Note that (51) *jīnaḥ*, (52) *jināti* and (53) *jejīyate* all are derivates of verbal root *jyā*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *ta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.44 *lvādibhyaḥ*) in *jyā* + *Kta*. Of course, subsequent to the *samprasāraṇa* of *jyā*. The *i* of *ji* + *na* of *jīnaḥ* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Our next examples, *jināti* and *jejīyate*, are derivates of *LAṬ* where the second carries a derived root with affix *yaṄ*. The first derives with the introduction of *Śnā*. Derivational histories of (54) *yūyatuḥ* and (55) *ūyuḥ* are discussed in the appendix (III: 698). Our next example (56) (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*viddhaḥ* illustrates that *v* of the root does not go through *samprasāraṇa* because *y*, another *samprasāraṇa*, follows (6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe . . .*). Thus, we get the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* followed by replacing *t* of *Kta* with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor . . .*). The *dh* of the root is then replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Thus, *v*(*y*→*i*) *dh* + *Kta*→*vidh* + (*t*→*dh*) *a*→*vi*(*dh*→*d*) + *dha* = *viddha* + *sU*→*viddhaḥ*. The next two derivates of *niṣṭhā* illustrate *samprasāraṇa* on *vraśc* of (57) (*vraśc* + *Kta*) + *sU*) and (58) (*vṛśc* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* where *samprasāraṇa* yields *vṛśc* + *ta*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oidtaś ca*). The *s* of the conjunct at the end is deleted (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyog . . .*) and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *n* of *na* of *vṛk* + *na* is then replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Recall here that the *ś* of *vṛśc* is technically *s* which, before *c*, gets replaced with *ś* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Its deletion by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyog . . .* is accomplished with the understanding that it is *s*.

Derivational details of (59) *varīvṛścyate* are similar to many derivates of

yaṄ already discussed. Note that augment *rīK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca*). Since there being no *ṛ* in the *upadhā* 'penultimate position', a *vārttika* proposal is made (ad 7.4.90: *vt*: *rīgṛtvata iti vaktavyam*). Similar rules apply in deriving (60) *parīpṛcchyate*. Recall that augment *tUK* is here introduced by 6.1.71 *che ca*. Examples (61) *bhṛjjati* and (62) *barībhṛjjyate* involve similar operational steps. Note, however, that *s* of *bhrasja* is replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). This *d* is then replaced with *j* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Thus, *bhra*(*s*→*d*→*j*)*j* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→*bh*(*ra*→*ṛ*)*jj* + *a* + *ti* = *bhṛjjati*.

6.1.36 *apaspṛdhethām . . .*

(63) *apaspṛdhethām*
(64) *ānṛcuḥ*
(65) *ānṛhuḥ*
(66) *cicyuṣe*
(67) *tityāja*
(68) *śrātā*
(69) *śritam*
(70) *āśīr*
(71) *āśīrtta*

These, still again, are derivates where both *bāhulaka* and *nipātana* are invoked. Our first example, i.e., (64) *apaspṛdhethām*, derives from *spardh* + *LAṄ*, where *LAṄ* is replaced with the second person dual middle ending *āthām*. Iteration, *samprasāraṇa* 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 *LIṬ* introduced after verbal roots *archA*. These are third personal active plural forms where *LIṬ* is subsequently replaced with *us*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* and deletion of *ā* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa* then follow. Note that lengthening of *a* and augment *nUṬ* are accomplished by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* and 7.4.71 *tasmān nuḍ . . .*, respectively.

Examples (66) *cicyuṣe* and (67) *tityāja* derive from *cyu* + (*LIṬ*→*thās*→*se*) and *tyaj* + (*LIṬ*→*ṆaL*), where iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *y* (in the *abhyāsa*) are major applications. The first also involves a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). The second invovles a *vṛddhi* replacement similar to the preceding *a* of the vocalic sequence. Note also that augment *iṬ* in *cicyuṣe* is also blocked by *nipātana*. Example (68) *śrātā* derives from *śrīÑ* + *Kta* where *śrā* is introduced as a replacement via *nipātana*. Example (69) *śritam* replaces long *ī* of *śrī* by its short counterpart, again via *nipātana*. The last two examples, i.e., (70) *āśīr* and (71) *āśīrtta*, both have *śrīÑ* with the preverb *āṄ*. They both get *śrī* replaced with *śīr*. The first is a derivate of *KvIP* before which *śīr* 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) *didivān*
(73) *didivāṃsau*

(74) *didivāṃsaḥ*
(75) *gaudheraḥ*
(76) *paceran*
(77) *jīradānuḥ*
(78) *āsremāṇam*

Note that (72) *didivān*, (73) *didivāṃsau* 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 *kvasuś ca* (III: 745). Refer to the appendix (II: 418–20) under 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* for derivational details of (75) *gaudheraḥ*, (76) *paceran*, (77) *jīradānuḥ* and (78) *āsremāṇam*.

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt . . .*

(79) *abibhar*
(80) *ajāgar*
(81) *abhinar*
(82) *abhino' tra*

Example (79) derives from *bhṛÑ* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṄ→tiP*), where *ŚaP* goes through deletion (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ . . .*), *bhṛ* goes through iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This yields: *bhṛ* + *bhṛ* + *t*. The *i* of *tiP* is, of course, deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* is followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to produce *bh*(*ṛ→ar*) + *bhṛ* + *t→bha*(*r→ϕ*) + *bhṛ* + *t*. Rule 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it* then introduces *i* to replace *a* of the *abhyāsa*. This gives us *bhi* + *bhṛ* + *t* where *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha . . .*) of *ṛ* and introduction of *aṬ* produces *a*(*Ṭ*) + *bhi* + *bh*(*ṛ→ar*) + *t*. Rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* then applies to replace the *bh* of *bhi* with *b*. Thus, *a* + (*bh→b*) *i* + *bhar* + *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 *guṇa* of *jāgṛ* is accomplished by 7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇ. . . .* The last example, i.e., (81) *abhinar*, derives from *aṬ* + *bhid* + *ŚnaM* + (*LAṄ→siP*). Our present rule deletes the *s* of *siP*. The final *d* of *a* + *bh*(*ŚnaM*) *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 *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*) before *atra* of (82) *abhino' tra*. The *a* of *abhino atra* will then be subjected to the *pūrvarūpa* of 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*.

6.1.75 *dīrghāt*

(83) *apacācchāyate*
(84) *vicācchāyate*

The examples are two derivates of *cho* 'to cut, pierce' in *LAṬ* where the roots *cāchāya* and *vichāya* end in *yaṄ* and are used with the prevers *apa* and *vi*, respectively. Recall that, given *cho* + *yaṄ* (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 *hrasvaḥ*) 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 *abhyāsa* is then replaced with long of 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*. We derive *cāchāya* + (*LAṬ→ta*)→*apa* + *cācchāyate* = (83) *apacācchāyate*, with introduction of *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*) before *ch*. Similar rules apply in deriving (84) *vicācchāyate*.

6.4.55 *ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu*

(85) *gaṇḍayantaḥ*
(86) *maṇḍayantaḥ*
(87) *spṛhayāluḥ*
(88) *gṛhayāluḥ*
(89) *spṛhayāyyaḥ*
(90) *gṛhayāyyaḥ*
(91) *stanayitnuḥ*
(92) *poṣayiṣṇavaḥ*

Refer to derivational details of *kārayāñcakāra* and *hārayāñcakāra* under the appendix of rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi* (III: 717–18). Our first two examples, i.e., (85) *gaṇḍayantaḥ* and (86) *maṇḍayantaḥ*, are derived from (*gaḍI* + *ṆiC*) + *jhaC* and (*maḍI* + *ṆiC*) + *jhaC* where the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* (3.18: *tṛbhūvahibhas . . .*) is replaced with *anta* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). Note that the root is marked with *I* as an *it* (*idit*). Consequently, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. An application of non-deletion of *ṆiC*, followed by a replacement in *ay* of this rule, produces *ga*(*nUM*)*ḍ* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*) + (*jha→ata*)→*ga*(*n→ṇ*)*ḍ* + (*i→ay*) + *ata* = *gaṇḍayata* + *sU→*(84) *gaṇḍayataḥ* and *maḍI* + *ṆiC* + *jhaC→ma*(*n→ṇ*)*ḍayata* = *maṇḍayata* + *sU→*(86) *maṇḍayataḥ*.

Deriving (87) *spṛhayāluḥ* and (88) *gṛhayāluḥ* from (*spṛhi* + *āluC*) + *sU→spṛhayāluḥ*, and (*gṛhi* + *āluC*) + *sU→gṛhayāluḥ*, also involves non-deletion of *ṆiC* and a replacement in *ay*. Note here that *spṛha* and *gṛha* are accepted as roots of the *cur-ādi* class ending in *a* (*ad-anta*). This *a*, at the end of *spṛha* and *gṛha* before *ṆiC*, is subsequently deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Affix *āluC* is introduced by 3.2.158 *spṛhigṛhipati . . .* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. Examples (89) *spṛhayāyyaḥ* and (90) *gṛhayāyyaḥ* are similarly derived with the introduction of affix *āyya* after *spṛhi* and *gṛhi* (*Uṇādi* 3.93: *tanudakṣispṛhi . . .*). Affix *ṆiC* is saved from deletion and *ay* again comes as a replacement. Example (91) *stanayitnuḥ* is derived from (*stana* + *ṆiC*) + *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 *pārayiṣṇavaḥ* under the appendix (III: 754) of 3.2.137 *ṇeś chandasi*. Example (92) *poṣayiṣṇavaḥ* follows applications similar to *pārayiṣṇavaḥ*.

6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu . . .*

(93) *cāyiṣyate*
(94) *ceṣyate*
(95) *acāyiṣyata*
(96) *aceṣyata*
(97) *dāyiṣyate*
(98) *dāsyate*
(99) *adāyiṣyata*
(100) *adāsyata*
(101) *śāmiṣyate*
(102) *śamiṣyate*
(103) *śamayiṣyate*
(104) *aśāmiṣyata*

(105) *aśamiṣyata*
(106) *aśamayiṣyata*
(107) *ghāniṣyate*
(108) *haniṣyate*
(109) *aghāniṣyata*
(110) *ahaniṣyata*
(111) *grāhiṣyate*
(112) *grahīṣyate*
(113) *agrāhiṣyata*
(114) *agrahīṣyata*
(115) *darśiṣyate*
(116) *drakṣyate*
(117) *adarśiṣyata*
(118) *adrakṣyata*
(119) *acāyiṣātām*
(120) *aceṣātām*
(121) *adāyiṣātām*
(122) *adiṣātām*
(123) *aśāmiṣātām*
(124) *aśamiṣātām*
(125) *aśamayiṣātām*
(126) *aghāniṣātām*
(127) *avadhiṣātām*
(128) *ahasātām*
(129) *agrāhiṣātām*
(130) *agrahīṣātām*
(131) *adarśiṣātām*
(132) *adṛkṣātām*
(133) *śāmiṣīṣṭa*
(134) *śamiṣīṣṭa*
(135) *śamayiṣīṣṭa*
(136) *cāyitā*
(137) *cetā*

Refer to derivational details of *kariṣyati* (I: 511–12) and *kāriṣyate* (III: 728) under the appendices of rules 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . . and 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā* . . ., respectively. Derivate (93) *cāyiṣyate* differs from *kariṣyati* in the sense that its *LṚṬ→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 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Of course, *kāriṣyate* is a derivate of *ṆiC* 'causative'. Thus, *ci* + (*LṚṬ→ta*)→*c*(*i→ai*) + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ta→c*(*ai→āy*) + *i* + *sya* + *t*(*a→e*) = *cāyiṣyate*, where we get the application of *ciṇvadbhāva*, *iṬ*, *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*. We will not get *iṬ* if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. Thus, *ci* + *sya* + *t*(*a→e*)→*c*(*i→e*) + *sya* + *te* = (94) *ceṣyate*, with *guṇa* and replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). Derivates of *LṚṄ*, (95) *ci* + (*LṚ→ta*) = *acāyiṣyata* and (96) *aceṣyata*, can be similarly derived, with augment *aṬ* and no replacement in *e* (*etva*) of *ṭi*. Forms such as (97) *dāyiṣyate*, (98) *dāsyate* and (99) *adāyiṣyata*, (100) *adāsyata* are sets of optional middle derivates of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ*, respectively, introduced after *dā*. Note that, in addition to *sya*, we also get augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) when the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. Thus, *dāyiṣyate/adāyiṣyata* and *dāsyate/adāsyata* in each set. Now consider (101) *śami* + (*LṚṬ→ta*) = *śāmiṣyate* and (102) *śamiṣyate* where verbal root *śami* ends in *ṆiC*. This affix is deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* before the optional application of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. It is also because of *ciṇvadbhāva* that 6.4.93 *ciṇṇamulo' nyatarasyām* offers an optional long replacement for the short (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*) penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. We thus get form one (101) *śāmiṣyate*. No optional long replacement will give us form two (102) *śamiṣyate*. No optional *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring augment *iṬ* of 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, and will produce (103) *śamayiṣyate* with *guṇa* and *ay* of *i*. One can similarly derive the three

derivates of *LṚṄ*: (104) *aśāmiṣyata*, (105) *aśamiṣyata* and (106) *aśamayiṣyata*.

Now consider (107) *ghāniṣyate*, (108) *haniṣyate*, and (109) *aghāniṣyata*, (110) *ahaniṣyata*, the two derivational sets of *han* with *sya* in (*LṚṬ→ta*) and (*LṚṄ→ta*), respectively. Derivates of *LṚṬ*, when opting for *ciṇvadbhāva*, will go through a replacement in *gh* for *h* of *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter . . .*). Additionally, we also get a replacement in *vṛddhi*, due mainly to *Ṇ* as an *it* of *ciṆ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*). Derivates of *LṬ* will, additionally, have augment *aṬ*. Thus, *aghāniṣyata* and *ahaniṣyata*. Now consider (111) *grāhiṣyate* and (112) *grahīṣyate* where we get optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, augment *iṬ* and penultimate *vṛddhi* similar to preceding examples. A replacement in *ṣ* for *s* of *sya* produces *grāhiṣyate*. But we also get *grahīṣyate* where *iṬ*, in the absence of the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*, is introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. An absence of *ciṇvadbhāva* and *upadhā-vṛddhi* is here compensated by long replacement for the short of *i* of *iṬ* (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*). Corresponding forms of *LṚṄ*, i.e., (113) *agrahīṣyata* and (114) *agrahīṣyata*, offer nothing new. Examples (115) *darśiṣyate*, (116) *drakṣyate*; and (117) *adarśiṣyata*, (118) *adrakṣyata* illustrate examples of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ* with *sya*, respectively. Option of *ciṇvadbhāva* and *iṬ* offers *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*rapara*). Thus we will get *d(ṛ→ar)ś + iṬ + (s→ṣ)ya + t(a→e)* = *darśiṣyate*. No option of *ciṇvadbhāva* will produce *drakṣyate* with augment *aM* (6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor jhaly am akiti*). The *ś* of *dṛś* will then be replaced with *r* (*yaṆ*). Its *ś* will similarly be replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja . . .*). Rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si* then replaces the *ṣ* with *k*. Finally, 8.3.57 *iṇkoḥ* replaces the *s* of *sya* with *ṣ* to produce: *dṛ + a(M)ś + sya + te→d(ṛ→r) + a(ś→ṣ→k) + sya + te→drak + (s→ṣ)ya + te = drakṣyate*. Forms of *LṚṄ*, (117) *adarśiṣyata* and (118) *adrakṣyata*, will, of course, derive with augment *aṬ*.

Examples (119) *acāyiṣātām* and (120) *aceṣātām* illustrate optional examples of third dual middle (*ātām*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*) of (*LUṄ→ātām*) where *CLI* is replaced with *sIC* and augment *aṬ* is introduced. Thus we get *aṬ + ci(Ṅ) + (CLI→sIC) + (LUṄ→ātām)→aci + s + ātām*, where the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* introduces augment *iṬ* and *i* of *ci* is replaced with *āy* via its *vṛddhi* replacement in *ai*. Thus, *ac(i→ai→āy) + i(Ṭ) + s + ātām = acāy + i + (s→ṣ) + ātām = acāyiṣātām*. We will get *aceṣātām* with a replacement in *guṇa* if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. We will similarly get derivates of *dā* such as (121) *adāyiṣātām* and (122) *adiṣātām*. The first is derived from *dā + (LUṄ→ātām)→aṬ + dā + sIC + ātām→a + dā + iṬ + yUK + s + ātām*. We will get the *ā* of *dā* replaced with *i* (1.2.27 *sthāghvor ic ca*). The *guṇa* of *i* will be negated because of *K* as an *it* status of *sIC*. We will thus get *adiṣātām*.

Examples (123) *aśāmiṣātām*, (124) *aśamiṣātām* (125) *aśamayiṣātām* are derivates of *LUṄ*, introduced after verbal root *śami* ending in *ṆiC*. An optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, optional penultimate lengthening and deletion of *ṆiC* will produce *aśāmiṣātām* and *aśamiṣātām*. No *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring *iṬ* of 7.3.37 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, *guṇa* and replacement in *ay*, thereby pro-

ducing *aśamayiṣātām*. These forms are similar to (104) *aśāmiṣyata*, (105) *aśamiṣyata* and (106) *aśamayiṣyata*. We will similarly get examples of *han* such as (126) *aghāniṣātām*, (127) *avadhiṣātām* and (128) *ahasātām* where the first will go through *kutva*, etc., similar to (109) *aghāniṣyata*. The second and third forms will have optional replacement of *han* with *vadha*. We will thus get *avadhiṣātām* and *ahasātām*. Note that *ahasātām* will have deletion of *n* (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavanati . . .*) because of the *kit* status of *sIC* (1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic*).

Our *LUṄ* derivates of *grah*, i.e., (129) *agrāhiṣātām* and (130) *agrahīṣātām*, will opt for *ciṇvadbhāva* and *vṛddhi* of the penultimate vowel. Example (129) *agrahīṣātām* will have the long *ī*-replacement of 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*. Refer to earlier forms of these verbal roots for particular operations with or without the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*. Examples (133) *śāmiṣīṣṭa*, (134) *śamiṣīṣṭa* and (135) *śamayiṣīṣṭa* illustrate derivates of *sīyUṬ* (cf. II: 436–37). The last two examples, i.e., (136) *cāyitā* and (137) *cetā* are derivates of *tās*.

6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*

(138) *aikṣiṣṭa*
(139) *aihiṣṭa*
(140) *aubjīt*
(141) *aumbhīt*
(142) *aikṣata*
(143) *aihata*
(144) *aubjat*
(145) *aumbhat*
(146) *aikṣiṣyata*
(147) *aihiṣyata*
(148) *aubjiṣyat*
(149) *aumbhiṣyat*
(150) *aijyata*
(151) *aupyata*
(152) *auhyata*

An *aṅga* which begins with a vowel and occurs before *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* receives augment *āṬ* at the beginning. Thus, *īkṣ* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)→*īkṣ* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *ta*→*āṬ* + *īkṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*→(*ā* + *ī*→*ai*)*kṣ* + *i* (*s*→*ṣ*) + (*t*→*ṭ*)*a* = (138) *aikṣiṣṭa*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will offer a single replacement in *vṛddhi* for *ā* and *ī*, thereby yielding: (*ā* + *ī*→*ai*)*kṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. Refer to *kṛṣīṣṭa* (II: 339–40) for additional details. Example (139) *aihiṣṭa* is derived from *īh* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*) with similar applications. Our active (*parasmaipada*) derivates *ubj* + (*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→ϕ) = (140) *aubjīt* and *umbh* + (*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→ϕ)) = (141) *aumbhīt* will receive *īṬ* (7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*) 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* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* and (*ā* + *u*→*au*)*mbh* + *i* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + *ī* + *t*→*aumbh* (*i* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* will finally produce *aubjīt* and *aumbhīt*. Examples of *LAṄ*, i.e., (142) *aikṣata* and (143) *aihata*, derive from *īkṣ* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*)→*āṬ* + *īkṣ* + *ŚaP* + *ta* and *īh* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*) = *āṬ* + *īh* + *ŚaP* + *ta*. The *ā* of *āṬ* and *ī* of roots will yield a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). This same also applies to active derivates (144) *aubjat* and (145) *aumbhat*, where *i* of *ti* gets deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

The middle derivates of *LṚṄ*, i.e., (146) *aikṣiṣyata*, (147) *aihiṣyata*, will receive *āṬ* and a single replacement in *vṛddhi*. They will also receive the usual *sya* and *iṬ*. Their active counterparts, i.e., (148) *aubjiṣyat* and (149) *aumbhiṣyat* are not any different. They will, of course, have the application of 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

Our last three examples, i.e., (150) *aijyata*, (151) *aupayta* and (152) *auhyata*, are third person singular middle derivates of *LAṄ* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. *Kāśikā* offers operational steps as follows: *ta* as a replacement of *LAṄ* (*lādeśa*), *yaK*, *samprasāraṇa* and *āṬ*. Refer to my notes under this rule concerning obligatory and non-obligatory (*nityānitya*) aspects of rule applications.

6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṃ yvoriyaṅuvaṅau*

(153) *āpnuvanti*
(154) *rādhnuvanti*
(155) *śaknuvanti*
(156) *cikṣiyatuḥ*
(157) *cikṣiyuḥ*
(158) *luluvatuḥ*
(159) *luluvuḥ*
(160) *niyau*
(161) *niyaḥ*
(162) *luvau*
(163) *luvaḥ*
(164) *bhruvau*
(165) *bhruvaḥ*

This rule introduces *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* as replacements for the final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* which ends in *śnu* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*), or of a *dhātu*, or else, the *ū* of *bhrū*. Of course, when a vowel-initial affix, follows. The first three examples derive from *āp* + (*LAṬ* + *jhi*)→*āp* + (*Ś*)*nu* + (*jh*→*ant*)*i*→*āp* + *n*(*u*→*uvAṄ*) + *anti* = (152) *āpnuvanti*. Similar applications are witnessed in (154) *rādhnuvanti* from *rādh* + *Śnu* + *jhi* and (155) *śaknuvanti* from *śak* + *Śnu* + *jhi*.

Recall that *atus* and *us* are third person dual and plural active replacements of *LIṬ* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ . . .*). Examples (156) *cikṣiyatuḥ* and (157) *cikṣiyuḥ* thus derive from *kṣi* + (*LIṬ*→*atus*) and *kṣi* + (*LIṬ*→*us*), where *i* of *cikṣi* + *atus* and *cikṣi* + *us* are replaced with *uvAṄ* after iteration and related operations. Thus, *cikṣ*(*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *atus*→*cikṣiyatu*(*s*→*ḥ*) and *cikṣ*(*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *us*→*cikṣiy* + *u*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *cikṣiyuḥ*. Examples (158) *luluvatuḥ* and (159) *luluvuḥ* illustrate a replacement in *uvAṄ* for *u* of *lulu*. Our next four derivates of *nī* and *lū* end in affix *KvIP* (3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa . . .*; 3.2.76 *kvip ca*). Note here that *KvIP* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*) and an item which ends in a *KvIP* does not abandon its status as a *dhātu* (cf. *kvibantā dhātutvaṃ na jahati*). Thus, *n*(*ī*→*iyAṄ*) + *au*→(160) *niyau* and *n*(*ī*→*iyAṄ*) + *Ja*(*s*→*ḥ*)→(161) *niyaḥ*. We similarly get (162) *luvau* and (163) *luvaḥ* with a replacement in *uvAṄ*. This rule makes a special mention of *bhrū* because it is a nominal stem. We thus get *bhr*(*ū*→*uvAṄ* + *au*) = (164) *bhruvau* and *bhr*(*ū*→*uvAṄ* + (*J*)*as*→(165) *bhruvaḥ*.

6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyamatsyānāṃ ya upadhāyāḥ*

(166)	*saurī balākā*	(169)	*āgastī*
(167)	*taiṣam ahaḥ*	(170)	*āgastīyaḥ*
(168)	*taiṣī rātriḥ*	(171)	*matsī*

This rule offers deletion of the penultimate *y* of a *bha*, namely *sūrya, tiṣya, agastya* and *matsya*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* follows. We derive (166) *saurī* from *saurya* + *ṄīP*, where *saurya* derives from *sūrya* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*→*s*(*ū*→*au*)*rya* + *a*→*saury*(*a*→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*(*a*→ϕ) + *ṄīP*→*saury* + *ī*. 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 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). 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 *aṆ*. The deletion of *y* is conditioned by *ī* of the feminine affix. Deletion of the second *a*, and the penultimate deletion of *y*, both have similar locus (*samānāśraya*). This *a* is treated as *asiddha*. Deriving (167) *taiṣam* from *taiṣa* + *sU* and (168) *taiṣī* from *taiṣī* + *sU* is easy. Note, however, that *taiṣa* derives from *tiṣya* + *aṆ* with initial *vṛddhi*. We also find deletion of *a* and *y* of *taiṣya* before *aṆ*. Another *a*-deletion is accomplished when affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) follows *taiṣa*. We similarly derive (169) *āgastī* from (*agastya* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*) + *ṄIP*, with the signification 'a female offspring of Agastya, a sage' (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi* . . .). Here again, we find *a* and *y* deletions before affix *aṆ*. We derive (170) *āgastīyaḥ* by further introducing affix *cha*, again with *a* and *y* deletions. The word (171) *matsī* ends in a *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) introduced after *matsya*. This derivate also involves *a*-deletion which, in turn, facilitates *y*-deletion via *asiddhatva*.

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