The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume VI

English Translation of Adhyāyas Seven and Eight 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 adhyāyas seven and eight. 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 anuvṛtta, vṛtti, examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples, cited by the Kāśikāvṛtta.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual sūtras, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement in the grammar.

An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries particularly the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. Derivational details of examples, unlike earlier volumes, are furnished under explanatory notes of individual rules. This completes the author’s six-volume study on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.
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Rama Nath Sharma was born (1939) at Chhata, Ballia (India), as the eldest son of Pandit Raghunath Sharma, the author of the commentary Ambākartrī on the Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari. He is currently Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. After receiving M.A. in Hindi literature (Allahabad, 1959) and Linguistics (Agra, 1962), he taught Linguistics and Hindi literature at the University of Allahabad (1962-66). He received his Ph.D. (1971) in General Linguistics from the University of Rochester where he also taught Linguistics for five years (1970-75). His research interest includes Linguistic theory in general, and Pāṇini and the Indian grammatical tradition, in particular.
THE AŚṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF
PĀṆINI

VOL. VI

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ADHYĀYAS SEVEN AND EIGHT WITH
SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY,
ANUVRTTI, VRṬTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL
HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

RAMA NATH SHARMA

University of Hawaii

Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
For my wife
Kamala
without whose support
I could not complete this study
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Preface

I planned this project on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini in August of 1978. My initial plan was to produce a five-volume study of which the first was to be a theoretical treatment of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as a grammatical device. Since subsequent volumes grew in size, and also since volume two could only cover the first adhyāya, I had to plan a sixth volume covering the rules of the seventh and eighth adhyāyas.

Many of my ideas on formulation, interpretation, order and application of rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī found their better shape during discussions at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1978), in Honolulu, where I was teaching a course on Pāṇini. The first volume was written during 1982-83, mostly at Varanasi, where I was on sabbatical leave. Since this volume was basically a presentation of my ideas on aspects of rule-formulation, order and application, and also since I wanted to avoid repetition, it was a relatively shorter volume.

Volume II was big, but could only cover the first adhyāya, mostly because of a very detailed appendix on derivational history of examples cited by the Kāśikāvṛtti under individual rules. This volume pretty much set the trend for all subsequent volumes. Volume III covered adhyāyas two and three, where derivational history of examples had to be given comparatively larger space. Volume IV is perhaps the largest because of the sheer number of rules of adhyāyas four and five. Derivations and explanatory notes, however, demanded relatively less space. The fifth volume had to be published independently, due mostly to the nature of its content and size. Volume VI, of course, had to cover the remaining two adhyāyas, seven and eight. I had intended to publish the tripaḍī (the last three quarters of the Aṣṭādhyāyī) as a separate volume which, obviously, was not possible.

I have always followed traditional interpretations in sorting out issues concerning formulation, interpretation, order and application of rules. In doing that, I have not taken anything for granted. While the Kāśikāvṛtti has been my main source for organizing explanatory notes, its commentaries, the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and the Padamañjarī of Haradatta, have been my primary sources for raising issues and resolving conflicts of interpretations. I have consulted the Mahābhāṣya for vārttikas, and also to understand clearly Haradatta’s statements on the Kāśikāvṛtti. I have relied heavily on the Rūpāvatāra of Dhammakīrtti, the Prabṛṣṭā-kaumudi of Rāmacandra, and last but not the least, the Siddhānta-kaumudi of Bhaṭṭoḍi Dīksita, for derivational details. While my mind has always remained open to interpretations of the learned (śiṣṭa), especially Nāgēsa, Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭoḍi Dīksita of the new school of grammar (nāvya-vyākaraṇa), my heart always remained in favor
of the old school in general, and the Kāśikāvṛtti with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī, in particular. Patañjali, of course, remained my final authority on all aspects of discussions:

\[\text{kṛte tha patañjalina guruṇa śrīthadarsinā /} \\
\text{saṣvēṁ nyāyabhājānāṁ bhāṣya eva nibandhane //} \]

(VP II:477)

The task of preparing these volumes has been very challenging, especially when it came to fully understanding the intricacies of this grammar, and more so when it came to writing in the English language. I have tried my best to present my translations, notes, and derivations, in a non-technical way focusing primarily on ease of understanding of my readers both Sanskritists and linguists. Works of George Cardona, Brahmadatta Jjināsu / Prajñā Devi, S.M. Katre, Harshanath Mishra, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, Charudeva Shastri, Bhimasena Shastri and Jayashankar Lal Tripathi have proved to be of great help. A few summers ago I studied the aṅgādhikāra and triṇḍī with commentaries, in detail, with Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi. I was fortunate to have his permission to record all sessions. These recordings have proved extremely valuable for my explanatory notes on rules of the aṅgādhikāra and triṇḍī. Commentators rejoice in expatiation (prapāṇca), albeit out of compassion for knowers but only of part-truths (siddhāntaika-ādeśā). But this resort to expatiation also shows their great acumen in diving into a much deeper realm of grammatical speculation and argumentation. I am guilty of following in their foot-steps, albeit with shaky feet, in my notes under rules 7.1.18 auna āpah, 7.1.35 tuhyos tātaṁ... 7.1.73 iko' ci vibhaktau, 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca and 8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham. I hope this will give my reader some ideas about the depth of grammatical thinking in ancient India. For, my effort in expatiation is certainly not guided by any compassion for slow-wit (manda-dhi).

Many traditional insights of the Vāraṇāsa school on organization and function of rules of the Āṣṭādhya, especially those pertaining to some major interpretive conventions and rules, for example, 1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam, 3.1.94 vā sarūpo striyām, 4.1.1 nyāpprātipadikā, 6.4.1 aṅgasya, 6.4.22 asiddhavad atrabhāt, and 8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham, deserve separate treatments. I am grateful to my father Pandit Raghunath Sharma, and my guru Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, for teaching me about the richness of this tradition. I have also benefited from reading adhyāya three with Śrīnārāyaṇa Miśra of the Banaras Hindu University. I owe an enormous debt to these scholars. I am grateful to Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra, Dr. G.C. Pande and Dr. Namvār Singh for their continued support and encouragement. As I have already indicated in the preface of my earlier volumes, this project has been very difficult and time-consuming. It has taken nearly twenty-five years of diligent work. I may have made many errors in interpretation and presentation. I
plan to edit these volumes so that their second edition could be made free
of typos, and any possible errors. The second reprint edition of the first
volume is already published with some additions.

My younger brother Narendra Nath Pandeya of the Sampurnananda
Sanskrit University, Varanasi, must get credit, not only for reading and
explaining things to me, but also for keeping my western analytical mind
in check, grounded in the tradition. I commend him for his patience with
the eldest brother. My son Alok has virtually grown up with this project.
He deserves my sincere appreciation, and love, for his patience and
understanding.

The American Institute of Indian Studies, and the University of Hawai'i's
Research Council and Research Relations, have been regular supporters of
this project with grants and logistical assistance. They deserve my thanks.
My former Hindi-Sanskrit students, Stanley Schab, Julie Trott, Abigail Brown,
and Christopher Bopp, have worked on this project at different stages. They
deserve more than mere thanks. Christopher Bopp has the credit of seeing
the last four volumes through press. His competence in things computer
has been a blessing for me. I shall, forever, remain indebted to Chris Bopp
for his diligent assistance. I must thank Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers,
particularly Mr. Devendra Jain, for their patience and dedication in bringing
this series to light. What a relief?

I dedicate this volume to my wife Kamala without whose love and support
I would not have been able to bring this project to a successful completion.

gahanataragranthārthāṃ
vikṣya mankṣu saṃkṣipatāṃ /
skhalitām api sambhavena nas
tatra vībhuddhā vimatsarāḥ saraṇam //

Prakriyāsarvasvam (I:79) of Nārāyanaṇabhaṭṭa

Rama Nath Sharma

University of Hawai'i
Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.
1 November 2002
# Abbreviations

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Adhyāya Seven

PĀDA ONE

7.1.1 yudhonaśāki

yuvor anākau
/yuvor 6/1 = yuś ca vuś ca = yuvu (sam. dv.), tasya; anākau 1/2 = anāś ca
akaś ca (itar. dv.) /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
‘yu, vu’ ity etayor uṭṛṣṭavīṣeṣaṇayor anunāsikayanoh pratyayayor grahaṇam,
tayoḥ sāhane vathāsamkhyaṃ ‘ana, aka’ ity etay ādesau bhavataḥ
Affixes yu and vu, in relation to an aṅga, are replaced with ana and
aka, respectively.

Examples:
nandanaḥ ‘he who brings joy; a son’
ramanaḥ ‘delightful, playful’
sāyantanaḥ ‘pertaining to an evening’
cirantanaḥ ‘eternal’
kārakaḥ ‘he who does’
hārakaḥ ‘he who carries’
vāsudevakah ‘he whose object of devotion is Viṣṇu’
arjunakah ‘he whose object of devotion is Arjuna’

1. Consider nandanaḥ and ramanah, both derivates of affix Lyu (3.1.134
nandigrahipacādy . . .), which, in turn, is introduced after TUNaḍ ‘to be joy-
own’ and ramU ‘to sport’ with the signification of kartr ‘agent’. Our next two
examples, i.e., sāyantanaḥ and cirantanaḥ, are derivates of affixes Tyu and
TyuL (4.3.23 sāyamcarim . . . tuṭ ca), respectively, where, in addition to affixes
Tyu and TyuL, we also find a concurrent introduction of augment ṭUṬ. The
yu of these affixes, all, is hereby replaced with ana. Refer to derivational
details of kārakaḥ and hārakaḥ (II:450) where vu (of affix ṼVuL) is replaced
with aka. Examples such as vāsudevakah and arjunakah are derivates of vuN
(4.3.98 vāsudevaḥ arjunaḥ bhāyāṃ vun).

Note that yu and vu, for brevity of application (lāghavārtham śāstrasya),
are here interpreted as affixes relative to an item termed aṅga (1.4.13 yasmat
pratyayavidhis . . .). For, in its absence, ana and aka could widely replace any
yu and vu. This specification of yu and vu, made without any qualifying it-
elements, is accepted as made with anunāsika ‘nasalization’. Thus, yu of the
non-nasalized yuS (5.2.123 Ģrṇāyaḥ yus), introduced after Ģṛṇā (in Ģṛṇāyuḥ)
with the signification of matUP (ṛṇā asya asti; 5.2.94 tad asyāsti . . .), cannot
be replaced with ana.
The Unādi affixes yuK and tyuK can similarly not be replaced with ana, when occurring after bhujī ‘to consume’ and mṛN ‘to die’, as in bhujyuh ‘food’ and mṛtyuh ‘death’.

How do we know that these specifications are made with nasalization. It is known by the tradition. This is how the pāṇiniyās know what is taught by Pāṇini with nasalization (pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇiniyāḥ).

2. Questions have been raised against yuvoh, the genitive dual of yuvū with os. For, as a dvandva compound of the type samāhāra, the form should have been yuvanah, a singular neuter with nUM (7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktav). If interpreted as a dvandva compound of the itaretarayoga kind, the dual form, with yaN before os, should have been yuvvos. How do we get yuvoh? It is stated that yuvoh is a dual of the itaretarayoga type where augment nUM can be accepted as anitya ‘non-obligatory’. Thus, given yuvū + Nas, we will get yuvoh, through guṇa (yuv(u→0) + as; 7.3.11 gher niti), pūrvarūpa (yuv(0 + a)s = yuvos; 6.1.110 nasiṇasos ca) and rudva-visarga (yuvos(s→r→h)).

A specification with yuvoh, with a dvandva compound of the samāhāra type, can still be accepted as correct. The problem of masculine (puṁstvam), as against neuter (napuṁsakatvam), can then be resolved by accepting the usage (loka) as standard (pramāna). For, determination of gender is based upon usage (lokāśrayatvāl lingasya). Thus, yuvoh follows the derivational pattern of bhānoḥ/ sambhoḥ, etc. If one still insists on accepting the itaretarayoga analysis, one has to resort to chandovat sütāni bhavanti ‘sūtras are similar to the Vedic hymns.’ The bahulam ‘variously’ provision of the Vedic (chandasi) can thus account for a lack, or deletion, of an additional v in yuvoh. The following ślokavārttika summarizes this view as follows:

yuvōś ced dvitvanirdeśo dvitve yan tu prasajyate/
athā ced ekavadhāvah katham puṁsvad bhaved ayam/  
dvitte naigamikā lopa ekatve num anityatā/  
asīsyatvādd hi lingasya puṁstvam vēha samāsrītam/  
‘if yu and vu are specified together in the dual, with a subsequent introduction of the genitive dual ending -os, we will get an application of yaN of u of vū (6.1.77 iko yan aci). If one accepts that yu and vu are combined together in a dvandva compound with the state of denoting one (ekavadhāva), we should get the form yuvoh, similar to bhānoḥ and sambhoḥ. But since consideration of the denotation of one would obligatorily require introduction, and subsequent non-deletion, of augment nUM, the form should be yuvunah, a neuter (napuṁsaka). Why are we getting the form yuvoh similar to masculine sambhoḥ? A masculine form is adhered to with the understanding that, since gender is dependent upon usage (lokāśraya), gender should not be taught.’

Accepting a dvandva-form such as yuvoh with no nUM, and signification of one (genitive singular), would be tantamount to refuting the formulation
of rule 2.4.17 *sa napūṃsakam*. If the form is to be accepted as *yuvoh*, and thereby 2.4.17 *sa napūṃsakam* is saved from becoming vacuous, we have to block introduction of *nUM* on the basis of accepting its augmentation as anitya 'non-obligatory'. But what would one do to its teaching of gender? Can we say that it does not teach gender because gender should not be taught? But if this rule does not teach gender, we will not get neuter in many instances of *samāhāra-dvandva*. May be we should accept *yuvoh* as a Vedic anamoly (*chāndasatvāt*). I refrain from discussing it any further since that, in view of Haradatta, the author of *Padamañjari*, will be an exercise in *vanya-gaja-sauca* 'cleansing of a wild elephant'.

### 7.1.2 आयनेषीनीयायः: फढ़खछालां प्रत्ययादीनामपः

āyaneṣīnīyayah phaḍhakhaḥcaghāṁ pratyayādināṁ
/āyan-ey-in-īy-īyah 1/3 (itar. dv.); pha-ḍha-kha-cha-ghāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.),
teṣām/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
‘āyan, ey, in, īy, īy ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsaṃkhyāṁ ‘pha, ḍha, kha,
cha, gha’ ity teṣām pratyayādināṁ

A phA, ḍhA, kha, chA and ghA which, relative to an aṅga, occurs at the
beginning of an affix is replaced with āyan, ey, in, īy and īy, respectively.

**Examples:**

nāḍāyanah ‘grandson of Naḍa’
cārīyāṇaḥ ‘grandson of Cara’
sauparṇeyāḥ ‘son of Suparṇa’
vainateyāḥ ‘son of Vinatā’
āḍhyakulīnāḥ ‘born in a rich family’
śrōtriyaṇkūlīnāḥ ‘born in the family of śrōtriyas’
gārgiyāḥ ‘student of Garga’
vātsiyāḥ ‘student of Vatsa’
kṣatryāyaḥ ‘a kṣatriya’

1. The a in pha, ḍha, etc., is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*).

That is, these replacements are intended in place of consonants ph, ḍh, etc.
(*phakārāder halmātrasya*). The following is a select list of specified affixes:

(a) Affixes with initial ph: CphaN (4.1.98 gotre kuṇīḍhibhyaś ca), phaK (4.1.99 naḍādibhyaḥ phak), phaN (4.1.110 asvādibhyaḥ phaṇ), phiN (4.1.159 tikādibhyaḥ phiṇ), phiN (4.1.160 prācāṁ avarddhātaḥ . . .), Spha (4.1.17 prācāṁ sphas . . .), and SphaK (4.2.99 kāpiśiyāḥ sphak);

(b) affixes with initial ḍh: ḍhaK (4.1.119 ḍhak ca maṇḍukāl), ḍhaKA(N (4.1.140 apūrvaṇpadād . . .), ḍhaN (4.1.135 catuspādibhya ḍhaṇ), ḍhinUK (4.3.109 chagalino ḍhinuk), and ḍhraK (4.1.129 godhāyā ḍhraḥ);
(c) affixes with initial kh: kha (4.1.139 kulāt khaḥ), khaṇ (4.1.142 mahākulād aṅkhanaṇaʊ);
(d) affixes with initial ch: cha (4.1.143 svasaḥ chaḥ), chaṇ (4.1.132 pītraḥsvaṣaḥ chaṇaḥ), chaṣ (4.2.115 bhavatāḥ thaṭhaṇaṇaḥ);
(e) affixes with initial gh: gha (4.1.138 kṣatrabhikṣaḥ ghaḥ), ghaṇ (4.4.117 ghacchau ca), ghaṇ (4.2.26 sukrād ghaṇ) and ghaṣ (5.1.106 chandaśi ghas).

Derivational details of many forms similar to these examples have already been discussed in the appendices of volumes (II) and (IV).

2. The condition of ṭṛṭyaṇḍī is necessary so that root-initial ph, dh, kh, ch and gh in phakkati, ḍhaukti, khanati, chinatti, and ghūṁate could not be replaced with corresponding āyaṇ, etc. A specification with ādi excludes replacement of gh with iy in urudaghṇaḥ, where affix daghṇaṇ starts gh in the middle.

This replacement does not apply to an affix introduced after a verbal root. For, if it was intended, 3.1.29 rter āyaṇ would have been formulated as ṭṛṭeṣ chaṇ, where initial ch could have then been replaced with iy of this rule. The formulation of 3.1.29 as ṭter āyaṇ then becomes a jñāpaka 'indicator'. A replacement of this rule does not apply to kh and dh of śaṅkhaḥ and śaṅḍhaḥ where affixes kha and ḍha are introduced after verbal roots śaṁ and śaṇ. This is possible at the strength of rule 3.3.1 uṇādayo bahulam.

The gh and kh of affixes KHaṣ (3.2.28 ejet khaṣ) and GHaṇ (3.3.16 padarujāviṣasprśo ghaṇ) cannot be replaced with in and iy, either. They are elements termed it (1.3.8 laṣaku ataddhitca) and thus cannot be replaced with in and iy.

Note that 1.3.3 halantyaṇam should be blocked from assigning the term it to the final n of āyaṇ and in. This is indicated by N as an it in phiṇ (4.1.160 prācām avṛddhāḥ...). The N as an it in phiṇ facilitates initial udātta (6.1.194 nitiyādī nityam). If the n of āyaṇ and in was also considered as an it, marking phiṇ with N as an it will become useless. For, n of āyaṇ and in could have accounted for the desired accent.

3. A proposal is made in the Mahābhāṣya to replace ph, etc. with āyaṇ, etc., at the time when affixes are introduced (āyaṇnādayah pratyaṇopadesakāla eva bhavanti). This way, the udātta (3.1.3 ādyudāttaḥ ca) at the beginning of affixes remains intact. The C as an it in an affix also becomes meaningful. Thus, consider 4.4.117 ghacchau ca where ghaC, an affix marked with Cas an it, conditions final udātta (6.1.161? citah).

It is stated that āyaṇ, etc., do not replace affixes which occur after a verbal root. This is indicated by not formulating 3.1.29 ṭter āyaṇ as ṭṛṭeṣ chaṇ. A formulation with chaṇ, with subsequent replacement of ch with āyaṇ, would have served the purpose. Thus, we do not get replacements for kh (Uṇ. I:99: śamek khaḥ) and dh (Uṇ. I:102: śamer ghaḥ) in śaṁ + khā = śaṁkhaḥ and śaṁ + ḍha = śaṅḍaḥ, vide 3.3.1 uṇādayo bahulam. Now consider affixes KHaṣ (3.2.28
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ējha khaś) and Ghaṇ (3.3.16 padarujavisasprśo ghaṇ), where KH and GH are not replaced with in and iy. For, they are treated as ē elements (1.3.8 lasaku ataddhite). A substitute replaces kh and gh in a taddhita affix when assignment of the term iii does not find its scope (ananavāśa). What about the final n of āyan? This cannot be considered as an ii. It is indicated by the final n of phiN (4.1.160 prācām avṛddhāt . . .). That is, the ph of phiN is replaced with āyan and the affix-final N is treated as an ii to block the udatta of 6.1.197 īniyādir nityam. There is no purpose served by using the final n as an ii in āyan. Conversely, the N of phiN becomes vacuous if the final n of āyan is treated as an ii (cf. Nyāśa ad Kāśikā: tad etat phino nityarājanam itasanjñābhāvasya jñāpaka eva. yogāpēkaśam cedam jñāpakaṃ—anena yo yogena vihitasyādeśasya yo nakāras tasāyetsamjñā na bhavatī. teneno pi nakārasaṇamsaṃjñā bhāvo bhavati siddh).

7.1.3  jhōnta:

/jhō/ 6/1 antaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 pratyāyasya #2)
pratyāyāvaya vasya jhasya ‘anta’ ity ayam āđeśo bhavati
A jh which is contained within an affix, relative to an aṅga, is replaced with antA.

Examples:

kurvanti ‘they are doing...’
suvantti ‘they are pressing out (soma)’
cinvantti ‘they are heaping up (the ritual fire)’
śayāntai ‘ . . . should recline’
veśantāḥ ‘a small pond’
jarantāḥ ‘very old’

1. Note that ādiḥ is not carried. The final a of anta is given for ease of articulation (uccāranārtha). Consider kurvanti which derives from kṛ + (LAT → jhī) where jhī replaces LAT (4.1.78 tiptasjhi . . .) and u is introduced after kṛ (3.1.79 tanādikṛbhīyo uḥ). Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhddhākukayoḥ (read with 1.1.51 ur an raparāḥ), then introduces ar as a guṇa replacement for r of kṛ + u + jhī. The a of k(r → ar) + u + jhī = kar + u + jhī is then replaced with u (6.4.110 at ut sārvadhātuka) to produce k(a → u)r + u + jhī. We finally get kurvanti through yaN of u and ant as a replacement for jh. Thus, kur + (u → v) + (jh → ant)i = kurvanti. Refer to derivational details (II:340) relevant for deriving cinvanti and suvanti. Our example śayāntai, derived with Vedic LET introduced after śīN, follows the pattern of grhyāntai (III:900). The last two examples derive with the Uṇādi affix jhaC where jh is replaced with ant. The root-vowels ī and i also go through guṇa replacements ar and e.
2. Note that this replacement in ant is available only to jh of an affix (Kāś.: ‘pratyayasasya ity eva’). Thus, the jh of ujjh ‘to abandon, leave’, in ujjhitā, ujjhitum and ujjhitavyam, does not get replaced with ant. It should be remembered here that a replacement in ant does not remove the initial udāatta status of an affix (3.1.3 adyudattās ca). For, this is how C as an it in jhaC becomes meaningful. That is, C is used as an it where initial udāatta is to be blocked in favor of a final udāatta (6.1.163 citah).

7.1.4 अध्यस्तत्

ad abhyastāt
/at 1/1 abhyastāt 5/1/

(angasya #6.4.1 pratyayasya #2 jha #3)

abhyastād āṅgād uttārasya jhakārasya ‘at’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The jha part of an affix which occurs after an āṅga termed abhyasta is replaced with aT (1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya).

EXAMPLES:

dadati ‘third person singular present active of dā'
dadatu ‘second person singular imperative of dā’
dadhati ‘third person singular active of dhā’
dadhatu ‘second person singular imperative of dhā’
jaksati ‘third person singular present active of jaks’
jaksatu ‘second person singular imperative of jaks’
jāgrati ‘third person singular present active of jāgr’
jāgratu ‘second person singular imperative of jāgr’

1. This rule replaces jh with aT when jh is part of an affix and occurs after an āṅga termed abhyasta. Refer to derivational details of dadati and dadhati (6.1.5 jaksityādayah ...), where dadā + jhi and dadhā + jhi are produced, via reduplication (6.1.10 ślau), after deletion of ŠaP by ŚLU. Our present rule replaces jh with aT and ā of dadā and dadhā gets deleted by 6.4.112 śnābhastayor āta. Thus, dad(ā→φ) + (jh→a) i = dadati; dadh(ā→φ) + (jh→a) i = dadhati. Recall that the final i of a replacement of LOT is replaced with u (3.4.86 eruḥ). This gives us dadatu and dadhatu, etc.

This replacement in aT blocks ant of the earlier rule. Note, however, that this replacement cannot block a replacement in jus (3.4.110 jher jus; 3.4.111 sijaṛṣṭaṣṭa ...). Thus, consider adaduḥ and adadhuh, etc.

Here, too, a replacement, when accomplished at the outset, brings udāatta at the beginning of the affix. This provision, however, is more relatable to derivates of subsequent rules. Derivates of this rule will get initial udāatta in consonance with 6.1.189 abhyastānām ādiḥ.

7.1.5 आत्मनेपदेवनन्तः:

ātmanepadesuv anataḥ
/ātmanepadesu 7/3 anataḥ 5/1 = na at = anat (nañ.), tasmāt/
(angasya #6.4.1 jhāḥ #2 prayayasya #3 at #4)
ātmanepadesu yo jhakāras tasyānakārāntād anāgad uttarasya ‘at ity ayam ādesā bhavati
A jh which, as part of an affix termed ātmanepada, follows an anga not ending in na, is replaced with aT.

Examples:
cinvate ‘third person plural present (LAT) of ciN’
cinvatām ‘third person plural imperative (LOT) …’
acinvata ‘third person plural imperfect (LAN) middle of ciN’
puṇaṭe ‘third person plural present (LAT) middle of pūN’
lunate ‘third person plural present (LAT) middle of ṽuN’
lunatām ‘third person plural imperative (LOT) of ṽuN’
alunata ‘… of Aorist (LUN) …’

1. This rule does not apply after an abhyasta, or when an anga terminates in a. Consider cinvate which derives from ci + LAT where LAT gets replaced with the third person plural ātmanepada suffix jha, and ŚnU is introduced as a vikaraṇa (3.1.78 svādibhyah śnuḥ). We derive ci + nu + (jh→at) a → cin + u + at(a→e) = cin + (u→v) + ate = cinvate, through aT-replacement of jh followed by ētva (3.4.79 tīt ātmanepadānām ter eh) and yaN. This replacement in jh occurs after an anga which here ends in u. A replacement in e (ētva) in cinvataṃ is blocked in favor of ām (3.4.90 ām etah). Thus, ci + (LOT→jha) → ci + (jh→at) a → ci + nu + atā → ci + nu + at (a→ām) → ci + (n(u→v) + atāṃ)) = cinvataṃ. Similar rules apply in deriving derivatives of LAN, such as acinvata, etc., where ētva does not apply since LAN is not marked with T as an it.

Refer to derivational details of vyatilunate (II:467-68) for deriving lunate.

2. The condition of ātmanepadesu blocks this replacement where a parasmaipada replacement may be involved. Thus, cinvanti, etc., will be treated as counter-examples. The condition of an anga ending in something other than an a is also required. Thus, consider cyavante and plavante which are third plural LAT forms of cyu and plu. Given cyu + ŚaP + jha and plu + ŚaP + jha, the u of cyu and plu goes through guṇa and its subsequent replacement in av. This yields cy(u→o→av) + a + jha. This jh, for reason of occurring after an anga terminating in a, cannot be replaced with aT. It must then be replaced with ant. There is no way other than replacing jh with ant here. For, ŚaP is obligatory (nītya). Thus, cyava + (jh→ant) a → cyav(a + a→a) nta → cyavant(a→e) = cyavante. Similar rules apply in deriving plavante. A derivate such as sayāntai must also be excluded from a replacement in at. For, jh here occurs after sayā, an anga intervened by aT.

7.1.6 शीलेष्वरूप
śino ruṭ
/śīnāḥ 5/1 ruṭ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 jhaḥ #3 at #4)
śīnā́ ṅgād uttarasya jhādeśasyāto ruḍāgamo bhavati

An at which comes in place of a jha contained within an affix following an aṅga, namely śīN, is introduced with augment ruṬ.

**Examples:**

śerate ‘third person plural present (LOṬ) middle of śīN’
śeratām ‘third person plural imperative (LOṬ) middle . . .’
aśerata ‘third person plural middle imperfect (्लाN) . . .’

1. This rule introduces ruṬ to the at-replacement of jha which occurs after śīN. Consider śī + (LAṬ→jha) → śī + (jha→at) a → śī + at(a→e) → śī + ruṬ+aṭe → ś(i→e) + r + aṭe = śerate, where guṇa is accomplished by 7.4.12 śīnāḥ sārvadhātuke guṇaḥ. A derivate of LOṬ will have its e replaced with ām to yield śeratām. A derivate of LAṬ, i.e., aśerata, will not permit this e (etva). Note that ruṬ is introduced as initial of a form which follows the root. Why can it not be introduced to jha? A replacement in at for jh will be blocked if ruṬ was introduced to jha. For, ruṬ will then intervene. This is why ruṬ is introduced after replacing jh with at.

Why is verbal root śīN specified here with N as an at? So that ruṬ can be introduced only when there is no following yaN. Consider vyattīśyate which derives from (vi + ati + śīN + yaN) + LAṬ). Affix yaN is here deleted, but reduplication and replacement in at, followed by etva, are accomplished. Augment ruṬ is not introduced. Note that N as an at in śīN is specified so that ruṬ could not be introduced where deletion of yaN applies (a-yan-lugartham).

### 7.1.7 वेतेत्विभाषा

vetter vibhāṣā
/vetteḥ 5/1 vibhāṣa 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 jhaḥ #3 at #4 ruṭ #6)
vetter aṅgād uttarasya jhādeśasyāto vibhāṣā ruḍ āgamo bhavati

The at which comes in place of a jha contained within an affix occurring after an aṅga, namely vid ‘to know’, is optionally introduced with augment ruṬ.

**Examples:**

samvidrate
samvidate
samvidratām
samvidatām
samavidrata
samavidata
1. This rule introduces rUT to an at-replacement of jha which occurs after an aṅga, namely vid. Given sam-vid + (LAT→jha→at) a → sam-vid + (SaP→φ) + ata, where SaP gets deleted because vid is an adādi (2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyo . . .) root, we get sam-vid + r(UT) + ata. This option of rUT is technically known as aprāptaviibhāṣā ‘an option not made available’. The final form samvidrate is derived with a replacement in e (etva). Thus, samvidrat(a→e) = samvidrate. The ātmānepada of this derivate is introduced in view of a vārttika (samyogamādāsīsu . . .; ad 1.3.29 samogamīpycchibhyāṃ . . .). We will get samvidate when the option of rUT is not availed. Recall that e is replaced with ām in derivates of LOT (3.4.90 ām etah). Thus, samvidratām/ samvidatām. Derivates of LAN are not allowed replacement in e (etva). Thus, samaviddrata and samavidata.

2. A specification of vid, in vetti, is here made with deleted SaP to indicate that this optional rUT is not available to vid ‘to contemplate’, a root of the rudhādi group, in its forms such as third personal present middle vindte / vindate / vindate.

7.1.8 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulam chandasi
/bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 jhah #3 at #4 ruḍ #6)
chandasi visaye bahulam ruḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment rUT is variously introduced to an aT which replaces a jh contained within an affix occurring after an aṅga.

Examples:

devā aduḥra ‘gods extracted milk . . .’
adṛśrannasya ketavaḥ ‘saw its . . . his banner’

1. This rUT is observed as occurring variously in the Vedic. That is, sometimes it does, at others it does not. Thus, devā aduḥra where aduḥra is derived frm aT + duh + (SaP→φ) + (jha→at) a) = a + duh + at + a. Augment rUT is then introduced and t of at goes through deletion (7.1.41 lopas ta ātmānepadēsu). This yields a + duh + r(UT) + a (t→φ) + a = aduḥra + a. We finally get the application of 6.1.97 aṭo gune, whereby the a+a sequence is replaced with a single a similar to the following (pararūpa) to yield aduḥra.

One may also find rUT, elsewhere (anyatra), also because of bahulam ‘variously’. Thus, (aT) + drś + rUT + a + am → adṛśram, the first person singular LUN-derivate of drś, where CLT is replaced with aN (3.1.57 inītī vā). The a+a sequence, of course, goes through pararūpa ‘a single replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence’ of 6.1.97 aṭo gune.
7.1.9 अतो भिस् ऐस्

ato bhis ais
\( /atah 5/1 bhisa\ 6/1 ais 1/1/ \)
(āṅgasya #6.4.1)
akārāntād āṅgād uttarasya bhisa ais ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in ais comes in place of bhis which occurs after an āṅga ending in a.

Examples:

vrksaih 'instrumental plural of vrksa'
lakṣaih 'instrumental plural of lakṣa'
atijarasaih 'instrumental plural of atijaras (extremely old)'

1. This rule offers ais as a replacement for bhis 'instrumental plural', provided bhis occurs after an āṅga ending in a. Consider vrksa + (bhis→ais) = vrksa + ais → vrks(a+ai→ai) s → vrksai(s→rU→h) = vrksaih, where 6.1.85 vṛddhir eci offers a single vṛddhi replacement. The final derivate is gotten via rūtva-visarga.

The last example, i.e., atijarasaih, has a compound base atijara used before bhis. The compound base, paraphrased as: jaraṃ atikrāntah, is formed in consonance with a vārttika (ad 2.2.18 kugatiṃpadayāḥ; krāntādyartho dvitiyayā). The shortening of jarā to jara is accomplished by 1.2.48 gostriyor upasjaranasya. The replacement of ais for bhis is here accomplished by treating jara as ending in a. But a problem is encountered here. Rule 7.2.101 jarāyā jaras anyatarasyāṁ orders jaras as an optional replacement for jarā. It is argued that jara which causes replacement of bhis with ais cannot be accepted as cause for modification of jara. This is argued in view of sannipātavidihi 'an operation conditioned by close contextual relation between two things'. Thus, jara cannot be replaced with jaras. Even if one invokes Paribhāṣā (38): ekadesaśvikaṁ ananyavat 'that which is modified in one part can still be treated as what it was' and accepts jara as jarā. It is stated that Paribhāṣā (86): sannipātalaksāno vidhira animitto tadvigspītyas 'an operation characterized with sannipāta (close relationship between two) cannot become a cause for relational impairment' is not universally accepted (aniyaya). This has been indicated by kāṣṭhāya of 3.1.14 kāṣṭhāya kramane. The ya-replacement (7.1.33 ner yah) in kāṣṭha + Ne is conditioned by Ni when following an āṅga ending in a, i.e., kāṣṭha. This ya again cannot become a condition for the ā-replacement of a of kāṣṭha to yield kāṣṭhāya. But it does. Consequently, Paribhāṣā (86) is non-obligatory (aniyaya). A replacement in jaras for jara is thus possible.

Yet another doubt is raised here. Given vrksa + bhis, our present rule requires ais as a replacement for bhis. Rule 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et requires e as a replacement for a. Why can we not apply e first on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 vipratiśedhe . . .) and then apply ais under the condition of e treated as
the former a, via sthānivadbāva? There should be no problem invoking paratva since both e and ais have their independent scope of application elsewhere. That is, ais can be accomplished by treating e as a and etva has its independent scope in vrkṣebhyāḥ, etc. If one invokes paratva and applies etva then offering a replacement in ais will become useless. For, there will not be any a which bhis will follow. If one accepts e as if it was a, then offering a replacement in e will become useless. For, ais will then become obligatory (nītya) in view of kṛtākṛtaprasāṅga ‘a context where an operation obtains whether some other is performed’. Replacement in ais will obtain, whether or not replacement in e (etva) is accomplished. Thus, the Mahābhāṣya favors blocking e-replacement (etva) with ais:

etvam bhis paratvāc ced ata ais kva bhaviṣyati/
ketepy etve bhauta-paūrvyād ais tu nītyas tathā sati//

If it is stated that -e should replace the final -a of an aṅga before a nominal ending beginning with a sound denoted by jhal, i.e., here the bh of bhis, on the basis of subsequent order of enumeration (paratva, 7.3.103 bahuva- cane jhaly et), where will -ais find its scope of application. If one replaces -bhis with -ais, even after replacing a with e, based especially on kṛtākṛta-prasāṅga, and the belief that e is not any different from what it previously was, i.e., a (bhauta-paurṇyād), replacing -bhis with -ais becomes obligatory (nītya). Rule 7.1.9 ato bhis ais will now obligatorily block 7.3.103 bahuva- cane jhaly et because of it’s status as nītya (based upon kṛtākṛta-prasāṅga), and since a nītya rule is considered more powerful than a rule which is para ‘subsequent in order of enumeration’. Now that -ais has become obligatory, -etva (replacement in e) will become non-obligatory, and hence 7.1.9 ato bhis ais will obligatorily block 7.3.103 bahuva- cane jhaly et in the context of its application.

7.1.10 बहुलूल छन्दसिः

bahulam chandasi
/bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ato bhis ais #9)
chandasi visaye bahulam aśādeśo bhavati

A replacement in ais comes in place of bhis, variously, in the Vedic.

Examples:

nadyaiḥ 'by all rivers'
sudevhiḥ sarvebhīḥ proktam ‘(it was) spoken by all gods’

1. Note that ais replaces bhis when bhis occurs after an aṅga ending in a. But consider nadyaiḥ where bhis is replaced with ais when the aṅga ends in ī. Now consider devebhiḥ where the aṅga ends in a but bhis is not replaced with
ais. We get a replacement in e (etva), instead. All these violations, in the Vedic, are accounted for by bahulam ‘variously’.

7.1.11 नेदमदसेवकोः:


\[
\text{nedamadasor akoh} \\
\text{/ na } \phi \text{ idam-adasoh } 6/2 \text{ (itar. dv.); akoh } 6/2 = \text{ avidyamānah kakāro yayo} \\
\text{ tau = akau (bv.), tayoh/} \\
\text{ (āṅgasya #6.4.1 bhis ays #9)} \\
\text{‘idam, adas’ ity etayor akakārayor bhisa ays na bhavati} \\
\text{A replacement in ays does not come in place of bhis when it has to} \\
\text{occur after idam ‘this’ and adas ‘that’, with no k contained in them.}
\]

Examples:

ebhīḥ ‘instrumental plural of idam’
amibhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of adas’

1. Refer to derivational details of (64) ābhyaṁ (II:354-55). Derive a + bhyo, from idam + bhis, following steps (9a-d) of (64) ābhyaṁ. The a of a + bhyo then goes through a replacement in e (etva; 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly el). Refer to derivational details of (52) ami (II:348-49) for deriving amibhiḥ from adas + bhis.

This replacement is not permitted when idam and adas contain a k, for example in deriving the instrumental plural forms imakaiḥ and amukaiḥ. These forms result when akAC is introduced prior to their ti (1.1.64 ac’ ntyādi ti) by rule 5.3.71 avyayasaranāmnām akac prāk teh. This specification by negative akoh itself indicates that ‘that which is introduced as an insert to x can also be included within the reference of x’ (PS (90): tanmmadhyapatitas tadgrahanena gṛhyate).

7.1.12 टाइडसिद्धान्तिनात्त्वः:


tānasīnasām inātsyāḥ \\
\text{/ tā-ṇasi-ṇas-ām } 6/3 \text{ (itar. dv.); in-āt-syāḥ } 1/3 \text{ (itar. dv.)/} \\
\text{ (āṅgasya #6.4.1 atah #9)} \\
akārāntād aṅgād uttareśāṃ tānasīnasām ‘in, āt, sya’ ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsamkhyam

Affixes Tā, NāsI and Nās, when occurring after an aṅga which ends in a, are replaced with in, āt and sya, respectively.

Examples:

vrksena ‘instrumental singular of vrksa’
plakṣena ‘instrumental singular of plakṣa’
vrksāt ‘ablative singular of vrksa’
plakṣāt ‘ablative singular of plakṣa’
vṛkṣasya 'genitive singular of vṛkṣa'
plakṣasya 'genitive singular of plakṣa'

1. Note that the instrumental singular nominal ending Tā of vṛkṣa + Tā and plakṣa + Tā is replaced with in. Rule 6.1.97 ato guṇe requires a single guṇa replacement similar to i of vṛkṣ(a+i→e)na = vṛkṣena and plakṣ(a+i→e)na = plakṣena. Their n is then replaced with n (8.4.1 rasābhyaṁ no naḥ . . . ). Derivation of vṛkṣāti and plakṣāti involves application of savarṇadīrgha 'homogeneous long' after ablative singular Nasī is replaced with āt (6.1.100 ahaḥ savaraṇye dīrghāḥ). Derivates with a replacement in ya for the genitive singular Nas do not offer anything new. Here again these replacements are valid only when the anīga ends in a. Thus, sakhyā and patyā which derive from sakhi + Tā and pati + Tā serve as counter-examples.

7.1.13 नेरयः

ner yah
/ neḥ 6/1 yah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ataḥ #9)
akārāntād vīgād uttarasya 'ne' ity etasya 'ya' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix Ne, when occurring after an aṅga ending in ya, is replaced with ya.

Examples:

vṛkṣāya 'dative singular of vṛkṣa'
plakṣāya 'dative singular of plakṣa'

1. Refer to my notes under 7.1.9 ato bhīs āis on the non-obligatory (ancaīya) nature of Paribhāṣā (86). Thus, lengthening (7.3.102 supi ca) of a in vṛkṣa + ya applies to yield vṛkṣ(a→ā) + ya = vṛkṣāya. The condition of an anīga ending in a blocks these replacements in the dative singular forms sakhyē and patye, derived from sakhi + Ne and pati + Ne.

7.1.14 सर्वनामः स्मै

sarvanāmnaḥ smai
/sarvanāmnaḥ 5/1 smai 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ataḥ #9 neḥ #13)
akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttarasya neḥ smai ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix Ne, when occurring after a pronominal ending in a, is replaced with smai.

Examples:

sarvasmaī 'dative singular of sarva'
visivasmaī 'dative singular of viśva'
1. This rule offers smai as a replacement for the dative singular nominal ending Ne when the same occurs after a pronominal (sarvanāma) ending in a. Thus, the Ne after bhavat, where bhavat ends in t, cannot be replaced with smai in deriving bhavate. A pronominal enumerated within the tyadādi group ends in a, by way of getting its final consonant replaced with a (7.2.102 tyadādinām aḥ). Note that bhavat is not a tyadādi. Except for sarva and viśva 'all', all other example-bases here belong to the tyadādi group. This rule is an exception to 7.1.13 ṇer yah.

2. A problem is raised in connection with the derivation of atra + idam + Ne → atraśmai, where, in the vākyasamśkāra-पक्षा, aš is introduced as a replacement for idam (2.4.32 idamo' nūdeṣe . . .) in anvādeṣa 'bringing something again which was already brought earlier', before smai is introduced as a replacement for Ne. Given atra + (idam→a(S)) + (Ne→a) = atra + a + e, rule 6.1.100 aكاḥ savarne dirighaḥ becomes applicable by blocking smai even when it is subsequent (para). This blocking is based on the obligatory (nityatvāt) nature of a single homogeneous replacement denoted by aK. The result of this application will be atra + e. A replacement in smai will be blocked because atra will then end in ā. But since the replacement of e with smai is internal (antaraṅga), it will be accomplished first. The savarnadīrgha is external (bahirāṅga) because of having two words as its locus. Thus, idā(m→a) + Ne = ida + a(S) + Ne → ida + a + (Ne→smai) = ida + a + smai. Recall that idam is a word of the tyadādi group of pronominals. That is why its m is replaced with a. A single replacement in a for a+a (6.1.97 ato gune) then produces (a+a→a) + smai = asmai. A long replacement (savarṇadīrgha) application can now apply to yield atra + asmai → atraśmai.

7.1.15 उस्मानी: स्मातिप्रिनी

ṇaśīṇyoḥ smātsminau
/ṇaśi-ṇyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); smāt-sminau 1/2/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 atāḥ #9 sarvanāmnaḥ #14)

‘ṇasi, ni’ ity etayor akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttarayoh ‘smāt, smin’ ity etāv ādēsau bhavataḥ

Affixes ŃasI and Ńi, when occurring after a pronominal ending in a, are replaced with smāt and smin, respectively.

Examples:

sarvasmāt ‘ablative singular of sarva’
viśvasmāt ‘ablative singular of viśva’
ysmāt ‘ablative singular of yad’
kasmāt ‘ablative singular of kim’
sarvasmin ‘locative singular of sarva’
viśvasmin ‘locative singular of viśva’
yasmin ‘locative singular of yad’
kasmin ‘locative singular of kim’

1. Note that sarva and viśva already end in a. The a at the end of other bases is gotten from 7.2.102 tyādādinām ah. Here again bhavataḥ ‘genitive singular’ and bhavatī ‘locative singular’, because bhavatī is not a pronominal of the tyādādi group, do not qualify for this replacement. This replacement will, of course, be allowed only after a pronominal (sarvanāman). Thus, we cannot get this in vrksat and vrkṣe.

Note that Nasī and Nī, in this order, will be replaced with smāt and smin, in view of 1.3.10 yathāsāmykhyaṃ anudeśaḥ samānāṃ. The final t and n of smāt and smin could not be termed an it by 1.3.3 halantyam because 1.3.4 na vibhaktau tusmāḥ will block it.

7.1.16 पूरवादिभ्यो नवध्यो वा

pūrvaṃ dibhyo navabhyo vā
/pūrvaṃ dibhyah 5/3 = pūrva ādir yeṣām (bu.), tebhyaḥ; navabhyah 5/3 vā
def/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ataḥ #9 nasiyoh smātsminau #15)
pūrvaṃ dibhyo navabhyo sarvanāmna uttarayor nasiyoh ‘smāt, smin’ ity etāv
deśau vā bhavataḥ

Affixes Nasī and Nī are optionally replaced with smāt and smin, in this order, when they occur after nine pronominals enumerated in the list beginning with pūrva (pūrvaṃ).

Examples:

pūrvasmāt ‘ablative singular of pūrva’
pūrvaṃ ‘ibidem’
pūrvasmin ‘locative singular of pūrva’
pūrv ‘ibidem’
parasmāt ‘ablative singular of para’
parat ‘ibidem’
parasmin ‘locative singular of para’
pare ‘ibidem’
avarasmāt ‘ablative singular of avara’
avaraṭ ‘ibidem’
avarasmin ‘locative singular of avara’
avare ‘ibidem’
1. This rule makes sīāt and sīmīn optional in case of nine bases enumerated beginning with pūrva. Thus, we get pūrvasmāt / pūrvāt and pūrvasmin / pūrvē, etc. But we must uniquely get tyasmāt and tyasmin because tyad falls outside the pūrvādi listing of nine.

Note that sarva, etc., are sarvanāman (1.1.26 sarvādīni sarvanāmāni). The ablative and locative nominal endings Ānasī and Nī, when occurring after a base termed sarvanāman, are to be obligatorily replaced with sīāt and sīmīn, in this order. Our present rule makes this replacement optional in case of nine pronominals listed beginning with pūrva. That is, after pūrva ‘first, prior’, para ‘subsequent, other’, avara ‘less, lower’, daksīna ‘right’, uttara ‘next, ahead’, aparā ‘other’, adhara ‘lower’, sva ‘one’s own’ and antara ‘outer . . .’.

These nine pronominals are specified under rules 1.1.33 pūrvaparā varadākṣiṇottarā . . ., 1.1.34 svam ajñātādhanākhyāyām and 1.1.35 antaraṇ bahityogino . . .

7.1.17 जसः: श्री

jasaḥ sī
/aṅgasya #6.4.1 sī (1/1 deleted)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ataḥ #9 sarvanāmnaḥ #1)
akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttaraṣya jasaḥ ‘sī’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix jas, when occurring after a pronominal ending in a, is replaced with Sī.

Examples:

sarve ‘nominative plural of sarva’
viśve ‘nominative plural of viśva’
ye ‘nominative plural of the relative pronoun yad’
ke ‘nominative plural of the interrogative kim’
te ‘nominative plural of tad’

1. Why did Pāñini not specify the replacement with a short i, as in Śī? The long replacement is ordered, instead, for the benefit of subsequent rule (dirghoccauraṇam uttarārtham). Thus, consider trapuṇi and jatuni of 7.1.19 nāpumśakaḥ ca, which, for reasons of this long i, will end in ī. Note here that a single gūna-replacement, for example in sarva + (Jas → Śī) → sarva (a+i→e) = sarve, can be accomplished, irrespective of whether i of Śī (7.1.17 jasaḥ sī) is short or long. It is stated that S of Śī is intended for total replacement (sarvādeśa; 1.1.55 anekāl śit sarvasya). This, however, is debatable. Recall in this connection that Sī could not be assigned the term pratyaya before it replaces Jas. For, Sī is not enumerated within the domain of 3.1.1 pratyayah. It can receive the term pratyaya only via sthānivadabhāva. That is, on account of being a replacement of affix Jas. Assignment of the term pratyaya facilitates assignment of the term it to S by 1.3.8 laśakv ataddhite. This, in turn,
facilitates deletion of Š by 1.3.9 *tasya lopah. A total replacement of *jaś by Śi is not accomplished because of Š as an *i. It is, instead, accomplished on the basis of *anekālta ‘consisting of more than one sound segment’.

7.1.18 औऽहऽपऽहऽ:  

\[ \text{auña āpah} \]  
\[ /\text{auñah 6/1 āpah 6/1}/ \]  
\( \text{aṅgasya #6.4.1 Śi #17} \)  
\( \text{ābantarā uttarrasyauṅah ‘Śi’ ity ayan ādeśo bhavati} \)  

Affixes *au and *auT, when occurring after an *aṅga ending in the feminine affixes marked with āP, are replaced with Śi.

**Examples:**

- khaṭve tiṣṭhataḥ ‘there are two cows here’
- khaṭve ṛṣya ‘look at these two cows’
- bahurūje ‘a city with many kings’
- kārīṣagandhye ‘for Kārīṣagandhyā’

1. Note that these examples all involve application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah, whereby a single guṇa replacement similar to āi is received. Thus, khaṭvā + *au → khaṭvā + (au → Śi) → khaṭv(ā+ī → e) → khaṭve, etc.

2. The *auN of this rule is interpreted as referring to the nominative and accusative dual endings *au and *auT. Questions have been raised against formulating this abbreviative term with N, i.e., *au + N = *auN, to refer to *au and *auT. Where do we get this from? The following kārikā-verses of the Mahābhāṣya discuss it in detail:

- auṅkāro ‘yam śivadhau nīdgṛhito  
  nīc cáṣmakaṁ nāsti ko’ yam prakāraḥ /  
  ‘this *au, in this process relative to replacement in Śi, has been accepted as marked with N; but since there is no *au marked with N, elsewere, in this grammar, what kind of a bad abbreviative term it is’

- sāmānārthah tasya cásaṅjane’ smin  
  nītākṛyaṁ te śyām prasaktam sa doṣah //1//  
  ‘if it is stated that N is made an *i for making a general reference to both *au and *auT, then operations relative to that which is marked with N must also be performed relative to Śi’

- nītvā vidyād varṇanirdeśamātram  
  varne yat śyāt tac ca vidyāt tadādav /  
  ‘a specification, in context where N is used as an *i, should be understood as making a reference only to sound segments; and that which is specified with a sound segment should be understood as referring to that which begins with that sound segment’
varṇaś cāyaṁ tena ūtvḗ py adoso
nirdeso' yam pūrvasūṭena vā syāt //2 //
‘there is no problem here since this is a sound, and not an affix marked
with ṇ as an it; or else, this could be accepted as the specification of
earlier teachers’

Some claim that ṇ in auN is not an it. The term auN is simply is used by
earlier grammarians to refer to both au and auT with ṇ as an it. Nyāsā indica-
tes that their reading of the sūtra was āvauṭavaun. Bhaṭṭoji (SK) states that
au ṇ ity aukāraivaḥakteḥ samjñā ‘auN is a name assigned to the nominative
and accusative dual endings au and auT’.

Note that au of this rule, in operations relative to replacement in Śr, has
been accepted as marked with ṇ as an it. But since we do not find au, marked
with ṇ as an it as an abbreviatory term in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the use and formu-
lation of this abbreviatory term is bad. One can argue here that ṇ is made an
it in the abbreviatory term auN to represent both au and auT which could,
otherwise, only represent au, in view of a possible formulation of this rule
as auT āpah. For, a specification made with no anubandha does not make
any reference to that which is specified with one anubandha (Pā (82):
niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya grahaṇam). It can be stated here
that auT is marked with T as an it to facilitate the formation of abbreviatory
term sUT, thereby to facilitate representation with sUT of sU/ au/ jas/ am/
auT. But this will make T as an iT to all five elements represented by sUT.
That means ṇ as an it in auN should not be used. This view, however, is not
acceptable. For, there should not be any conflict in accepting an anubandha
intended for making an abbreviatory term as the anubandha of a group of
elements on the one hand, and retaining the anubandha of a particular item
within a group on the other. The T as an it can be accepted as an it for auT
as this same can also be accepted as the anubandha of elements in the group.
The anubandha of an affix cannot be considered improper simply because
it cannot serve any purpose. In fact, its purpose is to have the accusative
dual auT marked with T as an it. It becomes clear that by accepting the
anubandha of a part (T of sUT in auT) as affixal anubandha, and also by
accepting ṇ as an it in auN of 7.1.18 auṅ āpah, au of the accusative dual
cannot be represented. There are two reasons behind it:

(i) an anubandha cannot be manipulated to represent a corresponding item
used without an anubandha (Pā (83): tad anubandhakagrahaṇe
nātadanubandhakasya grahaṇam);

(ii) an item referenced with one anubandha cannot be manipulated to
represent corresponding items used with two anubandhas (Pā:
ekānubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya grahaṇam).

That is, accusative dual, because of ṇ of 7.1.18 auṅ āpah, will now carry
two anubandhas, ṇ and T. The ṇ of auṅ will have to be carried over to auT
since Ń is to be used for generalized reference. Thus, au and auṬ will both be considered marked with Ń as their it. If this auÑ goes through a replacement in Śi, operations which obtain under the following condition of auÑ, for example the introduction of augment yāT, will apply (7.3.113 yād āpah; cf. . . . tasya āsānjane smin sa dūṣah). The word nītkāryam is here interpreted as niti kāryam 'an operation when that which is marked with Ń as an it follows'.

It is stated that nīt can be interpreted in two ways: nīt yasya 'that whose it is a Ń', a bahuvrīhi used as a qualifier to an affix having Ń as an it, and nākāraś cāsu ics ca 'that which is a Ń and is also an it'. Operationally, a bahuvrīhi will give us the meaning of 'when au, whose Ń is an it, follows'. This will create problems. That is why, a suggestion is made to accept Nīt as a bahuvrīhi but simply as a specification of the sound auÑ. It should not be considered making a reference to an affix marked with Ń as an it. One can now invoke tadādividhi 'Ń which occurs at the beginning' to yield the interpretation:

'an operation which is specified with a sound to follow applies under the right condition of that which begins with that sound'

Since Ń is not used at the beginning of auÑ, its replacement in Śi cannot condition introduction of yāT.

Now some solutions based on the fourth line of the kārikā verses:

(a) The auÑ of auñ āpah only references the sound au. That is, Śi should replace au. Since auñ āpah is contained within the domain of aṅga, one must make a reference to the following affix. The au will be interpreted as a qualifier to the affix occurring after the aṅga ending āP. One will now invoke tadanta-vidhi 'treating x as also that which ends in x' to yield the meaning: an affix which ends in au (vyapadesīvadbhāva will be invoked to treat au as ending in au) and occurs after an aṅga ending in āP. The Ń will then not be considered an it but a sound used for ease of articulation. This treatment will not be any different from d of 3.3.57 ādor āp. But there is a problem: application of niranubandhaka . . . (see above (i)) convention can still not be blocked.

(b) It is stated that auÑ refers to the rule formulation āvautāvaurī, a rule of earlier scholars. This formulation represents both au and auÑ. The auÑ of auñ āpah thus represents both au and auṬ. The Ń will not cause any operation dependent upon that which is marked with Ń as an it. The anubandhas of earlier scholars will not be treated here as functional. Thus, if there is no problem in accepting Ń as an it, how could there be any problem in not accepting it as an it.

SUMMARY:

If one accepts Ń as an it, operations relative to that which is marked with Ń as an it will obtain. These operations would not obtain if one accepts the
specification with \textit{auN} as simply referring to the sound \textit{au}, and \textit{N} used for ease of articulation, and not to an affix marked with \textit{N} as an \textit{it}. A formulation of this rule as \textit{auT āpah}, where \textit{T} can be considered used for ease of articulation, will enable references to both \textit{au} and \textit{auT} with \textit{auT}. Consequently, \textit{N} should not be used as an \textit{it} in \textit{auN}. But this view is not appropriate.

4. A specification with \textit{āpah} includes references to bases ending in the feminine affixes \textit{TāP, CāP} and \textit{DāP}. Thus, we get \textit{khaṭvā (TāP, 4.1.4 ajādyataś tāp), bahurājā (DāP, 4.1.13 dāb ubhāhhyām anyatarasyām) and kāriśagandhyā (CāP, 4.1.74 yaṅaś cāp).}

7.1.19 नपृःसकाच

\textit{nāpursakāc ca}
\textit{/napuṃsakāt 5/1 ca phi/}
\textit{(āngasa #6.4.1 śī #17 auṅah #18)}
\textit{nāpuriṃsakād uttarasya auṅah ‘śī ity ayam ādeśo bhavati}
Affixes \textit{au} and \textit{auT}, when occurring after an \textit{aṅga} termed neuter, are replaced with \textit{Śī}.

\textbf{EXAMPLES:}

\textit{kunde tisṭhataḥ ‘two bowls are there’}
\textit{kunde paśya ‘see (these) two bowls’}

1. Note that \textit{i} of \textit{Śī}, for example in \textit{kunda + (au→Śī)}, qualifies for its status as \textit{svādi} ‘nominal ending enumerated beginning with \textit{sU}'. It can, however, not be assigned the term \textit{sarvanāmasthāna} since \textit{kunda} ‘bowl’ is neuter. The word \textit{kunda}, however, qualifies for assignment of the term \textit{bha} since \textit{i} is an ending beginning with a vowel (\textit{ajādi}).

The \textit{a} of \textit{kunda} + \textit{i} qualifies for deletion by 6.4.14 yasyeti ca. A vārtti (\textit{vt: śyām pratisedho vaktavyah}) blocks this deletion in favor of a single \textit{guna-replacement} (6.1.87 ād gunah), instead. The \textit{i} and \textit{u} before \textit{trāpu, dadhi} and \textit{madhu}, in \textit{trapunī, dadhini} and \textit{madhunī}, is similarly saved from deletion before \textit{Śī}. Augment \textit{nUM} in \textit{dadhini} and \textit{madhunī} is introduced by 7.1.73 \textit{iko' ci vibhaktau}.  

7.1.20 जाष्साहो: Śiḥ:

\textit{jaśsasoh śiḥ}
\textit{/jaś-sasoh 6/2 śīh 1/1/}
\textit{(āngasa #6.4.1 napuṃsakāt #19)}
\textit{nāpuriṃsakād aṅgād uttarayor jaśsasoh ‘śiḥ’ ity aym ādeśo bhavati}
Affixes \textit{jas} and \textit{Śas}, when occurring after an \textit{aṅga} used with the signification of neuter, are replaced with \textit{Śī}.  

Examples:

kundāni paśya ‘see these bowls’
kundāni tisṭhanti ‘there are (these) bowls’
kundāni paśya ‘see these bowls’
dadāhī ‘nominative-accusative plural of dadhī’
maṇḍūṇī ‘nominative-accusative plural of maṇṭikī’
trapūṇī ‘nominative-accusative plural of trapu (bashful, lead)’
jatūṇī ‘nominative-accusative plural of jatu (red dye, lac)’

1. Note that Śas, because of its associated listing (sāhacarya) with the nominative plural ending Jas, can here refer only to the accusative plural nominal ending. It cannot refer, for example, to the uddhita affix Śas (5.4.43 samkhyaikavacanac . . .). Thus, no Śi for Śas in kundām kundām = kundāsah dadāti ‘gives bowls after bowls full of food’; vanam vanam = vanasah pravišanti ‘ . . . enter each and every forest’. The nUM, in examples of Jas, is introduced by 7.1.72 napumaksasya jhaly acaḥ. It is introduced by 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau, elsewhere. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel (upadhātīrgha) is accomplished, in these examples, by 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau.

2. Note that Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā), based on listing of this rule by earlier grammarians (cf. Nyāsa ad Kāśikā 7.1.50 jasēḥ iti pūrvā cārayanirdesah. pūrvācāryā hi jasir ity evam vihitavantaḥ), accepts the wording of this rule as: jasāsah śiḥ. He explains that ā at the end in jasi is used for ease of articulation (Nyāsa: jasīty atrekāra uccāraṇārthaḥ).

7.1.21 अश्वाय औस्त

aśṭābhya auŚ
/aśṭābhyaḥ 6/3 auŚ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 jasāsah #20)
kṛtākārād aṣṭan śabdād uttarayor jasāsoh ‘auŚ’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes Jas and Śas, when occurring after an aṅga namely aśṭa with its final replaced with ā (ātva), are replaced with auŚ.

Examples:

aṣṭau tiṣṭhanti ‘these eight are staying’
aṣṭau paśya ‘look at those eight’
paramāṣṭau ‘the best eight’
uttamaṇḍau ‘the best eight’

1. This rule allows auŚ as a replacement for Jas and Śas which, in turn, occur after aṣṭa, a form of aṣṭan with its final n replaced with ā by 7.2.84 aṣṭan ā vibhaktau. Thus, aṣṭan + au → aṣṭa(n → ā) + au → aṣṭa(a+ā → ā) + au; aṣṭa + (Jas → au(Ś)) → aṣṭa + auŚ, through a single homogeneous long vowel re-
placement (6.1.100 akāḥ savarne dirghaḥ). Rule 6.1.88 vrddhir eci finally produces asti (ā→au→au) = astau, through a single vrddhi-replacement in ʻau.

2. Note that 7.2.84 astan ā vibhaktau offers a replacement in ā (ātva) when a nominal ending beginning with a consonant (halādi) follows astan. The nominal endings (j as and (Ś) as both begin with a vowel (ajādi). How is this replacement in ā (ātva) possible here? Pāṇini’s specification of aṣṭabhyaḥ, as against aṣṭabhyaḥ, itself, will become an indicator (jñāpaka), and will account for this replacement in ā (ātva). For, he would have specified the rule more economically as aṣṭabhya ʻauś if he did not intend this application of replacement in ā (ātva). That is, if he, otherwise, intended this replacement in ʻauŚ, after aṣṭan.

This rule is an exception to 7.1.22 saḍbhyo luk whereby we get aṣṭa paśyā ‘look at the eight . . .’. This replacement in ʻauŚ is thus an exception to that LUK-deletion. For, this rule is formulated against the obligatory application of 7.1.22 saḍbhyo luk. It will become useless if LUK-deletion applied everywhere. This rule is also optional because 6.1.169 aṣṭano dirghaḥ requires a non-sarvanāmaṣṭhāna nominal ending to be marked with udatta when occurring after aṣṭan. If this replacement in ā (ātva) was obligatory then dirghaḥ in 6.1.169 aṣṭano dirghaḥ would have become unnecessary. As a consequence, udatta must be made available when replacement in ā (ātva) applies.

This rule is formulated irrespective of LUK-deletion application, and / or non-application, of rule 2.4.72 supo dhāṭuprātipadikayoḥ. That is, it does not apply where aṣṭan is part of a compound. Consider aṣṭaputraḥ ‘he who has eight sons’ and aṣṭabhāryaḥ ‘he who has eight wives’ where deletion applies.

This specification with aṣṭā also includes a reference to bases which may end in aṣṭā. Thus, we get paramāṣṭau and uttamāṣṭau ‘eight best’. Since replacement in ā (ātva) is optional, we also get priyaṣṭānaḥ, a bahuvihari paraphrased as priyā aṣṭau yeśām ‘those to whom eight are dear’, with no ʻauŚ.

7.1.22 द्विधयो लुक

saḍbhyo luk
/ saḍbhyaḥ 5/3 luk 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 jaśasoh #20)
ṣaṭaṃjaṅkṣeṣṭikyaḥ uttarayor jaśiasor lug bhavati
Affixes J as and Ś as, when occurring after an aṅga termed ʻat, are deleted by means of LUK.

Examples:

ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti ‘six are standing’
ṣaṭ paśya ‘see those six’
panca ‘five’
sapta ‘seven’
nava ‘nine’
dasa ‘ten’
1. The term śat is assigned by 1.1.24 śnāntā śat. Refer to the appendix (II:359) for derivational details. Here again, tadantavidhi, i.e., reference to forms which may end in śat, is desired, especially since constituents referred to by śat are principal (pradhāna). Thus, we get LUK-deletion in paramaśat and uttamaśat. However, this deletion does not apply when a constituent referred to by śat occurs as an upasajjana 'secondary' (2.2.30 upasajjanam pūrvam). Thus, we do not find this LUK-deletion in priyasasah ‘he to whom those six are dear’ and priyapañcānah ‘he to whom those five are dear’, the bahuvrīhi compounds denote someone outside their constituency (anyadārtha) as principal.

7.1.23 svamonepunākāta

svamor napuṃsakāt
/svamoh 6/2 = suś ca am ca (itar. dv.; tayoh); napuṃsakāt 5/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 luk #22)
‘su, am’ ity etayor napuṃsakād uttarayor lug bhavati
Affixes sU and am, when occurring after an aṅga used with the signification of neuter (napuṃsaka), are deleted by means of LUK.

EXAMPLES:

dadhī tiṣṭhati ‘there is yoghurt’
dadhī paśya ‘see yoghurt’
madhū tiṣṭhati ‘there is honey’
madhū paśya ‘see honey’
trapu ‘lead; bashful’
jatu ‘red-dye’

1. This rule offers deletion of sU and am after an aṅga used with the signification of neuter. What about tad brāhmanakulaṁ ‘that clan of the brāhmaṇas’ where LUK of this rule should have caused deletion of sU after tad ‘that’. Rule 7.2.102 tyādādināṁ ah is thus blocked form replacing the final d of tad with a. Why can 7.2.102 not block LUK-deletion on the basis of paratva? LUK-deletion will still block that in anticipation of a possible conflict (pūrvapratīṣṭedha). Or else, this deletion by LUK is obligatory (nītya). But this is unacceptable. If it was a nītya ‘obligatory’ rule then it could not be blocked by 7.1.24 ato’ m. This rule is still nītya because yasya ca laḳṣaṇāntareṇa nimittam vihanyate na tad anityam (Parīḥ: 49) ‘that whose condition of application is removed by some other rule is still not considered non-obligatory (anītya)’. Thus, in a conflict between LUK-deletion and replacement in a of 7.2.102 tyādādinām ah, 7.1.24 ato’ m, a third rule, removes the condition of LUK-deletion. This makes LUK-deletion obligatory, and hence, more powerful. The application of 7.2.102 tyādādinām ah is, therefore, blocked in the absence of a following nominal ending. One cannot, here, invoke 1.1.63
pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam and thereby try to apply 7.2.102 tyadādīnām ah.
For, 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya will not permit it.

7.1.24 अतोऽम्

ato’ m
/ atah 5/1 am 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 svamor naṃpūṃsakāt #23)
akārṇiṇān naṃpūṃsakād uttarayoh svamoh ‘am’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes sU and am, when occurring after an aṅga ending in a and used
with the signification of neuter, is replaced with am.

Examples:

kundam (tiṣṭhati)
kundam (paśya)
vanam
pītham

1. This rule offers am as a replacement for the nominal endings sU and
am when they occur after a neuter base ending in a. Thus kunda + (sU→am)
= kunda + am, where a+a will get a single replacement similar to the preceding
(pūṛvarūpa; 6.1.106 ami pūrvah).

2. Why did this rule not specify the replacement simply as m? Rule 7.3.102
supi ca could then have occasioned lengthening (dirgha) before a nominal
ending (sUP) beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN
(Kāśikā: makārah kasmān na kriyate. dirghatvam (7.3.102 supi ca) prāṇoti). If
Pāṇini had intended to formulate this rule as atah m, then, following the
economy (lāghava) of formulation, he would have simply formulated the
rule as mataḥ. But he still formulated the rule as ato’ m. This rule is an exception
to the preceding rule which occasions LUK-deletion.

7.1.25 अद्वृत्तारिथ्यः पष्पथ्यः:

add datarādibhyah pañcabhyah
/ add 1/1 datarādibhyah 5/3 = datara ādir yeśām (bh.), tebhhyah; pañcabhyah
5/3/ 
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 svamoh #23)
datarādibhyah parayoḥ svamor ‘add’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes sU and am, when occurring after the first five aṅgas ending in
affixes specified beginning with Datarac (5.3.92 kimyattador nirdhārane
dvayor ekasya datarac), are replaced with adD.

Examples:

katarat tiṣṭhati ‘which one of the two . . .’
katarat paśya ‘which of the two . . .’
katamat tiṣṭhati 'which of the many . . .'
kamatat pāsyā 'which of the many . . .'
itarat 'the other'
anyatarat 'any, either'
anyat 'the other'

1. Note that the five bases specified here are enumerated in the sarvādi 'sarva, etc.' group (gaṇa) of pronominals (sarvanāman; 1.1.27 sarvādinī sarvanāmāni) as: Dātara, Dātama, anya, anyatara, and itara. The first two are affixes which, when interpreted in view of tadantavidhi 'process of interpreting x as also denoting that which ends in x', gives us bases which end in affixes DātaraC and DātamaC. The remaining three bases are anya, anyatara and itara. Consider katarat where katar derives from kim + DatarC with the significant of singling out one from among two (5.3.92 kinyattadord nirdhārane dvayor ekasya datarac). Rule 6.4.143 teḥ (vt.: did abhasyāpi ter lopaḥ) causes deletion of ti of kim. Thus, k(im→∅) + (D) atara(C) = k + atara → katar. One can also derive katama with affix (D) atama (5.3.93 va bahunām ātipariprāśne dātamac) used with the significant of singling out one from among many.

Now consider katar + sU and katam + sU where sU gets replaced with ad(D). This dīstatus of ad(D) will again cause ti-deletion. Thus, katar(a→∅) + ad = katar + ad and katam(a→∅) + ad = katam + ad. The final d of these derivatives will be optionally replaced with t (8.4.55 vavasāne).

2. Why is adD marked with D as an i? So that ti-deletion in katarat pāṣya can be accomplished. For, in its absence, we will get katara + at which, by pūrvasavānādirgha 'single long vowel replacement similar to what precedes' will produce an undesired form *katarāti (6.1.101 prathamayoḥ pūrvasavānāḥ). In summary, sU and am are replaced with adD, and ti-deletion then applies.

3. It is claimed that katarat of katarat pāṣya can still be derived with the application of 6.1.107 ami pūrvaḥ by accepting the nominal ending am to follow katara, via sthānivadbhāva 'accepting x as y which it replaced' (1.1.56 sthānivad ādesaḥ naścitvah). Why could the replacement then not be simply given as ti? So that deletion of t by 6.1.69 eṁ hravat sambuddheḥ, based on extension of sambuddhi via sthānivadbhāva, could be blocked in case of he katarat. It is further argued that this deletion can be saved if aprkta (1.2.41 aprkta ekāl pratyayaḥ) is carried to 6.1.69 eṁ hravat sambuddheḥ from 6.1.68 bhaliyabhya dirghāḥ . . . and a of am is replaced with d in consonance with 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya. The m, of course, will then go through conjunct-final deletion (samyoṣanta-lopa) of 8.2.23 samyoṣantoṣa lopaḥ. But since this deletion will be considered suspended (asiddha; 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsiddham), we can no longer have the affixal sound termed aprkta. As a consequence, deletion will be blocked. But accepting this will also block deletion of am in he kānda. For, we can also not get aprkta here. It is for this reason that taking recourse to the anuvṛtti of aprkta is not advised. But still, if the anuvṛtti of aprkta is not
accepted, deletion will become applicable in he katarat, etc. It is for this reason that this replacement in adD is offered with D as an it, consequential to ti-deletion. Thus,

apṛktas cedamo doso nivrte datarādisu /
adhitvād datarādīnām na lopo nāpi dirghata/

4. A question is raised as to why Panini, given ad datarādibhyah . . ., did not apply 8.4.40 śunā stūḥ. That is, why did he not formulate this rule with ad by replacing d before d with d and deleting the final d with the application of 8.2.23 san yogāntasya lopah. He chose ad, instead, to avoid any confusion as to whether the replacement was ad or ad.

7.1.26 netarāc chandasi

netarāc chandasi
// na φ itarāt 5/1 chandasi 7/1//
(anagasya #6.4.1 svamoḥ #23 add #25)
itaraśabdād uttarayoḥ svamoś chandasi viṣaye add ādeso na bhavati
A replacement in adD does not come in place of affixes sU and am when they occur after an anga, namely itara ‘other’, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

mṛtāmitramitargmAṇḍāmājāyat
vārtraghnamitaram

1. This negation of adD is made in favor of 7.1.24 ato m. Thus, itara + am → itar(a+a→a)m = itaram ‘the other of the two’, through pūrvarūpa ‘single replacement similar to the preceding of a vocalic sequence’ (6.1.97 ato guṇe). This replacement in adD, however, will apply in the classical language. Thus, itat kāṣṭham ‘the other of the two pieces of wood’, etc.

2. Why did Panini not formulate 7.1.26 netarāc chandasi simply as itarāc chandasi after the preceding 7.1.25 ato m? This way, a negative provision with na ‘not’ would not be needed. A replacement in am would thus have become an exception to replacement in adD. Actually, netarāc chandasi is preferred to facilitate rule-splitting (yogavibhāga). This way, we get na ‘not’ as a separate split-rule (Kāś: netarāc chandasi iti vacanaṃ yogavibhāgartham). This split-rule facilitates negation after eka(tara) everywhere (PM: ekasabdādd hi sarvatra pratiśedha isyate, sa ca neti yogavibhāgal labhyate. tasmād yogavibhāga isyate).

3. Still, a vārttika proposal is made for negation (pratiśedha) of adD after ekeṭara ‘one of the two’ in all (classical as well as Vedic) usage (ut: ekataṛādd hi sarvatra chandasi bhāṣāyām pratiśedha isyate). Consider the following examples with am: ekataṃ tiṣṭhati and ekataṃ paśya.
7.1.27 युष्मदस्मद्भयम् दसोऽस्य

yusmadasmadbhyām īnasō’ś
/yusmad-asmadbhāyam 5 / 2 (itar. dv.); īnasāḥ 6/1 aś 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

'yusmad-asmad' ity etābhyām uttarasya īnasāḥ 'aś' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix Īnas is replaced with aŚ when the same occurs after an aṅga, namely
yusmad 'second personal pronominal base (you)' and asmad 'first per-
sonal pronominal base (I)'.

EXAMPLES:

tava svam 'your possession'
mama svam 'my possession'

1. Note that, given yusmad + (Īnas→aŚ) = yusmad + a and asmad + (Īnas→aŚ) =
asmad + a, rule 7.2.96 tavamamau nasi will replace yusm and asm with tava
and mama, thereby yielding tava + ad + a and mama + ad + a. The final d of
tava + ad and mama + ad will then go through deletion of 7.2.90 seṣe lopaḥ to
produce tava + a(d→∅) + a = tava + a + a and mama + a + a. Two applications
of 6.1.97 ato guṇe (pararūpa 'a single replacement similar to what follows in a
sequence'), first on tav(a+a→a) and then on tav(a+a→a), will produce the
final derivates: tava and mama. There are some who consider the deletion
by 7.2.90 seṣe lopaḥ as ti-deletion in consonance with 1.1.64 aco ‘niyādi ti. If
one prefers ti-deletion, instead, application of 7.2.90 seṣe lopaḥ will affect the
deletion of ad. Since one a will be deleted through ti-deletion, there will be
only one application of pararūpa by 6.1.97 ato guṇe. This will be economical.
However, one must find justification for applying ti-deletion, as against dele-
tion of the final sound segment per 7.2.90 seṣe lopaḥ.

2. The Śas as an it, in aŚ, is intended for total replacement (sarvādeṣa; 1.1.55
anekāl śit sarvasya), as against application of 1.1.53 ādeḥ parasya. If a alone
was given as replacement, only sof Īnas (of Īnas) could be replaced in view of
1.1.53 ādeḥ parasya. This would yield tava + a(d→∅) + a(s→a) = tava + a + a +
a. One can still derive tava from this string but one has to resort to applica-
tion of pararūpa three times: tav(a+a→a) = tav(a+a→a) = tav(a+a→a) =
tava. That is, if one does not accept ti-deletion of ad in case of the application
of 7.2.90 seṣe lopaḥ. This process will be very prolix (gaurava). Replacing
(Ī) as with aŚ marked with Ś as an it also involves a replacement of a with a.
This a-replacement of a is not useless since this secondary representation of
a-replacement blocks y-replacement of 7.2.29 yo’ ci. Consequently, it is proper
and economical to replace Īnas in toto with aŚ marked with Ś as an it.

7.1.28 के प्रथमयोर्म्

īne prathamayor am
/ṇe ū prathamayoḥ 6/2 am 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 yuṣmadasmdbhyaṁ #27)
'ṇe' ity etasya prathamayoś ca vibhaktyoḥ = prathamādvitiyayor yuṣma-
dasmdbhyaṁ uttarayoh 'am' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The fourth (caturthi) singular triplet of nominal ending Ne, and indi-
vidual triplets of the nominative (prathamā) and accusative (dvitiyā),
i.e., sU, au, jas and am, auT, Šas, are fully replaced with am when they
occur after an aṅga, namely yuṣmad and asmad.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyam diyate ‘... is given to you’
mahyaṁ diyate ‘... is given to me’
tvam / yuvām / yiyam ‘nominative singular, dual, and plural forms of
the second personal pronominal yuṣmad’
aham / āvām / vayam ‘nominative singular, dual, and plural forms of
the first personal pronominal asmad’
tvām ‘accusative singular form of yuṣmad’
mām ‘accusative singular form of asmad’

1. This rule offers am as a total replacement for the fourth singular triplet
of nominal ending Ne, and also for the first (nominative) and second (ac-
cusative) singular, dual, plural endings sU / au / jas and am / auT / Šas. Of
course, when these nominal endings occur after an aṅga constituted by yuṣmad
‘second personal pronominal (you)’ and asmad ‘first personal pronominal
(I)’. Note that the accusative plural ending Šas is to be excluded here. For,
our next rule makes a separate proposal for Šas (7.1.29 āsah na). These
replacements, along with deletion of d by 7.2.90 āse ālopaḥ, follow derivati-
onal patterns similar to tava and mama of the earlier rule. A replacement in
tubhya and mahya for yuṣm and asm is offered by 7.2.95 tubhyamahyau niṣy.
Thus, yuṣmad + (Ne→am) = (yuṣm→tubhya) ad + am = tubhya + a(d=ϕ) + am =
tubhya(a+a→a) + am = tubhya(a + a→a) m → tubhyam. Recall that 6.1.97 ato
guṇe accomplishes pararūpa-replacement in tubhy (a + a→a) = tubhya. Rule
6.1.106 ami pūrvaḥ also accomplishes pūrvarūpa in tubhy(a+a→a) m = tubhyam.
Similar applications are also involved in other derivates. A replacement in
tva and aha in the nominative singular is accomplished by 7.2.94 tvāhau sau.
The accusative dual yuvām and āvām involve a as a replacement for the final
d of yuṣmad and asmad (7.2.88 prathamāyāśca dvivacane bhāṣyām). A replace-
ment in yuyā and vaya, for yuṣm and asm, is specified by 7.3.93 yūyavayau jasi
before jas. Rule 7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane requires tvu and ma as replacement
for yuṣm and asm, respectively, in singular before am of the accusative.
A replacement in ā (ātva) for d is here accomplished by 7.2.87 dvitiyāyān ca.

2. Note that Ne is specified in this rule without the use of any nominal
ending (avibhaktiṇyam nirdeśaḥ). Our word prathamayoḥ, in the dual, refers
to prathamā ‘first (nominative)’ and dvitiyā ‘second (accusative)’ triplets of
nominal endings. The \textit{m} of \textit{am} is not termed an \textit{it} by 1.3.3 \textit{halantyam}. For, 1.3.4 \textit{na vibhaktau tuşmāḥ} blocks the assignment of this term.

\textbf{7.1.29 रासो न}

\textit{saso na}

/ \textit{sasāh} 6/1 \textit{na} (1/1 deleted)/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuşmādasmadbhyām #27)

yuşmādasmadbhyām uttarasya saso nakārādeśo bhavati

Affix \textit{Sas} is replaced with \textit{nA} when the same occurs after an \textit{aṅga}, namely, yuşmād and asmad.

\textbf{Examples:}

yuşmān brāhmaṇān ‘... you brāhmaṇas’
asmān brāhmaṇān ‘... us brāhmaṇas’
yuşmān kulānī ‘... you clansmen’
asmān kulānī ‘... us clansmen’

1. The \textit{A} of \textit{nA} is for used for ease of articulation (uccāraṇārthaḥ). The \textit{a} of \textit{Sas} is replaced with \textit{n}, in view of 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya, of course, by blocking the replacement to come in place of the final sound segment in accord with 1.1.51 alo’ nityasya. This rule is an exception to the preceding rule which, in turn, makes a provision for \textit{am}. Thus, yuşmād + ((Ś)\textit{a} → \textit{n})\textit{s}) = yuşmād + \textit{n} + \textit{s}. The \textit{d} of yuşmād is then replaced with ā of 7.2.87 dvītiyāyān ca, thereby yielding yuşma(d → ā) + \textit{n} + \textit{s} = yuşma + ā + \textit{n} + \textit{s}. Similarly, we get asma + ā + ā + \textit{n} + \textit{s}. An application of 6.1.101 akāh savarne dīrghāḥ will produce yuşm(a+ā→ā) + \textit{n} + \textit{s} = yuşmā + \textit{n} + \textit{s} and asm(a+ā→ā) + \textit{n} + \textit{s} = asmā + \textit{n} + \textit{s}. A conjunct deletion of \textit{s} at the end (8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah) will finally produce yuşmān (s→φ) = yuşmān and asmān(s→φ) = asmān. Recall that suspension (asiddhatva) of conjunct deletion cannot be manipulated to accomplish deletion of \textit{n} by 8.2.7 na lopah prātipadikāntasya. In fact, a replacement in \textit{n} (natva), for \textit{n} in yuşmān, which may become available from 8.4.2 aṅkuṣpān ... , is also blocked by 8.4.36 padāntasya.

This rule is formulated for derivates in the neuter and feminine. For, the \textit{n} of masculine derivates could be accomplished by 6.1.102 tasmāc chaso naḥ pūmsi. Or else, if one believes that a pronominal does not have a specific gender, this rule is formulated so that \textit{n} could also be made available in the neuter and feminine.

\textbf{7.1.30 ब्ध्यसो ब्ध्यम्}

bhyaso bhyam

/ bhyasāh 6/1 bhyam 1/1 /

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuşmādasmadbhyām #27)
yuṣmadasmadbhyaṁ uttarasya bhyaṁaḥ 'bhyaṁ' ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati
Affix bhyaṁ is replaced with bhyaṁ when the same occurs after an āṅga,
namely, yuṣmad and asmad.

**Examples:**

yuṣmabhyaṁ diyaṁ '... is given to you all'
asmabhyaṁ diyaṁ '... is given to us all'

1. Note that an interpretation of this rule may yield both bhyaṁ and abhyaṁ as replacements. That is, by accepting bhyaṁaḥ bhyaṁ and bhyaṁaḥ abhyaṁ as two readings. If one accepts bhyaṁ, then a deletion of d of yuṣmad and asmad has to be accomplished by 7.2.90 śeṣe lopaḥ. Thus, asmad + (bhyaṁ → bhyaṁ)
→ asma(d→φ) + bhyaṁ = asmabhyaṁ. Note that this deletion of d will not be a tī-deletion. It will be accomplished to simply derive desired forms (iṣṭa-
sidhyarthā). Accepting abhyaṁ will entail tī-deletion of ad, again by 7.2.90 śeṣe
lopaḥ. See my notes about tī-deletion of ad under rule 7.1.27 yuṣmadas-
madhyaṁ nāso' ś. Thus, asmad + (bhyaṁ→abhyaṁ) → asm(ad→φ) + abhyaṁ;
asm + abhyaṁ = asmahyam. Many prefer abhyaṁ as the proper replacement.
Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for further details.

2. Why can we not accomplish e-replacement (etva) of 7.3.103 bahuvacane
jhaly et after bhyaṁ replaces bhyaṁ and 7.2.90 śeṣe lopaḥ deletes d? This is not possible, especially in view of paribhāṣā (93) aṅgavytte puṇarṇuṛtāv avidhiḥ.
That is, aṅgakāryaṁ kṛte puṇar nāṅgakāryaṁ 'one should not perform another
operation on an āṅga once one has already been performed'.

7.1.31 पञ्चम्या अत्

paṇcamyā at
/ paṇcamyāḥ 6/1 at 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuṣmadasmadbhyaṁ #27 bhyaṁaḥ #30)

paṇcamyā bhyaṁaḥ yuṣmadasmadbhyaṁ uttarasya 'at' ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati
The bhyaṁ of the fifth triplet of nōminal endings (paṇcam) which oc-
curs after an āṅga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, is replaced with at.

**Examples:**

yuṣmad gacchanti 'they move away from you'
asmad gacchanti 'they move away from us'

1. This is an exception to bhyaṁ which is made available by the earlier
rule (Nyāsa: pūrvaṇa prāptasya bhyaṁo' pavādaḥ). The deriatives both involve
tī-deletion, or deletion of d of ad (7.2.90 śeṣe lopaḥ), in addition to total re-
placement of bhyaṁ with at. Thus, yuṣmad + bhyaṁ → yuṣmad + (bhyaṁ→at) =
yum(ad→φ) + at = yusmat. Similarly, we get asmat. If one prefers final dele-
tion of d of yuṣmad and asmad before at by 7.2.90 śeṣe lopaḥ, one may have to
derive the desired forms yuṣmat and asmat by applying the pararūpa 'single
replacement similar to what follows in a sequence’ provision of 6.1.97 ato gnē. The example derivates are given with verbal form gacchanti to illustrate apāya ‘movement away from’ as one of the conditions under which the fifth triplet can be used to denote apādāna (2.3.28 apādāne pañcamī).

7.1.32 एक्वचनस्य च

ekavacanasya ca
/ekavacanasya 6/1 ca ϐ/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuṣmadasmadbhyām #27 pañcamyā at #31)
pañcamyā ekavacanasya yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya ‘at’ ity ayam ādēso bhavati

The singular ending of the fifth triplet, i.e., Nasī, when occurring after an ānīga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, is also replaced with at.

EXAMPLES:

tvad gacchanti ‘they move away from you’
mad gacchanti ‘they move away from me’

1. Note that yuṣm and asm are here replaced with tvā and ma (7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane). Rules 7.2.97 seṣe lopāḥ and 6.1.97 ato gnē apply as usual to offer ī-Deletion and pararūpa. Thus, (yuṣm→tvā) ad + (Nasī→at) → (tv(ad→ϕ) + at = tvat. We similarly get asmad + at → (asm→ma)d + at = m(ad→ϕ) + at = mat. Accepting deletion of final d, against ī-Deletion, will again require application of pararūpa of 6.1.97 ato gnē.

7.1.33 साम आकाम

sāmā ākam
/sāmah 6/1 ākam 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuṣmadasmadbhyām #27)
‘sāma’ iti śaṇṭibahuvacanam āgatsuṭkam gṛhyate; tasya yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya ‘ākam’ ity ayam ādēso bhavati

The word-form sām, when occurring after an ānīga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, is replaced with ākam.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmākam ‘yours’
asmākam ‘ours’

1. Note that sām is here interpreted as the genitive plural ending ām, specified with augment sUṭ (āgatasukta). Augment sUṭ is brought here from 7.1.52 āmī sarvanāmaḥ suṭ. This specification of ām with sUṭ is made to get rid of this sUṭ by way of replacement. It is also to indicate that ākam will not get sUṭ which, otherwise, may be available to yuṣma and asma after deletion
of $d$ by 7.2.97 $sese\ lopah$. A specification with $s\am$ gets rid of $sUT$ by way of its being part of $\am$. A replacement with long $a$ in $\akam$ is given for blocking $pararupa$ (6.1.97 $ato\ gu\c{n}e$).

The $ti$-deletion of 7.2.97 $sese\ lopah$ again applies. Thus, $yu\smad + s\am \rightarrow yu\smad + (s\am \rightarrow \akam) \rightarrow yu\sm(ad) + \akam = yu\sm\akam$. We similarly get $asm\akam$. This rule thus does three things: (i) it introduces $\akam$ as a replacement for $\am$ by specifying it with $s$ of $sUT$; (ii) it thus gets rid of $sUT$; (iii) if one follows the final-deletion view of 7.2.97 $sese\ lopah$, this rule, by way of including $sUT$ as part of $st\ani$ 'item to be replaced', also negates $sUT$ which may, subsequently, become applicable ($K\acute{a}s: \acute{a}d\acute{e}se\ k\grave{r}te\ hi\ \acute{s}\acute{e}elope\ yu\sm\ad\mbox{asmador}\ ak\acute{a}r\acute{a}ntav\texttt{t}\ s\acute{u}t\ \texttt{pr}\acute{a}pnoti\ sa\ st\acute{h}\acute{a}nyantarbh\acute{u}tatv\texttt{a}\ nivartate$).

2. It is stated that $\akam$ is specified with a long $a$ to facilitate homogeneous long vowel replacement ($sav\texttt{ar}na\texttt{-dirgha}; 6.1.100 $akah\ savar\texttt{ne}\ dirgha\texttt{h}$). But this replacement could be blocked simply at the strength of offering the replacement in $akam$ with a short $a$. A specification with short $a$ could block replacement in $e$ ($etwa; 7.3.103$ $bahuvacane\ \texttt{jhaly\ et}$). But it could not block the application of $pararupa$ by 6.1.97 $ato\ gu\c{n}e$. That is, homogeneous long vowel replacement could not be accomplished. It is to facilitate the application of 6.1.100 $akah\ savar\texttt{ne}\ dirgha\texttt{h}$ that $\akam$ is specified with the long $a$ of $\akam$. If $ti$-deletion is accomplished by way of the application of 7.2.90 $sese\ lopah$, the condition of introduction of augment $sUT$ will be removed. For, there will not be any $a$ at the end of the $\texttt{anga}$. This will then render the specification of $sakam$ with augment $sUT$ ($sas\texttt{uk}a$) vacuous ($\texttt{vyartha}$).

7.1.34 $\texttt{A\acute{a}tu\ O\acute{a} n\acute{a}l}$:

$\acute{a}t\ au$ $\texttt{nal}\texttt{a}$

$/\acute{a}t\acute{a}h/ 5/1\ au$ (1/1 deleted) $\texttt{nal}\texttt{a}h\ 6/1$

($\texttt{angasa}\ #6.4.1$)

$\acute{a}k\acute{a}r\acute{a}d\ \texttt{ang\acute{a}d}\ uttarasya\ \texttt{nal}\ \texttt{auk\acute{a}r\acute{a}de}\texttt{so}\ \texttt{bhavati}$

Affix $\acute{a}L$, when occurring after an $\texttt{anga}$ ending in $\acute{a}T$, is replaced with $au$.

Examples:

$papau$ 'third person active $LIT$-derivate of $p\acute{a}$ 'to drink''

tasthau 'third person singular active $LIT$-derivate of $st\acute{a}$ 'to stand''

$\texttt{ja\acute{g}lau}$ 'third person singular active $LIT$-derivate of $\texttt{glai}$ 'to be weary, sad’

$mamlau$ 'third person singular active $LIT$-derivate of $ml\acute{a}$ 'to be weary, languid’

1. Note that $NaL$ is a replacement of the third person singular active verbal ending $tip$ (3.4.82 $paras\texttt{maid\acute{a}d\acute{n}am}\ \texttt{nalatusus\ et}$). Consider $papau$ derived from $p\acute{a} + (LIT\rightarrow tiP) \rightarrow p\acute{a} + (tiP\rightarrow NaL) = p\acute{a} + (N) a(L)$, where this rule replaces $NaL$ with $au$ to produce $p\acute{a} + au$. A single replacement in $\texttt{vr\ddh}i$
(6.1.88 vrddhir eci) then produces \(p(a+au\rightarrow au) = \text{pau}\). Rule 6.1.8 liśi dhātor anabhyāsasya is then applied for reduplication. It takes place via rūpātidesa ‘extension of form (here of pā to pau)’. We thus get pā + pau. The ā of pā is then replaced with its short counterpart of 7.4.59 krasvah. That is, \(p(ā\rightarrow a) + \text{pau} = \text{papau}\). Similar order of rules apply in deriving other examples. Note, however, that tha of the abhyāsa, alone, is retained in view of application of 7.4.61 śarpūrvāh khayah. This th, eventually, goes through a replacement in t (cartva) of 8.4.54 abhyāse ca ca, thereby yielding tashau. Refer to the appendix (III:787) for derivational details of jagle and mamle which share rule applications similar to jaglau and mamlau.

2. Note that the order of application of rules is: autva ‘replacement in au’, ekādesa ‘single replacement’, sthānivadbhāva ‘treating a replacement as if it was the item it replaced’ and dvīrvacana ‘reduplication’. That is, if ekādesa preceded replacement in au, then au could never find its scope of application. It is because of niravakāsatva ‘no scope of application’ that single replacement (ekādesa) is accomplished first. Reduplication, with reference to sthānivadbhāva ‘treating x as y which x replaced’, must also be accomplished after ekādesa (Kāś: atrautvam ekādesah, sthānivadbhāva, dvīrvacanam—ity anena kramaṇa kāryāni kriyante; ekādesād anavakāsativād autvam dvīrvacanād api paratvād ekādesā iti). Reduplication in papau is accomplished after ekādesa of 6.1.88 vrddhir eci on the basis of paratva (1.4.2 viśratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam). A single replacement, therefore, is considered as sthānī ‘the item it replaced’, provided an operation on what precedes is to be performed (Mbh: ekādesah pūrvavidhau karte rye sthānivad bhavatīti vaktavyam).

7.1.35 तुह्यौ तातान्न्यम अन्यतारस्याम्

_tuh yos tātaṁ नसियस्य anyatarasyām_

/tuh yoh 6/2 tātaṁ 1/1 aśiṣi 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(anyāsya #6.4.1)

Affixes tu and hi, when occurring after an aṅga, are optionally replaced with tātAÑ, provided benediction (āśih) is denoted.

Examples:

jivatād bhavān ‘may you live for long’

jivatā tuvam ‘ibidem’

jivatuh bhavān ‘ibidem’

jiva tuvam ‘ibidem’

1. This optional replacement in tātAÑ is intended for tu and hi when āśih ‘benediction, blessing’ is denoted. Thus, jiv + SaP + (LOT→ tu) = jiv + a + (tu→tāt) = jiv + a + tāt = jivatā. We will get jivatu, instead, if tātAÑ does not replace tu.

2. ā as an i in tātAÑ is not intended for facilitating a replacement to
come in place of a final sound (1.1.53 nić ca). It is for this reason that tātAN replaces tu and hi, in toto.

What then is the purpose of specifying tātAN with ȇ as an it? The purpose is to block guṇa and vrddhi, as in brūtād bhavān ‘may you please speak’. Why is it that anAN (7.1.93 anān sauv), marked with ȇ as an it, similarly to tātAN, replaces the final sound only? For, ȇ as an it in tātAN is expressly used as an it for replacement. That is why it replaces the final sound in view of 1.1.53 nić ca. It is not used there for blocking guṇa or vrddhi. If it did not replace the final sound as a result of its ȇ as an it, marking it with ȇ as an it will become vacuous (vyarthā). Augment itT (7.2.93 brūva it) is also blocked here in addition to blocking of guṇa. For, tātAN, although a replacement of an affix marked with P as an it, can no longer be treated as marked with P as an it (pīt). It is a niś as marked, and it cannot be treated as marked with P as an it (pīt). A ȇ, used as an it for purposes of replacement, must allow replacement in place of the final sound segment.

How come tātAN, by way of being a replacement for hi, cannot be deleted after jīva (6.4.105 ato heh)? Rule 6.4.105 ato heh deletes hi, and not tātAN. How do we know this? By the fact that an additional hi is also carried over to rule 6.4.105 ato heh from 6.4.101 hu jhalbhyo her dhīh. This enables deletion to apply to hi which is available in the form of hi.

Kāśikā quotes two verses in connection with the status of items marked with ȇ as an it:

tātani nitvam saṃkramakṛty syād
antryavidhiś cet tac ca tathā na /
hēr adhikāre her adhikāre
lopaṇidyau tu jnāpakaṃ āha //1//
‘ȇ as an it in tātAN is intended for blocking guṇa and vrddhi; it is not intended for replacing the final sound segment; the heh which he (Pāṇini) states in the context of deletion by 6.4.105 ato heh within the domain of hi (6.4.101 hujalbhyoher dhīh) becomes an indicator (jnāpaka); that hi which is given in the form of hi, alone, goes through deletion.’

tātanō nītvasāmarthyān nāyam antyavidhiḥ smṛtah /
na tadvo daṇānāṃ tena tē ntyavikārajāh //2//
‘it is at the strength of ȇ as an it in tātAN that it is not considered marking an operation applicable to replacement of the final consonant; since anAN, etc., do not have that kind of competence, they are considered replacements in place of final sound segments.’

The ȇ as an it in tātaN is intended for blocking guṇa and vrddhi (saṃkramanā). It should not be accepted for facilitating final replacement. For, if final replacement is accepted as the purpose, we will not find that
base directly followed by that which is marked with $N$ as an $it$. That is, for example, when $tātAN$ replaces the $i$ of $hi$. There will be $h$ intervening between the base and $tātAN$. Given this, 1.1.5 $kāti ca$ cannot block $guna$. Consequently, in order for a $Nit$ to fully realize its function, we will have to accept $tātAN$ as a total replacement for $hi$.

The $N$ of $tātAN$ should not be accepted for facilitating a partial replacement of only a final sound segment. This will go against the stipulation of 1.1.58 $nīc ca$. Besides, there are ways other than making $N$ as an $it$ for specifying replacement of a final sound segment. Consider, for example, the following line-up of rules:

$$eruḥ tuhyos tād āśiṣi 'let the final sound of tu and hi be replaced with tāt when benediction . . .'$$

Thus, $tuhyos tāt$, when read with $eruḥ$ (3.4.86), could yield the interpretation: ‘let $tāt$ be the replacement for final of $tu$ and $hi$ related with $eruḥ$’. Note that $eruḥ$ cannot be associated with $hi$ but it will facilitate replacement of $ti$ with $tu$. The resultant $tu$ will then go through a replacement with $tātAN$. We do not need $N$ to facilitate the replacement of the final sound segment. The same can be accomplished in view of 1.1.52 $alo' nītyasya$. But why do we have $N$ as an $it$ in $tātAN$. Because we want to block $guna$ and $vṛddhi$. Recall that $guna$ and $vṛddhi$ are not possible unless there is a total replacement ($sarvādeśa$). For example, given an $aṅga$ ending in $i$, we find an immediately preceding $aṅga$ ending in $i$ before $tāt$ which, in turn, is marked with $N$ as an $it$. If a replacement for the final sound of $hi$ and $tu$ is accomplished by $tātAN$, we will end up with $t$ and $h$ of $tu$ and $hi$ intervening between the $aṅga$ and the replacement. A $guna$ and $vṛddhi$ could thus not be blocked. If one still insists on replacement of the final sound segment, one has to extend the status of $N$ as an $it$ to the totality of form whose final is replaced with $tātAN$, in view of $avayave kṛtāṃ tīngañam samudāyē upacaryate 'a mark made on a part is transferred to the whole'. I do not discuss full implication of this transfer. Suffice it to say that such a transfer is favored to save $N$ as an $it$ from becoming vacuous.

A solution to this problem is offered by $her adhikāre$. . . . Note here that $heḥ$ can be easily carried over to 6.4.105 $ato heḥ$ from 6.4.101 $hu jhalyo her dhīḥ$. Yet we are getting the explicit mention of $heḥ$ in 6.4.105 $ato heḥ$. This indicates that deletion by $LUK$ applies to a $hi$ which happens to be in the form of $hi$, and not to a $hi$ which one gets through replacement, via $sthāniavadbhāva$ ‘treatment of a replacement as what it replaced’. An indicatication ($jñāpaka$) of this nature can be gotten only when that which is marked with $N$ as an $it$ is gotten by total replacement. A $N$ as an $it$, gotten via $sthāniavadbhāva$, will render the explicit mention of $hi$ without any opurpose. Why can we not state this $jñāpaka$ by some other means? That is, let $hi$ of the form $hi go through $LUK$-deletion, and the $hi$ which is modified by replace-
ment of its final not go through LUK-deletion. That is, why can we not manipulate this ūnāpaka in view of replacement of the final sound? But how could we then account for sarvādeśa ‘replacement in toto’ indicated by N as an it (1.1.53 nīc ca).

It is in view of this that a direct statement is being made: tātāno nītvasā-marthyān nāyam anthyavidhismṛtah ‘based on the competency of N as an it, this should not be considered a replacement operation of the final sound segment’. This total replacement has further consequences for negation of guṇa and uṛddhi in cases where replacement of the final sound segment is not accomplished. A N as an it which facilitates replacement of the final could not be capable of blocking guṇa and uṛddhi. For, it is not capable of facilitating total replacement. A replacement in anA N which is marked with N as an it is capable of facilitating replacement of the final sound segment. But it is not capable of blocking guṇa and uṛddhi. The N as an it in tātA N has an added purpose of blocking guṇa and uṛddhi. It cannot be considered having the purpose of facilitating replacement of the final sound segment. Thus, tātA N because of containing more sound segments will replace hi in toto.

7.1.36 विदे: शतुर्वसुः:

vidēḥ śatūr vasuḥ
/ vidēḥ 5/1 śatū 6/1 vasuḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
‘vid’ jñāne ity etasmād dhātor uttarasya śatūr vasuṛ ādeśo bhavati
Affix ṢatR, when occurring after an aṅga, namely verbal root vid ‘to know’, is replaced with vasU (3.2.107).

EXAMPLES:

vidvān ‘nominal singular of vidvat ‘scholar’’
vidvāṃsāu ‘nominal dual . . .’
vidvāṃsāh ‘nominal plural . . .’

1. This rule allows vasU to replace affix ṢatR (3.2.124 laṭāḥ satṛśānacāv . . .) when this same occurs after vid ‘to know’. Our example-derivate vidvān derives from vidvas + sU, where vidvas derives from vid + (LṬ→ṢatR→vid + at). An introduction of SaP (3.1.68 kartari ṣap) and its subsequent LUK-deletion by 2.4.72 adśprabhṛtibhyo ṣapah yields vid + at. Our present rule then introduces the form vas(U) as a replacement for (ś) at(R). We thus get vid + vas = vidvas. Augment nUM is then introduced after a of vidvas + sU by rule 7.1.70 uḍigacām . . . . The penultimate a of vidvāns is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.10 sāntamahataḥ . . .) to produce vidvāns + sU. Rule 6.1.68 halīyābbhyo dīṛghat . . . then deletes sU. The final s of the conjunct subsequently goes through its deletion by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah to yield vidvāns + (sU→ϕ) → vidvān(s→ϕ) = vidvān. The dual and plural forms, i.e.,
vidvāmsau and vidvāmsah, are derived by replacing the n of nUM with η (anusvāra; 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya . . .).

2. Some consider the anyantarasyām valid here, thereby recognizing the replacement in vasU as optional. If one does not accept the option of replacing (Ś)at(R) with vasU, one would derive the base as vid + at = vidat. The nominative singular, dual and plural forms will then be: vidan / vidanta/ /vidantaḥ. Those who accept this replacement in vasU as obligatory (nītya), must claim vidan / vidanta/ /vidantaḥ to be non-existent.

3. Why do we have to mark vas with U as an it (ugit) when its purpose can be served by treating vas as marked with uk, i.e., ṭ, via sthānivadbhāva, on the basis of the ŚatR it replaced. This would have equally facilitated operations such as introduction of nUM, etc. A replacement in vasU, as against vas, is given so that, in rules such as 6.4.131 vasoh samprasāranam, vasU could also include a reference to KvasU. But this reference may be blocked on the basis of ekānu bandha-paribhāṣā: ekānu bandhakagrahāne na dvy unic bandhakasya 'a specification made by that which consists of a single it-element cannot refer to an element which consisted of two it-elements'. But accepting this application of ekānu bandha-paribhāṣā will render the use of U, as an it in vasU, vacuous. For, vas, without U, will then be serving its purpose via sthānivadbhāva. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that the ekānu bandha-paribhāṣā does not apply here.

7.1.37 समासेनन्यूत्तैऽनुवेधः क्योऽन्ति त्यप्

samāse naṁpurve ktoo lyāp
/samāse 7/1 anaṁpurve 7/1 = na naṁ (naṁ); anaṁ pūrvo’ vayavo yasya (bu.), tasmin; kutvaḥ 6/1 lyāp 1/1/
(arṣya #6.4.1)

Affix Ktvā, when occurring after a compound (samāsa) termed anā having an indeclinable other than naṉ as its initial constituent, is replaced with Lyāp.

Examples:

prakṛtya ‘after having made or done well’
prahṛtya ‘after having carried well’
pārśvatāhṛtya ‘after having placed something aside’
nānākṛtya ‘after having made (something) many’
dvidhāhṛtya ‘after having split (something) into two’

1. Refer to the appendix (II:394) for derivational details of prakṛtya and prahṛtya. The Ktvā, after kṛ in pārśvatāhṛtya, is introduced by 3.4.61 svāṅge tasprataye . . . under the condition of a cooccurring nominal ending in tasl and denoting ‘one’s limb’. The Ktvā in nānākṛtya and dvidhāhṛtya is intro-
duced by 3.4.62 nādharthapratyayé ... The compounds are all formed by 2.2.22 ktvā ca.

Recall here that Ktvā is marked with K as an it. It is also assigned the terms kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atīn) and ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam ṣeṣaḥ). Finally, a form which ends in Ktvā is also assigned the term avyaya by 1.1.40 ktvātosunksunaḥ. A sUP which is introduced after an indeclinable goes through deletion, via LUK, of 2.4.82 avayād āp suṣaḥ. A LyaP never receives augment iT. L as an it in LyaP is used for initial udāṭṭa accent in view of 6.1.190 liti.

2. This replacement is not allowed where non-compounds are involved. Thus, consider kṛtvā and hṛtvā. The negation in anaN is here interpreted as paryudāsa, paraphrased as naño’ nyad anaN ‘that which is other than a naN’. This anaN, interpreted as paryudāsa, will then refer to forms which are similar to, but are not, naN (tadbhinnatatsadṛśa). The non-naN forms similar to naN, in this context, are indeclinables (avyaya). That is why, akṛtvā, ahṛtvā, paramakṛtvā and uttamakṛtvā cannot qualify for this replacement.

How come ktvā of snātvākālakahā is not replaced with LyaP? Can this be attributed to nipātana of 2.4.72 mayūrayamāsakāḍaya ca? No. The locative of samāse denotes nirdhāraṇa ‘exact specification; singling out one from among many’. Thus, Ktvā must be used within a compound. The Ktvā, when interpreted via tādantavidhi, will also refer to a compound ending in Ktvā. Our example does not have Ktvā at the end. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for further details.

Why do we not get hi (7.4.42 dadhāer hiḥ) as a replacement for dhā in pradhāya, and ī (7.4.40 dyatisyatimāsthāmitti kitī) in place of ā of sthā in prasthāya? Even an externally conditioned LyaP blocks internally conditioned operations (phb. (55): antaraṅgān āpi vidhīn bahirāṅgo lyab bādhate). This has been indicated by the following under rule 2.4.36 ado jagdhīr lyapti kitī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jagdhau siddhe' ntarāṅgatvāt ti kitī lyab ucayate /} \\
\text{jniapayaty antaraṅgaṇāṁ lyāpā bhavati bādhanam //}
\end{align*}
\]

‘an explicit mention of LyaP, even when its purpose can be accomplished by the internally conditioned replacement of ad with jagdh before a ī-initial affix marked with K as an it, is to indicate that LyaP can block internally conditioned operations’

### 7.1.38 क्वत्वपि चन्दसि

**ktvāpi chandasi**

/ktvā (1/1 deleted) āpi φ chandasi 7/1/

(arśasya #6.4.1 samāśe' naṁpūrve ktvō lyāp #37)

samāśe' naṁpūrve ‘ktvā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati āpīsabdād lyab āpī bhavati chandasi viśaye

Affix Ktvā, when occurring in the Vedic after a compound termed anga
not used with naN as its initial constituent, is also replaced with Ktvā, in addition to being replaced with LyāP.

**Examples:**

krṣṇam vāso yajamānaṁ paridhāpayitvā ‘the sacrificer having covered himself with a black cloth’

pratyāṅcamarkam pratyarpayitvā ‘after having offered the oblation of water to the setting sun’

uddhṛtya juhoti ‘after having taken out (raised) he offers ritual oblation’

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of chandasī is carried over to 7.1.50 ājjaser asuk.

2. Why was the sūtra not formulated simply as vā chandasī? So that all other qualifications of this rule-application could be made optional (sarvopādhi vyabhicārārtham). Thus, we get arcya tān devān gataḥ ‘left after having worshiped those gods’ where LyāP is found in a non-compound (asamāsa).

The use of api is made so that LyāP can also be made an option. Thus, consider pratyarpayitvā ‘having made the offerings to...’, as against paridhāpayitvā ‘having made to cover’, where the option of LyāP is not accepted even when we have the preverbs prati and pari. These examples, both, are derivates of NiC (3.1.26 hetumati ca), used after prati- and pari-dhā with Ktvā and pUK (7.3.36 arttiḥri...). An application of guna (7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca), followed by yaN, produces prati + arpi → prat(i→y) arpi = pratyarpi, a derived root. We get pari-dhāpi without any guna. Further application of guna, iT, and ay as a replacement for e, produces pratyarp(i→ey) + i + tvā = pratyarpayitvā and paridhāpayitvā.

Now consider uddhṛtya, derived from ud + hr + (Ktvā→LyāP), where augment tUK is introduced by 6.1.71 hrasvasya pīti kṛti tuk. The h of hr is replaced with dh by 8.4.62 jhayo ho’ nyatarasyām.

**7.1.39 सुपां सुलक्पुरवसवर्गाच्येवादाध्यायाःअतः:**

supām sulukpūrvasavarṇāccheyādādyāyājālāḥ
/supām6/1 su-luk-pūrvasavarṇā-āc-cheyā-dā-dyā-yāj-ālāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)

chandasi viṣaye supāṃ sthāne ‘su, luk, pūrvasavarṇa, ā, āt, se, yā, dā, dyā,
yāc, āl’ ity ete ādesā bhavanti

Affixes denoted by the abbreviated term sUP, when occurring after an āṅga in the Vedic, are replaced with sU, LUK, pūrvasavarṇa ‘single replacement homogeneous with the preceding’, ā, āt, se, yā, Dā, Dyā, yāC and āL.

**Examples**

grksarā rjavāh santu panthāh ‘may the paths be thorn-less and trouble free’
ārdre carman ‘on (blood)soaked hide’
dhītī ‘... through prayer’
ubhā devā ‘... both divinities ...’
na tād (tān) brāhmaṇād (brāhmaṇān) nindāmi ‘I do not curse those brāhmaṇas’
na yaśmē bājayandhavaḥ ‘you do not have associates in battle’
asmē indrābrhaspati ‘O Indra and Brhaspati, you two for us two ...’
uruyā ‘from thighs ...’
nabhah prthivyām ‘in the navel (north) of the altar ...’
gustuyoccyavatyāt sādhura ‘with goodness ...’
vasantā yajeta ‘should offer sacrifice in the spring’

1. This rule offers a series of replacements for nominal endings (sUP) in the Vedic.

(a) Refer to derivational details of panthāḥ (II:398-99) where sU is selected over Jas of the nominative plural.
A proposal is made to rephrase operational statements as follows:

(i) supām supo bhavanti ‘affixes denoted by sUP ‘nominal endings’ come in place of sUP’. Consider daksināyāh where Naś ‘genitive singular’ replaces Ni ‘locative singular’, for example, of daksināyām.

(ii) tinām tinō bhavanti ‘affixes denoted by tiNi ‘verbal endings’ come in place of tiNi’. Consider ... ye takṣati ‘those who carve out ...’, as opposed to ye takṣanti, where tiP ‘third singular active’ is selected over its plural counterpart jhi.

(b) Derivates of carman, yad ‘that which’ and tad ‘that’ illustrate how locative singular Ni goes through deletion by LUK. Thus, we find lohitē carman ‘on red hide’, yat sunvanti ‘that which they press out ...’ and tat sunvanti ‘that they press out ...’, as against lohite carman ‘on red skin’, yasmin sunvanti ‘in that which they press out’ and tasmin sunvanti ‘in that they press out’.

(c) A replacement for Tā, similar to what precedes (pūrvarūpa), is illustrated by dhītī ‘thought, intellect, devotion, thirst’ and mati ‘ibidem’. Thus, dhītī + (T) ā = dhītī + (ā→ī) → dhīt(i+i→ī; 6.1.100 akah savarne ... ) = dhītī.

(d) Consider ubhā + au, of ubhā yantarā, where au ‘nominative dual’ is replaced with ā. We get ubhā ‘both’ through application of 6.1.98 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnanāh. Thus, ubh(a+ā→ ā) = ubhā.

(e) A replacement in āt, for Sās ‘accusative dual’ of tad + Sās/brāhmaṇa + Sās, is illustrated by tād brāhmaṇān, as against tān brāhmaṇān ‘those brāhmaṇas ...’.
(f) Refer to derivational details of *yuṣme* and *asme* (II:350-52), as against *yuṣmāsu* and *asmāsu*, where *Se* replaces *suP* 'locative plural'. A lack of replacement in *yūya* and *vaya*, for *yuṣm* and *asm*, is also a Vedic peculiarity.

(g) A replacement in *yāC*, for *Ṭā*, is illustrated by *uru* + (*Ṭ*)ā = *uru* + (*ā→yā*) = *uruṇā* 'with greatness, by the great one' and *dhṛṣṭu* + (*ā→yā*) = *dhṛṣṭunā* 'with boldness, by the bold one'. The regular instrumental singular forms being *uruṇā* and *dhṛṣṭunā*.

(h) A *Ni* occurring after *nābhi* 'navel' is similarly replaced with *Dā* to yield *nābhi* + (*Ni→Dā*) = *nābhi* + *ā*. The *D* as an *it* in *Dā* causes *ti*-deletion to produce *nābhā*. A similar replacement in *Dyā* is found for *Ṭā* when occurring after *anuṣṭup*. This yields *anuṣṭyā* after *ti*-deletion. The form would otherwise be *anuṣṭubhā*.

(i) Now consider *sādhu* 'good; neuter nominative singular' where *su* gets deleted. We find *sādhuṇa* where *su* gets replaced with *yāC*, instead. A similar replacement of *Ni* with *āL* produces *vasantā*, as against *vasante*.

2. A series of other proposals have also been made. Thus,

(iii) *iyā, DīyāC* and *i* in *urviyā* 'from thighs' / *dārviyā* 'from wood', *sugātṛiyā* 'by one with a beautiful body' / *suksetriyā* 'by one with beautiful field' and *sarasī* 'pond', where the first set illustrates replacing *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' after *uru* and *dāru* with *iyā*. The second set replaces *Ṭā* with *DīyāC* involving *ti*-deletion. The last *sarasī* has its *Ni* replaced with *i*. Recall that regular forms would be: *uruṇā* / *dāruṇa*, *suksetrīṇa* / *sugātṛīṇa* and *sarasī*.

(iv) Additional replacements for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' include *āN, ayaC* and *ayaR*. Thus, *bāhavā* against *bāhunā, svapnayā* against *svapnena*, and *nāvayā* against *nāvā*.

### 7.1.40 अमो महः

*amo maś*

/ *amaḥ 6/1 maś 1/1/  

(*aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)*

*amaḥ chandasi viṣaye maś ādeśo bhavati*

Affix *am*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, is replaced with *maŚ*.

**Examples:**

*aḍhīṁ vṛtram* ‘I killed Vṛtra’

*kramīṁ vṛksasya sākhāṁ*

‘I climbed up the branch of a tree’
1. Note that _am_ is not interpreted here as accusative singular _am_. It is a replacement of _miP_ in consonance with 3.4.101 _tasthasthamipām_. . . . The _A_ of _mAS_ is for ease of articulation. The _Ś_ as an _it_ is intended for allowing total replacement (_sarvādesā_). If _Ś_ was not attached as an _it_, rule 1.1.52 _alo’ ntyasya_ would have applied to replace the final sound segment. What is the purpose of proposing _m_ as a replacement of _m?_ The purpose is to block the application of 8.2.23 _mo’ nusvāraḥ_.

Consider _vadhīm_ which derives from _han + LUN_. Follow derivational steps of _alāvit_ (II:333-34) to arrive at _vadh + i + ī + am_. Remember, however, that, given _han + (LUN→miP)_, _am_ replaces _miP_. Additionally, verbal root _han_ is replaced with _vadha_ (2.4.42 _luni ca_ ) and augment _aT_ is blocked at the strength of _bahulam_ ‘variously’ (6.4.75 _bahulam chandasi_ ). A replacement for _am_ in _mAS_ can then produce _vadh + i + ī + (am→m(AŚ)) = vadha + i + ī + m = vadhīm_. Similar steps can be followed to derive _kramīm_, a derivate of _kram + LUN_, where augment _iT_ is introduced by 7.2.36 _snukramor_. . . .

7.1.41 लोपस्त आत्मनेपादेषु

`lopas ta ātmanepadesaṣu`

`/lopaḥ 1/1 taḥ 6/1 ātmanepadesaṣu 7/3/`

(chandasi #38)

`ātmanepadesaṣu yas takāras tasya chandasi viśaye lopo bhavati`

The _t_ of an affix termed _ātmanepada_, when occurring after an _aṅga_ in the Vedic, is deleted by means of _LOPA_.

**Examples:**

`devā aduhra ‘gods extracted the milk’`

`duhrāmāśvibhyām payā aghaneyam`

‘may the two extract milk for the Āśvins’

`dakṣinataḥ śaye ‘reclines on the right side’`

1. Refer to derivational details of _aduhra_ under notes of 7.1.8 _bahulam chandasi_. Derive _duh + te_ from _duh + ŠaP + LOT_ where _LOT_ gets replaced with the third person singular middle (_ātmanepada_) ending _ta_. The _e_-replacement (_etva_) of _ta_ (3.4.79 _tit ātmanepadānām . . ._) and deletion of _ŠaP_ (2.4.72 _adiprabhīsyayā_), as usual, follow. Our present rule deletes _t_ of _duh + te_ to produce _duh + e_. An application of 3.4.90 ām _etaḥ_ then yields _duh + (e→ām) = duh + ām = duḥām_, as against _dugdhām_. One can similarly derive _śi + e_ from _śiN + ŠaP + te_, where _te_ is a replacement of _LAT_. An application of _guna_ (_ś(e→e) + e_; 7.3.84 _sārvadātukārddhātukayoh_), followed by _e→ay_ (6.1.78 _eco’ yavāyāvhā_), will finally produce _ś(e→ay) + e = śaye_, first person singular _LAT_-derivate of _śiN_ ‘to recline’, as against _śete_.

The condition of _ātmanepadesu_ is imposed so that _t_, for example of _duhanti_, a _parasmaipada_ ‘active’ could not go through deletion.
7.1.43  

Adhyāya Seven: Pāda One

7.1.42  

dvam dvāt
/dhvanah 6/1 dvāt 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
chandasi viṣaye dvam dvād ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Affix dhvam, when occurring after an aṅga in the Vedic, is replaced with dvāt.

Examples:

antāgṛvāṃśānāṃ vṛrayadhvāt ‘breathing (or life, of an animal) be stopped inside (the mouth)’

1. Derive vṛrayadhvāt from vāri + (LOT→dhvam) = vāri + ŚaP + dhvam, where vāri is causal (3.1.26 hetumati ca) form of vṛṇ or vṛṇ ‘to cover’, with vṛddhi of r before NiC. Affix dhvam (3.4.78 tiptaśjī . . .) is the second plural middle replacement of LOT. Our present rule replaces this dhvam with dvāt.

An application of guṇa, followed by ay, as in śaye of the previous rule, will finally produce vāri(i→e→ay) + a + dvāt = vṛrayadhvāt. Note that the regular derivate would, of course, be vṛrayadhvam.

7.1.43  

yajadhvainam iti ca
/yajadhvainam 1/1 iti φ ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
‘yajadhvam’ ity etasya ‘enam’ ity etasmīn parato makāralopo nipātyate
(vakārasya ca yakāraṣ) chandasi viṣaye

The word yajadhvainam is derived, via nipātana, from yajadhvam + enam when the scope of the usage is Vedic.

Examples:

yajādhvainam priyamedhāḥ ‘O Priyamedhā, offer the sacrifice to Indra’

1. This rule derives yajadhvainam, from yajadhvam used with a following enam, by deletion of m via nipātana. A deletion of m, followed by a single vṛddhi replacement in av, for a+e, finally produces yajadhvainam. This, of course, goes against the expected derivate yajadhvam enam.

2. The author of the Kāśikāvatī accepts the reading of the derivate as yajadhva(m→φ) + enam → yajadh(v→y)a + enam → yajadhy(a+e→ai)nam → yajadhyainam, where v of dhvam is also considered replaced with y. That is, they also replace v of dhvam with y, in addition to deletion of its final m. The SK calls it all carelessness (prāmādikī) and accepts yajadhvainam as the example derivate (SK: vakārasya yakāro nipātyate iti vṛttikāroktīḥ prāmādikī). Haradatta (PM) also accepts the derivate as yajadhvainam. He clearly states that deletion of m, alone, is accomplished via nipātana (PM: bahuvrīḥs tu vakāram...
evādhīyate, tatra malopamātraṇaṁ nipātyate). I have enclosed the debatable portion of the vṛtti in parenthesis. For, I have accepted yajasdhvainam as the desired derivate.

7.1.44 तस्य तात्

tasya tāt
/tasya 6/1 tāt 1/1/
(anagasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
taśabdasasya loṁmadhyamapurusabahuvacanasasya sthāne ‘tāt’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Affix ta, i.e., the second personal plural replacement of LOT, when occurring after an aṅga in the Vedic is replaced with tāt.

EXAMPLES:

... kṛnutāt ‘make...’
... sāṃśjātāt ‘... create...’
... khanatāt ‘... dig...’
... gamayatāt ‘... have someone go...’

1. This rule offers tāt as a replacement for tawhich, in turn, is a second person active replacement of tha of LOT (3.4.78 tiptasahisipthasta...; 3.4.101 tathastha...). introduced after verbal root kṛv ‘to do, harm’. Rule 7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ introduces augment nUIM based on I as an it. Thus, kṛ + (nUIM)v + (LOT→tha→ta→tāt) = kṛ + (n→ṇ)v + tāt. Rule 3.1.80 dhinvikṛṇvora ca then introduces the ardhadhātuka affix u after kṛṇu, where root-final v is also replaced with a, simultaneously. This will give kṛṇ + (v→a) + u + tāt = kṛṇ + a + u + tāt. This a will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.48 ato lopah. We can thus get kṛnutāt, as against kṛnutā. Follow similar rules to derive sāṃ- sṛjātāt, as against sāṃsṛjāta, where 3.1.77 tudādibhyaḥ saḥ introduces Ša. Deriving gamayatāt, as against gamayata, will involve NiC after gam followed by ŠaP, guṇa, and e→ay. Deriving gamayatāt from gamay + a + tāt is easy.

7.1.45 तप्तानप्ताननथाच

taptaṇaṇaṇaṇaṇaṇaḥ ca
/tap-tanap-ta-thanah 1/3 (itar. du.); ca φ/
(anagasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38 tasya #44)
chandasi visaye tasya sthāne ‘tap, tanap, tana, than’ ity ete ādeśa bhavanti

Affix ta, when occurring after an aṅga in the Vedic, is also replaced with taP, tanaP, tana and than.

EXAMPLES:

... śṛṇota grāvāṇah ‘stones, used for pressing out soma, listen’
... śṛṇotā ‘press out!’
... dādhātana '... place ...
jujuṣṭana '... rejoice'
iṣṭhanā '... wish ...

1. This rule offers *taP, tanaP, tana* and *thana* as replacements, in the Vedic, for the second plural *ta*-replacement of *LOT* (3.4.101 tashthashatipām ...). Consider śrōṭa where, in addition to śr as a replacement for śru 'to hear', Śru is introduced (3.1.73 svādibhyah śruḥ). Since *taP* is marked with *P* as an *it*, it cannot be treated as ṉīt (3.4.85 loṭo lanvat; 1.2.4 sāravadhātukam apit). Consequently, guṇa of *u* cannot be blocked. Similar applications are also involved in sunota, a derivate of *ṣu* 'to press out'. Reduplication in *dadha-tana*, a derivate of *dhā* 'to place', is accomplished by (6.1.10 ślau; 2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah śuluḥ). Given dhā + dhā + (ŚaP→ŚLU) + (LOT→ta→tana(*P*)) = dhā + dhā + tana, the ṛ of the first dhā will be replaced with its short counterpart (7.4.59 hravah) and its dh will be replaced with d (6.4.8.4.54 abhyāse ca). Thus, dhā(ā→a) + dhā + tana → (dh→d) a + dhā + tana = dadhātana. The Śa (3.1.77 tudādibhyah saḥ) after juṣ 'to be pleased, enjoy', in jujuṣṭana, is deleted by 2.4.76 bahulam chandasi. Reduplication, i.e., (ju(s→f) + juṣ + (ta→tana), is again accomplished by 6.1.10 ślau. Rule 8.4.41 śtunā śtuḥ then accomplishes a replacement in ṛ for ṛ (ṣṭutva), thereby yielding jujuṣ + (t→t) ana = jujuṣṭana, as against juṣata. Similar rules apply in deriving iṣṭhanā, a derivate of *iṣ* 'to wish' with *thana*, as against icchata.

Note that introduction of *P* as an *it* in *taP* and *tanaP* (pīkaraṇa) is made for negating the status marking it with ṉī as an *it* (aṅitkaraṇa; Kāś: pīkaraṇam aṅitvārtham). Consequently, there is no negation of guṇa.

7.1.46 इदान्तो मसि

idanto masi
/*idantah 1/1 id anto* vayavo yasya (bv.); masi
(1/1 deleted)/
(arigasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
chandasi viṣaye mas ity ayaṁ sabda ikārānto bhavati

The word *mas*, in the Vedic, is considered ending in *i*.

Examples:

dīpayāmasi 'we have it lighted'
bhaṇjāyāmasi 'we have it shattered'
vāsāyāmasi 'we have someone dwell'

1. Note that *mas* 'first person plural active verbal ending' is offered *i* as its augment at the end. A reference with *mas* includes forms ending in *mas*. Thus, dīpi + (LAT→mas), where dīpi is a causal counterpart of dīp 'to glow, shine'. Thus, dīpi + mas = dīpi+ SaP + mas → dīp(i→e→ay) + mas = dīpay + mas+i = dīpaya + masi. It is clear that *mas* is here augmented with *i* at the end.
The final a of dipaya is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.3.101 ato dirgho yanī. Similar rules apply in deriving uddipayāmasti, where ḍiṇi is used with the preverb ud. Similar rules apply in deriving bhāṇjayāmasti and vāsayaṃmasti from bhāṇji + (LOT→mas) and vāṣi + (LOT→mas). These forms are given against the regular dipayāmah, bhāṇjayāmah and vāsayāmah.

7.1.47 क्वः यकः

ktuo yak
/ktvaḥ 6/1 yak 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
‘ktvā’ ity etasya yag āgamo bhavati
Augment yaK is introduced to suffix Ktvā, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after an aṅga.

Examples:

dattvāya (savitā dhiyāḥ) ‘after having given . . . ’

1. This rule offers yaK, an augment marked with K, to the final of Ktvā (1.1.46 ādyanta v ākita), in the Vedic. Thus, (dā→dad) + Ktvā (7.4.46 dā dad ghoḥ)); dad + (tvā + yaK) → (da(d→t) + tvā + ya(K) = dattvāya.

2. Why was this rule not formulated after 7.1.38 kvāpi chandasi? That rule also includes the anuvṛtti of samāse. Consequently, yaK could have applied only to compounds with Ktvā.

7.1.48 इष्टवीनिमिति च

iṣṭuṇam iti ca
/ iṣṭuṇam 1/1 iti φ ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 chandasi #38)
‘iṣṭuṇam’ ity ayam śabdo nipātyate chandasi viṣaye
The word iṣṭuṇam, in the Vedic, is derived via nipātana.

Examples:

iṣṭuṇam devān ‘after having offered the sacrifice to gods’

1. Note that iṣṭuṇa is a derivate of Ktvā introduced after ṣī ‘to wish’. The t of tvā goes through a replacement in ṣ (ṣūtva; 8.4.41 śūnā śuḥ). Our present rule offers iṣṭavīnam, via nipātana, by introducing īnamb as a replacement for the final ā of iṣṭvā. Recall, however, that a nipātana provision need not be explained in terms of bases, affixes and operations. Derivates of nipātana are treated as fully derived, without any consideration of rule applications.

2. It is stated that ca can also account for other desired derivates. Thus, we get pītvīnam ‘after having drunk’.
7.1.49 स्नात्व्यादद्यर्षः

\[ \text{sūtrāyāda\text{ya} ca} \]

\[ /sūt\text{rāyāda\text{ya}h} 1/3 = \text{snātu} \text{i adir yeśām (bu.)}, \text{te; ca} \phi/ \]

\[ (\text{āṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{chandasi} \#38) \]

‘snātu’ ity evam ādayaḥ śabdā naipātyante chandasi viśaye

The word snātu, and its likes, are derived via nipātana in the Vedic.

**Examples:**

snātu (mālaśiva) ‘having bathed . . .’

piṭvī (somāśya vāvṛdhe) ‘having drunk . . .’

1. This rule accounts for snātu, and others like it. The use of ādi ‘et cetera’ is here made in the sense of prakāra ‘kind, like’. This derivation of snātu, by means of nipātana, entails i as a replacement for final a of Ktvā. Of course, the classical forms will be snātvā and piṭvā.

7.1.50 आजसेरसुकः

\[ \text{āj jaser asuk} \]

\[ /\text{āt} 5/1 \text{jaseh} 6/1 \text{asuk} 1/1/ \]

\[ (\text{āṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{chandasi} \#38) \]

avarṇād aṅgād uttarasya jaser asug āgamo bhavati chandasi viśaye

Augment asUK is introduced to Jas ‘nominative plural’ when the same occurs in the Vedic after an aṅga ending in a (aT; 1.1.70 taṭaras tatkālasya).

**Examples:**

brāhmaṇāsah (piṭarah somyāsah) ‘the brāhmaṇas . . .’

ye pūrvāśya va upārāsaḥ ‘those who preceded and those who followed’

1. Consider brāhmaṇa + (f) as + as(UK), where augment asUK is introduced at the end because of its status as kit’ that which has Kas an it’. Thus, brāhmaṇa + as + as → brāhmaṇ(a + a → ā) s + as → brāhmaṇās + a(s → r → h)) = brāhmaṇās + ah = brāhmaṇāsah. Note that a long replacement for the vocalic sequence a+a results with the application of 6.1.102 prathamayoh pūrvasavarṇāḥ. The visarga, of course, is accomplished, via nūtva-visarga (8.2.66 sasajuśo ruk; 8.3.15 kharavasānyayor . . .). Augment asUK, in pūrvāsah and uparaśah, is introduced prior to replacement of Jas by Śi (7.1.17 jaseh śi). For, this introduction of asUK is subsequent in order of application (paratvāt). Note that Śi cannot be introduced, subsequently, on the basis of appearance of its context after the introduction of asUK (Paribhāsā (40): punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham). For, sakṛd gatau vipratisēdhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva (Paribhāsā (41)) ‘that which goes once through blocking of a conflict of equal strength, remains blocked forever’.
2. Since operations in the Vedic usage frequently follow provisions of bāhulaka ‘various ways’, derivates may also be found without augment asUK. After all, (parībhāṣa 36): sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante ‘all operations in the Vedic are considered optional’.

Pāṇini usually makes his specification of the nominative plural with Jās. Earlier grammarians must have used jasi, as Pāṇini himself uses here in jaseh of this rule.

7.1.51 अस्वक्षिरवर्षलवणानामात्मप्रितां कथि

āsva-kṣiravṛṣata-lavanānām ātmāprītānuḥ kyacī/āsva-kṣira-vṛṣa-lavanānām 6/3 (ītis. dv.); ātmāprītānuḥ 7/1 = ātmanah prītiḥ (śaś. tat.), tasyām; kyacī 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 aśuk #50)
‘āsva, kṣira, vṛṣa, lavana’ ity eteṣām āṅgānām ātmāprītiviveṣaye kyacī parato asug āgamo bhavati

Augment asUK is introduced to an āṅga, namely āsva ‘horse’, kṣīra ‘milk’, vṛṣa ‘bull’ and lavana ‘salt’, when affix KyaC (3.1.8 suṇa ātmanah kyac) follows and ātmāprīti ‘agent’s own pleasure’ is denoted.

Examples:

āsvasyati vaḍavā ‘the mare longs for a stallion’
kṣīrasya māṇavakāḥ ‘the boy desires milk’
vṛṣasyati gauḥ ‘the cow longs for a bull’
lavānasyaṭy uṣṭraḥ ‘the camel longs for salt’

1. These derivates of KyaC (3.1.8 suṇa ātmanah kyac) all involve assignment of the term dhātu ‘verbal root’ (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah) and pararūpa ‘single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence’ (6.1.97 ṛt guṇe). Refer to derivational details of derivates of KyaC under notes and appendix of relevant rules (3.1.8 suṇa ātmanah . . . ; 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah).

2. Note that the condition of ātmāprīti ‘agent’s own pleasure’ is important. For, elsewhere, we cannot get asUK. Thus, consider āsvāyati and kṣīryati, etc., where KyaC (3.1.10 upamāṇād ācāre) is introduced with the signification of ācāra ‘conduct, treatment’.

Proposals are also made in the Mahābhāṣya to restrict usages with āsva ‘horse’ and vṛṣa ‘bull’ to the context of maithuneccchā ‘desire for sex’ (vīt: āsvavṛṣayor maithuneccchāyām iti vaktavyam). The context of kṣīra ‘milk’ and lavana ‘salt’ is restricted to lālasā ‘longing; intense desire’. Some say that augment asUK should be introduced after all stems when lālasā is signified (vīt: sarvaprātipādikebhyo lālasāyām asug vaktavyah). Others simply recommend sUK as the augment (āpārā āha: sug vaktavyah). This way, they can account for dadhyasyati ‘desires for curd’ and madhvasyati ‘desires for honey’.
7.1.52 आभि सर्वनामः: सूद

āmi sarvanāṁmah suñ
/āmi 7/1 sarvanāṁmah 5/1 suñ 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 āt #50)
avarṇāt sarvanāṁma uttarasyāṁmah sud āgamo bhavati

Augment suT is introduced to affix ām when the same occurs after a sarvanāman ‘pronominial’ termed anga ending in a.

EXAMPLES:

sarvesām ‘genitive plural of sarva (all)’
vīṣvesām ‘... of vīśa ...’
yesām ‘... of yad ‘he who’
tesām ‘... of tad ‘that’
yāsām ‘... of yad (feminine)’
tāsām ‘... of tad (feminine)’
 bhavatām ‘... of bhavat (you)’

1. Refer to derivational details of sarvesām and vīṣvesām in the appendix (II:362). Deriving yesām and tesām from yad + ām and tad + ām involves application of 7.2.102 tyaddāṁmah āḥ and pararūpa (6.1.97 ato gune). This gives us ya(d→a) + ām → ya(a+a→a)d + ām and ta + ām → ta + ām. Introduction of suT, replacement in e (etva) and satva ‘replacement in s’ are similar to sarvesām. The feminine forms, i.e., yad + TāP and tad + TāP, will similarly yield ya + ā and ta + ā. The final forms yāsām and tāsām could result after savarṇadīrgha (6.1.100 akah savarne dīrghah) and introduction of suT to ām. This suT is offered against nUḥ made available after bases ending in a short vowel (7.1.54 hrasvanadīrgho nUḥ).

2. Note that ām of āmi is here interpreted as the genitive plural (saṣṭhi-bahuvacana). It cannot be introduced as ām introduced by 7.3.116 ier ām... For, that ām, because of being subsequent in order, would require augments āT (7.3.112 ān nadyāḥ), yāT (7.3.113 yād āpah) and syāT (7.3.114 sarvanāṁmah syāt hrasvaś ca). The ām of 5.4.11 kimettiṇa... and 3.1.35 kāṣpratayād..., of course, does not relate to pronominal bases. Or else, they both are marked with anubandhas ‘markers’ (sāṇubandhaka). The āmU of 5.4.11 kimettiṇa... is marked with U as an it. The āmA of 3.1.35 kāṣpratayād... is similarly marked with A. They thus are both out.

This specification of ām with the locative āmi is intended for subsequent rule(s). It is transformed into genitive in view of 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya, because sarvanāṁmah is here specified with the ablative.

7.1.53 त्रेश्य:

tres trayah
/treḥ 6/1 trayah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āmi #51)
'tri' ity etasya āmi pare 'traya' ity ayam ādeso bhavati
An aṅga, namely tri, is replaced with traya when ām follows.

Examples:

trayāṇām 'genitive plural of tri 'three''

1. Thus, consider tri + ām → (tri→traya) + ām = traya + ām, where traya replaces tri, in toto, because of being anekāl 'a replacement consisting of more than one sound segment' (1.1.55 anekālsit sarvasya). This will finally yield trayāṇām with introduction of augment nUṭ (7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nut), lengthening (dīrgha; 6.4.3 nāmi) and replacement in n (nātva; 8.4.1 raśābhyām no nah ...).

2. Note that trīṇām is also desired in the Vedic usage. Thus, trīṇām api samudrāṇām '... also of the three oceans'.

7.1.54 ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट

hrasvānadyāpo nut
/hrasvānadyāpaḥ 5/1 = hrasvaś ca nadi ca āp ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; nut 1/1/
hrasvāntān nadyantād ābantāc cottoṣaṇyāmo nuḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment nUṭ is introduced to affix ām when it occurs after an aṅga which ends in a short vowel (hrasvānta), or in a form which is termed nadi (nadyanta), or else, ends in the feminine affix āP (ābanta).

Examples:

vṛksāṇām 'genitive plural of vṛksa 'tree''
agninām 'genitive plural of agni 'fire''
kumārṇānām 'genitive plural of kumārī 'girl''
gaurīnām 'genitive plural of gauri 'fair''
brahmabandhūnām 'genitive plural of brahmabandhū 'a brāhmaṇa woman whose brother is a true brāhmaṇa but she herself is not''
bahurājānām 'genitive plural of bahurājā (a city with many kings)'
kārisagandhyānām 'genitive plural of Kārisagandhya''

1. Here again we find dīrgha 'lengthening' and nātva 'replacement in n', etc. Note, however, that dīrgha of bases ending in a is accomplished by 7.3.102 suṣi ca. The others are accomplished by 6.4.3 nāmi. Bases such as kumārī, etc., are termed nadi in view of 1.4.3 yūṣṭryākhyau nadi. The feminine affix Dāp of bahurājā is introduced by 4.1.13 dāb ubhābhyaṁ. ... The feminine affix CaP in kārisagandhyā is introduced by 4.1.74 yaṇaś caP.

7.1.55 षट्चतुर्थ्यच

saṭcaturbhyaś ca
7.1.56 Adhyāya Seven: Pāda One

/ṣatcaturbhyaḥ 5/3 = saṁ ca catuḥraš ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āmi #50 ntu #54)
ṣatcaṁṛjakṛṣṭhyāḥ catuḥśabdāc cottaṛasyāmo nuḥ āgamo bhavati

Augment nUḥ is introduced to affix ām when this same occurs after an aṅga termed saṁ (1.1.23 śnānta saṁ), or after an aṅga constituted by catur ‘four’.

Examples:

saṁṇām ‘genitive plural of saṁ ‘six’
catruṇṇām ‘genitive plural of catur ‘four’
paṁcānām ‘genitive plural of paṇcan ‘five’
navaṇām ‘genitive plural of navan ‘nine’
saptānām ‘genitive plural of saptan ‘seven’
daṁ ‘genitive plural of daṁ ‘ten’

1. Note that the term saṁ is assigned by 1.1.23 śnānta saṁ. Augment nUḥ, for example in saṁ + ām, produces saṁ + n + ām, which, after replacement of the final ẓ with ā (jaśtuva; 8.2.39 jhalāṁ jaśo’nte), yields saṁ + n + ām → sa(y→d) + n + ām. Rule 8.4.44 yaro’ nunāsike . . . then replaces ā with n to yield sa(y→n) + n + ām = saṁ + nām. An application of śtutva (8.4.41 śtutā śtuḥ) will then produce saṁ + (n→n) ām = saṁṇām by replacing the n of nām with its retroflex counterpart n. Deriving paṁcānām, from paṇcan + n + ām involves deletion of the final n of paṇcan (8.2.7 naloḥa . . .). Introduction of augment nUḥ and replacement of a short vowel with its corresponding long (dirgha), etc., are additionally applied.

2. Note that catur, a base ending in r, is not assigned the term saṁ. Consequently, it is to be specified separately. This has been done to block deletion of the nominative and accusative plural nominal endings Jas and Śas by 7.1.22 saḍbhyaḥ luk. Since this specification of saṭcaturbhyaḥ is made with bahuvacana ‘plural’, its reference must be construed as made to a principal (pradhaṇa) constituent denoted by the number (saṁkhyā). That is, the number should not be construed as denoting the secondary (uṇḍarjanana) constituent. Thus, consider paśmaṁṇāṃ ‘best among the six’ and priyāṇasām ‘those for whom those six are dear (priyāḥ saṁ yeśām te)’, where the first has paṇcan as principal. The second, of course, has saṁ ‘six’ as secondary. This explains why the second example lacks the term saṁ and subsequent introduction of augment nUḥ.

7.1.56 śriyamāṇyoś chandasi

/sṛi-grāmamoyoh (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; chandasi 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 āmi #50 ntu #54)
’sṛi, grāmaṇi’ ity etayoḥ chandasi viṣaye āmo nūd āgamo bhavati
Augment \( nUT \) is introduced to affix \( ām \), in the Vedic, when the same occurs after an \( āṅga \) constituted by śrī 'glory, lustre, wealth' and grāmaṇī 'village leader'.

**Examples:**

śrīnāmudāro dhāruno rāyinām
'Agni, the holder of beauty and wealth'

sūtagrāmaṇinām 'of charioteers and village leaders'

1. Note that śrī is assigned the term nadi, optionally, by 1.4.5 vā ma. This will block \( nUT \) where option of assigning the term nadi is not accepted. A particular mention of śrī in this rule makes \( nUT \) obligatory (nītya). The compound in sūtagrāmaṇinām is interpreted as a dvandva of itaretarayoga type. That is sūtās ca grāmanyaś ca = sūtagrāmanyaḥ, teṣām. The itaretarayoga compound will not offer a base ending in hrasva 'short'. Consequently, \( nUT \) could not be made available. Our present rule makes this provision of \( nUT \) possible where the dvandva compound ends in a long vowel. If the compound is interpreted as a samāhāra 'collection, grouping', parallel to sūtās ca grāmaniś ca = sūtagrāmaṇi 'charioteer and village leader', \( nUT \) could then be made available to sūtagrāmaṇi (ending in a short vowel) before the genitive plural ending ām. This, however, will involve deriving sūtagrāmaṇi, via ekaśeṣa 'retaining one base of many', from sūtagrāmaṇi ca sūtagrāmaṇi ca sūtagrāmaṇi = sūtagrāmaṇi, where, in view of sarva dvandvo vibhāṣayā ekavad bhavati 'all dvandva compounds, optionally, are treated as denoting the sense of one'. That is, they are treated as neuter (napumsaka) singular (ekavacana). They can avail the introduction of augment \( nUT \) by 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ. This rule thus does not become necessary. Incidentally, Jīnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś) does not accept the compound to be an itaretarayoga. He accepts it to be a karmadhāraya.

7.1.57 गोः: पादान्ते

\[ \text{goh pādānte} \]

/ goh 5/1 pādānte 7/1 = pādasya antah (śaṣ. tat.), tasmin/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āmi #50 nuṭ #54 chandasi #56)

'go' ity etasmād ṛkpādānte vartamānād uttarasyāmo nuḍāgago bhavati

Augment \( nUT \) is introduced to affix ām when this same occurs after go 'cow' used at the end of the quarter of a hymn.

**Examples:**

vidmā hi tuṣa satpatim śuragnām
'o brave Indra, we consider you the owner of many cows'

1. The word pāda is interpreted here as ṛkpāda 'quarter of a hymn'. Thus, go + nUT + ām = gonām, which we find at the end of the example hymn.
Why do we have the condition of pādānte ‘at the end of the quarter of a hymn’? Consider gavām gotramudassajjō yadaṅgiraḥ where augment nUT is not introduced at the beginning of the quarter of a hymn. Recall that all operations, in the Vedic, become optional (sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante). This sometime results into non-introduction of augment nUT even at the end of the quarter of a hymn. Consider hantāram satrūnāṁ kṛdhi virājaṁ gopatiṁ gavām ‘killer of enemies, owner of many cows . . . , a distinguished king’, where nUT is not attached even at the end of a ṛhk.

7.1.58 इदितो नुम् धातोः:

idito num dhātoḥ
/iditaḥ 6/1 = id it yasya (b.v.), tasya; num 1/1 dhātoḥ 6/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1)
idito dhātor num āgamo bhavati
Augment nUM is introduced to a verbal root (dhātu) which is marked with a short i as an it.

Examples:

kunḍitā ‘. . . burning; a derivate of ṭṛC’
kunḍitum ‘to burn; a derivate of tumUN’
kunḍitavyam ‘. . . should burn; a derivate of tavyaT’
kunḍā ‘. . . burning; a derivate of a’

1. Why is dhātoḥ ‘. . . of a verbal root’ used here against aṅgasya ‘of an aṅga’ which is supposed to be carried over? So that this augment could be introduced right at the outset when a verbal root marked with a short i as an it (idī) appears in the derivational process. No function other than this can be accomplished by making a specification by dhātoḥ ‘of a verbal root’, characterized with a short i as an it. Refer to derivational details of kunḍā and kunḍā (II:509), where this augment is introduced after the last sound segment of the root (1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt parah) right at the beginning of the derivational process. Consequently, 1.4.11 samyoge guru assigns the term guru and 3.3.103 guroś ca halah offers affix a to facilitate the derivation of a feminine derivate with subsequent TāP. If nUM is not introduced to kuḍI at the outset, we will not get the assignment of the term guru (1.4.11 samyoge guru) to u of kuḍ. This will then block affix a in favor of affix KtiN (3.3.94 striyām ktiN).

Refer also to 3.1.80 dhinvikṛtyor a ca where dhinvi ‘to please, satisfy’ and kṛtvā ‘to hurt, injure’ are specified with nUM already accomplished (numanuṣakta). This same also applies to nUM of this rule. Incidentally, rule 3.1.80 dhinvikṛtyor a ca also introduces affix a.

7.1.59 हेमुच्छादीनाम्

śe mucādinām
7.1.60  

/mē 7/1 mucādīṇām 6/3 = muc ādīr yeśām (bu.), teśām/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58)
še prataye parato mucādīṇām num āgamo bhavati

Augment nUM is introduced to an āṅga constituted by a root enumerated in the group headed by mucL, ‘to release’ when affix Śa follows.

Examples:

muṇcati ‘third singular active present form of muc’
lumpati ‘. . . of lūp ‘to cut’
vindati ‘. . . of vid ‘to gain’

1. Refer to derivational details of muṇcati (II:384) where Śa is introduced after muc ‘to set free, release’ (3.1.77 tudādibhyah śah). Similar derivational patterns are also followed by other examples.

2. The mucādī ‘group of verbal roots headed by mucL’, etc. are a group of eight verbs enumerated at the end of the tudādī listing of the Dhatupātha. The class-marker for this group is Śa (3.1.77 tudādibhyah śah).

A vārītika proposal is also made to introduce nUM when Śa follows: trpha/ tṛṃphā ‘to be satiated’, dṛpha/ dṛṃphā ‘to torture’, gupha/ gumpha ‘to string’, ubha/ umbha ‘to fill’ and śubha/ śumbha ‘to glow’ (ut: śe tṛṃphādīṇām upasaṃkhyānām kartavyam). Note that deletion of roots with m (6.4.24 aniditām hal . . . ) is compensated by nUM. This n of nUM, however, cannot be deleted. For, its introduction will then serve no purpose. Roots enumerated with no nasal sounds do not go through deletion, or get augment nUM. They also lack gūṇa because their sārvadītuka affixes, except for those marked with P as an it (apit; 1.2.4 sārvaḥdītukaḥ apit), are treated as Nīt ‘marked with Nās as an it’. Thus, we get trpati, dṛpati, guphati, ubhati, and śubhati.

7.1.60 मस्मिनत्वोष्णीति

masjināso r jhali
/masji-naśok 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; jhali 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58)
‘masji, naśi’ ity etayor aṅgayar jhalādau prataye num āgamo bhavati

Augment nUM is introduced to an āṅga, namely Tūmasjit ‘to sink, immerse’ and naś ‘to disappear, be destroyed’ when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal (non-nasal consonants; Śs. 7-14) follows.

Examples:

manktā ‘he who immerses; derivate of trC’
manktum ‘to immerse; derivate of tumUN’
maṇktavyam ‘. . . should immerse; derivate of tavyaT’
namśtā ‘he who disappears; derivate of trC’
namṣṭum 'to disappear; derivate of tumUN'
namṣṭavyam 'should disappear; derivate of tavyaT'

1. Note that nUM, though it is marked with M as an it, is not introduced after the a of masj + trC (1.1.64 mid aco' tyāt paraḥ; 3.1.133 nua tr cau). It is attached (vit: masjer anīyāt pūrvo num vācyāh) before j, instead. Thus, we get masj + tr → mas + nUM + j + tr = masnj + tr. The s is then deleted by 8.2.29 skoḥ sanyogādyor ante ca. The j of the string yields k through replacement applications of g (kutva; 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ) and k (cartva; 8.4.54 kha ca). We thus get (man(s→ś) + (j→g→k)) + tr = man + ktr. An application of 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya . . . and 8.4.57 anusvārasya yayi parasavarnāḥ yields ma(n→n→n) + ktr = mankṛt. Note here that augment iT is blocked by 7.2.10 ekāc upadēse. . .
Follow derivational details of taritr + sU (II:328-29) for deriving maniktā from mankṛt + sU. Deriving maniktā, manktum and manktavyam offers nothing new.

Deriving namṣṭā, from (naś + tr) + sU, involves introduction of augment nUM only optionally. That is, nUM will be introduced where the option of iT (7.2.54 radhādibhyaś ca) is not availed. Thus, na + n(UM) + s + tr → na (n→n) + s + tr → namš + tr. An application of replacement in s (satva; 8.2.36 vraścabhṛjasrjya . . .) and t→t (stutva; 8.4.41 stunā śtuḥ), on namś + tr, will produce: nam (→ś + s + tr)) → namš + (t→t) t = namštr. Deriving namṣṭā from namstr + sU should not pose any problem. We will get (naś + i(T) + tr) + sU)) = naśitā, when, because of the absence of a non-nasal consonant at the beginning of tr, nUM is blocked in favor of iT. Derivates of tavyaT and tumUN can be similarly derived.

2. Why should we accept the condition of a following affix beginning with jhal? So that mañjjanam ‘immersing’ and nañjanam ‘perishing’ could be excluded. These counter-examples both are derivates of LyuT, where 3.1.1 yuvor anākaus replaces yu with ana. Note that, given masj + (L) yu(T), replacements in s for s (cutva; 8.4.40 stok ścunā ścuḥ) and j for ā (jaścva; 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaś) both become applicable. However, jaścva becomes suspended (asiddha) and cutva applies. The resultant s later on goes through a replacement in j (jaśva). Junendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā) applies jaścva, thereby replacing s with d. He then applies cutva, thereby replacing d with j. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) favors the first pattern of application.

3. Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya ad 8.2.23 sanyogāntasya lopaḥ) states that nUM is desired to be introduced before the last sound segment of masj, so that the initial s of the sequence with nUM, i.e., ns, can be deleted. That is, we must get mas + n(UM) + j + (K) ta and mas + n(UM) + j + (K) tavat(U), for deriving magna and magnavat. If we, instead, got ma + n(UM) + sj + (K) ta and ma + n(UM) + sj + (K) tavat(U), 8.2.29 skoḥ sanyogādyor . . . cannot delete s. For, s will then not be at the beginning of the conjunct (sanyogādi). The n can also not be deleted since it will not be penultimate (upadhā) sound of the aṅga (6.4.24 aniditām hal . . .). This will yield wrong results. It is for this reason that nUM is not introduced after j, the final consonant of masj. It is, instead,
introduced before $j$, the final consonant. This will clear the way for appropriate rules to delete $s$ and $n$. The $t$ of $kta$ is replaced with $n$ by 8.2.45 oditaś ca. The $j$, of $maj + (t→n)a = maj + na$, is then replaced with $g$ ($kutva$; 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ). An introduction of $sU$, after magna and magnavat, will eventually derive magnah and magnavan.

7.1.61 रधिजभोरि

radhijabhor aci
/ radhi-jabhoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; aci 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 num #58)
‘radhi, jabhi’ ity eyaser ajādau prayaye num āgamo bhavati

Augment $nUM$ is introduced to an ānga, namely radha ‘to harm, subdue’ and jabha ‘to gape, yawn’ when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

randhayati ‘he has someone (cook or be subdued)’

randhakaḥ ‘he who cooks’

sādhurandhī ‘he who cooks well’

randhamrandham ‘cooking over and over again’

jambhayati ‘he yawns’

jambhakaḥ ‘he who yawns’

sādhujambhī ‘he who yawns well’

jambhamjambham ‘yawning over and over again’

1. This $nUM$ is allowed when a vowel-initial affix follows. Examples such as randhayati and jambhayati derive from $(rādh + (NiC) + (LAT→tiP)) = rādh + ŠaP + tiP$ and $(jabh + (NiC) + (LAT→tiP)) = jambhi + ŠaP + tiP$, where $nUM$ is introduced to raḥ, i.e., $ra + n(UM) + dhi$, and jabh, i.e., ja + n(UM) + bhi, termed ānga before the vowel-initial affix (N)ī(iC). A replacement in guṇa for $i$ (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārddhātukayoh), followed by a replacement in ay (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah) finally produces randhayati and jambhayati. A derivate such as randhaka derives from $(ra + n(UM) + dhi) + (N)uI(L) → randh + (Vu→aka) = randhaka$ (7.1.1 yuvor anākau). Affix NinI is introduced after raḥ which, in turn, receives $nUM$ under the cooccurrence condition of sādu ‘good, well’ (3.2.78 supy ajātau nini...). We thus get the derivate sādhurandhini. Yet another derivate, i.e., randhamrandham, is derived with (N)am(UL) (3.4.22 ābhikṣṇye namul ca) introduced after raḥ. This gives us $raḍh + (N)am(UL) = raḍh + am$. Augment $nUm$ is now introduced to derive $ra + n(UM) + dh + am = randham$. Note that randham goes through iteration (vt: ābhikṣṇye dve bhavata iti vaktavyam, ad 8.1.12 prakāre guṇavacanasya) under the denotational condition of intense or repeated action. Thus, we get randhamrandham.
2. Why do we not get a \textit{vrddhi} replacement for the penultimate \textit{a} (7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhâyāḥ}) of the \textit{āṅga}, i.e., \textit{radh} + \textit{NiC}, etc.? This \textit{vrddhi}, though it is \textit{para} 'subsequent', is blocked by \textit{nUM}. For, \textit{nUM} is obligatory (\textit{nitya}). An obligatory provision is considered more powerful than a provision made by a subsequent (\textit{para}) rule. Augment \textit{nUM} becomes obligatory because its context must receive application, whether or not the application of penultimate \textit{vrddhi} is carried out (\textit{kṛtākrta}prasaṅgītvān \textit{nityam}). Once \textit{nUM} is introduced, the \textit{vrddhi} condition of \textit{a} in the \textit{upadhā} 'penultimate position' is removed. Consequently, there is no application of \textit{vrddhi} by 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhāyāḥ}.

\textit{Kāśiṅā} offers (\textit{radh} + \textit{tṛC}) + \textit{sU} \rightarrow \textit{radhhā} and (\textit{jabh} + \textit{yaT}) + \textit{sU} \rightarrow \textit{jabhyam} as counter-examples for the condition of \textit{aci} 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'. Note here that affixes \textit{tṛC} and \textit{yaT} do not begin with a vowel.

7.1.62 \textbf{नेत्यालिति स्येः:}

\textit{nety alitī radheḥ}
\[/ na φ iṭi 7/1 alitī 7/1 = na liṭ (nañ.), tasmin; radheḥ 6/1/\]
\textit{(āṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58)}
\textit{idādāv alitī pratyaye pare radher num āgamo bhavati}

Augment \textit{nUM} is not introduced to an \textit{āṅga}, namely verbal root \textit{radhA}, when a non-\textit{LIT} affix beginning with \textit{iT} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{radhitā} 'he who will cook'
\textit{radhitum} 'to cook'
\textit{radhitaryam} 'should cook'

1. Note that our earlier rule introduces \textit{nUM} to \textit{radh} in deriving \textit{randhana} 'cooking' and \textit{randhaka} 'cook' when a vowel-initial affix follows. This was possible there because affixes introduced after it began with a vowel. Our present rule blocks \textit{nUM} where \textit{radh} is followed by a non-\textit{LIT} (\textit{alitī}) affix which begins with a vowel, namely \textit{iT} (\textit{idādī}). This right context of negation of augment \textit{nUM} is very specific. That is, \textit{radh} must occur before a non-\textit{LIT} affix and this affix must be made \textit{aṭādi} 'beginning with a vowel' by way of introduction of augment \textit{iT}. Consider \textit{rarandhiva} and \textit{rarandhima}, the first person dual and plural active perfect derivates of \textit{randh} where affix \textit{LIT} is replaced with the first dual and plural endings \textit{vas} and \textit{mas}. Our present rule cannot block the introduction of \textit{nUM} here. For, \textit{radh} is followed by a replacement of \textit{LIT}. Our earlier rule will thus introduce \textit{nUM}. Iteration, and subsequent deletion relative to \textit{abhyāsa}, will produce \textit{rarandhiva} and \textit{rarandhima}. Note also that \textit{radh} will receive \textit{iT} of 7.2.13 \textit{kṛṣṇbhr}..., by way of being an exception to roots enumerated by that rule.

A question is raised as to why a replacement of \textit{LIT} after \textit{radh}, which does
not end in a conjunct to start with, cannot be accepted as marked with ḵaṇ as an it (1.2.5 asamyogā ḵiṣ kit). For, this status as marked with ḵ as an it will facilitate deletion of nUM by rule 6.4.24 aniditām hal upadḥāyāḥ. That is why, can we not treat LIṬ at the stage of ra + nUM + dh + LIṬ as marked with ḵas an it (kit; 1.2.5 asamyogā ḵiṣ kit), thereby facilitating deletion of penultimate n (6.4.24 aniditām hal . . .). Kāśikā states that this LIṬ cannot be treated as marked with ḵ as an it (kit) because it will be occurring after randh, a root ending in a conjunct (samyoga; Kāś: navm kṛte saṃyogāntavād 'asamyogā ḵiṣ kit' iti kitvaṁ nāśīti nalopo na bhavaī). How do we get the root to end in a conjunct? The root is randh and it ends in dh and not ndh. It can end in ndh if one follows the recommendation of introducing augment nUM to it right at the outset (upadeśa) of derivation. The question of n-deletion thus does not arise.

What should be the form of randh when LIṬ, especially when it is replaced with ḵvaśU, follows? The form should be: redhivān? Where do we get ḵvaśU from? We get ḵvaśU as a replacement of LIṬ under the provision of 3.2.107 kvaśuś ca. Iteration and operations relative to abhyāsa are then performed. That is, rule 6.4.120 aṭa ekahalmadhye . . . offers e as a replacement for a of randhr(a->e) dh + (K) vas(U) = randhredh + vas. The abhyāsa also concurrently goes through deletion by this same rule to produce: (randh->ṵ) reḍh + vas = redhi + vas. We get redh(iṬ) + va(nUM) s = redhivan, through introduction of iṬ, nUM and deletion of n under the condition of ḵ as an it (kit). The form should thus be redhivas + sU → redhivān.

Others claim that the form should be raraḍhvān where iṬ will not be introduced. For, the condition of ekāc ‘single vowel’ cannot be met after iteration. The non-introduction of iṬ will also block introduction of nUM. The form should thus be raraḍhvān.

Actually, nUM, in redhivān, is introduced after replacement in e (etva; r(a->e), deletion relative to abhyāsa (abhyāsaśāyopa; ra(dh->ṵ) and introduction of augment iṬ (idāgaṇa). A nUM, now introduced under the condition of a LIṬ affix beginning with iṬ (idādi-liṭ), is deleted under the condition of randh not ending in a conjunct (samyoga) in upadeśa. This derivational order facilitates replacement in e (etva) and deletion relative to abhyāsa. Others claim that nUM is introduced to start with, but randh of randh is still treated as not ending in a conjunct. This facilitates deletion of n. Once iṬ is introduced, nUM is introduced and goes through deletion again. The question of replacement in e, and deletion of the abhyāsa, thus does not arise.

Yet another question. Why can we not have a restrictive provision like iṭi ḵiṣ ‘augment nUM is introduced only when affix LIṬ follows an iṭi-initial affix, and not anywhere else’. But this kind of restrictive provision may also occasion an entirely opposite interpretation: ‘nUM should be introduced only when an iṬ-initial LIṬ follows, and not anywhere else’. This will block nUM in raraṇḍha and allow it in ṛadhitā because of an absence of LIṬ. Our
preceding rule then may allow i\(\text{T}\), etc., to be introduced to a vowel-initial L\(\text{T}\), etc., which may follow. Consequently, the restrictive provision must read: 'n\(\text{UM}\) is negated only when a vowel-initial affix other than L\(\text{T}\) follows'.

7.1.68 रभेशःळिटोः:

\[
\text{rabher aśab liṭoh} \quad /\text{rabheh 6/1 aśab-liṭoh 7/2}/ = \text{sāp ca liṭ ca = śabliṭau (itar. dv.), hyoh; na śabliṭoh (naḥ with int. dv.)/}
\]

(\text{āṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 aci #61})
\text{rabher aṅga; śabliḍvarjite' jādau pratyaye parato num āgamo bhavati}

Augment \(\text{n\(\text{UM}\)}\) is introduced to an aṅga, namely verbal root rabhi ‘to undertake, initiate’, when an affix other than ŚaP and L\(\text{T}\), beginning with a vowel follows.

**Examples:**

- ārambhayati ‘he has someone begin . . .’
- ārambhakaḥ ‘he who begins . . .’
- sādhvārambhī ‘he who begins well’
- ārambhāmārambham ‘starting (something) over and over again’
- ārambhō vartate ‘an undertaking is in progress’

1. This rule allows \(\text{n\(\text{UM}\)}\) for an aṅga which is followed by a vowel-initial affix other than ŚaP and (a replacement of) L\(\text{T}\). Examples of this rule derive similarly to examples of 7.1.61 radhijabhor aci. Rules of replacement in \(n\rightarrow m\) (anusvāra; 8.3.24 nās cāpadāntasya jhali) and a sound homogeneous with what follows (parasavarṇa; \(m\rightarrow m\); 8.4.58 anuvārasya yāyī parasavarṇāhaḥ) apply in addition.

Provisions of this rule will exclude ārabhate ‘third singular middle LA\(\text{T}\)-derivate of rabh, used after the preverb a’ because ārabh will have a following ŚaP. Similar exclusion applies to the third singular middle perfect ārebhe, where L\(\text{T}\) is replaced with e, via ta (3.4.81 lītas tajhayor . . .). A derivate such as ārabdhā is also out since its affix, i.e., tṛC, a replacement of LUT, begins with a consonant.

7.1.64 लभेशः

\[
\text{labheś ca} \\
/\text{labheḥ 6/1 ca ṣ}/
\]

(\text{āṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 aci #61 aśabliṭoh #63})
\text{labheś cājādau pratyaye śabliḍvarjite num āgamo bhavati}

Augment \(\text{n\(\text{UM}\)}\) is also introduced to an aṅga, namely verbal root labh ‘to obtain, gain’, when an affix other than ŚaP and L\(\text{T}\), beginning with a vowel follows.
EXAMPLES:

lambhayati ‘third singular LAT-derivate of labh ending in causal NiC’
lambhakah ‘a derivate of NyuL; he who obtains’
sādhuhammadhi ‘he who obtains well’
lambham-lambham ‘obtaining over and over again’
lambho vartate ‘process of obtaining goes on’

1. Here again we can cite exclusions such as labhate and lebhe, parallel to ārabhate and ārebhe, of the preceding rule. Derivational details stay similar to earlier rules.

Why was labh not included in the earlier rule? This rule is formulated separately so that labh alone could be carried over to subsequent rules. A single formulation in the form of rabhilabhyyor aṣablītoḥ, with rabh and labh both, would have necessitated the anuvṛtti of them both in subsequent rules. A separate formulation is made to exclude all subsequent operations to rabh (Nyāsa: yadi ‘rabhilabhyyor aṣablītoḥ’ ity eko yogah kriyate tato rabher ity anuvṛttir uttaratra syāt. atāś ca tasyāpy uttaratra kāryam prasajyeta).

7.1.65 आङ्गो यि

āṇo yī
/āṇāḥ 5/1 yī 7/1/
(aṅgaśya #6.4.1 num #58 labheḥ #64)
āṇ uttarasya labher yakārādau prayāyaviśaye num āgamo bhavati

Augment nUM is introduced to an āṅga, namely verbal root labh used with the preverb āN, when an affix beginning with y finds its scope to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ālambhyā gauḥ ‘a cow to be obtained; touched’
ālambhyā vaḍavaḥ ‘a mare to be obtained; touched’

1. Note that saptamī ‘locative’ in yī is not a parasaptamī ‘a locative specifying what follows’. It is viṣayasaṃtaṃ ‘locative of domain’, instead. That is, nUM will be introduced with the understanding that an affix with required specification will find its scope, and hence, nUM will be introduced. This way, nUM will be introduced to labh, yielding lambḥ at the outset. We will thus get the subsequent application of anuvāra (8.3.24 naṣ cāpadāntasya jhāli) and parasavarṇa (8.4.58 anuvārasya yaiḥ ...). Once nUM is introduced, the root will no longer remain ad-upadha ‘having a in its penultimate position’. Consequently, only affix NyāT (3.1.124 ṭhalor nyat), and no yaT (3.1.98 por ad upadāhā), can be introduced. But why do we have to resort to this rather prolix (gaurava) blocking of yaT by NyāT, when the two affixal derivates do not differ in form? Commentators hasten to add that these two derivates
differ in accent. That is, the final compound constituent, as a derivate of \( yaT \), is marked with \( udātta \) at the beginning (6.1.210 \( yato \) ‘\( nāvah \)). A final constituent as a derivate of \( NyaT \), especially in view of retention of its \( kṛt \) accent (\( krduṭtaraṭpadapraṭkṛtisvara \)), is marked with \( udātta \) at the end. Finally, an \( anudātta \) which occurs after an \( udātta \) is changed into a \( svārita \) (8.4.66 \( udāttād anudāttasya svāritaḥ \)).

Note that \( labhya \), as a derivate of \( yaT \), will be excluded because \( labh \) is not used in combination after the preverb \( āN \). How can one then explain \( agniśṭoma ālabhyah \) ‘the Agniśṭoma sacrifice is to be performed’ where \( labh \) is used after the preverb \( āN \), and no \( nUM \) is heard. All operations, in the Vedic, can be considered optional (\( sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante \)). Or else, one can accept that \( nUM \) is introduced but its attendant introduction of \( n \) (\( anuṣaṅga \)) subsequently goes through deletion (6.4.24 \( aniditāṁ hala . . . \)). Incidentally, Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) shows that \( labhya \) can be derived with \( yaK \). But since there is no affix marked with \( K \) as an \( it \) which is introduced after \( labh \), Haradatta’s \( yaK \) becomes a suspect. \( Nyāsa \) clearly recognizes the affix as \( yaT \). Accepting \( yaK \) as the affix also renders Haradatta’s statement confusing: \( etena yaḥyaṣṭapau vyākhyātāu ‘affixes yaK and \( Lyap \) have been illustrated by this’. That Haradatta’s \( yaK \) is clearly \( yaT \) becomes clear when he adds: \( tena ‘yi ‘ity sāmānyoktāv api nyad evodāhṛta iti bhāvah ‘therefore, the sense is: eventhough the specification is made with a general \( yi \), only \( NyaT \) is illustrated’.

7.1.66 \( उपात्प्रासांसायाम् \)

\( upāt praśaṁsāyām \)
\( /upāt 5/1 praśaṁsāyām 7/1/ \)
\( (āṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 labheḥ #64 yi #65) \)

\( upād uttarasya labheḥ praśaṁsāyāṁ gamyamānāyāṁ yakārādau pratyaśaye num āgamo bhavati \)

Augment \( nUM \) is introduced to an \( āṅga \), namely verbal root \( labh \) used after the preverb \( upa \), when an affix beginning with \( y \) finds its scope to follow and the derivate denotes \( praśaṁsā ‘praise’ \).

**Examples:**

\( upalambhyā bhavatā vidyā ‘knowledge is worth your efforts to obtain’ \)
\( upalambhyāni dhanāni ‘riches are worth obtaining’ \)

1. Note that the condition of \( praśaṁsā ‘praise’ \) is important. Thus, \( upalambhyām asmād vṛṣalāt kimciyāt ‘something should be gotten out from this untouchable’ will form an exception. For, \( nUM \) is not introduced in the absence of praise. The meaning here is simply ‘to obtain’, with no indication of ‘praise’. The example is a derivate of \( yaT \), introduced on the basis of \( labh \) ending in \( pu \), i.e., \( bh \), and having an \( a \) in its penultimate position (3.1.98 \( por ad upadhāt \)).
A derivate of \textit{NyaT}, as explained earlier, will eventually end up being marked with a \textit{svarita} at the end. Here again, since the affix is introduced after augment \textit{nUM}, applications of replacement in \textit{anusvāra} (8.3.24 \textit{nāś cāpadānīsya} \ldots) and a homogeneous sound similar to what follows (\textit{parasavarnā}; 8.4.58 \textit{anusvārasya} \textit{yayi} \ldots), are then accomplished. That is, even before the affix is introduced.

7.1.67 \textbf{उपसर्गात्कल्पः:}

\textit{upasargāt khalgaṇoḥ}
\textit{\textbackslash{upasargāt} 5/1 khal-gaṇoḥ 7/2 = khal ca ghaṇ ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/ (\textit{āṅgasya} #6.4.1 \textit{num} #58 labheḥ #64 yi #65)}
\textit{upasargād uttaraśa labheḥ khalgaṇoḥ parato num āgamō bhavati}

Augment \textit{nUM} is introduced to an \textit{āṅga}, namely verbal root \textit{labh} used after a preverb (\textit{upasarga}), when affixes \textit{khaL} and \textit{GHaN} follow.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{īsatpralambhaḥ} ‘a little gain’
  \item \textit{supralambhaḥ} ‘a big gain’
  \item \textit{duṣṭpralambhaḥ} ‘a bad result’
  \item \textit{pralambhaḥ} ‘gain, cheating’
  \item \textit{vipralambhaḥ} ‘deceit’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule allows \textit{nUM} when \textit{labh}, used with a preverb (\textit{upasarga}), is followed by affixes \textit{KHaL} (3.3.126 \textit{īsadduḥsusū} \ldots) and \textit{GHaN}. Why should this rule be formulated when 7.1.64 \textit{labheś ca} can already account for its scope? A formulation, made against another which already exists, is made for restrictive purposes (\textit{siddhe satyārambho niyamārthaḥ}). Thus, \textit{nUM}s is to be introduced under the right context of \textit{KHaL} and \textit{GHaN}, only when \textit{labh} is used in combination after a preverb (\textit{upasargād eva nānyatra}). Consider \textit{īsallābhaḥ} ‘easily available’ and \textit{lābhāḥ} ‘gain’, where \textit{nUM} could not be introduced for a lack of \textit{upasarga}, used in combination before \textit{labh}.

7.1.68 \textbf{न सुदुभ्यां कैवलान्याम्}

\textit{na sudurbhyāṁ kevalābhyām}
\textit{\textbackslash{na} φ su-durbhyāṁ 5/2 = suś ca dur ca (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ; kevalābhyām 5/2/}
\textit{(\textit{āṅgasya} #6.4.1 \textit{num} #58 labheḥ #64 upasargāt khalgaṇoḥ #67)}
\textit{‘su, dur’ ity etābhyaṁ kevalābhyām anyopasargarāhitābhyaṁ upasṛṣṭasya labheḥ khalgaṇoḥ parato num āgamō na bhavati}

Augment \textit{nUM} is not introduced to verbal root \textit{labh} when it occurs in combination after \textit{su} and \textit{dur} alone, and when affixes \textit{khaL} and \textit{GHaN} follow.
EXAMPLES:

sudurlabhāṁ ‘extremely hard to obtain’
sulabhāṁ ‘easily available’
durlabhāṁ ‘difficult to obtain’
sulabhāḥ ‘better gain’
durlabhāḥ ‘bad gain’

1. Note that kevala refers to the occurrence of su and dur alone, individually, or jointly, as preverbs. Or else, it refers to the absence of forms similar in class to su and dur (anyasya sajaṭasyaṁabhāvaṁ). It negates nUM when read with na ‘not’. Thus, we get sulabha ‘easily available’, durlabha ‘available with difficulty’ and sudurlabha ‘extremely hard to obtain’. Some may wrongly assume that this restriction also applies to atisulabham ‘beyond easy reach’. Actually, ati is here termed a karma-pravacanīya (1.4.95 atir atikramane ca). It cannot be termed an upasarga. For, class inclusion (samjñāsāmāveśa) is not permitted (1.4.1 ā kaṭārād ekā samjñā). That is, this restriction applies to forms which are similar in class (sajātya) to su and dur. But what if ati is an upasarga, and not a karma-pravacanīya? Augment nUM cannot be blocked there. Thus, we will get sulambham with nUT, anusvāra (n→n) and parasavāra (n→m).

The nominal ending byāṁ, in kevalābhīyāṁ ‘after the two alone’, is interpreted as instrumental dual (trīyādviśacana). It cannot be interpreted as an ablative dual (paṇcamidviśacana). For, an ablative interpretation will block nUM in supralambhaḥ and duspralambhaḥ. An ablative interpretation would require the restriction to apply when su and dur directly preceded the verbal root. That is, with no intervening pra, as in supralambhaḥ and duspralambhaḥ. If this is what was tended then kevalābhīyāṁ was not needed. The sūtra uses kevalābhīyāṁ to indicate absence of any other preverb before or after su and dur.

7.1.69 विभाषा विणपुलोऽः:

vibhāṣā cīṇamuloh
/vibhāṣā 1/1 cin-ṇamuloh 7/2 (itar. duv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 labheḥ #64)
‘cin, ṇamul ity etayor vibhāṣā labher num bhavati
Augment nUM is introduced only optionally to an aṅga, namely verbal root labh, when affixes ĀN and ṇAMUL follow.

EXAMPLES:

alābbhi ‘he obtained’
alambhi ‘ibidem’
lābhmlābbham ‘gaining over and over again’
lambhamlambham ‘ibidem’
1. This optional provision of *nUM* is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. That is, it applies optionally when the root is not used with a preverb (*anupāsrita*); it applies obligatorily (*niyā*) when the root is used with a preverb (*upāsrita*). Thus, we get *alābhi*, a derivate of *LUN* introduced after *labh* ‘to gain’, where *CLI* occurs before *LUN* (3.1.143 *cli luṇi*) and *LUN*, itself, is replaced with the third singular middle ending *ta*. Affix *CLI* also gets replaced with *CīN* (3.1.66 *cīn bhāvakarmanoḥ*). The *ta*-replacement of *LUN*, however, is deleted by 6.4.104 *cīno luṅk*. The penultimate of *labh* goes through *vṛddhi*, if the option of *nUM* is not availed. This will produce *alābhi* with the introduction of augment *aT* (6.4.71 *luṇāṅkṛiṣv aḍ uḍāṭtāḥ*). Availing *nUM* will require *anuvāra* and *parasavāra* ‘homogeneous replacement similar to what follows’, as usual. We will thus get *alambaḥi*, with no penultimate *vṛddhi*. Derivatives of *NamUL*, with the signification of *ābhikṣṇya* ‘over and over again’, i.e., *lābhanālābham* and *lambhanālambham*, will again have *nUM*, optionally. But consider *prālambaḥi* and *pralambhampralambham*, where, since the root is used with the preverb *pra*, *nUM* becomes obligatory (*niyā*).

7.1.70 उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेः

*ugidacāṁ sarvanāmastiṁthaṁ* dhātōh
/ *ugid-acāṁ 6/3 = ut it yesāṁ te = ugitāṁ (bu.); ugitās ca ac ca = ugidacaḥ (itar. dv.); sarvanāmastiṁthaṁ 7/1 adhātoḥ 6/1 = na dhātuḥ (naṁ), tasya/ (aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58)

ugitāṁ aṅgānāṁ dhātuvāriyānāṁ aṅcataṁ ca sarvanāmastiṁthaṁ parato num āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* which is not a verbal root but is marked with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term ‘UK’ (*u/*r/*ḥ*) as an *it*, and also to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *aṅcU*, when an affix termed *sarvanāmastiṁthaṁ* follows.

**Examples:**

*bhavān/* bhavantau/* bhavantaḥ* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural polite of *bhavatU* (bhā + *DvataU*)

*sreyān/* sreyāṃsau/* sreyāṃsaḥ* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural derivate of *praśasya* ‘superior’ with *iyasUN*

*pacan/* pacantau/* pacantaḥ* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural derivate of *pac* with *SatR*

*prān/ prāncau/* prāncakah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural derivate of *aṅcU* with *KoIP*

1. Why state *adhātoḥ* ‘*nUM* is introduced after that which is other than a verbal root . . . ’, especially when an inclusion of *aṅcU*, itself, could have excluded other roots? A specification by *adhātoḥ* is needed so that *nUM* could also be introduced to a form which was previously not a root but which
currently was (Kāś: adhātubhūtapūrasya yathā syāt). Thus, consider gomān, a
derivate of verbal root gomatyā, itself a root derived with affix KyaC intro-
duced after gomat + am with the significiation of gomantaṁ icchatā = gomatyati
‘wishes for himself to be rich in cows’ (3.1.8 supā āṭmanah kyāc). Now, gomān
‘rich in cows’ derives with nUM, introduced to gomatyā + KuIP = gomān, where
KuIP, also dubbed as apratyayāḥ ‘no affix’ or aśrāvī ‘an affix which is not
heard’, goes through total deletion (sarvāpahāriñopa). Introduction of nUM
then produces gomantya. The final a of gomantya is deleted by 6.4.48 ato
lopaḥ. The y of gomantya also is deleted by 6.4.41 kyasya vibhāṣā. The a of
gomant is then replaced with its long counterpart ā (6.4.14 atuasantasya
cādhatoh) to yield gom (a→ā)nt. The final t, at the end of nt, a conjunct
(samyoga), is dropped by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ.

2. Recall that bhavatU is a derivate of the Unādi (I:63: bhāter dāvatuḥ) affix
DavatU. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 kniti ca, especially citavān (II:338),
for further derivational details of bhavān. Deriving sreyaṁ, from praśasya +
iyasUN, involves replacing praśasya with śra (5.3.60 praśasya śraḥ). Refer to
notes under 5.3.60 praśasya śraḥ (IV:630) for additional derivational
details. Thus, (praśasya→śra) + iyas(UN) = śra + iyas = śreyas. Derivational details of
pacat and its paradigmatic forms are offered in the appendix (III:751) of
3.2.124 latah satrānacāv... Derivational details of prān are offered under
the appendix (III:737-38) of 3.2.59 rtvngadhyak... . . .

3. Note that a specification with aṅcati is here made for restrictive pur-
poses. That is, if nUM is to be introduced to a dhatu, it must be none other
than aṅcati. Consider ukhāsatr and parnaḍuat under 3.2.76 kvip ca (III:741-
42), where svans and dwans at the end of a nominal stem could not avail
nUM.

7.1.71 सुज्ञसमासे

yujer asamāśe
/yujeh 6/1 asamāshe 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 sarvanāmasthāne #70)
yujer asamāśe sarvanāmasthāne parato num āgamo bhavati
Augment nUM is introduced to an aṅga, namely yujI ‘to join, yoke’,
when this same is not used in a compound (samāsa) and when an affix
termed sarvanāmasthāna follows.

EXAMPLES:

yun/yuṇjav/yuṇah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of yun’

1. Note that yun is a derivate of verbal root yuj with affix KuIN (cf. vt:
sampadādibhyah kvip; ad 3.3.94 striyām kīn), where KuIP goes through total
deletion. Augment nUM is introduced to yuj + sU, thereby yielding yunj + sU.
Our final derivate yun is derived through deletion of sU (6.1.68 ṛatlīyāb-
bhya . . .), deletion of conjunct final j (samyogântalopa; 8.2.23 samyogântasya lopah) and replacement of n with ni (kutva; 8.2.62 kviñ pratyayasya kuñ). Notice that āsvayuk 'he who yokes horses', āsvayujau and āsvayujah cannot be allowed nUM because their base is a compound.

Incidentally, a specification of ujj with i, in ujI of ujē, is intended for excluding any reference to verbal root ujj having the signification of samādhi 'state of deep meditation'. Thus, we do not get nUM in the accusative singular ujjam of ujjam āpānnaḥ īṣayaḥ 'the sages have attained their state of deep meditation'.

7.1.72 नपु，सकस्य ज्ञलचः

napumsakasya jhalacaḥ
/napumsakasya 6/1 jhalacaḥ 6/1 = jhal ca ac ca (sam. du.), tasya/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 sarvanāmasthanē #70)
napumsakasya jhalantasyajantasya ca sarvanāmasthanē parato num āgamo bhavati

Augment nUM is introduced to a neuter aṅga which ends either in a sound denoted by a non-nasal consonant (jhaL; Śs.8-14), or in a vowel, provided an affix termed sarvanāmasthanē follows.

Examples:

udaśvinti '(nominative jas)/accusative Śas plural of udaśvīt 'buttermilk'
śakṛnti 'nominative/accusative plural of śakṛt 'excretion'
yaśāṃsi ' . . . of yaśas 'fame'
payāṃsi ' . . . of payas 'milk'
kunḍāni ' . . . of kunḍa 'bowl'
vanaṃi ' . . . of vana 'forest'
trapūni ' . . . of trapū 'lead'
jaṭūni ' . . . of jaṭu 'lacquer'

1. Refer to derivational details of payāṃsi, trapūni (I:384-85) and kunḍāni (II:377-78) in the appendix. Derivational patterns of these examples can also be followed to derive yaśāṃsi, jaṭūni and vanāni. Similar rule applications are also involved in deriving udaśvinti and śakṛnti, from udaśvīt 'buttermilk' and śakṛt 'excretion, feces'. Recall that anusvāra (8.4.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali) and parasavarṇa 'replacement in a homogeneous sound similar to what follows' (8.4.58 anusuvārasya mayi parasavarṇah) applications, both, follow the introduction of nUM.

2. Recall that this rule introduces nUM when a sarvanāmasthanē affix follows a neuter. A Śi (7.1.20 jaśasoh śi) which comes in place of the nominative and accusative plural forms jas and śas, alone, gets the assignment of the term sarvanāmasthanē (1.1.42 śi sarvanāmasthanē). Rule 1.1.43 suṇ
anapumsaksasya assigns the term sarvanāmasthāna to the nominative singular, dual, plural and accusative singular and dual endings sU, au, js, am, auT and ṣas, only when they occur after a non-neuter. Thus, one should not expect nUM when singular and dual endings of nominative and accusative follow a neuter base.

3. A specification with napumsaksasya is made in this rule to block nUM on the basis of neuter, for example, in agnicit + sU = agnicid brāhmaṇah ‘a brāhmaṇa who heaps ritual fire’.

A nominal which is marked with UK as an it and ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL receives its nUM by this rule, and not by 7.1.70 ugid acām. ... For, this rule is subsequent in order of enumeration (paratvāt). This is how we get nUM in śreyāmsi/yaśāmsi/bhūyāmsi ‘nominative and accusative plurals of yaśas ‘fame’, etc.’; kuryanti/krṣanti brāhmaṇakulāni ‘(these) clans of the brāhmaṇas farm’.

4. A vārttika proposal is made to negate nUM in bahūrjī ‘much energy’. Thus, we get bahūrjī brāhmaṇakulāni ‘(these) clans of the brāhmaṇas are powerful’.

Some, however, desire nUM prior to the last sound segment of bahūrjī. They, thus, get bahūrṇjī brāhmaṇakulāni.

7.1.73 इकोचिच्च विभक्तिः

iko’ ci vibhaktau
/ikah 6/1 aci 7/1 vibhaktau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 napumsaksasya #72)
igantasya napumsaksasyāṅgasyājādau num āgamō bhavatī
Augment nUM is attached to a neuter aṅga which ends in a sound denoted by iK, provided a vowel-initial affix termed vibhakti follows.

Examples:

trapuṇi ‘nominative dual of neuter trapu’
jatuni ‘... of jatu’
tumburuṇi ‘... of tumburu’
trapune ‘dative singular of trapu’
jatune ‘... of jatu’
tumburuṇe ‘... of tumburu’

1. Note that trapuṇi, jatunī, tumburuṇī; and trapune, jatune, tumburuṇe are two sets of derivates with au ‘nominative dual’ and Ne ‘dative singular’, respectively. The nominal ending au is replaced with Šī (7.1.19 napumsakāca ca). Forms of trapu and tumburu will also involve natu (8.4.2 añkupvān num vyavajye’ pī).

What is the purpose of stating ‘when ending in a vowel denoted by iK’? Perhaps it is intended for anuvṛtī in the following rule. Why could it not be
stated at the place where it is intended to be used? Why could it not be stated in the subsequent rule? Well, not including iK in this rule may occasion introduction of nUM in trapu + bhyām. But this could hardly be the purpose. This n, subsequent to assignment of the term pada by 1.4.17 svādiṣu asarvanāmasthāne, can be deleted by 8.2.7 na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya. What then is the problem? Actually, the real purpose of including this specification made with iK is to block nUM in he trapo ‘O Trapu’. Even if nUM gets introduced here, it cannot be deleted by 8.2.7 na lopaḥ. . . . For, 8.2.8 na nisambudhyoh will block it.

One cannot argue that the question of introducing nUM does not arise since the inflectional ending (vibhakti) will be deleted by 7.1.23 svamor nupumṣakāt. Rule 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya will block operations relative to deleted affix. Thus, this specification by iK does not serve any purpose. But it does serve a purpose. Pāṇini knew that 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya will block operations relative to a deleted affix. Thus, there was no point in making a specification with iK. Yet he did. It indicates that negation of 1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya does not apply here. That is, a guṇa conditioned by sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanām sambuddhiḥ) still applies. Thus, we get he trapo.

2. The Mahābhāṣya cites the following kārikā-verses which summarize complexities of this rule-formulation:

    iko’ ci vyañjane mā bhūd astu lopaḥ svarāh katham
    ‘iko’ ci shows that nUM cannot be introduced when a consonant follows; how can one account for accent when the affix goes through deletion’
    svaro vai śrūyamāno’ pi lupte kim na bhavisyati//
    ‘why can an accent, when heard, cannot be accounted for even when the affix goes through deletion’
    rāgātvaṃ tīṣbhāvaś ca vyavadhānān numā api
    ‘we will get ā-replacement of rai, and also replacement of tri with tisṛ (tisṛbhāva), even when there is intervention by nUM’
    nuḍ vācya uttarārtham tu iha kīm citrapo iti//
    ‘nUT should then be stated for subsequent application (why here); it is used here only for citrapo’

(2.1) Why is aci used in this rule?

If aci is not specified in the wording of rule 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau, augment nUM could be introduced even when an affix beginning with a consonant follows. That is, we will get augment nUM in trapubhyām/trapubhīṭh where bhyām and bhis begin with a consonant. But there should not be any problem in introducing nUM when an affix beginning with a consonant followed. We can assign the term pada by 1.4.17 svādiṣu asarvanāmasthāne, the deletion of nUM could then be accomplished by 8.2.7 nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya. Since nUM will go through deletion, there will not be any formal difference. This,
however, is not acceptable. There will be problems in retaining the original accent of initial constituents in \textit{pañcatrapubhyām} and \textit{pañcatrapubhīh}.

Let us consider \textit{pañcatrapubhyām/pañcatrapubhīh} where \textit{pañcatrapu} is derived as a compound by 2.1.51 \textit{taddhītārthottarapadasamāhāre ca}. Rule 2.1.52 \textit{samkhīṛpūrvo dviguh} assigns the term \textit{dvigu}, and 5.1.19 \textit{ārhād agopuccha . . .} introduces \textit{thak}. This \textit{thak} will be subsequently deleted by 5.1.28 \textit{adhyar-dhapūrvadvigur lag asamjāyām}. If we introduced \textit{bhyām/bhis} after \textit{pañcatrapu} with introduction (7.1.73), and subsequent deletion (8.2.7) of \textit{nUM} before \textit{bhyām/bhis} without any consideration of \textit{aci}, \textit{n}-deletion will become suspended (\textit{asiddha}; 8.2.2 \textit{nalopaḥ supsva . . .}). That is, \textit{n} will still be seen as part of \textit{pañcatrapu}. Consequently, 6.2.29 \textit{iganta-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveśu dvigau will not be able to retain the original accent of initial constituent, i.e., \textit{paṅca}. Recall that, under the suspension provision of \textit{n}-deletion, the final constituent, i.e., \textit{trapu}, will no longer be ending in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term \textit{iK}, as is required by 6.2.28 \textit{igantakapāla-bhagāla . . .}. In the absence of accentual retention of the first constituent, we will find application of a rule which assigns initial \textit{udatta} accent to bases ending in \textit{n} and \textit{r}. But the problem is much more complex because we do not find initial \textit{udatta} in usage. We still get the retention of the original accent. This begs a question: why can we not retain what is heard in usage, even after \textit{n}-deletion and its suspension (\textit{asiddhatva}). Why do we have to accept the impairment of the condition of a vowel denoted by \textit{iK} at the end. It is stated that, in \textit{pañcatrapunā} and \textit{pañcatrapunah}, augment \textit{nUM} is considered part of the whole form. It could not be accepted as a reason for impairment of condition of a vowel denoted by \textit{iK} at the end of the following constituent. This can clear the way for retention of original accent of initial constituent. We can also find yet another solution. It can be argued that retention operation of original accent is internally conditioned (\textit{antarāṅga}). Consequently, it will be accomplished prior to introduction of nominal endings \textit{bhyām/bhis}. This way, we can accomplish the retention of original accent of initial constituents in \textit{pañcatrapubhyām} and \textit{pañcatrapubhīh}.

(2.2) \textit{rāyātaṃ tisṛbhāvaś ca vyavadhānam numā api . . .}

Now consider \textit{atirābhīyām}, paraphrased as \textit{rāyam atikrāntābhīyām kulābhīyām ‘by the clans having excelled in wealth’, where \textit{atirai} is a compound formed with 2.2.18 \textit{kugatiḥprādayah}, and given \textit{atirai + bhyām}, the final \textit{ai} of \textit{atirai} goes through shortening of 1.2.47 \textit{hrasvo napuṇṣake prātipadikāntasya}. If, given \textit{atirai + bhyām}, one introduces \textit{nUM} before the consonant initial affix \textit{bhyām} and subjects \textit{n} to subsequent deletion. This \textit{n}-deletion will become suspended (\textit{asiddha}). Consequently, replacement in \textit{ā (ātva)} of 7.2.85 \textit{rāyo hali} cannot be accomplished. For, \textit{rai} and \textit{bhyām} will then be intervened by \textit{nUM}. Since this \textit{nUM} has been introduced to \textit{atirai}, it may also be considered part of \textit{atirai} in accord with interpretive convention of \textit{yadāgama} (\textit{PŚ} (12): \textit{yadāgamā}}
gunibhūtās tad grahaṇena grhyante). But this consideration will still create problem in getting ā-replacement of ai of atirai, before bhyām. For, nUM will become part of rai as its final, intervening between rai and bhyām.

An additional problem is discussed in connection with replacement of tri with tisr (tisrbhāvaś ca). The pañcamī of vyavadhānāt ‘because of intervention’ indicates hyab-lopa ‘deletion of lyāp’ before pañcamī ‘ablative’ is introduced. This will yield an interpretive sentence as: numvyavadhānam api prāpya rāya ātvam tisrbhāvaś ca ‘even after reaching the intervention of nUM, r(ai) receives replacement in ā, and tri receives a replacement in tisr’. For, rāyo hali will include the interpretation: ‘. . . the nominal ending which is introduced after rai . . .’. The word tricaturop will have a simiarl interpretation ‘. . . the nominal ending which is introduced after tri . . .’. Replacement in ā, and tisr, will both be accomplished before such endings. Eventhough nUM will be introduced when the nominal ending will be introduced. Still, contiguity of elements will be accepted as that which emerges at the time of introduction of the nominal ending. The word api indicates that replacement in ā, and in tisr, can also be accomplished by some other method. Consider atrihyām where introduction of nUM, and replacement in ā, will both become applicable concurrently. We will apply ā-replacement (ātva) on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent in order of rules’. We will similarly get tisr as a replacement for tri. For, that which goes through vipratisedha ‘conflict among two rules of equal strength where a subsequent rule wins application’, and is blocked, is blocked forever (PS (41): sakrd gatau vipratisedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva). Or else, even if nUM is introduced after replacements in ā and tisr, n-deletion will apply to remove it.

3. Nyāsa and Padamañjarī both discuss the express purpose of using the word acai in the wording of this rule (7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau). Nyāsa states that evem tarhi numnuvo vipratisedhārtham ajgrahanam kartavyam, nuti kyte num na kriyate ‘this way, aC should be used to illustrate conflict of equal strength between nUM and nUT; nUM is not introduced after having introduced nUT’. Augment nUT is introduced by 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāpo nut which, in turn, has its independent scope of application in agnīnām and vāyūnām. One can similarly cite trapuṇe and jatune as independent scopes of nUM qualified with iganta ‘that which has a vowel denoted by iK at the end’. These two rule-applications concurrently become applicable both to trapuṇām and jatūnām (neuter) where nUT is introduced on the basis of pūrva-vipratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins application’. For, subsequent upon introduction of nUT, we will get a replacement in long vowel (dīrgha) 6.4.3 nāmi. This long replacement cannot be accomplished when nUT is introduced. For, n will occur at the end of the aṅga, and this same will be found when nām follows. That this situation of conflict (vipratisedha) arises in connection with the use of acai in 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau is stated by Jinendra-buddhi (see Nyāsa) as follows:
‘nUM cannot be availed after nUT is introduced. For, trapu will occur before nām, and not before the vowel-initial nominal ending ām. If we introduced nUM, the āṅga will then end in n (nānta). Consequently, nuT cannot be introduced, especially since ām will not be occurring after an āṅga ending in a short vowel. This way, nUM and nUT both become equal in strength. The context of vipratisēdha then becomes real. If aCīs not used in rule 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau, and the rule is formulated simply as iko vibhaktau, then, after introduction of nUT, we will get the introduction of nUM under the condition of a following nominal ending beginning with a consonant. If nUT is not introduced, introduction of nUM can be accomplished under the condition of a following nominal ending beginning with a vowel. Augment nUM, in view of kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga of nUT, will become obligatory (nītya). Augment nUT will thus become non-universal (anītya).

We can still apply nUT if we took recourse to pūrva-vipratisēdha ‘conflict among rules where the preceding wins application’. This is what the author of the vārttika proposes. This, however, will render the use of acī without any purpose. Our rule 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau becomes econominal without acī. One can still argue here in favor of keeping acī in the rule. For, even if one applies nUT, via pūrva-vipratisēdha, one has to introduce nUM, in the absence of acī, before a nominal ending beginning with a consonant. Though there will be n-deletion via assignment of the term pada. The n will thus not be heard (śruta). But deletion of n could be treated as suspended (asiddha; 8.2.2 nalopaḥ supsvara...). Consequently, long-replacement of nāmi (6.4.3) will be blocked. But this should not deter us from accepting acī without any purpose. The long-replacement of nāmi (6.4.3) can be accomplished by applying 6.4.7 nopadhāyāḥ, as is done in examples such as pañcānām. If acī is not used, we cannot get long-replacement in śuci before nām of śucīnām. This should not pose any problem. For, in of 6.4.12 inhanḍūsāryamānāṁ considers in as part of an enumerated list of nominals (pratipadota). The in of śucī is not so. The use of acī could still not serve any purpose.

Commentators generally agree that acī does not serve any purpose here. They hasten to add that acī is needed in subsequent rules. Now a question: why did he not use acī where it was needed? It is argued that acī is used in 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau to facilitate the derivation of he trapo. Patañjali accepts both he trapo and he trapo as correct forms. Note that trapu is neuter. Consequently, a sU introduced after it will go through deletion by LUK of 7.1.23 svamor naupumṣakā. Rule 1.1.63 na lomatāṅgasya will subsequently block application of 7.3.108 hrasvasya guṇaḥ whereby a replacement in o for u of trapu cannot be realized. That is, he trapu alone will be the address form. If 1.1.63 na lomatāṅgasya is considered non-universal (anītya), we can still have trapu + sU. An application of 7.3.108 hrasvasya guṇaḥ can then yield the desired form he trapo. But this can be made possible only at the strength of the use of acī in 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau. For, if acī is not used, we will get the
introduction of augment nUm in trapu + sU. If aci is used we will not get this
nUM since sU begins with a consonant. If aci is not used, and nUM is intro-
duced, we will get trapun + sU. Rule 7.3.108 hrasvasya guṇaḥ cannot apply
here to replace u with o. For, 1.4.17 svādiṣu asarvanāmāsthāne will assign
the term pada, and n will go through deletion via LOPA. Since this n-deletion
will become suspended (asiddha; 8.2.2 nalopaḥ supsvra . . .), we will not get
an anīga ending in a short vowel, here u. This clearly shows that aci is used
here with the purpose of facilitating the derivation of he trapo.

It should be noted that the term sarvanāmāsthāna is assigned only in the
context of non-neuter masculine and feminine bases occurring before nomi-
nal endings denoted by the abbreviatory term sUT (1.1.43 suḍ anapuṁsakasya).
The term pada is assigned only before non-sarvanāmāsthāna affixes (1.4.17
svādiṣu asarvanāmāsthāne). The assignment of the term pada in case of trapun
+ sU should thus not be questioned. The phrase nuḍ vācyah of the fourth
quarter of the verse refutes the purpose of aci in deriving he trapo.

7.1.74 तृतीयादिशु भाषितपुंसकं पुंवदं गालवस्य
tṛtiyādīṣu bhāṣitapuṁskam puṁvad gālavasya
/ tṛtiyādīṣu 7/3 = tṛtiyā adir yāsam tāḥ (bu.); bhāṣitapuṁskam 1/1 = bhāṣitah
puṁān yena tat (bu.); puṁvat ō gālavasya 6/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 nāpuṁsakasya #72 iko' ci vibhaktau #73)
tṛtiyādīṣu vibhaktiṣu ajādiṣu bhāṣitapuṁskam igantam nāpuṁsakam gālavasya
ācārasya matena puṁvad bhavati

An anīga termed neuter which ends in a sound denoted by iKand has a
corresponding form with the denotation of masculine, is, in the opinion
of Gālava, treated as if masculine when a vowel-initial nominal end-
ing, particular to one enumerated beginning with the instrumental
(tṛtiyā), follows.

Examples:

grāmaṇīr brāhmaṇaḥ ‘this brāhmaṇa is the village leader’
grāmaṇi brāhmaṇaṇkulaṁ ‘village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas’
grāmaṇeye brāhmaṇaṇkulena ‘by the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas’
grāmaṇinā brāhmaṇaṇkulena ‘ibidem’
grāmaṇeye brāhmaṇaṇkulāya ‘to the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas’
grāmaṇinī brāhmaṇaṇkulāya ‘ibidem’
grāmaṇyo brāhmaṇaṇkulāt ‘from the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas’
grāmaṇinio brāhmaṇaṇkulāt ‘ibidem’
grāmaṇyo brāhmaṇaṇkulasya ‘of the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas’
grāmaṇinio brāhmaṇaṇkulasya ‘. . . genitive singular’
grāmaṇyor brāhmaṇaṇkulayoh ‘. . . genitive dual’
grāmaṇinior brāhmaṇaṇkulayoh ‘ibidem’
grāmanyām brāhmaṇaṇkulānām ‘genitive plural . . .’
grāmaṇिनिः brahmaṇakulānām ‘ibidem’
grāmanyāḥ brahmaṇakule ‘locative singular . . .’
grāmanīni brahmaṇakule ‘ibidem’
sucinā brahmaṇakulena ‘by the pure clan of the brahmaṇas’
sucaye brahmaṇakulena ‘to the pure . . .’
sucēḥ brahmaṇakulena ‘from the pure . . .’

1. This rule allows treating a neuter presuffixal base as masculine, when the base ends in an iK and there exists a regular masculine parallel to it, provided a vowel initial affix enumerated beginning with the instrumental singular Tā follows. This is true in the opinion of Gālava. This, however, will not be acceptable in the opinion of others. Note that this treatment of a neuter as if it was a masculine blocks two applications: (a) shortening (hrasva; 1.2.47 hrasva napumṣake prātipadikasya) and (b) introduction of augment nUM (7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhaktau), as these two applications are both blocked in case of a masculine. We will thus get two sets of forms: (i) where, because of treatment as masculine in the opinion of Gālava, grāmanyāḥ brahmaṇakulena cannot have nUM, shortening (hrasva) and its yaN resulting from 6.4.82 eranekaḥ . . . ; (ii) where, given grāmanīni brahmaṇakulena, and because of non-treatment of a neuter as masculine, nUM and shortening (hrasva) apply. Thus, consider grāmaṇinā, where instrumental singular Tā yields nā, through nUM and application of 7.3.119 aṇo nā’ strīyām. Similar consequences of yaN, in masculine, and hrasva with nUM in the neuter, can be seen before nominal endings Ne, NaSt, Naś, os, ām, and āṇi, etc.

Note that, since sucī ‘pure’ ends in a hrasva, its instrumental singular will be sucinā, both in the masculine and neuter. A treatment as masculine, for example in cases of sucaye and sucēḥ, requires application of guṇa (7.3.111 gher niṇi), and replacement in ay where applicable.

7.1.75 अस्थिदद्धिसक्ष्यक्षणामानद्वादातः:

asthidhadhisakthyaśāṁnaṁ anañ udāṭṭaḥ
/ asthi-dadhri-sakthy-akṣṇāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśāṁ; anañ 1/1 udāṭṭaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 napumṣakasya #72 aci vibhaktau #73 trīyādiśu #74)
‘asthi, dadhi, sakthi, aksi’ ity eteśāṁ napumṣaṅkānāṁ trīyādiśu ajādiśu
vibhaktiṣu paraṁ na ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati sa codatto bhavati
The final sound segment of a neuter aṅga, namely asthi ‘bone’, dadhi ‘yogurt’, sakthi ‘thigh’, and aksi ‘eye’, is replaced with anAN marked with udāṭta, when a vowel-initial nominal ending enumerated beginning with trīyā ‘third triplet; instrumental’ follows.

Examples:

asthnā ‘instrumental singular of asthi’
asthne ‘dative singular . . .’
dadhnā ‘instrumental singular of dadhi’
dadhne ‘dative singular . . .’
sakthnā ‘instrumental singular of sakthi’
sakthne ‘dative singular . . .’
akṣṇā ‘instrumental singular of aksi’
akṣne ‘dative singular . . .’

1. Note that these derivates already had nUM (7.1.73 ikō’ cī vibhaktau) available to them. This rule offers anAN, instead. The words asthi, dadhi, sakthi and aksi are all marked with udātta at the beginning (Phīṣūtra 26: nabhiṣay . . .). Their remainder, i.e., i, will then be marked with anudātta (6.1.155 anudāttam . . .). Augment anAN, by way of being a replacement of an anudātta, should have been marked with an anudātta. Our present rule marks it udātta, instead. Augment anAN will replace i of asthi, etc., in view of 1.1.52 nić ca. The penultimate a of asthan, in asth + (i-an(AN)) + (T) ā = asthan + ā, is deleted by 6.4.184 al lopo’ naḥ. Since this deleted a was marked with udātta, our nominal ending Tā then became udātta (6.1.158 anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ).

7.1.76 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

chandasy api drṣyate
/chandasi 7/1 api ṣ drṣyate (verbal pada)/
(āngasya #6.4.1 napuṃsakasya #72 asthidadhisakthysṇām anān udāṭṭaḥ
#75)
asthidadhisakthysṇām anān chandasy api drṣyate
A replacement in anAN which comes in place of the final sound segment of an anīga termed neuter, namely asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and aksi, is also seen in the Vedic.

Examples:

indro dadhiço asthibхи
bhadrāṃ pāśyemākṣabhhiḥ
asthanvantam yadānasthā bibhārti

1. This observation about anAN, in the Vedic, opens all kinds of possibilities. For example, anAN is stated in the preceding rule to obtain before a vowel-initial nominal ending. We find anAN, in the Vedic, also before a consonant-initial ending (anajādi; cf. instrumental plural, in asthibhīḥ, and aksabhīḥ). It has been stated to occur before instrumental (tṛṭiyā), etc. It can also violate this condition of tṛṭiyā in the Vedic (cf. accusative plural Śas, in asthāṇi). Finally, anAN is stated to occur only before a nominal ending (vibhakti). We can find it, in the Vedic, also before affixes which are not termed vibhakti (cf. before affix matUP, in aksanvatā and asthanvantam).
Affix *mat*, in \((akṣ(i→anAN)) \rightarrow (aṅṣan + mat) + (ā)\), receives *nUṛ* (8.2.16 anu nṛ) to produce \(aṅṣan + n + mat + ā\). Affix *mat* now goes through a replacement in \(v\) (vatva) of 8.2.9 mād upadāyā... Thus, \(aṅṣan + n + (m→v)at + ā = aṅṣan + n + vat + ā\). The *n* of anAN is deleted as shown before. The other *n* goes through a replacement in \(n\) (natva). We then get \(aṅṣal(n→φ) + (n→n) + vat + ā = aṅṣanvatā\).

7.1.77 इ च द्विवचने

\(i ca dvivacane\)

\(/i (1/1 deleted) ca φ dvivacane 7/1/\)

\((aṅgasya #6.4.1 napumsakasya #72 asthidadhisakthyksām udāttaḥ #75 chandasi #76)\)

\(dvivacane paraś chandasi viṣaye' sthīrādīnām ikārrādeo bhavati sa codāttaḥ\)

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *asthi* 'bone', *dadhi* 'yogurt', *sakthi* 'thigh', and *akṣi* 'eye', is, in the Vedic, is replaced with \(Ī\) marked with *udātta*, when a nominal ending with the signification of dual (dvivacana) follows.

**Examples:**

\(aṅsō te indra pingale kaper iva 'your eyes o! Indra, are brown like those of a monkey's'\)

\(aṅṣibhyāṁ te nāśikābhyāṁ '... your eyes... your nostrils'\)

1. This rule offers *i*, concurrently marked with *udātta*, as a replacement for the final short *i* of *asthi*, etc., provided a dual nominal ending follows. Thus, consider *akṣi + au*, where 7.1.19 napumsakāc ca replaces *au* with *Śt*. Given *akṣi + (au →(Ś)i) = akṣi + i*, the short *i* will now be replaced with the anudāta *i* of this rule. An application of a single long homogeneous vowel-replacement (savarṇadīrgha; 6.1.100 aṅaḥ savarne dīrghaḥ) will finally derive \(akṣ(i→ī) + i → akṣ (i + i → ī) = akṣi\). Note that 6.1.105 dīrghāḥ jasi ca, read with 6.1.106 vā chandasi, cannot block this long replacement since the usage is Vedic.

Commentators state that *nUM* is here blocked by *i* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order'. This *nUM*, once blocked in this conflict of equal strength (sakṛdgaṭau vipratiṣedhe), shall remain blocked forever (yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva).

7.1.78 नाथ्यसार्याचन्तः

\(nābhyastāc chatuḥ\)

\(/ na φ abhyastāt 5/1 śatuḥ 6/1/\)

\((aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58)\)

\(abhyastād aṅgād uttarasya sātur num na bhavati\)
Augment nUM is not introduced to affix ŚatR when it occurs after an āṅga termed abhyasta.

**Examples:**

*dadat* 'nominative singular of *dadat* (giving)'
*dadatāu* 'nominative dual . . .'
*dadatāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'
*dadhat* 'nominative singular of *dadhat* (placing)'
*dadhatāu* 'nominative dual . . .'
*dadhatāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'
*jaksat* 'nominative singular of *jaksat* (eating)'
*jaksatāu* 'nominative dual . . .'
*jaksatāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'
*jāgrat* 'nominative singular of *jāgrat* (waking, alert)'
*jāgratāu* 'nominative dual . . .'
*jāgratāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. A sequence of two forms, i.e., one which goes through reduplication (*dvītīya*) and the other which results from this process of reduplication, is termed abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam). Such sequences in *dadhat* and *jaksat*, forms of dhā ‘to place’ and jakṣ ‘to eat’ with affix ŚatR are assigned the term abhyasta by 6.1.6 jaksityādayaḥ śat. Augment nUM, made available to these forms before nominative endings sU, au and Jas, is blocked here. How come what is negated here is not identified as the i of the earlier rule? Is it not true that a negation applies to the most immediate positive provision? Yes, but where is that positive provision? A replacement in i is not offered to forms ending in ŚatR. This replacement then cannot form a positive provision for negation. A negation applies to that for which a positive provision is made. No positive provision for i is made for a form ending in affinity ŚatR. Since a positive provision is made for augment nUM (7.1.70 ugd acām . . .), it alone is to be considered the most immediately available provision for negation.

Incidentally, the ā of *dadā* + at and *dadhā* + at, etc., is deleted by 6.4.112 śnābhyaḥ taṣyōtāḥ. Our reduplicated (abhyasta) forms *dadā* and *dadhā* will result from applications of reduplication and subsequent shortening (7.4.59 hravah).

7.1.79 वा नपुंसकस्य

*vā napumṣakasya*

/ vā ṣ napumṣakasya 6/1 /

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 num #58 abhyastāc chatuḥ #78)

abhyastād anāgād uttarayah śatypratayayas tadantasya napumṣakasya vā num āgamo bhavati
Augment \textit{n}\textit{UM} is introduced, optionally, to an \textit{aṅga} termed neuter which is termed \textit{abhyasta} and ends in affix \textit{ŚatR}.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{dadati kulāṇi} ‘the giving clans’
  \item \textit{dadantī kulāṇi} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{dadhati kulāṇi} ‘the sustaining clans’
  \item \textit{dadhanti kulāṇi} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{jaksati kulāṇi} ‘the consuming clans’
  \item \textit{jaksanti kulāṇi} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{jāgrati kulāṇi} ‘the alert clans’
  \item \textit{jāgrantī kulāṇi} ‘ibidem’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule makes \textit{n}\textit{UM} optional in connection with a neuter \textit{aṅga} which ends in \textit{ŚatR}. Thus, consider \textit{dadat} + \textit{Jas}, where \textit{dadat} is an \textit{aṅga} termed neuter ending in \textit{ŚatR}. We get the form \textit{dadat} when \textit{Jas} is replaced with \textit{(Ś) i} (7.1.20 jassasoh śīh). One can also get an optional derive \textit{dadanti}, if the option of introducing augment \textit{n}\textit{UM} is accepted. Thus, \textit{dadat} + \textit{(Ś) i} \rightarrow \textit{dada} + (n(\textit{UM})) + t + i = \textit{dadanti}. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

7.1.80 \textit{आच्छिन्नहर्षोत्तम्}  

\begin{verbatim}
ācchīrin nadyor num  
/āt 5/1 śi-nadyoh 7/2 (itar. dv.) num 1/1/  
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 śatuh #78 vā #79)  
avarṇāntād aṅgād uttarasya śatūr vā num āgamo bhavati śinadyoh paratah
\end{verbatim}

Augment \textit{n}\textit{UM} is optionally attached to affix \textit{ŚatR} when it occurs after an \textit{aṅga} ending in \textit{a}, provided \textit{Śi}, or an item termed \textit{nādi}, follows.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tudatī kule} ‘the two grieving clans’
  \item \textit{tudantī kule} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{tudati brāhmaṇi} ‘the grieving brāhmaṇa woman’
  \item \textit{tudantī brāhmaṇi} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{yātī kule} ‘the two prospering (?) clans’
  \item \textit{yāntī kule} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{yātī brāhmaṇi} ‘the prospering brāhmaṇa woman’
  \item \textit{yāntī brāhmaṇī} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{kārṣiyatāi kule} ‘the two clans which will do’
  \item \textit{kārṣiyantī kule} ‘ibidem’
  \item \textit{kārṣiyatī brāhmaṇi} ‘the brāhmaṇa woman who will do’
  \item \textit{kārṣiyantī brāhmaṇī} ‘ibidem’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule makes augment \textit{n}\textit{UM} optional, also for an \textit{aṅga} which ends in \textit{a} and which occurs before \textit{Śi} and \textit{nādi} (1.4.3 yū stryākhyau nādi). Obviously,
we will get two sets of forms: one with nUM, the other without nUM. Consider tud + at + (Ś) ī = tudat + ī = tudati, where ŚatR occurs after tud to yield an aṅga, tudat. The nominative plural jas, of tudat + jas, is replaced with Śi (7.1.19 nāpumsakāc ca). An optional nUM will produce tuda+n+ī + ī = tudantī. A feminine counterpart of tudat can be derived as tudāti, by introducing the feminine affix NiP (4.1.4 ugiatan ca). We will get tudat + (N) ī(P) → tudatī + jas → tuda+n+ī + ī → tudantī. An optional nUM, where nUM goes through its replacement in anusvāra and subsequent homogeneous replacement similar to what follows (parasavarṇa), will give us tudantī. Note that the term nadi is assigned by 1.4.3 yū stryākhyau nadi. Similar rules apply in deriving most of the other examples.

Now consider kariṣyāntī where LRT, of kr + LRT, gets replaced with ŚatR and ŚanaC. These sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṁśīt sārvadhātukam) affixes which both are marked with Ś as an īt are further assigned the term sat (3.2.127 tau sat). This, as a direct consequence, also requires introduction of sya (3.1.33 syataśi lṛtutoḥ). Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha . . . then requires a replacement in guṇa: kr + (LRT→Ś) at(ṛ) = kr + at → kr + sya + at → k(ṛ→ar) + sya + at. An introduction of iṛ (7.2.70 yddhanoḥ sye), followed by a replacement in s (śatva), will produce kar + i(ṛ) + sya + at → kari + (s→ṛ)ya + at → karyāt(a+ā) t → kariṣyat. An introduction of the feminine affix NiP, followed by an optional augment nUM, can then offer us kariṣyanī or kariṣyāti.

Recall that the final a of karyāt and the initial a of at, go through a single replacement in a (parasavarṇa; 6.1.97 ato guṇe).

This rule requires that nUM be attached to a ŚatR which occurs after an aṅga . . . . The problem is, the aṅga no longer ends in ŚatR after a single replacement similar to the following (parasavarṇa) has taken effect. Thus, nUM could not be made available. But since part of at, i.e., ī, is still there, we can still introduce nUM.

7.1.81 शप्यणोनित्यम्

śapīyano nityam
/ śap-śayanō 6/2 nityam 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 satuḥ #78 śūnyodor num #80)
śap, śyan īty etayoḥ satuḥ śūnyodor para nityām num āgamo bhavati
Augment nUM is introduced, obligatorily, to a ŚatR which is relatable to ŚaP and ŚyaN, provided Śi and an item termed nadi follow.

Examples:

pacantī kule
pacantī brāhmaṇī
dīvyanī kule
dīvyanī brāhmaṇī
1. Note that the use of nityam ‘obligatorily’ cancels vā ‘optionally’. The word Syāpsyanah is interpreted as ending in the genitive (ṣaṣṭhī). This then gives the meaning: ‘augment nUM is obligatorily introduced to a Śat, introduced relative to ŚaPand ŚyaN’. Deriving pacanti from pac + (LAT → SatR) → pac + SaP + SatR = pac + a + at, will again involve parasavarna (6.1.97 aṭo gune), thereby yielding pacat. One can now derive pacanti, with nUM, from pacat + NUM + au, where Śi comes as a replacement for au. A nadi form will, of course, end in affix NiP.

2. Why do we have to state nityam ‘obligatorily’ in the rule when forming the rule itself (ārambhasāmarthyaḥ), against an already available optional nUM, will account for its obligatory nature. But there will still be a confusion about vā ‘or’ in subsequent rules. It is to cancel vā that a specification with nityam is made here.

7.1.82 सावनङ्गः:

sau anaduhāh
/sau 7/1 anaduhāh 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 num #80)
sau porato naḍuho ṅgasya num āgamo bhavati

Augment nUM is introduced to an aṅga, namely anaduh ‘ox, bull’, when affix sU follows.

Examples:

anaduvān ‘nominal singular of anaduh’
he anadvān! ‘vocative singular . . .’

1. Note that sU here refers to the nominative and vocative (sambodhana) singular endings, both. Augment nUM is introduced after the final vowel of anaduh (1.1.46 mid aco’ ntyāt parah) to derive anadvān. Thus, anaduh + sU → anadu + n(UM) + h + s = anadūnh + s. Augment ām (7.1.98 catur anaduhor ām udāttaḥ) is then introduced to yield anadu + ā(M) + n + h + s. Here again, āM is introduced after the final vowel of anaduh. The s, i.e., sU, and h of the string, go through deletion by 6.1.68 halnyābbhya . . . and 8.2.23 samyogāntasa lopah, respectively. This gives us: anadu + ā + (h→φ) n + (s→φ) = anadu + ā + n. An application of yaN, on u of anandu, will produce anad(u→v) + ā + n = anadvān. The vocative singular form, however, will be anadvān, a derivate with aM (7.1.99 am sambuddhau), as against āM.

2. Some here perceive ‘blocked-blocker’ (bādyabādhaka) relationship between āM/aM and nUM. They, therefore, introduce āM/aM first, thereby meeting the condition of āT carried from 7.1.80 ācchīr nadyor num. This way,
āM/aM cannot be blocked by nUM and, at the same time, nUM cannot be blocked by āM/aM. Others, however, do not see this ‘blocked-blocker’ relationship between them. They, instead, favor inclusion of nUM (samāvēsa), in a manner similar to inclusion of lengthening (dīrghatva) and reduplication (dvirucana) in cīṣati ‘. . . wishes to heap . . .’.  

7.1.83 दृवस्वस्वतवसां छन्दसि

dṛksvavassvatavasām chandasi
/ dṛk-svavas-svatavasām 6/3 (ītar. dv.); chandasi 7/1 /
‘dṛk, svavas, svatavas’ ity eteṣām sau paraṇo nam āgum bhavati chandasi visaye

Augment nUM is introduced to an aṅga, namely dṛk, svavas and svatavas, in the Vedic, when affix sU follows.

Examples:

īḍrī ‘like this’
kidṛī ‘like what’
tādṛī ‘like that’
yādṛī ‘like one which . . .’
sadṛī ‘similar . . .’
suavān ‘wealthy’
svatavān pāyurāgne

1. Note that īḍrī derives from idam + drī + KuIN (3.2.60 tyādādiṣu dṛśo’ nālocane), where idam gets replaced with īS (6.3.89 idānīmōr īśī). Given īḍrī + (KuIN → φ) + sU, augment nUM is introduced to produce īḍrī + n + s + sU. An application of halinyāḍilopa (sU → φ); (6.1.68 halinyābhyy . . .) and final conjunct deletion (samyoṅgāntalopa; 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah) will produce: īḍrī + (s(U → φ) → īḍrī(s → φ) + n. The n will then go through a replacement in ī (kutva; 8.2.62 kviṅpratayasyaya kuḥ). We thus get īḍrī(n → n) = īḍrī.

Deriving kidṛī with kim will require replacing kim with kī.

Similar rules apply in deriving tādṛī and yādṛī, with KuIN or KaN, introduced after dṛś (3.2.60 tyādādiṣu dṛśo’ nālocane kaṅ ca). The final d of tad and yad gets replaced with ā (6.3.90 ā sarvaṇāmnaḥ). The resultant a+ā, of ta(d → ā) + dṛś = ta + ā + dṛś, goes through a single replacement in homogeneous long (savarṇaḍīrgha; 6.1.100 acaḥ savarṇaṇe dīrghaḥ) vowel. Other rule applications are similar to īḍrī.

Deriving suavān, from suava + nUM + s + sU, would require nUM to be introduced after the last a of suavas. Here again, halinyādi (deletion of sU) and samyoṅgānta (final of a conjunct) deletions will apply to suava + n + s + (sU → φ) → suav(a → ã) n = suavān. The penultimate a will be subsequently replaced with ā (6.4.10 sантamahataḥ samyoṅgaṣya) to produce suav(a → ā) n = suavān. Similar derivational applications are followed in deriving svatavān.
Note that svatavān pāyur āgne is an example of the padapātha ‘listing of individual padas with no sandhi’. A listing in accord with the samhitāpātha ‘junctonal recitation’ with sandhi will require the n of svatavān to go through a replacement in rU and visarga (rutva-visarga) of (8.3.11 svatavān pāyau).

The preceding ā will then also go through nasalization (anunāsika; 8.3.2 atranunāsikāḥ pūrvasya . . .). We will thus get svatavāh pāyur āgne. An occurrence with anuvāra is hard to find.

7.1.84 दिव औत्

div aut
/divaḥ 6/1 aut 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sau #82)
‘div’ ity etasya sau parataḥ ‘aut’ ity ayam ādeo bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely div ‘heaven’, is replaced with auT when affix sU follows.

Examples:

dyauḥ ‘heaven’

1. Note that div ‘heaven’ is here interpreted as a nominal stem with no it-elements. Its specification does not make any reference to verbal root divU ‘to sport’. Thus, a derivate with this verbal root, i.e., aksadyūḥ ‘he who plays with dice’, will not be covered by this rule. Incidentally, aksadyū is a compound formed under the cooccurrence condition of a conjoined word (upapada), i.e., aksa + bhis + div + KuIP, where KuIP goes through total deletion (sarvāpahārilopa) and augment uTH is subsequently introduced (6.4.19 chvoh śud anunāsike).

Refer to derivational details of dyauḥ (II:398), under the appendix of 1.1.56 sthānivad ādeo’ nalvidhau.

7.1.85 पथिमथय्रभुक्षाम ॲ

pathimathyrbhukṣām āt
/pathi-mathī-ṛbhukṣām 6/3 = panthās ca manthās ca ṛbhukṣās ca (itar. dv.), teṣām; āt 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sau #82)
‘pathin, mathin, ṛbhukṣin’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām sau parata ṛkāra ādeo bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely pathin, mathin, and ṛbhukṣin, is replaced with āT (1.1.70 taparas tathālasya) when affix sU follows.

Examples:

panthāḥ ‘path’
manthāḥ ‘churning stick’
ṛbhukṣāḥ ‘Indra’
1. Refer to derivational details of *panthāḥ* in the appendix (II:398-99). Other derivateś follow similar rule applications. Note, however, that 7.1.87 *tho nthaḥ* does not apply in deriving *r̥bhukṣāḥ*.

Note that ā replaces the n of *panthan*. This, however, does not make the replacement in ā nasalized. For, a sound which is denoted by ṣ, and is also brought about (bhāvyamāna) by application of a rule, does not include references to its homogeneous counterparts (*Paribhā 20: bhāvyamānena savarnānāṃ grahaṇaṃ na (bhavati)*). It is just the clear non-nasalized ā which is articulated.

7.1.86 इत्यतः स्वर्णामस्थाने

*iṭaḥ* at sarvanāmāsthāne

/pitaḥ 6/1 at 1/1 sarvanāmāsthāne 7/1/

(aṅgaśya #6.4.1 pathimathyrbhuksām #85)

The *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkalasya*) of an aṅga, namely of *pathin, mathin* and *r̥bhukṣin*, is replaced with aT, when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmāsthāna* (1.1.42 śi sarvanāmāsthānam; 1.1.43 sud anapuṃsakasya) follows.

**Examples:**

*panthāḥ* ‘nominate singular of *pathin’
*panthānau* ‘nominate dual . . .’
*panthānāḥ* ‘nominate plural . . .’

*manthāḥ* ‘nominate singular of *mathin*’
*manthānau* ‘nominate dual . . .’
*manthānāḥ* ‘nominate plural . . .’

*r̥bhukṣāḥ* ‘nominate singular of *r̥bhukṣin*’
*r̥bhukṣānau* ‘nominate dual . . .’
*r̥bhukṣānāḥ* ‘nominate plural . . .’

1. This rule offers a as a replacement for i of *pathin*, etc., so that we can get *pathin + au → path(i→a) + n + au → pa(th→nth) + a + n + au = panthan + au.* The *th* of *pathin* and *mathin* is replaced with *nth* by the following rule. A long replacement for the second a of *panthan* (6.4.8 sarvanāmāsthāne . . .) will produce *panth(a→ā) n + au = panthānau.* Forms of *r̥bhukṣin* will additionally involve a replacement in ṣ (natva).

Why is this specification made with aT when the anuṣṭīti of āt could easily accomplish a reference to a. A specification with aT is made to capture the optional provision of short made by 6.4.9 vā sapūrvasya nigame. If āT alone was carried, r̥bhukṣānāṃ indram could not have the short a heard. It will have the ā, instead. We can get the short a, optionally, replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.9 vā pūrvasya nigame.
7.1.88 श्रेण्यः

tho nthaḥ
\( th\̣\̣ ṣ 6/1 \ nthaḥ 1/1/ \)

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 pathimathoḥ #85 sarvanāmasthāne #86)

pathimathos thakārasya sthāne 'ntha' ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati sarvanāmasthāne parataḥ

The th of an aṅga, namely pathin and mathin, is replaced with nth when a nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna follows.

EXAMPLES:

panthāḥ/panthānau/panthānāḥ
panthānām/panthānau
manthāḥ/manthānau/manthānāḥ
manthānām/manthānau

1. Note that this rule does not apply to rḥuṣin. For, it does not have any th that could be replaced with nth.

Note also that what is to be replaced (sthānī), i.e., th, and what replaces (ādeśa), i.e., nth, are both specified here without any vowel (anackau). The a at the end of nth is for ease of articulation (uccāraṇārthaḥ).

7.1.88 प्रत्येकः

bhasya ṭer lopah
\( bh\̣\̣\̣̣ ṣ 6/1 ḷ e\̣ 6/1 lopah 1/1/ \)

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 pathimathyṛbhūksām #85)

pathyādānām bhasaṃjñakānakāṃ ṭer lopho bhavati

The ī (1.1.64 acō nyādī ī) of an aṅga termed bha (1.4.18 yaci bham, etc.), namely pathin, mathin and rḥuṣin, is deleted by means of LOPA.

EXAMPLES:

pathāḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of pathin'
pathā 'instrumental singular . . .'
pathe 'dative singular . . .'
mathaḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of mathin'
matha 'instrumental singular . . .'
mathe 'dative singular . . .'
rḥuṣaḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of rḥuṣin'
rḥuṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
rḥuṣe 'dative singular . . .'

1. Note that ī-deletion of bha (1.4.18 yaci bham) applies before affixes beginning with a vowel. Since assignment of the term bha is made by 1.4.18 yaci bham with the anuvṛtti of asarvanāmasthāne 'when an affix other than a sarvanāmasthāna follows', pathin, etc., for purposes of ī-deletion, cannot be
termed *bha*. If they get the term *bha* assigned, *ti*-deletion cannot be accomplished when a *sarvanāmāsthāna* followed. This is what commentators characterize as conflict (*virodha*) between items termed *bha* and *sarvanāmāsthāna*, with no possible resolution (*anavasthānalakṣaṇa*). Consequently, *sarvanāmāsthāna*, though carried for subsequent rules, is not associated here with *ti*-deletion (7.1.87 *bhāsyā ter lopah*). This *ti*-deletion thus applies to *in*, for example, of *pathin* + (*N*) as, etc., when a non-*sarvanāmāsthāna* affix follows. Thus, *pathi*(*n*→*φ*) + (*N*) as = *path + a(s→r→h) = pathaḥ*, through *ti*-deletion and *s→r→h* (*rutu-vasarga*).

7.1.89 पुंसोःसुि

*puṃso* suñ
/‘puṃsaḥ 6/1 asuñ 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sarvanāmāsthāne #86)

‘*puṃsa*’ ity etasya sarvanāmāsthāne parato’ suñ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *puṃsa* ‘male’, is replaced with *asUN* when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmāsthāna* follows.

**Examples:**

*puṃnān* ‘nominitive singular of *puṃsa*
*puṃnāṃsaus* ‘nominitive dual . . .’
*puṃnāṃsaḥ* ‘nominitive plural . . .’

1. This rule introduces augment *asUN* to an *aṅga*, namely *puṃsa*, when a *sarvanāmāsthāna* affix follows. Thus, *asUN* replaces the final *s* (1.1.52 nīc ca) of *puṃsa*, occurring, for example, before the nominative singular ending *sU*. We derive *puṃnān* from *puṃ*(s→as(*UN*)) + *s(U) = pumas + s*, where applications of *nUM* (7.1.70 ugiḍ acaṃ . . .) and lengthening (*dirgha*; 6.4.10 sāntamahataḥ . . .) produce: *puma + n(UM) + s + s→ pum(a→ā) n + s + s = puṃnān + s + s*. Our final derivate *puṃnān* can be derived now with *haḥyaḍi* (6.1.68 haḥyaḥbhayo . . .; *puṃnān + s + (s→φ)) and *samyoḍaṇta* (8.2.23 *samyoḍaṇta lopah; puṃnān(s→φ)) deletions. Other forms are similarly derived. Incidentally, the *U* as an *i* in *asUN* facilitates operations such as introduction of *nUM* (7.1.70 ugiḍaṃ . . .).

2. Commentators advise that a compound such as *paramapuṃnā* ‘best man’ should be marked with *udāṭha* at the end (6.2.220 samāsasya), prior to the introduction of a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmāsthāna*. This is advised in view of *puṃnān* which is marked *udāṭha* at the beginning, obligatorily. Introducing a nominal ending, especially with subsequent *asUN*, will create problems of accentuation.

7.1.90 गोतो णित
goto nīt
/ gotah 5/1 nīt 1/1 = nakāra it yasya (bv.)/
(angasya #6.4.1 sarvanāmasthāne #86)
gośabdāt paraṃ sarvanāmasthānam nid bhavati
A nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna which occurs after an āṅga, namely go 'cow', is treated as if marked with N as an it.

EXAMPLES:
gauḥ 'nominate singular of go'
gāvau 'nominate dual ...

gāvah 'nominate plural ...

1. This rule extends the status of nīt 'N as an it' to a sarvanāmasthāna affix which follows go. This extensional (atidesā) provision facilitates vṛddhi. Thus, go + s(U) → g(o→au) + s → gau + (s→r→h) = gauḥ. This same happens when the nominative and accusative plural endings follow go. Thus, g(o→au) + as → g(au→ā) + as → gāvau(s→r→h) = gāvah, through an additional application of 6.1.78 eco 'yayāvah'. A single replacement in ā, i.e., g(o + a→ā)m = gām, will be required when go occurs before am 'accusative singular' (6.1.93 auto māsasoh).

Incidentally, the locative (saṃtami) singular of sarvanāmasthāne, because of its desired syntactic coordination with nīt, is changed to the nominative.

2. Why is this specification of go made here with t (taparakaṇa; 1.1.70 taparas tatkalāsya)? So that this rule does not apply in citrāgu 'he who owns brindled cows' and śabālagu 'ibidem', where o of go termed an upasarjana 'secondary constituent', goes through a replacement in hrava 'shortening' (1.2.48 gostriyor upasarjanasya). That is, o can be found there only through sthānivadbhya 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'.

Why is this extension (atidesā) not applicable to vocative (sambodhana) forms he citra-go and he śabāla-gavah? This operation does not take place when another operation relative to an āṅga has taken effect (pbh. (93): aṅga-vṛtte punar vṛttāv avidhirnīṣṭhitasya). That is, status as Nīt is blocked when gau, conditioned by sambuddhi 'vocative singular' and Jas 'nominative plural', has taken effect. This is how vṛddhi, caused by the status as Nīt, is not applied. Or else, gotaḥ is interpreted as denoting relational (sambandhalakṣanā) genitive (saṣṭhi). This, when read with sarvanāmasthāne, yields the interpretation: Nīt status applies when a sarvanāmasthāna relative to got follows'. What can be interpreted as a sarvanāmasthāna relative to got? A sarvanāmasthāna which is used to denote meanings such as ekatva 'oneness' and bahuvra 'manyness' of the denotatum of go 'cow'. The sarvanāmasthāna ending of citrāgu, etc., does not denote the meaning of go. It denotes the meaning of something else. That is, it denotes the meaning of the owner of brindled cows. A specification with t is made here for clarity (spaṣṭanirdeśārtham).

Some read this sūtra as oto nīt. This way, Nīt status can then be applicable also to dya, etc., in deriving the nominative singular, dual and plural forms
of *du*, i.e., *duauḥ, dyāvau* and *dyāvah*. This, however, is not necessary since *taparakaṇaṇa* 'making a specification with a following *t* in *got* itself can account for it. For, *taparakaṇaṇa* is employed generally with reference to a sound segment (*varṇanirdeśev hi taparakaṇam prasiddham*).

7.1.91 जलुत्तमो वा

\[ \text{ṇa}l \text{ uttamo vā} \]

/code/1/1 uttamaḥ 1/1/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1)

uttamo ṇaḷ vā nīd bhavati

A Naḷ of *uttama* 'first person' is, only optionally, treated as marked with Na as an *it*.

**Examples:**

- ahaṁ cakāra 'I made'
- ahaṁ cakara 'ibidem'
- ahaṁ papāca 'I cooked'
- ahaṁ papaca 'ibidem'

1. This status as *Na*tx 'marked with Na as an *it* is hereby extended (*atidiśyate*) to affix NaL, a replacement of first personal active verbal ending miP (3.4.78 tiptasjī . . .; 3.4.82 parasmaipadānām . . .), only optionally (vā). Example derivatives will have *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 aco' *nīṇiti* and 7.2.116 aha upadhāyāḥ when this optional extension of *Na*tx is accepted. In the absence of accepting this extensional status, we get an application of *guna* marked with assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārddadhātukāyoh).

Notice that affix NaL is already marked with Na as an *it*, at the outset (*upadesā*). This is how Na is assigned the term *it* and goes through deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopah*. This extensional proposal of Na as an *it* is, obviously, not intended for assigning the term *it* and subsequent deletion of Na. It is intended for facilitating operations, for example replacement in *vṛddhi*, relative to status as marked with Na. The assignment of the term *it* to Na (1.3.5 ādir *nimtudavah*) and its subsequent deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* cannot be negated, or made optional, even by a hundred statements like this (*Nyāsa ad Kāśna tu na ṇa upadeśavasthayāṃ siddham nītvam tad vacanaśatenāpi sakyam pratiseddhum ća bhāvah*).

Refer to relevant derivational details under 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*.

7.1.92 सख्युरसम्बुद्धः

\[ \text{sakhayur asambuddhau} \]

/code/6/1 asambuddhau 7/1 = na sambuddhiḥ

(naḥ), tasmin/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 sarvanāmasthāne #86 ṇīt #90)
asambuddhaḥ yaḥ sakhiśabdaḥ tasmāt paraṁ sarvanāmasthānāṁ nid bhavati
A nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna which occurs after an anīga, namely sakhi ‘companion, friend’, is treated as marked with N as an it, provided a nominal ending termed sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ) does not follow.

Examples:

sakhāyau ‘nominate dual of sakhi’
sakhāyāḥ ‘nominate plural . . .’

1. Here again the locative sarvanāmasthāne is interpreted as nominative sarvanāmasthānam, because of its desired syntactic coordination (sāmānādhikaranyāḥ) with the nominative singular form of niṭ. The word asambuddhaḥ is interpreted as sambudher anyā’ sambuddhiḥ, tasmin ‘when an ending, (similar to but) other than a sambuddhi, follows’. A vyādhi, characterized with N as an it (niṭ), thus does not apply in he sakhe ‘O, friend’, where sakhi is followed by a sambuddhi. It, however, applies, for example, in sakhiyau and sakhiyāḥ, the nominative dual and plural forms. Thus, sakhi(i→ai→āy) + au = sakhiyau and sakhi(i→ai→āy) + as = sakhiyāḥ(s→r→ḥ) = sakhiyāḥ, through a replacement in āy (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah).

7.1.93 अनुष्ठ सी

anaḥ sau
/anaṇ 1/1 sau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sakhyur asambuddhau #92)
sakhiśabdasya sau paraḥ naṁ ity ayam ādēśo bhavati sa cet suśabdaḥ
sambuddhir na bhavati

The final vowel (1.1.52 niḍ ca) of an anīga, namely sakhi, is replaced with anAN when a sU, other than that of sambuddhi, follows.

Examples:

sakhā ‘nominate singular of sakhi’

1. This nominate singular of sakhi derives from sakhi + sU, where anAN comes in place of the final i of sakhi (1.1.52 niḍ ca) to yield sakhi(i→an(AN) → sakhi + an + s(U). An application of penultimate lengthening (upadhādirgha; 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne . . .), followed by halniyādi-deletion of s(U) and nalopa (8.2.7 na lopaḥ . . .), produces sakhi + (a→ā) n + s(U) → sakhi + ān + (s(U)→φ) → sakha(n→φ) = sakha. This replacement in anAN will not apply in deriving he sakhe ‘o companion’ because of negation of asambuddhau ‘when an affix other than sambuddhi follows’.

7.1.94 यदुशास्त्रपुरुदंसोजनेहसाम च

yduśānaspurudamso’ nehasāṁ ca
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

7.1.94

/ṛd-uśanas-purudāṃsas-anehasām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #1 asambuddhau #92 anān sau #93)
ṛkāñṭāṃ naṃ aṅgānām, ‘uśanas, purudāṃsas, anehas’ ity teṣāṁ cāsambuddhau sau parato naṇādēso bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga which ends in ṛT (1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya), or is constituted by uśanas, purudāṃsas and anehas, is replaced with anAᜱN when a non-sambuddhi nominal ending, namely sU, follows.

Examples:

kartā ‘nominative singular of kārtr’
hartā ‘nominative singular of hārtr’
mātā ‘nominative singular of mātṛ’
piṭā ‘nominative singular of piṭr’
bhrātā ‘nominative singular of bhrātṛ’
ūsānā ‘a name; nominative singular of uśanas’
purudāṃsā ‘a name; nominative singular of purudāṃsas’
anehā ‘a name; nominative singular of anehas’

1. Note that anAᜱN replaces the final ṛ (ṛT) of piṭr, etc., before a non-sambuddhi nominal ending sU. An application of upadhāṅga ‘penultimate lengthening’ and nalopa ‘deletion of n’, similar to earlier examples, will finally derive piṭā, bhrātā, etc. Refer toderivational details of kartā and hartā (II:388) for additional information. Derivatives of uśanas, purudāṃsas and anehas will also have their final s replaced with anAᜱN. An application of 6.1.97 aṭo gene will produce uṣāna + (s→an(AN)) + sU → uṣāna(ā+ā→ā) + s(U) = uṣānan + s. This, after penultimate lengthening, halīnādī-deletion of sU and n-deletion, will produce uṣāna(ā→ā) n + s → uṣānān + (s→φ) → uṣānā(n→φ) = uṣānā. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. Here again anAᜱN cannot apply in the context of sambuddhi ‘vocative singular’. Thus, we will get he piṭh ‘o, father’, etc., where ṛ will go through guṇa (7.3.110 ṛto nisarvanāmastiṇhānayoh) followed by r (raparāḥ; 1.1.51 ur an raparāḥ). The r then goes through visarga, after deletion of the conjunct final s (samyogāntalopa; 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ).

3. A specification of ṛ, with t (ṛt, taparakaraṇa), is intended for avoiding confusion (asandehārtham). It is not intended for specifying ṛ of any constrained duration (tatkālā). For, given ṛ+ uṣānas = ruṣānas, there would be confusion, especially after the application of replacement in yaN.

4. A vārttika proposal makes an optional anAᜱN desired, also when sambuddhi follows (uṣānasah sambuddhāv api pakṣe naṁ isyate). Thus, we get an additional form he uṣānan ‘o Uṣānas’, optionally to he uṣānāḥ. Yet another proposal also desires optional negation of n-deletion (nalopa; 8.2.8 na nisambuddhyoh). This will give us he uṣana(n→φ) = uṣana, after n-deletion. Consider the following:
sambodhane tūśanas trirūpaṇi
santaṃ tathā nāntam athāpy adantam/
mādhyandinir vaṣti guṇam tu igante
napuṃsake vyāghrapadāṃ varistah/

'Mādhyandini desires three forms of uṣanas in the vocative: (i) ending in s (santa; with no anAÑ: he uṣanah); (ii) ending in n (nānta; with no n-deletion: he uṣanā); (iii) ending in a (adanta; with n-deletion: he uṣana); Vaiyāghrapadaya, an older offspring of Vyāghrapād, desires guṇa in a neuter base ending in iK (iganta; he trapo)

7.1.95 तृणक्रोष्टुः:

tryaAT kroŚtuḥ
/tryaAT kroŚtuḥ 1/1/
(aṅgyaśya #6.4.1 sarvanāmasthāne #86 asambuddhau #92)
kroŚtuśabdas tvuṇtraprayāntaḥ samjñāśabdaḥ sarvanāmasthāne’ sambuddhau
parataḥ tryvad bhavati

An aṅga, namely kroŚtu ‘jackal’, is treated as if ending in affix tryC, when a nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna, other than one termed sambuddhi, follows.

EXAMPLES:

kroŚtā ‘nominative singular of kroŚtu’
kroŚtārau ‘nominative dual . . .’
kroŚtārah ‘nominative plural . . .’
kroŚtāram ‘accusative singular . . .’
kroŚtārau ‘accusative dual . . .’

1. This rule offers an extension of form (rūpātideśa). That is, kroŚtu, a derivate of tuN (Uṇādi I:69: sitanimasigami . . .), is here allowed to be treated as its counterpart ending in tryC, i.e., kroŚtr. For reasons of close contextual proximity with tryC, a form of kruś ‘to call out’ which ends in tryC, alone, will have the benefit of this extension (atideśa). Note that this rule does not extend the word-form tryC, itself, to kroŚtu. It refers to kroŚtr, a form of kroŚtu ending in affix tryC (pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam).

Forms of kroŚtu will here follow the derivational pattern of kroŚtr. A derivate of kruś with tryC, i.e., kroŚtr, is marked udāṭha at the end (6.1.160 citāh). Derivates of kroŚtu, in this context, will also be marked with udāṭha at the end.

Now consider the derivation of kroŚtā, from kroŚtu + sU, where kroŚtu will be treated as kroŚtr. This will occasion introduction of anAÑ of the earlier rule. The lengthening of the penultimate (upadādīrgha) vowel will here be accomplished by 6.4.11 aprtmtrc . . . An application of halnyādi-deletion of s(U) and n-deletion (nalopa), similar to earlier examples, will finally derive
kroṣṭā. The dual and plural forms, i.e., kroṣṭārau and kroṣṭāraḥ, will similarly involve guṇa of r (7.3.110 rto niśarvanāmāsthānāyoḥ), and replacement in vrddhi of the penultimate (upadhā) vowel (6.4.11 aptṛṇ . . .).

7.1.96 रिष्यां च

strīyāṁ ca

/strīyāṁ 7/1 ca ṕ /

(anāsya #6.4.1 trjvat kroṣṭuḥ #95)
strīyāṁ ca kroṣṭuśabdasya trjvad bhavati

An anga, namely kroṣṭu, is also treated as if ending in affix trC, when the denotation is feminine.

Examples:

kroṣṭṛ ‘instrumental singular of kroṣṭṛ’
kroṣṭṛbhyaṁ ‘instrumental dual . . .’
kroṣṭṛbhīḥ ‘instrumental plural . . .’

1. This rule is formulated so that kroṣṭu could be treated as kroṣṭṛ, in the feminine, also before endings other than those termed sarvanāmāsthāṇa. Our preceding rule could have accounted for feminine derivate before sarvanāmāsthāṇa endings, anyway. This rule makes extensional provisions before non-sarvanāmāsthāṇa endings, in the feminine. Forms, such as kroṣṭṛ, etc., are derived with Niḍ (4.1.5 ṛnnebhyo . . .), introduced after extensional (ātideśika) kroṣṭṛ and subsequent replacement in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN.

2. Some treat kroṣṭu as part of the gaurādi group of nominals. They, thereby, introduce Niṣ (4.1.41 śid gaurādibhyaś ca) after kroṣṭṛ. For, a Niḍ, because of being marked with P as an it (pit; 3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau), will create accentual problems. A Niṣ will retain the final udāta of kroṣṭṛ.

But this view is also not free of problems. For example, consider pañca-kroṣṭṛbhīḥ, parallel to pañca-kroṣṭṛbhīḥ (kritaiḥ) rathaiḥ ‘by a chariot purchased with five . . .’, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada. . . . Rule 5.1.19 arhād agopuccha . . . introduces affix ThaK which goes through deletion by LUK of 4.1.28 adhyādhatūrvād. . . . We then get the application of 1.2.49 luk taddhītaluki whereby the feminine affix Niṣ also goes through deletion by LUK. We now have a problem. Deletion of the feminine affix removes condition of treatment as a form ending in trC. For, this treatment (trjvadbhāva) applies when the denotation is feminine. This is why one needs a counter-proposal.

Those who do not accept kroṣṭu listed as part of the gaurādi group consider strīyāṁ as a specification made in view of meaning. That is, they do not see any problem in trjvadbhāva so long as feminine is denoted. Whether or not the feminine affix gets deleted is none of their concern. Once trjvadbhāva
is extended we can get the introduction of affix **N̄P. We thus get kroṣṭr + N̄P = kroṣṭrī, where the udātta vowel r of kroṣṭr goes through a replacement in yaN. Our derivate kroṣṭrī is still marked with udātta at the end by 6.1.174 udāttayaṇo halfūrvāt.

7.1.97 विभाषा तुतीयादिदिश्च

*vibhāṣā trīyādiṣu aci
/vibhāṣā 1/1 trīyādiṣu 7/3 = trīyā ādir yāśām tāh (bv.), tāsu; aci 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 trjvat kroṣṭuh #95)
trīyādiṣu vibhaktiṣu ajādiṣu kroṣṭur vibhāṣā trjvad bhavati

An anūga, namely kroṣṭu, is treated as if ending in suffix trC, only optionally, when a vowel-initial nominal ending enumerated beginning with trīyā ‘third triplet; instrumental’ follows.

**Examples:**

kroṣṭrā ‘instrumental singular of kroṣṭu’
kroṣṭunā ‘ibidem’
kroṣṭre ‘dative singular . . .’
kroṣṭave ‘ibidem’
kroṣṭuh ‘ablative/genitive singular . . .’
kroṣṭoh ‘ibidem’
kroṣṭari ‘locative singular . . .’
kroṣṭau ‘ibidem’
kroṣṭoh ‘locative dual . . .’
kroṣṭvoh ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional extensional (ātidesika) treatment of kroṣṭu, as if it was kroṣṭr (trjvadbhāva), when a vowel-initial nominal ending listed beginning with the instrumental (trīyā) follows. We thus get kroṣṭr + (T) ā → kroṣṭ(r−r) + ā, through a replacement in yaN. We will get kroṣṭu + (T) ā → kroṣṭu + (ā→nā) = kroṣṭunā, through nā as a replacement for ā (7.3.120 āño nā’ striyām), provided the extensional option of treating kroṣṭu as kroṣṭr is not accepted. We will get kroṣṭe and kroṣṭave in the dative singular. The first form results from kroṣṭr + (N) e → kroṣṭre, through yaN. The second results from application of guṇa (7.3.111 gher nīti) and a subsequent replacement in av. (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah): kroṣṭ(u→o) + e = kroṣṭ(o→av) + e = kroṣṭave. The ablative-genitive singular forms kroṣṭuh and kroṣṭoh derive from kroṣṭu + ŃasI and kroṣṭu + Ńas, respectively. Given kroṣṭr + as, where kroṣṭu is treated as kroṣṭr, u, with a following r (rapara; 1.1.51 ur’ an raparāh), comes as a single replacement for r + a (6.1.111 rta uta). The s, of kroṣṭ(r+a→ur) + s = kroṣṭur + s, is deleted (8.2.24 rāt sasya). We thus get kroṣṭur + (s→ā) = kroṣṭu(r→h) = kroṣṭuh. We get kroṣṭoh from kroṣṭu + ŃasI, where option of extensional trC is not accepted. The u will here go through guṇa and the a of as, in kroṣṭ(u→o) + as
= kroṣṭo + as, will go through a single replacement with o (pūrvarūpa; 6.1.110 nāsināsos ca). Thus, kroṣṭ(o+a→o)s = kroṣṭo(s→r→h) = kroṣṭoh. This same will be a derivate with the genitive singular nominal ending Nās. The locative singular form kroṣṭari is derived from kroṣṭ+r + (N)i, through guṇa of r with the following r (7.3.110 ṛto nisarva ...). We get an optional kroṣṭau, where the final u of kroṣṭu is replaced with a, and i of Nī is replaced with au. Thus, kroṣṭ(u→a) + (N)(i→au) = kroṣṭ(a + au→au) = kroṣṭau. The locative dual kroṣṭoh can be similarly derived with an optional kroṣṭuoh.

2. A vārttika proposal recommends augments nUM and nUT, as against trjvaddhāva ‘extensional trC’, on the basis of pūrvaripratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’. It is claimed that trjvaddhāva ‘treatment as trC’ has its independently established scope in masculine kroṣṭre. An independent scope of nUM and nUT can be established on the basis of tratunē/jatunē, and agnīnām/vāyūnām. These applicational scopes can be found in priyakroṣṭune vanāyā ‘to the forest to whom jackals are dear’, simultaneously. Hence, pūrvaripratisedha ‘blocking by a prior exception’ is invoked in favor of nUM and nUT. Consider the bahuvrihi compound priyakroṣṭune, in neuter dative singular, parallel to priyāḥ kroṣṭāraḥ yasya tat, tasmai ‘that to whom jackals are dear, to him’. Given priyakroṣṭu + (N)e, we find trjvaddhāva and nUM (7.1.73 īko’ cī viḥkātau), both applicable. We favor nUM as a prior exception to block trjvaddhāva. Thus, priyakroṣṭu + n(UM) + e = priyakroṣṭune. Similar argument can be offered for deriving hātakroṣṭune ‘he by who jackals were killed, to him’. An example with introduction of augment nUT could be kroṣṭīnām, where nUT of 7.1.54 hrasanādyāpo nút comes into conflict with trjvaddhāva.

7.1.98 चतुरनाड़ूहोरामुद्दातः:

caturanāḍuhoḥ āṁ udāṭtaḥ
/catur-anāḍuhoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; āṁ 1/1 udāṭtaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sarvanāmasthāne #86)
‘catur, anāḍuḥ’ ity etayoḥ sarvanāmasthāna parata āṁ āgamo bhavati, sa
codāṭaḥ

Augment āṁ, marked with udāṭta, is introduced to an aṅga, namely catur ‘four’ and anāḍuḥ ‘ox, bull’, when a nominal ending termed sarvanāmasthāna follows.

Examples:

catur-ṛih ‘nominaive plural of catur’
anāḍuvān ‘nominaive singular of anāḍuḥ’
anāḍuvāhuā ‘nominaive dual . . .’
anāḍuvāhāh ‘nominaive plural . . .’
anāḍuvāhāṁ ‘accusative singular . . .’
anāḍuvāhāu ‘accusative dual . . .’
1. Refer to derivational details of anaduh under 7.1.82 sāv anaduhah. Augment ām, because it is marked with M as an it, is introduced to (after) the final u of catur. Thus, catu + ā(M) + r + (f) as = cat(u→v) + ā + r + as = catvāra (s→r→h) = catvārah.

Incidentally, augments are treated as anudāta (āgama anudāttā bhavanti).

2. Note that the Mahābhāṣya considers tadantavidhi ‘treating a form as also ending in that by means of which it is specified’. Thus, augment āM can also be introduced in deriving priyānadvān ‘he to whom the oxen are dear’ and priyacatvārah ‘he to whom the four are dear’, where anaduh and catur occur at the end of a form.

Yet another proposal renders the introduction of āM as optional, in case of anaduh used in the feminine. Thus, we get anadvāḥi and anaduhī, both derivates of the feminine affix Niṣ (4.1.41 śidgaurādhīyaś ca). Recall that introduction of the feminine affix Niṣ is facilitated by the listing of anaduh in the group of nominal stems headed by gaura (gaurādi).

7.1.99 अम् सम्बुद्धाः

am sambuddhau
/am 1/1 sambuddhau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 caturanaduhoḥ #98)
sambuddhau parataś caturanaduhoḥ am āgamo bhavati
Augment aM is introduced to an aṅga, namely catur and anaduh, when a nominal ending termed sambuddhi follows.

EXAMPLES:

he priyacatvāḥ ‘o, you, to whom four are dear’
he priyānadvān ‘o, you, to whom the ox is dear’

1. This rule introduces augment aM to catur and anaduh when they occur before a nominal ening termed sambuddhi. This then is an exception to the āM of the preceding rule.

7.1.100 भ्रम इत्यादितः

ṝa id dhātoḥ
/ṝaḥ 6/1 it 1/1 dhātoḥ 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
ṝkārantasya dhātoḥ aṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati
The final vowel of a verbal root termed aṅga which ends in ṭT 'long ṭ' is replaced with i.

EXAMPLES:

kirati ‘... scatters about’
girati ‘... swallows’
āstirṇam ‘strewn about’
vishirṇam ‘wasted’

1. Refer to derivational details of kirati and girati, under the appendix of 1.1.51 ur an raparaḥ (II:388). The two niṣṭhā (1.1.26 kṣktavatū niṣṭhā) derivates, i.e., āstirṇam and viṣirṇam, can be similarly derived from āstir + (K) ta and viṣir + (K) ta. The root-final ṭ is here replaced with i, followed by r (rapara), thereby yielding āst(i→ir) + ta = āstir + ta and viṣ(i→ir) + ta = viṣir + ta. The t of (K) ta is then replaced with n (natva; 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ . . .). A replacement in n for n (8.4.1 rasābhyaṁ . . .), followed by lengthening (dīrga) of i (8.2.77 halī ca), produces āstir + (i→n→n)a → āst(i→i)r + ṇa = āstirṇa. Similar applications are also involved in deriving viṣirṇa. Note that the introduction of augment iT is blocked here by 7.2.11 śṛvyakha kiti.

2. A condition of augment ādhatoḥ is imposed so that we do not get ir in the context of mātṛnām ‘genitive plural of mātr (mother)’ and pitṛnām ‘genitive plural of pitṛ (father)’.

3. Note that this specification with ṭT, as desired by the Mahābhāṣya, may also refer to a ṭ derived by some rule application. Thus, consider kr + sa(N) → k(ṛ→ṛ) + sa(N) = kṛ + sa of cikṛṣati ‘ . . . wishes to do or make’, where root-final ṭ gets replaced with ṭ, through application of 6.4.16 ajjhanam sani.

7.1.101 उपथायाच्छ

upadhāyās ca
/u/padhaYYahi 6/1 ca $/$
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ṭa id dhātoḥ #100)
upadhāyās ca ṭkārasya ikārādeo bhavati

The penultimate ṭT of a verbal root termed aṅga is also replaced with iT.

Examples:

kirttayati ‘. . . has someone praise . . .’; third person singular causal present of kirti
kirttayataḥ ‘third person dual . . .’
kirttayanti ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule allows a replacement in i (iṭva), also for the penultimate ṭ of a verbal root (dhātu) termed aṅga. Thus, we get kṛ + (N) i(C) = k(ṛ→ir) + t + i → k(i→i)r + t + i = kirti, where i of kir is replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.78 upadhāyāṃ ca). Our final derivates can be derived from kirti + (LAT → ti(P)) → kirti + ti, etc.

2. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as kṛtasya or kṛtaś ca? He formulated the rule as upadhāyās ca simply for variation in style.
7.1.102 उदोऽष्ट्यपुरवस्या

\( ud \) oṣṭhyāpbūrvasya

\( \text{v} / ut \, 1/1 \) oṣṭhyāpbūrvasya 6/1 = oṣṭhyāḥ pūrvo yasmāt sa (\( \text{b}v. \)), tasya/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ṭaḥ dhātoḥ #100)

oṣṭhyāḥ pūrvo yasmād ṭkārāt tadantasya dhātor aṅgasya ukārādeśo bhavati

A ṭ (\( T \)) which occurs after a labial (oṣṭhya) sound at the end of a verbal root (dhātu) termed aṅga is replaced with \( u \).

Examples:

pūrtaḥ pīṇḍāḥ ‘the rice-balls for oblation are made’
pupūrṣati ‘... wishes to nourish’
mumūrṣati ‘... wishes to die’
susvūrṣati ‘... wishes to speak’

1. This rule replaces the root-final ṭ of an aṅga with \( u \). Thus, we get pūrta from pṛ + (\( K \))ta, where ṭ of pṛ ‘to fill’ is replaced with \( ur \), \( u \) followed by \( r \) (11.1.51 ur an raparāh). This \( u \) is subsequently replaced with ā (8.2.77 hali ca). Recall that a replacement in \( n \) (nātva), for t of Kta, is blocked by 8.2.57 na dhyākhyaḥpṛ. ... The saN-derivatives of pṛ ‘to fill’ and mṛN ‘to die’, i.e., pupūrṣati ‘wishes to fill up’ and mumūrṣati ‘wishes to die’, can be derived by following the pattern of cikīrṣati (II:432). A long replacement for the corresponding short vowel \( u \) is again accomplished by 8.2.77 hali ca.

This replacement in uris is also allowed where \( v \), a labio-dental, precedes ṭ. Thus, we get vuvūrṣati ‘... wishes to select’, a derivate of vṛ + sa(N) with LAT. Note, however, that a nīṣṭhā-derivate of ṭ ‘to go’ cannot be allowed ur. For, the m of sam, which precedes ṭ is not a part of the aṅga. Thus, we will get samīrṇa ‘properly departed’.

2. A Mahābhāṣya proposal also invokes viṇāṭaṣṭha ‘a rule conflict of equal strength where a subsequent rule wins’ where guna and vṛddhi applications come into conflict with replacements in i and u. Thus, given aN + stṛ + (L)yu(T) → ṭṣṭṛ + (yu→ana) = āstaraṇa, we apply guna (7.3.84 sāravdhātu-
kārdhadhātukayoh) against ur. A similar application of vṛddhi is made in nīgāraka, a derivate of ni-gṛ + (N)vu(L). This Mahābhāṣya statement enables guna and vṛddhi (paratvād gunavṛddhi bhavataḥ) to block replacements in i and u on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent order of enumeration’. But since these replacements in i and u are internally conditioned, and also since an internally conditioned application is considered more powerful, we find a vārtikā proposal in support of guna and vṛddhi applications: ituotvābhyaṁ gunavṛddhi bhavato viprāṭiṣṭhena guna and vṛddhi apply against replacements in i (itu) and u (utva) on the basis of paratva.’

7.1.103 बहुलां छन्दसिः

bahulaṃ chandasi
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

7.2.1

/bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 ōtaḥ dhātoḥ #100 ut #102)
chandasi viśaye ēkārāntasya dhātor angasya bahulam ukārādeśo bhavati

The final ō of a verbal root termed anga is variously (bahulam) replaced
with uT when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

mitrāvaruṇau taturīḥ
dūre hyadhvā jaguriḥ
papritamam
vavritamam
papuriḥ

1. This provision of bahulam 'variously' also allows ur when, in the Vedic,
ō is preceded by a labial or not. Refer to the appendix (III:757) for deriva-
tional details of taturīḥ and jaguriḥ. Derivates of tamaP, i.e., papritama and
vavritama, illustrate how replacement in ur is not applied when p and v pre-
cede. It does, however, apply in a derivate such as papuriḥ.

Incidentally, papritama and vavritama are forms of pṛ and vṛ derived with
affix Ki or KīN (3.2.171 ādgamahana . . . ). Their tamaP, of course, is intro-
duced to denote excellence (5.3.55 atiśayane tamabhisēhanau). One must also
remember here that a bāhulaka provision works in diverse ways: it sometimes
applies, at others does not; at times it is optional; at others it is simply differ-
ent altogether. Thus, the famous verse: kavacid pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttih/
kvaicd vibhāsā kvacid anyād eva.

PĀDA TWO

7.2.1 सिचि वृत्ति: परस्मेषदेशु

sici vrddhiḥ parasmaipadesu
/sici 7/1 vrddhiḥ 1/1 parasmaipadesu 7/3/
(angasya #6.4.1)
parasmaipadapare sici parata igانتasyāṇgasya vrddhir bhavati

The final sound segment of an anga denoted by the abbreviatory term
iK (Śs. 1-2) is replaced with its vrddhi counterpart when slC, followed
by an affix termed parasmaipada, follows.

EXAMPLES:

acāṣiṭ ‘ . . . heaped . . . ’
anāṣiṭ ‘ . . . led’
alāviṭ ‘ . . . cut . . . ’
apāviṭ ‘ . . . cleansed . . . ’
akārṣiṭ ‘ . . . made . . . ’
ahārṣiṭ ‘ . . . carried . . . ’
1. This rule is formulated against the guna application of 7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdhadhatukayoh. It thus offers vrddhi, instead, to the final iK (i, u, r, l, 1.1.52 alo' Nyaya) sound of an āṅga when sIC (3.1.43 cluñi; 3.1.44 cleh sic), followed by an affix termed parasmaiṣṭhā (1.4.99 lah parasmaiṣṭhādam), follows. Note that sici 'when sIC follows' and parasmaiṣṭhāsu 'when affixes termed parasmaiṣṭhā 'active' follow' are both specified with the locative (saṃtām). They thus form a right context (parasaṃtām). The right context of sici is construed in relation to the āṅga. That is, 'when an āṅga is followed by sIC'. The right context of parasmaiṣṭhāsu is construed in relation to sIC. That is, 'when sIC is followed by affixes termed parasmaiṣṭhā'. A specification with vrddhi brings ikañ (1.1.3 iko gūnaḥvrddhi) to this context. This, in turn, becomes a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) to the āṅga on hand. An application of tadantaviddhi 'treating a specification made with x as also denoting 'that which ends in x' is then invoked to yield the interpretation 'a vrddhi comes in place of an āṅga-final vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK when sIC, followed by an affix termed parasmaiṣṭhā, follows' (igantasya āṅgasya sici parataḥ parasmaiṣṭhādāpya vrddhir bhavati). Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.3 iko gūnaḥvrddhi (II:333) for derivational details of acaśit, etc.

A problem is raised in connection with this vrddhi in deriving examples such as akāśit. Thus, given aT + kr + sIC + i + t, why can we not apply guna under the condition of sIC (7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdhadhatukayoh)? After all, this gūna is internally conditioned (antaraṅga) by sIC, as against replacement in vrddhi which is internally conditioned (bahirāṅga) by the parasmaiṣṭhā ‘active’ affix tiP ‘third personal singular’. But this rule will become vacuous (vyarthha) if gūna is applied. For, it will remove the āṅga-final iK, i/u/r/l, which, in turn, is required for application of this vrddhi. That is, gūna will replace the r of kr with ar, and hence, the āṅga will no longer end in iK. It is therefore suggested that, at the strength of Pāṇini’s formulation of this statement, externally conditioned (bahirāṅga) vrddhi blocks even an internally conditioned (antaraṅga) gūna (Kāś: antaraṅgam api gūnam esām vrddhir vacanād bādhate).

In summary, the vrddhi of this rule always comes into conflict with gūna. Application of gūna, since it expects sIC, will be accepted as internally conditioned (antaraṅga). The vrddhi, since it will expect both sIC and parasmaiṣṭhā, will be considered externally conditioned (bahirāṅga). Given this, an internally conditioned gūna will always block the externally conditioned vrddhi. This rule could then not find any scope of application.

It is clear that this externally conditioned vrddhi, because of becoming vacuous if not applied, blocks the application of an internally conditioned gūna. Can it also, on this same basis, block an internally conditioned replacement in uvāN? No. Consider nyamuvā and dhyanuvā which derive from ni + aT + (nu→uvāN) + i + tiP and ni + aT + dh(ū→uvāN) + i + tiP, where uvāN (6.4.77 aciṣnudhatubhruvām . . .) replaces u/ū. A replacement in gūna
and vṛddhi will both be negated here (1.1.5 knīti ca) since nū and dhū are listed in the kuṭādi class (1.2.1 gāṅkuṭādibhyo . . .) of roots. Why can a vṛddhi not block its negation (pratiṣedha, and hence also block uvāN), as it blocks guna. It is argued that this blocking of guna by vṛddhi is stated against the sure application of guna (Nyāsa ad Kāś: gune hi nāprāpte vṛddhir ārabhyate, pratiṣedhe tu prāpte cāprāpte ca). Its negation is stated irrespective of its availability (prāpti) or non-availability (a-prāpti) of application. This vṛddhi, therefore, cannot block its negation, and hence, the replacement in uvāN.

Note that acayaśa and aplaśa are third singular past imperfect derivatives of the middle (ātmanepada) verbs çuN ‘to drip’ and phuN ‘to float’, respectively. They are offered here as counter-examples to the condition of parasmaipadesu ‘when affixes termed parasmaipada follow’. Their guna cannot be blocked because affix ta ‘third personal singular’, an ātmanepada, follows.

7.2.2 Āta lājaṅasya

ato brāntasya
/atah 6/1 brāntasya 6/1 = la ca raś ca = lām (sam. dv.), dasya/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadesu)
rephalakārā yāv ato’ ntau = samīpau, tadantasyāṅgasya ata eva sthāne
vṛddhir bhavati

An aT which occurs in proximity of an aṅga-final l and r is replaced with its vṛddhi counterpart when sIC, followed by an affix termed parasmaipada, follows.

Examples:

aksārīt ‘. . . oozed or trickled . . .’  
atsārīt ‘. . . moved (in disguise)’  
ajvālīt ‘. . . burned . . .’  
ahmaḷīt ‘. . . moved . . .’

1. This rule allows vṛddhi to the a of an aṅga which ends in l or r, with a occurring in their proximity. Additionally, the aṅga must be followed by a sIC which, in turn, is followed by an affix termed parasmaipada (1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam). The word anta ‘end’ is here used in the sense of samīpa ‘proximate’ (Kāś: . . . antau = samīpau . . .). The preceding rule offers vṛddhi for a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK. This rule offers it in place of an a. Consider kṣar ‘to flow, glide’, tsar ‘to creep, move stealthily’ and jval ‘to glow, burn’ where a occurs in the proximity of r and l. This a is replaced with its vṛddhi counterpart in deriving aksārīt, atsārīt and ajvālīt from aksar + īt, atsar + īt and ajval + īt, respectively. Refer to accaiśīt (II:333) and abhaisīt (III:312) in the appendix for appropriate derivational details. This rule offers vṛddhi, obligatorily (nitya), against an optional provision made by 7.2.7 ato halāder laghoḥ.
2. That this vṛddhi applies only to an a is made clear by counter-examples such as nyahorū ← ny-a-khur + it and nyamīt ← ny-a-mīl + it, the third singular active imperfect forms of khur ‘to scratch, cut’ and mīl ‘to wink, close eyes’. This vṛddhi is applicable only to an aṅga ending in l and r. Thus, it cannot apply in deriving aṣīt, of mā bhavān aṣīt, and aṣīt, of mā bhavān aṣīt, where verbal roots do not end in l and r. They also differ in their signification: the first is used with the signification of ‘moving’; the second with the signification of ‘eating’. These examples are both given with māN to block augment āT (6.4.74 na māṇyoge), and thereby, keep the identity of aṣīt and aṣīt, intact. An introduction of āT would have yielded *aṣīt and *aṣīt which, in turn, would have created confusion about the vṛddhi of āT. Finally, anta is used in this rule to focus on close proximity of l and r with a. Consider avabhraṅit and avālāṅit where the final r and l sounds of the aṅga do not occur in close proximity of a. They are intervened by bh and l, respectively. Consequently, vṛddhi does not apply here. Verbal roots vabhra and svallā are here used in the senses of ‘movement (gati)’ and āṣaṇamaṇa ‘moving fast’, respectively.

7.2.3 बद्वक्षेमहलन्तस्याचः:

vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ
/vada-vraja-halantasya 6/1 = hal ante yasya (bv.); vadaś ca vrajas ca halantaś ca (sam. av.), tasya; acaḥ 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sīrī vṛddhīḥ paraśmaipadesu #1)
vadavrajor halantānāṁ cāṅgānāṁ acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati sici paraśmaipade praṇaḥ
A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of the vowel of an aṅga, namely vad, vraj, and also an aṅga which ends in a consonant (haL), when sIc followed by an affix termed paraśmaipada follows.

Examples:

avādīt ‘... killed ...
avrājīt ‘... went away...
apākṣīt ‘... cooked ...
abhaisīt ‘... cracked open ...
acchaitsīt ‘... cut ...
arautsīt ‘... blocked ...

1. Why should we have a separate specification of vad ‘to speak’ and vraj ‘to go’ when they can both be covered by the specification of halantānām ‘of those which end in a consonant’? For, an aṅga constituted by vad and vraj already ends in a consonant. A separate specification of vad and vraj is made to block the optional vṛddhi, made available by rule 7.2.7 aṭo haḷāḍer laghoḥ. Our present rule offers vṛddhi, obligatorily. Consider avādīt, avrājīt, and
apāksit, abhaisit, etc. Refer to the appendix (III:312) of 3.1.57 into vā for appropriate derivational details, especially of abhaisit and acchaitsit. Note that apāksit derives from pac + (LUN→tiP), where 8.2.30 coh kuḥ causes a replacement in k for c (kuṭva).

2. Why was this rule formulated with hal ‘consonant’ of halantaṣya? A split-interpretation of this rule formulated without haL would have accounted for its derivatives. The two split-rules will be: (i) vadavrajyoh ‘the a of an anga constituted by vad and vraj goes through a replacement in vrddhi . . . ’; (ii) acaḥ, where anga is used as a qualifier to aC and the aC of an anga goes through a replacement in vrddhi . . . Commentators state that hal is used to indicate not just one haL but a sequence. Thus, consider arāṅksit and asāṅksit where a of raṅj ‘to color’ and saṅj ‘to come in contact’ is intervened by two consonants. It is because of the specification of hal, referring to a group (samudāya) of consonants, that this rule can still apply to offer a replacement in vrddhi. The anta of halanta is used for clarity.

It is also argued that the vrddhi should have been specified only for an anga which ended in a consonant. For, vad and vraj end in a consonant, and thus, would have easily availed the vrddhi. Why state them explicitly? Note here that our next rule 7.2.4 neit negates this vrddhi marked with final consonant (halanta-lakṣanā), especially when a sIC with initial iT follows. It is to save vad and vraj from that negation at the strength of this explicit statement (vacaṇa-sāmarthya) that vad and vraj are separately specified. Their vrddhi will thus become obligatory (niṭya). We will thus get avādit and avrājit. If this explicit statement was not made, our next rule would have negated vrddhi. Rule 7.2.7 ato halāder laghoḥ would then have applied to accomplish optional vrddhi.

Why do we use the word acaḥ ‘genitive singular of aC (vowel)’ when ikaḥ, of 1.1.3 iko guṇavrddhi, could have easily presented itself for specifying the sthānī ‘item to be replaced’? The vrddhi of abhaisit and aravaisit could have thus been accomplished. However, we would have run into problems in accomplishing the vrddhi in apāksit. Such problems will not be encountered if the specification is made with acaḥ.

A question is raised as to why, in deriving the third personal dual and second personal dual active aorist forms of vah ‘to carry’, used with the preverb ud, we do not get the vrddhi of o, in udavodiḥam and udavodiham. Note that udavodiḥam derives from ud-vah + (LUN→tas→tam) → ud- vah + sIC + tam, where tas is replaced with tam (3.4.101 tāsthasthamīpām . . . ) and a of vah is replaced with its vrddhi counterpart, characterized as marked with the final consonant (halanta-lakṣanā; 7.2.3 vadavrajahalantaṣyaacah). A replacement of h, of vah, with dh (8.2.31 ho dhah), and deletion of sIC, follow (8.2.26 jhala jhah). The a of ud + a(ā) + vā(h→dh) + dhām → ud + a + vādh + dhām is then replaced with o
(6.3.112 sahivahor od avarnas$a\). Given $ud + a + v(\rightarrow o) \ddh + \dh\rightarrow \ uda + vodh + \dh\rightarrow \ uduv$ which goes through deletion (8.3.13 $\ddhho \ddhhe \ lopa$h) under the condition of the second $\ddh$ which follows. We thus get $uda + vo(\ddh\rightarrow \phi) + \dh\rightarrow \ udavodh\ddh$. 

Actually, the $o$ of vo is conditioned by $\ddh$ which, in turn, is produced by $h$ of vah. This $\ddh$ is then deleted, in addition to the $s$ of sIC. Both $\ddh$ and $s(\ddh)\text{-deletions become \textit{asiddha} 'suspended' in view of 8.2.1 purvatra$\ddh$ddham}. This is how we get $o$ which is conditioned by $\ddh$. But a replacement in $\ddh$ddhi characterized as 'marked with a final consonant' (halanta-laksana) has taken effect already. A $\ddh$ddhi which has applied once, cannot apply again (K\ddh$a:\ \krtte \ ddh$hir na bhavati, k\ddh$tv\ddh$a\ddh$). Incidentally, udavodham involves a replacement in tam, via $thas$ of LUN. Note, however, that the $\ddh$ddhi, for example of $o$, would become applicable if it has not already applied. Thus, consider $sodhamiti\ddh$ra $apatyam = saudhamiti\ddh$, 'Saudhamiti, an offspring of Saudhamiti', where 7.1.117 taddhitesv ac\ddh$m\ldots$ accomplishes the $\ddh$ddhi replacement of $o$.

The derivational details of udavodham and udavodham clearly indicate that a laksana 'rule' applies only once in a laksya 'goal, derive'. It is for this reason that a $\ddh$ddhi marked with halanta 'final consonant' is applied first. What follows is the replacement in $o$ (otva) conditioned by deletion of $\ddh$ (dra\ldhopa). Thus, we do not get the application of $\ddh$ddhi again.

7.2.4 नेचि

neti

/na \phi i\ddh\ $7/1/

(an\ddh$\ddh$ya #6.4.1 sici $\ddh$ddhih parasmaipadesu #2 halant\ddh$n\ddh$m #3)
i\ddh$d\ddh$a\ddh$sici halantasy\ddh$\ddh$y\ddh$ga\ddh$ya $\ddh$ddhih na bhavati

A vowel termed $\ddh$ddhi does not come in place of the vowel of an an\ddh$ga$ which ends in a consonant when an iT-initial sIC, followed by an affix termed parasmaipada, follows.

Examples:

ade\ddh$\ddh$it '\ldots sported \ldots'
ase\ddh$\ddh$it '\ldots sewed \ldots'
ako\ddh$\ddh$it '\ldots resolved \ldots'
amo\ddh$\ddh$it '\ldots stole \ldots'

1. An an\ddh$ga$ which ends in a consonant does not go through $\ddh$ddhi when an iT-initial sIC follows. This rule negates what could be called an over-application (atity\ddh$\ddh$pi) of the preceding rule. The penultimate replacement in guna of 7.3.86 pugantalagh\ddh$\ddh$padhasya ca applies, instead, in deriving ase\ddh$\ddh$it, ako\ddh$\ddh$it and amo\ddh$\ddh$it. Other derivational details, i.e., deletion of i of ti\ddh$p$ (3.4.99 ita\ddh$\ddh$ ca), augment aT (3.4.98 l\ddh$\ddh$na\ddh$\ddh$ri \ldots), and introduction of iT (7.3.96
astisico’ apkte), are similar to alavit, etc. Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.3 iko guṇavrddhi for full derivational details.

Note that a verbal root having gone through a guṇa-replacement in e, followed by a replacement in au (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyavah), can produce a consonant-final anğa before sIC. Why do we have to negate this vrddhi when an internally conditioned guṇa will block it. Is this negation meant for situations where vrddhi may obtain subsequently? No. It is because of this formulation (ārambhāsāmarthya) that internal guṇa will be blocked by vrddhi (7.2.3 vadavrāja . . .). This rule will then negate vrddhi which obtains against internal guṇa. A replacement application of the short penultimate guṇa (laghūpadhaguna; 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca) will then follow this negation.

7.2.5 Ḥamyntakṣaṇasvasajāgrṇiśvyeditām

hmyantaksanaśvasajāgniniśvyeditām
/ hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgr-ṇi-śvī-editām 6/3 (itār. dv.), teṣām; hmyantaḥ = h ca m ca y ca = hmyah; hmyo’ nte yasya (bv. with int. dv.); edit = ed it yasya (bv.) /

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sici vrddhiḥ parasmaiṣpadeśu #1 neti #4)

hakārāntānāṃ makārāntānāṃ yakārāntānāṃ aṅgānāṃ ‘kṣaṇa, śvasa, ni, śvī’ ity etesām editām ca idādau sici parasmaiṣpade parato vrddhir na bhavati

A vowel termed vrddhi does not come in place of the vowel of an anģa which (i) ends in h, m, y; or (ii) is constituted by kṣaṇA ‘to harm’, śvasA ‘to breathe’ and jāgr ‘to remain awake’; or (iv) ends in the causative affix NīC; or is constituted by śvī ‘to move, grow’, or else, is marked with e as an it, when an iT-initial sIC, followed by an affix termed parasmaiṣpada, follows.

Examples:

agrahit ‘... seized ...
asyamit ‘... made noise ...
avayit ‘... spend ...
avamit ‘... threw up ...
akṣaṇit ‘... harmed ...
asvaṣit ‘... breathed ...
ajāgārit ‘... remained awake ...
aunayit ‘... abandoned ...
ailayit ‘... inspired ...
asvayit ‘... moved ...
rage/ aragīt ‘... laughed ...
kakhe / akakhit ‘... laughed ...

1. Note that the genitive singular of aṅgasya is here transformed into plural because of the contextual requirement of hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgr-ṇi-
śvi-editām. This rather long specification with hyamanta-ksana... editām is interpreted as an itaretara-dvandva compound with internal bahuvrīhi, itself containing an internal itaretara-dvandva. Thus, we first form a dvandva paraphrased as h ca m ca y ca = hmyāt ‘h, and m, and y’. We then form a bahuvrīhi with anta ‘end’, paraphrased as: hmyo’ nte yesām te = hmyantā ‘those at the end of which are h, m and y’. Now we form the final itaretara-dvandva, paraphrased as: hmyantās ca kṣana ca śvas ca jāgr ca niś ca śvi ca edic ca = hmyanta-kṣana-śvasa-jāgr-niśtryeditāh, teśām. Of course, et-it → edit ‘that which has its e termed an it’, itself, is a bahuvrīhi compound.

2. Note that jāgr, śvi and roots which end in NiC qualify for vṛddhi (7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ... ) which here gets negated (also cf. 7.2.4 netī). The rest of the roots are subject to optional vṛddhi of 7.2.7 ato halāder laghoḥ. This rule negates that optional vṛddhi. Here again an internally conditioned (antarānta) guṇa should not apply. For, this vṛddhi could then not find its scope of application, ever, before sIC. If guṇa is applied first, ni and śvi need not be specified here. Since they will yield a form ending in y after guṇa, anyway, as a result of application of a subsequent replacement in ay. The vṛddhi can then be negated on the basis of the final y. Why then state them individually in this rule? This, in turn, indicates that an internally conditioned guṇa is not applied before sIC.

Why is jāgr stated here? For, 7.3.85 jāgro’ vicinna... specifies guṇa for its r, as an exception to the vṛddhi of 7.2.115 ako’ ṇiti. An internally conditioned guṇa will block the vṛddhi of this rule, in a manner similar to the earlier vṛddhi. But this view is not correct. For, the vṛddhi which may obtain from 7.2.2 ato brāntasya, subsequent upon application of guṇa, is also negated here. But don’t you think that a provision of guṇa should itself be enough to indicate that any future vṛddhi, before īN (3.1.60 clośeśina) and NaL (3.4.82 paramātpadānām...), will be negated? Is it not the case in jāgarayati ‘... remains awake’, where vṛddhi of 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ does not apply. Why then state jāgr? It is stated for clarity (vispaśārtham). This specification of jāgr anticipates a particular order of rule application. Thus, given jāgr + īT + sIC + īt, we find a replacement in yan applicable to r. This yan is blocked by replacement in guṇa of 7.3.84 sārvadādhihukārhdhāhātukayoh... , an exception. The vṛddhi-replacement of 7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ... blocks this guṇa. But the guṇa of 7.3.85 jāgro’ vicinna... specifies jāgr. It is after this that the vṛddhi of 7.2.3 vāyunavajā... becomes applicable. But it is negated by 7.3.4 neti. But 7.2.7 ato halāder... renders this negation of 7.3.4 neti, optional. The problem is: the obligatory vṛddhi of 7.4.2 ato brāntasya could still apply. Rule 7.2.6 īrnoter... then offers the present negation. The following verse summarizes availability, blocking, negation, option and negation, of guṇa and vṛddhi, as they obtain:

\[
\text{guno vṛddhir guṇo vṛddhiḥ pratisedho vikalpanam/}
\text{punar vṛddhir niśedho' to yanpūrvāḥ prāptayo nava/}
\]
‘guna, vṛddhi, guna, vṛddhi, viktīpana `option’, vṛddhi
again, negation, and guna before replacement in yaN, these nine are
applicational possibilities’.

2. Consider agrahīt, ayasmīt, avamīt and arayāyīt which are LUN-derivatives
of grah `to seize’, syam `to sound, cry’ and Tūvam `to vomit’. This rule ne-
gates vṛddhi before a sīC affix beginning with iT, of course, when a
parasmaipada affix follows. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.49 vibhāśa dhetṣvayoh
for derivational details of asvayīt. Deriving aunayīt and aīlayīt from ānA and
iLA, both ending in NiC, should pose no problem. Derivatives of raqE and
kakhE, i.e., aragit and akakhīt, get their replacements in vṛddhi negated on
the basis of their E as an it.

7.2.6 उर्मोतेर्विभाषा

उर्मोतेर vibhāśā
/उर्मोतेह 6/1 vibhāśa 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeśu #1 neti #4)
उर्नातेर iḍādau sici parasmaipade parato vibhāśa vṛddhir na bhavati
A vowel termed vṛddhi does not, optionally, come in place of the vowel
of an aṅga, namely ुर्मु, when an iT-initial sīC followed by an affix
termed parasmaipada follows.

Examples:

praunravīt `. . . covered properly . . .’
praunravīt `ibidem’
pbraunravīt `ibidem’

1. This rule negates vṛddhi, optionally, in case of an aṅga constituted by
ुर्मु to cover’. The condition of an iT-initial sīC, followed by a parasmaipada
affix, still remains valid. The obligatory vṛddhi of 7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ . . . is here
negated, optionally. We will thus get pra-ुrne + LUN → praunravīt, through
replacement in guna, and a subsequent replacement of o with au, when
option of vṛddhi is not accepted. An option of vṛddhi will yield praunravīt,
through vṛddhi and a replacement in au→āv. But since 1.2.3 vibhāṣornōh
offers an optional status of NiUt, vṛddhi and guna-derivatives will become optional
to uvaN. Thus, we get praunravīt. Incidentally, a of pra, and ā of āT
(6.1.87 ātaś ca), get replaced with a single replacement in the vṛddhi vowel
au (6.1.85 vṛddhir eci).

7.2.7 अतो हलादेलर्जोः

ato halāder laghoḥ
/atāh 6/1 halādeḥ 6/1 = hal ādir yasya (bv.), tasya; laghoḥ 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeśu #1 neti #1 vibhāsa #6)
halāder anāgasya laghor akārasya idādau sīci parasmaipade parato vibhāsā
vyṛddhir na bhavati

A short a termed laghu 'light' (hrasvaṃ laghu) of an anāga beginning with a consonant (haL) is optionally not replaced with a corresponding vyṛddhi vowel when an iT-initial sīC, followed by an affix termed parasmaipada, follows.

Examples:

aṅkūṭī ‘. . . moved . . .’

aṅkūṭī ‘ibidem’

aṅkūṭī ‘. . . fought . . .’

aṅkūṭī ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional negation of vyṛddhi to the light (1.4.10 hrasvaṃlaghu; short) a of a consonant-initial anāga. This option is offered against obligatory negation of 7.2.4 neṭi. That this optional negation applies to an a is made clear by counter-examples such as adevīt and aserīt where div and siv have an i. The negation of vyṛddhi thus stays intact. If aT was not stated in this rule, we would have carried acaḥ, via anuvṛtti (7.2.3 vada-vraja . . .). For, in its absence, and thus in the absence of a clear specification of a substituend of vyṛddhi, a short iK alone would have qualified for vyṛddhi (1.1.3 iko guṇavṛddhī). A vyṛddhi which is ordered without any specification of its substituendum (sthānī) is generally known as one characterized with iK (iglaksanā). Recall, in this connection, that a vyṛddhi which is characterized with iK (iglaksanā), alone, comes within the scope of negation of 1.1.5 knitī ca. For, ikaḥ is carried over there, via anuvṛtti. A vyṛddhi characterized with acaḥ, and especially because of the specification of its substituendum (sthānī), would thus not come within the negative scope of 1.1.5 knitī ca. This may not block optional vyṛddhi provision of ni-aT-kuṭ + LUṆ → nyakuṭīt ‘. . . moved crookedly . . .’ and ni-aT-put + LUṆ → nyapuṭīt ‘. . . embraced . . .’ (1.2.1 gāṅkuṭādi . . .). It is to remove these difficulties that atah is specified in this rule.

The condition of halādi ‘that which has a consonant at its beginning’ facilitates obligatory negation of vyṛddhi. The option of this rule is not available because aṭ ‘to move’ and aṣ ‘to eat’ are roots which begin with a vowel (ajādi). We thus get an obligatory negation in LUN-derivatives of these roots in mā bhavān aṣīt and mā bhavān aṭīt.

The condition of laghu is required so that this option is not available to atakṣīt ‘. . . planed . . .’ and arakṣīt ‘. . . protected . . .’ where a before ks, a conjunct, can no longer be termed laghu. It must be termed guru ‘heavy’ because it occurs before a conjunct (saṃyoga; 1.4.11 saṃyoga guru).

Why is this option not made available to the a of acakṣīt ‘. . . glowed . . .’? Because the short a before sīC remains intervened, not just by the conso-
nant $k$ but also by $ä$. Note that *idādau sici* 'when an *iT*-initial *sIC* follows' is not used here as a qualifier to the *āṅga*. It, instead, is used as a qualifier to *laghor atah* 'of an *a* termed *laghu*'. Now consider the interpretive-provision of *yena nāryavadām man tena vyavahitē* 'pi vacanaapramāṇah', whereby an intervention which does not result into non-intervention is allowed as intervention for operational purposes. An intervention of a consonant is acceptable at the strength of this statement. The intervention of a vowel is not acceptable. The *a* which occurs after *c* in *acakāsit*, etc., does not go through a replacement in *vrddhi* because intervention of *k*, a consonant, is acceptable but the intervention of *ä* before *sIC* is not. The optional negation of *vrddhi* is thus not allowed. The negation thus becomes obligatory.

Why can we not accept the limit of such interventions to a single sound, and not to more than one. This will then block optional negation, for example in *aT + takṣ + LUN → atakṣit*, etc., where more than one sound segments intervene. We thus do not need a specification with *laghoḥ* if this is to be accepted then *laghoḥ* is used here for clarity (*vispaṭārtham*).

Finally, this rule applies only when *iT* is followed by *sIC*. Consider *aT + pac + sIC + i + t → apākṣit*, where *iT* does not occur before *sIC*. This optional negation will thus not be allowed here.

### 7.2.8 नेड वशि कृति

*nād vaśi kṛti*

/ *na ṣ i ṭ 1/1 vaśi 7/1 kṛti 7/1/*

vaśādau kṛti pratyaya parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati

(*āṅgasya #6.4.1*)

Augment *iT* is not introduced relative to an *āṅga* when a *kṛt* affix which begins with a sound denoted by *vaŚ* (*Śs. 5-9*) follows.

**Examples:**

*iśvarāḥ* ‘lord, master’

*dīpraḥ* ‘burning, glowing’

*bhasma* ‘ash’

1. This rule negates introduction of augment *iT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*) to an *āṅga* when a *kṛt* affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaŚ* (*Śs. 5-10*) follows. This section of rules thus constitutes prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the section of rules dealing with introduction of *iT*. Consider *iśvara* where 3.2.175 *sthāṣabhaśa* . . . introduces the *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛt atiṇi*) affix *varaC* after *iśA* ‘to govern’. Derivatives of *iśA*, i.e., *iśīṭa* and *iśītum*, are allowed *iT* before affixes *ṛC* and *tumuN*. This same is also applicable to *diśīta* and *diśītum*. But consider *dīpra* where 3.2.167 *namikampi* . . . introduces the *kṛt* affix *ra* after *diś* ‘to shine, glow’. Augment *iT* must be blocked here since *ra* begins with a sound denoted by *vaŚ*. We
will similarly get bhāsiṭā and bhāsitum from bhas + ṛC and bhas + tumUN with iṬ. However, bhasma, a derivate of manIN (3.2.75 anyebhyo' pi . . . ) must be denied iṬ. A derivate of naN (3.3.90 yajayāca . . . ), introduced with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ after yāc ‘to beg’, yields yācniṭā ‘begging’ in the feminine with ṬāP, with no iṬ but through a replacement in ṇ for n (cutuṇa; 8.4.40 stōs cunā ścuḥ). This negation of iṬ, however, does not apply in deriving yāc + iṬ + ṛC → yācitā and yāc + iṬ + tumUN → yācitetum.

2. Kāśikā states that iṬ is blocked before an affix beginning with va, ra, ma and na. It then adds that this statement should be interpreted as made with reference to illustrations on hand. This, in no way, should be accepted as an effort toward enumerating the totality of contexts where iṬ is blocked (Kāś: varamanāda ity udāhāranapradarṣanārtham, na parīgaṇanam). For, there are other contexts where negation of iṬ is valid. Consider danḍa, a derivate of the Unādi (I.113: namanīṭ ṇaḥ) affix da, introduced after dam. There is no iṬ here, though da begins with a sound denoted by vaś. If one argues that this lack of iṬ can be accounted for by bahulam of 3.3.1 unādayo bahulam, then this statement of Kāśikā can be treated as an effort toward exactly defining the scope of vaś with possible examples.

There are hardly any kṛ affixes which begin with something other than v, r, m, and n. The kṛ affixes which begin with vaśare: vanIP, KvanIP, NvanIP; varaC and KvaraC; KvasU; Kru, KluN, manIN, KmAraC, naN, naN, naJIN, and KnU.

Why do we need the condition of kṛti? So that we do not introduce an iṬ where a non-kṛ affix, for example a itN, follows. Thus, consider rudiva and rudima, first personal active dual and plural perfect forms of rud ‘to cry’ where iṬ is introduced before vas and mas (7.2.76 rudādibhyah sārvadhātuke).

Some texts of Kāśikā mention rurudiva and rurudima as counter-examples to the condition of kṛti. This, according to Haradatta, is not correct (PM: kvacd rurudiva, rurudimeti lītī pathyante, tad ayuktam). For, their iṬ is already valid in view of the enumeration beginning with kṛ (krādiniyama; 7.2.13 kṛṣṭbhīrv . . . ).

3. Recall that a negative provision is made in view of some positive provision already on hand (prāptīprāvakṣo nisēdhaḥ). But this is not what we find here. Refer to notes under 7.2.13 kṛṣṭbhīr . . .

7.2.9 titurtratathasisumarasraksesu ca

\"ti-tu-tra-tha-si-su-sara-ka-sesu 7/3 (itar. du.), teṣu; ca ֶס/\n
(aṅgasya 86.4.1 neč kṛti #8)

‘ti, tu, tra, ta, tha, si, su, sara, ka, sa’ ity eteṣu kṛtsu īd āgamō na bhavati

Augment iṬ is also not introduced relative to an aṅga when kṛ affixes, namely ti, tu, tra, ta, tha, si, su, sara, ka, and sa follow.
Examples:

tantiḥ (KtīC) ‘spread’
dīptiḥ (KtīN) ‘glow’
saktuḥ (tuN; Ṛn. I.70 sitanigami . . . )
‘parched gram-flour’
patram (ṢṭraN; 3.3.182 dāmnīṣa . . . ) ‘carriage’
tantram (ṢṭraN; Ṛn. IV.158) ‘principal’
hastaḥ (ta; Ṛn. III.80 hasiṃgr . . . ) ‘hand’
kustham (tha; Ṛn. II.2 hanikuṣi . . . ) ‘leprosy’
kukṣiḥ (ksi; Ṛn. III.155 pluṣiṣuṣi . . . ) ‘belly, lap’
īkṣuḥ (ksu; Ṛn. III.157 suk ca iṣeh) ‘sugar-cane’
āksarum (saraN; Ṛn. III.70 aṣeh saran)
‘that which does not decay’
śalkaḥ (kaN; Ṛn. III.43 iṇbhiṅka . . . ) ‘bark, chip’
vatṣaḥ (sa; Ṛn. III.62 vṛti . . . ) ‘calf’

1. This rule enumerates a set of ten kṛt affixes which cannot be covered by the vaśādi ‘that which has a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term vaś at the beginning’ condition of the preceding rule, but which may cause negation of iT. This negation of iT is made against the positive provision of 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyaṇaḥ vaḷādeḥ. Affix ti generally refers here to both KtīC (3.3.174 kṭīktau ca samjñāyam) and KtīN (3.3.94 strīyāṃ ktiṃ). It, mostly because of the specification of kṛti, excludes any reference to tiP, eventhough used with P as a single i-telement. Thus, we get tan + KtīC = tanti and dīp + KtīN → dīpti. Note that most examples are derived with the Unādi affixes. A non-kṛt affix, for example ti, as in roditi and svāpiti, cannot be denied iT.

A vārttika proposal extends iT to derivatives of grah ‘to seize’, and its like, when ti, tu and tri follow. Thus, nighṛītiḥ ‘restraint, check’, upasniḥītiḥ ‘watering, soaking’, nikucaṭiḥ ‘contraction’, etc. This listing of the grahaṇi class refers to roots which allow iT before KtīN.

7.2.10 एकाच उपदेश्युद्धतात्

Ekāc upadeśeyuṇudattāt

/ekāc 1/1 = ekō c yasmin (bh.); upadeśeyuṇudattāt 5/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 net #8)

upadeśa ya ekāc dhātur anuṇuṭtaṣ ca tasmād iḍ āgamo na bhavati

Augment iT is not introduced to a verbal root termed ṛṅga, which, at the time of upadeśa, consists of one vowel (ekāc) and is marked with anuṇuṭta.

Examples:

cetā ‘he who will heap, gather’
stitā ‘he who will praise’
taritā 'he who will go across'
lavitā 'he who will cut'
pavitā 'he who will cleanse'

1. It has been stated that \textit{upadeśa} means \textit{ādyoccaṇa} 'initial citation'. To determine what roots are \textit{ekāc} 'consisting of a single vowel; monosyllabic' is not difficult. However, it is hard to determine what roots are marked with \textit{anudāta} in \textit{upadeśa}.

2. Commentators have presented a detailed enumeration of roots which may be marked for introduction of augment \textit{iT}. Consider the following \textit{kārikā} verses:

\textit{aniṣvarānto bhavatītī dyāyatām}
imāṃs tu sētah pravaddanti tadvidāh/
'a root which ends in a vowel may generally be considered as non-\textit{i};' experts of \textit{sē} and \textit{aniṣ} roots, however, consider the following as used with \textit{i} (\textit{sē}):

\textit{adantamāntamāṃ ca vyānvānu}
śvāśīnvānesu atha śīśīnvānu api/
\(\text{(i) \ those which end in a short} \, a\;\)
\(\text{(ii) \ those which end in a long} \, ā\;\)
\(\text{(iii) \ } vyā\text{\ and } vyā\text{\ which end in a short} \, ā\;\)
\(\text{(iv) \ those which end in } i, \text{\ for example, śvī 'to move, grow', } diṅ\text{\ 'to fly',}\)
\(\text{\ and also } Śīṅ\text{\ 'to sleep' and } Śrīṅ\text{\ 'to serve'};\)

\textit{ganastham udantam utāṃ ca rusnuvau}
kṣuvaṃ tathorṇotimatho yuṇukṣṇavah/
iti svarānto nipiṇāṃ samuccitāḥ
tato halantān api sannibodhataḥ/
\(\text{(v) \ of roots listed in groups (} gāṇa\text{) } lūṅ \text{\ 'to cut' and } pūṅ\text{\ 'to cleanse, purify' are used with } i, \text{\ from among those terminating in a long} \, ū;\)
\(\text{(vi) \ those which end in a short} \, u \text{\ are: } ru \text{\ 'noise', } snu \text{\ 'flow', } kṣu \text{\ 'noise',}\)
\(\text{ } ūrnuṅ\text{\ 'cover', } yu \text{\ 'mix', } īu \text{\ 'praise', } kṣu \text{\ 'sharpen'.}\)

The preceding roots which all end in vowels are enumerated here with care. Those which end in a consonant are to be comprehended hereafter:

\textit{śakīs tu kānteśu anīd eka iṣyate}
ghasiś ca sānteśu vasīḥ prasāraṇī/
rabhīs tu bhānteśu atha maithune yabhīs
tatās tṛīyo labhir eva netare/
\(\text{(i) \ only } śakī \text{\ 'strong', of those which end in } k, \text{\ is desired to be classed as non-} i;\)
\(\text{(ii) \ of those which end in } s, \text{\ ghasī 'to eat' (an independent root; not a replacement of } ad \text{\ 'to consume') and } vas \text{\ 'to dwell' which goes through } samprasāraṇa, \text{\ are non-} i;\)
(iii) among those which end in bh, rabhI, yabhI, with the signification of maithuna 'sexual intercourse', and labhI 'to gain', these three, and not any other, are classed as non-it;'

yamir yamanteśu anid eka iṣyate
ramiś ca yaś ca śyāni paṭhyate manih/
namiś caturtho hanir'eva pāñcamo
gamīś ca saṣṭhah pratiṣedhavācinām//

(iv) the ācāryas who desire negation of it enumerate these six roots ending in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term yaM (Śś.7):
(1) yam, ram, man ‘to know’, a divādi root used with ŚyaN, nam ‘bend’, han ‘to kill’ and gam ‘to go’;

dihir duhir mehati rohati vahir
nahis tu saṣṭho dahatis tathā lihīh/
ime' nito' stāv iha muktasamśayā
ganēṣu hāntaḥ pravibhaṣya kirtitām//

(v) dih ‘to grow’, duh ‘to milk’, mih ‘to water, sprinkle’, ruh ‘to grow’, vah ‘to carry’, nah ‘to tie’, dah ‘to burn’, and lih ‘to lick’, these eight which are listed in groups as ending in ha, are here, without any doubt, enumerated as non-it.'

Why muktasamśayā ‘without any doubt’? Because there is a set of four roots which creates doubts: sakā ‘to endure’ which is optionally stated to be used with it before an affix beginning with t (7.2.48 tiṣasaha . . .); mūh ‘to be confused’, radhādi root, which also gets optional it (7.2.45 radhādiṃbhyaś ca); rih and lih, nobody knows whether these two even exist:

diśīṃ drśīṃ daṃśimatho mṛśīṃ sprśīṃ
riśīṃ ruśīṃ kroṣatin amṣtamaṃ viśīṃ/
līśaṃ ca sāntān anītaḥ purāṇaṅgah
paṭhaṃti pāṭhēṣaṃ daśāiṃa netarāṁ//

(vi) grammarians only consider these following ten roots which end in ś and are classed as non-it: diś ‘to direct’, drś ‘to see’, daś ‘to bite’, ṛṛś ‘to rub’, sprś ‘to touch’, riś and ruś ‘to harm’, kruś ‘to call, cry’, viś ‘to enter’, and liś ‘to lessen’;

rudhiḥ sarādhīr yudhibhandhisādhayaḥ
krudhikṣudhī śudhayatibudhyatī vyadhiḥ/
ime tu dhāntā daśa ye’ nīto matās
tataḥ paraṃ sidhyatīr eva netare//

(vii) rādh ‘to accomplish’, along with rudh ‘to obstruct’, yudh ‘to attack’, bandh ‘to bind’, sādh ‘to accomplish’, krudh ‘to be angry’, kṣudh ‘to be hungry’, sudh ‘to be clean’, budh ‘to know’ and vyadh ‘to pierce’— these ten, and none other than sidh, an eleventh, are roots which end in dh and are classed as non-it;’
śiśim πiśim śusyati πusyati tviśim
vīśim śiśim tusyati dusyati dvīśim/
imān dasaiopadisanty aniśvadhu
gaṇesu sāntān kṛśikarasāt tathā/\
‘(vii) śis ‘to distinguish’, πiś ‘to grind’, śuś ‘to dry out’, πus ‘to nurture’,
tvīś ‘to glow’, viś ‘to sprinkle, to pervade (viśLṚ ), śiś ‘to embrace’,
tuś ‘to be satisfied’, dus ‘to be contaminated’, dvīś ‘to wish harm to’,
these ten, and two more, kṛś ‘to draw’ and kars ‘to drag’, are cited
in the group-listings relative to non-it operations’;’

tāpim tīpim cāpim atho vāpim tvāpīṁ
liśim lapim tṛpyati dṛpyati srpyim/
svarena nicena sapim chūpim kśipim
pratīhi pāṁtān pathitāṁs trayodaśān/\
‘(ix) the following thirteen which all end in p have been
enumerated as marked with anudātta: tap ‘to be hot’, tīp ‘to drip, distil, āp ‘to
pervade’, vāp ‘to sow’, svāp ‘to sleep’, līp ‘to anoint’, lūp ‘to break,
pierce’, tṛp ‘to please’ (tudādi), dṛp ‘to be happy’ (tudādi), sṛp ‘to
crawl’, sāp ‘to curse’, kṣup ‘to touch’, and kṣip ‘to hurl’;

adim hadim skandhibhīdicchidikṣudin
śadīm sadim svidyati padyati khdim/
rdām nudim vidyatī vinta ity api
pratīhi dāṁtān dāsa pāṇca cāṁtāh/\
‘(x) the following, ten plus five = fifteen, all end in d and have been
enumerated as non-it: ad ‘to consume’, had ‘to excrete waste from
bowels’, skand ‘to leap’, bhīd ‘to split’, chid ‘to cut’, kṣud ‘to powder’,
śad ‘to perish’, sad ‘to sink’, svid ‘to perspire’, pad ‘to go’,
khid ‘to be sad’, tud ‘to strike’, nud ‘to inspire’, vid ‘to exist’, and
vid ‘to think’;’

pacim vacim viśiciraṇjīprechatin
niśim sijim muciḥbijhaṇjibhrjjatīn/
tyajim yajim yujiruṣiṣaṇjaṁjajatin
bhujim svajim srjijmīj viddhy anīśvarān/\
‘(xi) the following are to be understood as marked with non-it accent:
pac ‘to cook’, vac ‘to speak’, vic ‘to separate’, nic ‘to empty’, raṇj ‘to
‘color’, pracch ‘to ask’, niṣ ‘to cleanse’, sic ‘to sprinkle’, muc ‘to re-
lease’, bhaj ‘to serve’, bhāṇj ‘to break’, bhṛjj ‘to cook’, tyaj ‘to aban-
don’, yaj ‘to sacrifice’, yuj ‘to join’, ruj ‘to break’, saṇj ‘to adhere’,
majj ‘to be immersed’ and bhuj ‘to consume’, svaj ‘to embrace’, srj
‘to create’, and mrj ‘to wipe, clean’.’

7.2.11 अष्टक: किति
śṛyukah kiti
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The Āṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

7.2.11

/śr̥yukaḥ 6/1 = śriś ca uk ca (sam. dv.), tasya; kiti 7/1 = kakāra it yasa
(bv.), tasmin/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 net #8)

śrī ity etasya ugaṇtānām ca kiti pratiyaye parata iḍ āgamō na bhavati

Augment iT is not introduced relative to an aṅga, namely śrī 'to resort
to, cling', and also to an aṅga which ends in a vowel denoted by
the abbreviatory term uK (Śs.1-2), when an affix marked with K as an it
follows.

Examples:

śrītvā 'absolutive Ktvā-derivative of śrī'
śrītah 'a derivate of Kta'
śrītavān 'a derivate of KtvatU'
yutvā 'absolutive Ktvā-derivative of yu 'to mix'
yutah 'a derivate of Kta'
yutavān 'a derivate fo KtvatU'
lūtvā 'absolutive Ktvā-derivative of lūN 'to cut'
lūnāh 'a derivate of Kta'
lūnāvān 'a derivate of KtvatU'
vr̥tvā 'absolutive Ktvā-derivative of vr̥ 'to choose'
vr̥tah 'a derivate of Kta'
vr̥tavān 'a derivate of KtvatU'
ft̥tvā 'absolutive Ktvā-derivative of ft̥ 'to float'
ft̥nāh 'a derivate of Kta'
ft̥nāvān 'a derivate of KtvatU'

1. Note that wherever, in this section, a root is specified with the genitive
(śaṣṭhi), it is to be interpreted as used in the sense of the ablative (paṇciṃ). This
enables iT to be introduced to the affix on hand in consonance with
1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya. A negation (pratiśedha) of iT similarly applies to
the affix.

This rule blocks iT when an affix marked with K as an it follows śrī and
other bases ending in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term uK (Śs. 1-2).
We thus get śrītvā, śrītah and śrītavān which are derivates of Ktvā, Kta and
KtvatU, respectively. Parallel examples for bases ending in u are offered as
yutvā/yutah/yutavān; lūtvā/lūnāh/lūnāvān, etc. Refer to derivational details
of āśtīrṇāh (note under 7.1.100 ṇta iḍ dhātoḥ) for applications relevant to
āśtīrṇah, etc.

That this negation is applicable to śrī, and roots which end in uK, is made
clear by allowing iT to viditah of vid 'to know'. A similar allowance of iT is
made to śrāyātā, śrāyitum and śrāyitavyam where the condition of kiti 'when
an affix marked with K as an it' is not satisfied. All three examples are forms
of śrī derived with the non-kit affixes trg, tumUN and tavyaT, respectively.
2. Commentators also discuss whether $k$ of *kiti* should be accepted as referring to both $g$ and $k$. That is, *kiti* should be read as *kniti* where the first $k$ is $g$, devoted on account of the following $k$. This question is raised in view of deriving *bhūṣṇuh* from *bhū* + *Gnru*. Or else, *bhū* + *Knu*. Refer to notes under 1.1.5 *kniti* ca and 4.2.139 *glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ.*

The $k$ of *kiti* does not include a reference also to $g$ as an *it*. Pāṇini’s own formulation of this rule where *ṣryukah* ends in a *visarga*, indicates it. If *kiti* was intended to be *giti*, the reading of this rule should preferably have been *ṣryuko giti*. I omit further discussion of this subject for fear of expatiation (*prapañca*). Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

3. Commentators also recommend that *upadeśe* should be carried over to this rule to resolve derivational difficulties faced with forms of roots ending in $i$. Consider *ūrṇāḥ* where we get *tir* from *tīr* ‘to be afloat’ by replacing $i$ with $r$ (*rapara*). But since *tīr* ends in *uK* in *upadeśa*, we get the negation of $iT$. Some state that it is not necessary since 7.2.41 *iṇi sani vā* can make an optional provision of $iT$ which can then be negated in the context of *niśṭha* suffixes by rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. Why carry *upadeśe*? Why not treat the *ir*-replacement as $i$, via *sthanīvaddhāva*, thereby meeting the requirement of *uK*. This is not possible because treating $i$ as *ir*, via *sthanīvaddhāva* (1.1.56 *sthanīvad ādeśo' nalvidhau*), will be considered part of *al-vidhi* ‘operation relative to a sound segment’. Such a *sthanīvaddhāva* will be allowed only when an operation relative to a sound segment is to be performed.

It is resolved then that *upadeśe* should be carried to block *iT* in *ūrṇāḥ*. But this will block *iT* also in *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān* where *jāgr* ends in *uK* in *upadeśa*. We must then carry the *anuvṛtti* of *ekācaḥ* ‘... consisting of a single vowel’ for blocking the negation of augment *iT* in *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān* where *jāgr* consists of more than one vowel. But carrying *ekācaḥ* will not allow negation of *iT* in *prorṇutah* / *prorṇutavān*. We must then state *nuvaddhāvā* ‘treatment as *nu*’ of *ūrṇuN*. That is, we should split it into *ūr + nu*, and then treat it as *nu* by the extensional provision of *nuvaddhāvā*. What will be the purpose of doing this? The purposes are: (i) to facilitate introduction of affix *yaN* after *nu*, a consonant-initial verbal root consisting of a single vowel (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halāder ...*); (ii) negation of introduction of *ām*, based on *ekāc* ‘consisting of a single vowel’ status of *nu* via *nuvaddhāvā* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca gurumato nṛcchah*); and (iii) negation of augment *iT* introduced to affixes marked with $k$ and $G$ as an *it*, on the basis of *ekāc*-status of *ūrṇuN*, via *nuvaddhāvā* (7.2.11 *ṣryukah kiti*). Thus,

$vācyā ūrṇor nuvaddhāvō yaṇprasiddhiḥ prayojanam /
āmaś ca pratisedhārtham ekācaś ce ṣeṭ upagrahāt //'

‘ūrṇuN should be stated to be *nu* for application of affix *yaN*; it is desired for negation of *ām*, and augment *iT*, via treating it as consisting of a single vowel (*ekāc*)’
4. Verbal root ूर्णुः should be stated to have the form nu, so that it could meet the requirement of ekāc 'single vowel' condition for introduction of affix yaN. This then is the purpose of accepting nu as the form of ूर्णुः. It will also enable us to negate application of ām in LIT. For, nu will not be a verb which begins with a vowel denoted by iC and contains a vowel termed guru (1.4.11 sameyage guru; 3.1.36 ijādes ca gurumato νṛṣchah).

A vārttika (ad 3.1.35 kāśpratyaye ām amantre, kāsy anekāc vaktavayah) cannot introduce ām since nu will not be consisting of more than a single vowel. Since ूर्णुः is read as anudāta in upadeśa, we will get the introduction of iT before an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant denoted by vaL (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeh). Recall here that the SK (ad 8.2.46 kṣiyo dīrghāt) also mentions two other vārttikas: ूर्णोते ām neti vaktavayh 'ām should not be stated in connection with ूर्णo�i'; ूर्णोते nuvadbhāvo vācyah 'a form of nu should be stated for ूर्णोतi'. The result of the first proposal is anticipated by the second (see Tattvabodhinī ad SK: ूर्णoते nuvadbhāvo vācyat iti vakṣyamāṇasya ām abhāvo' pi phalam iti bhāvah).

The phrase ekācaś ca ed upagrahāt presents the last purpose of nuvadbhāva of ूर्णुः. When verbal root is accepted as nu it becomes ekāC ending in a vowel denoted by uK. Rule 7.2.11 śryukah kiti negates augment iT to an affix which is marked with K and G as an i, and follows verbal root sīN and other roots consisting of a single vowel. Rule 7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe anudāttāt negates introduction of augment iT after roots which are marked with anudāta. Rule 7.2.11 negates iT where roots are marked with udātta. Verbal root ूर्णुः is marked with udātta. It becomes ekāC with its form in nu. Augment iT which may become available to it from 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeh is thus blocked. This is also a purpose served by accepting nu as the form of ूर्णुः. Augment iT can thus be negated in prornutah and prornutavān, based on status of nu as ekāc.

7.2.12 सनि ग्रहागुहोस्य

sani grahaguhoś ca
/sani 7/1 graha-guhoḥ 6/2 (itar. duv.) ca φ/
(angasya #6.4.1 neṭ #8 ukhaḥ #11)
'graha, guha' ity etayor ugantānāṁ ca sani pratyaye parata id āgamo na bhavati

Augment iT is not introduced relative to an anāga, namely grahaA and guhaA, and also to an anāga which ends in a vowel denoted by uK, when affix saN follows.

Examples:

jighṛksati '... wishes to seize ...'
jughuksati '... wishes to cover ...'
ruruṣati ‘... wishes to cry ...’
luluḍati ‘... wishes to cut ...’

1. This rule negates iT where grah ‘to seize, hold’, guh ‘to cover’, and roots which end in uK, are followed by affix saN (3.1.7 dhātoḥ samānakaṛtyād ...). Refer to derivational details of jighṛṣati, also for deriving jighukṣati, under the appendix of 1.2.8 rudvidamūṣa ... (II:431-2). Derivational details of ruruṣati and luluḍati are similar to those of ciśaṭati, under the appendix of 1.2.9 iko jhal (II:435).

2. Note that śri is not carried over, simply because an optional provision of iT is made by 7.2.49 saṇṭvantardhabhrasj ... Thus, śri gets two forms when saN follows: one with iT and the other without. This rule offers negation of iT to guhŪ ‘to cover’, against the optional provision of rule 7.2.44 svariṣṭiūti ... , based on Ū as an it. This rule negates iT of grah ‘to seize’ against an obligatory (nitya) provision.

7.2.13 क्रुश्यत्रस्तुत्रस्त्रुवो लिषि

kṛṣṭhṛṣṭudrurṣruvo liṣi

/ kṛ-ṣr-bṛ-ṝ-stu-duḥ-sru-śrvoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); liṣi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 net #8)

‘kṛ, ṛ, bṛ, ṛ, stu, dru, sru, śru’ īty eteṣāṃ liṣi pratyaya iḍ ágamo bhavati
Augment iT is not introduced relative to an aṅga, namely kṛ, ṛ, bṛ, ṛ, stu, dru, sru, and śru, when affix LIṬ follows.

Examples:
cakṛva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of kṛ’
cakṛma ‘first person plural ...’
sasṛva ‘second person dual LIṬ-derivate of sṛ’
sasṛma ‘first person plural ...’
babhūva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of bhū’
babhūma ‘first person plural ...’
vaṃṛva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of ṛ’
vaṃṛma ‘first person plural ...’
vaṃṛvahe ‘first person dual middle LIṬ-derivate of ṛ’
vaṃṛmahe ‘first person plural middle ...’
tuṣṭuva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of stu’
tuṣṭuma ‘first person plural ...’
dudruva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of dru’
dudruma ‘first person plural ...’
susṛva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of sru’
susṛma ‘first person plural ...’
suṣṛva ‘first person dual LIṬ-derivate of śru’
suṣṛma ‘first person plural ...’
1. Since kr, bhr and vr are here specified without any elements termed it (anubándha), they will be able to refer to all of their counterparts similar in form, without any it. That is, kr will refer to both krN ‘to harm’ and ĐukiN ‘to make, do’; bhr will refer to both bhrN ‘to provide’ and ĐubhrN ‘to sustain, nurture’; and vr will refer to both vrN ‘honor’ and vrN ‘to choose’.

The first three roots are denied iT by 7.2.10 ekáca upadesé nudáttá. The fourth, i.e., vr, is denied iT by 7.2.11 śryukah kit. Why restate this negation? A provision made against which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (siddhe saty ārambho niyamárthah). What is the restrictive purpose here (niyama)? This negation of iT before LIT must apply only when LIT occurs after these specified roots. That is, a negation of iT after roots other than those specified here will be canceled. Why can we not interpret this restrictive provision to mean: ‘iT is negated after these roots, only when LIT follows’? Bhīmasen Shastri (II:161) notes that Pāṇini’s own practice of using kṛte (4.3.116 kṛte granthe), bhṛtaḥ (5.1.79 tam adhiṣṭo bhṛto . . .), parivṛttaḥ (4.2.10 parivṛto rathah) indicates that such a restrictive provision cannot be accepted.

Now consider bibhidva / bibhidima and ciccidva / ciccidima, both derivates of first person dual and plural LIT of bhid ‘to split’ and chid ‘to cut’, where 7.2.10 ekáca upadesé . . . negates iT. Since our present rule does not include bhidIR and chidIR which are both marked with anudáta, this rule cannot restrict them from receiving iT. The negation of 7.2.10 ekáca . . . will thus be canceled. Note that this negation of 7.2.10 is made on the basis of enumeration of bases (prakṛtyāśraya). The negation of 7.2.11 śryukah kit is made on the basis of affixal operation (pratyāśraya). This niyama will also apply on vrN and vrN which are denied iT by 7.2.11 śryukah kit.

Yet another question: why should we accept kr, sr, bhr and vr, alone, included here for restrictive purposes. Why not also include stu, etc. After all, these are also anudáta and they also have the negation of iT in LIT of 7.2.10 ekáca upadesé . . . It is explained that roots beginning with stu are enumerated here for a special purpose. That is, they are included here for negation of optional iT, made available to thaL by 7.2.63 rto bhāradvājasya. Notice that kr, sr, bhr and vr do not have that optional iT made available. Verbal roots stu, etc., are enumerated here to block optional iT made available to thaL by 7.2.63 rto bhāradvājasya. They are also enumerated to block iT before va / ma / se / dhve / vahi / mahiN. Consider tuṣṭuva / tuṣṭuma / tuṣṭuse / tuṣṭudhve / tuṣṭuvaha / tuṣṭumahe as examples. An inclusion of stu ‘to praise’, dru ‘to run, move’, sru ‘to move’ and śru ‘to hear’ is made here to obligatorily block iT, everywhere, when LIT follows them.

2. Note that we get dhū + va → dhūva and dhū + ma → dhūma, where va and ma (3.4.82 parasmaipadanām . . .) are replacements of LIT, via vas and mas (3.4.77 tiptasjhi . . .). These replacements are treated as marked with K as an it (1.2.5 asamyogāl . . .). This rule consequently negates iT here. Note, however, that 7.2.44 svaratīsūti . . . makes an optional provision of iT. Can
this negation be blocked by this optional $iT$? Commentators note that $vipratiṣedha$ cannot apply here. For, negation carries more weight. How do we know it? We know it from Pāṇini’s practice of offering negation of $iT$ first. It is generally understood that a negation makes sense only when a positive provision is already made. Pāṇini makes positive provisions of $iT$ only after making its negative provision. This, in turn, indicates that negation of $iT$ takes precedence over its positive provision ($SK$: $pratiṣedhakāṇḍā-rambhāsāmarthyāt$ . . . ). How do we then derive $dudhuviva$ and $dudhuvima$ where $iT$ is introduced. This is accomplished by the restrictive provision of 7.2.13 $kṛṣybhṛ$ . . . How? A provision made in view of an existing negation becomes restrictive on the basis of its own formulation ($ārambhāsāmarthyāt$). That is, roots which are listed under this rule are obligatory denied $iT$. Others, which also include $dhū$, are thus allowed $iT$. Is $dhū$ allowed an optional $iT$ which was negated earlier. No. This $iT$ will be obligatory.

3. The negation of this rule, and subsequent application of $iT$ via its status as a restrictive provision ($niyama$), is traditionally referred to as $krādiniyama$. The purpose of this $niyama$ is to negate $iT$ where $kṛ$, etc., occur before $LIT$. Elsewhere, it allows introduction of $iT$. Now a question: Where exactly does this assignment of $iT$ apply? It applies where $iT$ is negated. But there are two ways this negation of $iT$ is offered. One, where negative $na$ is exactly stated with the rule. Two, where negation of $iT$ is offered by way of an option. Does this rule offer $iT$ in both instances where $iT$ is negated with $na$ and where it is negated as an option? Jñānendrā Sarvaśrī (Tattvabodhini ad SK) states that this rule offers $iT$ against a negation explicitly stated with $na$ ($naiśāpāditasyaivābhāvasya niyamah$). A negation of $iT$, offered by way of an optional provision, is not affected by this rule. For, ($PS$ 62): $anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā ‘application or negation of an operational provision is valid only in most immediate contexts’. This application of $iT$ will then be made in view of negation of 7.2.10 ekāca upadeśe. . . The most immediate context of negation here relates to the $na$ of 7.2.8 $nevediś kṛtī. This rule cannot have any impact on the optional non-$iT$ of 7.2.44 svaratīṣū. . . .

For, the $vā ‘option’ is far removed from this restrictive ($niyama$) provision. Nāgêśa does not accept this position. He claims that the $Mahābhāṣya$ (ad 7.2.6 upadeśe avatāh) clearly indicates otherwise. This $niyama$ applies on both instances where negation results out of $na$ ‘not’, or $vā ‘option’. They, for example, accept $jugopitha$ as the only correct form. They do not consider $jugopitha$ as correct. I have followed Nāgêśa’s interpretation since it is closer to the intent of the $Mahābhāṣya$.

7.2.14 स्वदिति निष्ठायाम्

$sūdito niṣṭhāyām$
1. Refer to derivational details of śunaḥ and śunavān under notes and appendix of 6.1.15 vacisvapāyajādīnām kiti. Derivatives of Olasī, with Kta and KtavatU, get their t replaced with n by 8.2.45 oditaś ca. This n is treated as asidha (8.2.1 pūrvatāsiddham) in view of application of 8.2.29 coḥ kuh, whereby j of the root is replaced with g. The s of the root is deleted by 8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor ante ca. Other derivatives follow similar applications. Now consider uddīnaḥ and uddīnavān, both derivatives of dīN with Kta and KtavatU. Note that dīN is listed under svādi, a class of roots with O as an it (odi). This listing indicates that iT is not allowed when a niṣṭhā affix follows such roots. What will happen if iT is introduced? It will block the n-replacement (natva) of t. For, iT will then intervene between the root and the niṣṭhā suffix. Thus, dīN should be treated as marked with O as an it, though it literally is not. Deriving uddīna and uddīnavat, from ud + dī + (t → n) a and ud + dī + (t → n) avat, involves replacing d of the prevarb with d (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh).

2. Note that the anuvṛtti of niṣṭhāyām is valid up to 7.2.5 āṛddhādāntukasyād valādeḥ.

7.2.15 यस्य विभाषा

yasya vibhāśā
/yasya 6/1 vibhāśā 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 netī #8 niṣṭhāyām #14)
yasya dhātar kvacīd iḍ uktaṣ tasya niṣṭhāyām parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment iT is not introduced to a verbal root termed aṅga relative to which an optional iT has already been introduced, provided when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.
Examples:

vidhūtsaḥ ‘a Ktā-derivate of vi-dhūN’
vidhūtavān ‘a derivate of KtavatU’
gūḍhaḥ ‘Ktā-derivate of guhū (to cover)’
gūḍhavān ‘a derivate of KtavatU’
vṛddhaḥ ‘a Ktā-derivate of vṛdh (to grow)’
vṛddhavān ‘a derivate of KtavatU’

1. A root which is offered an optional iT, elsewhere, is hereby denied iT when a nisthā suffix follows. Thus, consider 7.2.44 svaratisūti . . . , whereby roots specified under this rule are allowed an optional iT. An optional iT is also allowed in case of roots which may be marked with ū as an it, provided the nisthā suffix Ktvā follows. These optional iT augments are hereby denied. We thus get vidhūta and vidhūtavat, from vi-dhūN + Kta and vi-dhūN + KtavatU, with no iT before these nisthā suffixes. Follow derivational details of uḍhah and uḍhavān under notes and appendix of 6.1.15 vacisvapi . . . , for deriving gūḍha and gūḍhavān. Remember, however, that guhū ‘to cover’ does not go through the process of samprasāraṇa (1.1.45 ṭaṇḍaḥ samprasāraṇam) as vah ‘to carry’ of uḍhah does. Similar applications are also followed in deriving vṛddha and vṛddhavat, from vṛdh + Kta and vṛdh + KtavatU, where t of the nisthā suffix is replaced with dh (8.2.40 jhasas tathor . . . ). The dh of the root is also then replaced with d (jaśta; 8.4.52 jhalām jaś jhasi).

2. Some state that tani, pati and daridrā must also be included within the specification of 7.2.49 sanivantardha . . . This, if accepted, will create problems in deriving patita. For, 7.2.49 will offer an optional iT which, in turn, will be denied by this present rule. It is stated that patita can then be derived by introducing iT, via nipātana, in accord with Pāṇini’s own usage (2.1.24 dvītiyā sūrītātapatita . . . ).

7.2.16 आदितय

āditaḥ ca
/āditaḥ 6/1 = āt it yasya (bv.), tasya; ca ṣ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 net #8 nisthāyām #14)
āditaḥ ca dhātor nisthāyām id āgamo na bhavati

Augment iT is also not introduced to a verbal root termed anga, which is marked with āT as an it, provided when an affix termed nisthā follows.

Examples:

minnah ‘fat’
minnavān ‘grew fat’
ksuṇnah ‘soft sounding’
ksuṇnavān ‘sounded soft’
svinnah 'perspiring'
svinnāvān 'perspired'
āśvastah 'assured'
vāntah 'vomited'

1. This rule blocks augment i̯ after a root which is marked with a long ā as an ā, when a niṣṭhā suffix follows. Thus, we get minnah, minnavān; kśvinnah, kśvinnāvān and svinnah, svinnāvān, etc. Refer to derivational details of minnah, etc., under the appendix of 1.3.5 ādir niṣṭdavah. The ca of this rule is used to attract additional roots (anuktaśaśīvavarmacārthaḥ). Thus, consider āśvastah and vāntah, where śvas ‘to breathe’ and TŪvam ‘to emit’ are not marked with ā as an ā, but still are denied i̯.

2. It is argued that a single rule should be formulated with this and the following rule as: āditā̯ca vibhāṣā bhāvavakarmaṇoḥ. The i̯ which obtains under this vibhāṣā, with reference to denotation of something other than bhāva and ādikarman, i.e., kārtr, etc., will then be negated by 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā. It is thus not proper to formulate two separate rules. Commentators state that a separate rule is needed to indicate yad upādher vibhāṣā tad upādher niṣedhaḥ, ‘a negation must be stated with qualifications similar to which an option is stated’. For example, 7.2.86 vibhāṣā gamahanavadavisam allows optional i̯ to gam, han, vid and viś. Verbal root vid of this rule, because of its association (sāhacarya) with the tudādi root viś, is interpreted as tudādi, used with the signification of lāśka ‘gain’. The negation of 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā must also be applied to vid thus qualified. It cannot, for example, apply to vid ‘to know’. Thus, we get viditaḥ and viditavān with i̯.

7.2.17 विभाषा भावाधिकरणोऽः:

vibhāṣā bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ = bhāvaś ca ādikarma ca bhāvādikarmaṇi (itar. dv.), tayoḥ;
(anāgya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #14 āditā#16)
bhāve ādikarmaṇi ca ādita dhātor vibhāṣā niṣṭhāyām id āgamo bhavati
Augment i̯, optionally, is not introduced to a verbal root termed an anga, marked with ā as an ā, when an affix termed niṣṭhā with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and ādikarman ‘on-set of, or incipient, action’ follows.

Examples:

minnam anena
meditam anena
praminnah
prameditah
1. This rule negates $iT$, optionally, after a root marked with $āT$ as an it, of course, when a nīṭhā affix denoting $bhāva$ and ādikarman follows. Thus, we get minnam = minnam anena and meditam = meditam anena; and praminnah and prameditaḥ, where the first two examples denote $bhāva$ (Kia; 3.3.114 napatūṣake bhāve ktaḥ) and the next two ādikarman (Kia; 3.4.71 ādikarmai . . .). A negation of mid as marked with $K$ (kit; 1.2.19 nīṭhā śīn . . .) facilitates guṇa in meditam. The pra of the examples is used to explain the denotation of ādikarman. The $t$ of the affix, and the $d$ of the root as well, is replaced with $n$ (nātva; 8.2.42 radāḥhyām nīṭhāto . . .). This is when optional negation of $iT$ is not accepted. Accepting the option of introducing $iT$ also blocks guṇa, conditioned by affixal kī ṭā status.

2. Followers of Sunāga, i.e., Saunāgas, desire an optional $iT$ after śīn, when a nīṭhā affix with the denotation of karman follows. Thus, saktiḥ (gṛtah kartum) and saktiḥ (gṛtah kartum) ‘. . . capable of making a jar’. The Saunāgas, however, do not accept $iT$ when $bhāva$ ‘root-sense’ is denoted. Thus, saktiḥ (anena). This $iT$ is, however, valid in the context of as when $bhāva$ is denoted. Thus, asitam (anena). But not when ādikarman is denoted. Thus, astaḥ kāṇḍaḥ.

Note here that sāk is intransitive (akarmaka). However, it becomes transitive by way of serving as a qualifier to the denotatum of derivates of tumUN. Thus, ayaṁ yogāḥ sākyaḥ vaktum ‘this rule is not possible to state’ and ayaṁ arthaḥ sākyaṭe vaktum ‘this meaning is possible to state’. Nyāsa states that the Saunāga options can be accounted for if vibhāsā, without carrying the anuvṛtti of āditaś ca, is formulated as a separate rule. The second split-rule, i.e., bhāvādikarmanoḥ, will carry the anuvṛtti of āditaś ca.

7.2.18 शुद्धविन्यासात्यतान्वितविचिन्वयक्ष्यापात्यात्यन्तप्पनस्य-स्वात्त्वित्तिवर्यात्‌
śubdhasvēntadhvāntalagnalīṣṭaviribdhaphāṇṭabāḍhāṇi manthamananas-
tamaḥsaktiḥavīśpāṭasvarināyāsabhṛṣṇa
/kṣubda-svānta-dhvānta-lagna-mliṣṭa-viribdhi-phāṇṭa-bāḍhāni 1/3 (itar.
dv.); mantha-manas-tamas-sakta- avīśpāṭa-svara-anāyāsā-bhrṣṇa 7/3 (itar.
dv.), teṣu/
(arangasa #6.4.1 neti #8 nīṭhāyām #14)
‘kṣubdha, svānta, dhvānta, lagna, mliṣṭa, viribdha, phāṇṭa, bāḍha’ ity ete
nipātyante yatāḥsaṃkhyaṃ mantha, manthā, tamah, sakta, avīśpāṭa, svara,
anāyāsa, bhṛṣṇa’ ity eteṣu artheṣu
The words kṣubdha, svānta, dhvānta, lagna, mliṣṭa, viribdha, phāṇṭa, bāḍha
are derived, via nipātana, provided the signification is mantha, manas,
tamas, sakta, avīśpāṭa, svara, anāyāsa, and bhṛṣṇa, respectively.

Examples:

$kṣubdha$ manthah ‘moving . . .; churning stick’
svāntam manah ‘unattached mind’
dhvāntam tamaḥ ‘darkness’
lagnam saktam ‘attached’
miṣṭam avipaṣṭam ‘indistinct’
virābhiḥ svaraḥ ‘a note or tune’
phāṇṭam anāyasyaḥ ‘easily extracted; medicinal potion’
bādhāṃ bhrāṃ ‘excessive’

1. This is a nipātana rule whereby iṬ is blocked in deriving kṣubdhaha, etc., when their corresponding denotation is mantha, etc. Thus, kṣubdhaha is derived without iṬ when the derivate denotes mantha ‘moving . . . ; churning stick’. The meaning of these derivate is not always easy to determine. For example, phāṇṭa may denote one of the five forms of medicinal potions prepared with water: rasa ‘juice’, kalka ‘paste’, śṛta ‘extraction’, śīta ‘cold-extraction’ and phāṇṭa ‘hot-extraction’.

7.2.19 धृष्टिसासी वैयात्ये

dhrṣīśasi vāiyātye
/ dhrṣi-sāsi 1/2 (itār. dv.); vāiyātye 7/1 = virūpaṁ yātāṁ yasya = vīyātak;
vīyātasya bāvō vāiyātyah, tasmīn/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
vaīyātasya bāvō vaīyātyam, tatra ‘dhrṣ, śas’ ity etayor niṣṭhāyām id āgamo
na bhavati

Augment iṬ is not introduced to an aṅga, namely verbal roots dhrṣ ‘to dare’ and śas ‘to injure, harm’, when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows and derivate denote vaiyātya ‘impudence’.

EXAMPLES:

dhrṣṭo' yam ‘this one is daring’
viśasto' yam ‘this one is arrogant’

1. It is argued that the negation of iṬ is already made available to Īdhrṣā by 7.2.16 āditas ca. Verbal root śasU is simiarly denied iṬ by 7.2.15 yasya vībhāṣā. This negation by 7.2.15 is made against the option of 7.2.56 udito vā. Why do we state this negation here? This negation is restrictive in nature. It applies to dhrṣ and viś only when derivate denote vaiyātya ‘impudence’. Elsewhere, for example in dhrṣitaḥ ‘overpowered’ and viṣasītaḥ ‘mutilated, modified’, we do get the introduction of augment iṬ. Verbal root dhrṣ, because of its status as non-kit, goes through guna as usual. Kāśikā states that forms of dhrṣ with the denotation of bāvō ‘root-sense’ and ādikarman ‘onset of an action’ are impossible. Haradatta questions this claim (PM: evaṁ cāsyā āditve prayojanāṁ cintyam).
7.2.20 द्रङ्ग: स्थुलबलायोः:

dṛḍhaḥ sthūlabalayoh
/ dṛḍhaḥ 1/1 sthūla-balayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
‘dṛḍha’ iti niṣpātyate, sthule balavati cārthe
The word dṛḍha is derived, via niṣpātana, when the derivate denotes
sthūla ‘stout, huge’ and bala ‘strong’.

Examples:

dṛḍhaḥ = sthūlaḥ ‘huge, stout’
dṛḍhaḥ = balavān ‘strong’

1. This, again, is a niṣpātana rule. Thus, dṛḍha is derived from dṛṇh + Kta,
where deletion of h, and its preceding nasal, and replacement with ḍh, for t
of Kta as well, is accomplished via niṣpātana. Note that this form can also be
derived with ḍh as the verb. In this case, we do not have to delete the nasal,
via niṣpātana.

Why can we not just replace h with ḍh, via niṣpātana, and then delete ḍh
subsequently by 8.3.13 ḍho ḍhe lopah. This is not acceptable. For, this delec-
tion of ḍh will become asiddha (8.2.1 purvatrasiddham) in view of application
of ra, as a replacement (6.4.161 ra ṛto . . . ) for ṛ in deriving dṛṇhimā and
dṛṇhiṇān. The ra-replacement will thus be blocked. A replacement in ay, for
Ni of 6.4.54 ḫṣā ḫaghuṇāvāt, will be similarly blocked in deriving paridṛṇhayya
(gataḥ). This will also make affix Syaṅ (4.1.78 anīnārāṣayor gurūpottamayoh)
applicable in deriving paridṛṇhi, parallel to paridṛṇhayāṭeyaṁ kanyā ‘female
offspring of Paridṛṇha’.

The condition of sthūlabalayoh is imposed so that, elsewhere, we can get
forms with iṬ. Thus, dṛṇhitam and dṛhitam, depending on whether the root
is read with a nasal.

7.2.21 प्रभृत परिव्रेकः:

prabhau parivṛṇḍah
/ prabhau 7/1 parivṛṇḍah 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
‘parivṛṇḍah’ iti niṣpātyate prabhun ced bhavati
The word parivṛṇḍha is derived, via niṣpātana, provided the derivate de-
notes prabhau ‘lord, master’.

Examples:

parivṛṇḍhaḥ (kuṭumbi) ‘head of the clan’
parivṛṇḍhayya (gataḥ) ‘he left after owning’
pārīvṛṇḍhī (kanyā) ‘a girl received in marriage’

1. There are two roots involved: bṛṇh and bṛhl ‘to grow’. This niṣpātana is
similar to that of ārdhah of the previous rule. Deletion of dh and a conflict with 8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham constitute the basis for nipātana.

Notice that parivṛdhaya is formed with LyaP. Affix NiC is introduced after vṛdh, subsequent to which affix Ktvā is introduced after vṛadhi. A compound is then formed with pari, subsequent to which Ktvā is replaced with LyaP. If NiC were to be introduced after parivṛdh, we will find accentual problems in parivṛdhayati. Rule 8.2.28 tinnatīṇāḥ assigns nighāta to a pada which ends in a tiN, used in combination after one which does not. Introducing NiC after parivṛdh necessarily accepts pari as part of the tiN-form parivṛdhayati. For proper accent, we must have pari not included as part of vṛdhayati, a pada ending in a tiN. This is the reason why NiC (and Ktvā) are introduced after vṛnhl (vṛhl). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

Derivates outside the meaning of prabhū ‘lord’ will be: parivṛṇhitam ‘prosperous’ and parivṛhitam, with iT and no deletion.

7.2.22 कृच्छरगाहनयोः कषः:

kṛchcchragahanayoh kasaḥ
/kṛchcchra-gahanayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.) kasaḥ 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyāṁ #18)
‘kṛchcchra, gahanā’ ity etayer arthayoh kaser dhātor niṣṭhāyāṁ iḍ āgamano na bhavati

Augment iT is not introduced relative to an aṅga, namely verbal root kasa, when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows, and the derivate signifies kṛcchra ‘suffering, misery’ and gahanā ‘deep’.

Examples:

kasto gnih ‘(heaping the ritual) fire is painful’
kasto vyākaranam ‘study of grammar is painful’
kastāṁ vanāṇī ‘forests are painful . . .’
kaśṭāḥ parvatāḥ ‘mountains are painful . . .’

1. An iT is not introduced when a niṣṭhā affix follows verbal root kasa, and the derivate denotes kṛcchra ‘difficult’ and gahanā ‘deep, impenetrable’. A lack of proper understanding of idāgamaḍīvyavasthā ‘process of iT-aumentation, etc.’ can turn into a nightmare for a student of grammar. Not knowing how to heap a ritual fire can also turn into pain for a student of ritual sacrifices (PM: cīyamāno) gni ratra . . . cayanaprakārasya durjānātāvīt kasto bhavati. vyākaraṇasya kaśṭatvam idāgamaḍīvyavasthāyā durjānātāvīt). It is the source of kasta which is denoted literally, or figuratively, as kṛchcchra and gahanā. We will get iT outside these two meanings. Thus, kaśitaṁ svuvarṇam ‘tested (on the touchstone) gold’.

7.2.23 घृषिरविशाबद्वः

ghuṣir avishabdane
Examples:

ghuṣṭā rajjuḥ ‘braided rope’
ghuṣṭau pādau ‘crooked legs’

1. An absence of viṣabdana is avīṣabdana. The word viṣabdana is explained as svābhāpāyasā sabdanaḥ ‘expressing one’s intent with words’. Note that bhvādi and curādi roots both are here specified with ghuṣ. The bhvādi root denotes sābda ‘noise’; the curādi denotes avīṣabdana ‘non-expression with words’. If the specification refers to ghuṣ of curādi, NiC will be introduced, anyway. This ghuṣ with NiC does not offer anything special with regard to augment iT. If iT is introduced then we will get ghoṣita, through deletion of NiC by 6.4.52 niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi. If iT is not introduced, we could still get ghoṣita, through non-deletion of NiC. A non-NiC ghuṣ, for reasons of being ekac ‘monosyllabic’, will not qualify for negation of iT. The bhvādi root ghuṣ does not require any negation by avīṣabdana. For, its usage in the sense of viṣabdana is not found. What would this negation by avīṣabdane indicate? It indicates that the NiC of ghuṣ, signifying viṣabdana, is non-obligatory (anitya). That is, NiC may also not be used after it. This is how accepting the anitya ‘non-obligatory’ status of NiC, after verbal root ghuṣ used with the meaning of viṣabdana, that we get jughuṣuḥ ‘they expressed their intent in words’ in the perfect. If not, the form will be ghoṣāyāṇa-cakrūḥ, with an obligatory iT. All told, the curādi verbal root ghuṣ allows iT only optionally. Some still believe that NiC of all curādi roots is non-obligatory (anitya). They claim that verbal root ait ‘to remember’ is specified with i as an it. This, in turn, indicates that 7.1.58 idito num dhāṭoh will introduce nUM. Since this nUM will be retained, we will get forms such as cintita. If NiC was obligatory, then, because of no deletion of n, the specification should have been made as cinta smṛtyāṃ. The following verse summarises it:

\[
\begin{align*}
citi smṛtyāṃ iti\text{dītvam atra jñāpakam asya hi} \\
phalaṃ cintita ity ādau nalopō maśa bhūd iti/ \\
nitye ca nici saty atra nalopāśyā-prasaṅgataḥ \\
cinta smṛtyāṃ ity eva ca paśhitavyāṃ bhaved iti/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.24 Arde: सन्निविष्यः:

ardeḥ samnivibhyah
/ardeḥ 6/1 saṃ-ni-vi-bhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
’sam, ni, vi’ ity etebhya uttarasyārder niṣṭhāyām id āgamo na bhavati
Augment iT is not introduced relative to an aṅga, namely verbal root
ardA ‘torment, afflict, kill’ used after the preverbs sam, ni and vi, when
an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

samaraṇaḥ ‘capable, appropriate’
nyaraṇaḥ ‘agitated’
vyaṛaṇaḥ ‘useless, afflicted’

1. This rule negates iT when verbal root ard is used with the preverbs sam,
ni and vi, and a niṣṭhā affix follows. Thus, consider samaraṇaḥ, where ard is
used with sam before Kta. The t of Kta, and its preceding d as well, is
replaced with n (8.2.42 radābhāyām . . .). We get sam + ar(d→n) + (t→n) a = sam
+ ar(n→n) + na = sam + ara + na, through n-replacement of n (nātva; 8.4.1
rāsābhāyām . . .). The following n is also replaced with n through application
of 8.4.40 śṭunā śtuḥ. Finally, the preceding n is deleted (8.4.63 halo yamān
yam i lopaḥ) to produce sam + ar(n→p) + (t→n→n) a = samaraṇa.

The condition of ardA is imposed so that iT could be introduced, for
example, in samedhitaḥ. The condition of sannvībhayaḥ is needed so that in
arditaḥ, because of ard not used after sam, ni and vi, iT could be allowed.

7.2.25 अभेस्वानिद्यूर्यः

abhēṣ cāvidūrye
/abhēṣ 5/1 ca ṛāvidūrye 7/1 = viśeṣaṇa dūram = vidūram; na vidūram =
avidūram (naṅ.); tasya bhāvaḥ = āvidūryam/
(arīgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
abhīśasadād uttarasyārder āvidūrye ‘the niṣṭhāyām id āgamo na bhavati
Augment iT is not introduced relative to an aṅga, namely verbal root
ardA, used after the preverb abhi, provided an affix termed niṣṭhā fol-
follows, and the derivate signifies āvidūrya ‘proximity’.

Examples:

abhūyarnā senā ‘the army is in the vicinity’
abhūyarnā sarat ‘autumn is around the corner’

1. This rule negates iT in contexts where ard is used with the preverb abhi
and a niṣṭhā suffix follows. The word āvidūrya is explained as denoting the
sense of āvidūra ‘not very far’. Note that āvidūrya is derived with affix Śyaṅ.
This affix denoting bhāva ‘root-sense’ isnegated after a tatpuruṣa compound
used in combination after naṅ (5.3.121 na naṅpūrvāt . . .). How do we then
get āvidūrya’? This specification of āvidūrya itself indicates that Nyaṅ is not
negated by affixes specified by 5.3.121 na naṅpūrvāt . . ., etc.
7.2.26 गोरथयने बुन्तम्

ner adhyayane vṛttam
/ neḥ 6/1 adhyayane 7/1 vṛttam 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18)
nyantasya vṛterr niṣṭhāyām adhyayanārthe ‘vṛttam’ itiḥ abhāvo niṣṭūk ca
niṣpātaye

The word vṛtta is derived, via niṣpātana, relative to verbal root vṛtI terminating in NiC, used with the signification of adhyayana ‘study’.

EXAMPLES:

vṛtto guṇo devadattena ‘Devadatta has completed the study of guṇa (a study relative to pada, krāma and saṃhitā recitations)’
vṛttam pārāyaṇam devadattena ‘Devadatta has completed the study of pārāyaṇa (a set of texts)’

1. Note that vṛt is intransitive (akarmaka) which, when used with NiC, becomes transitive (sakarmaka). Affix Kta, with the denotatum of an object, is found after vṛt, as is attested by Pāṇini’s own usage in rules 4.2.68 tena nīrṇīrttām and 5.1.79 tena nīrttām. That is, we can get vṛttāh of vṛtto guṇo devadattena from vṛt, anyway. This niṣpātana is thus not necessary to be stated. Some want to make sure that varttītama, a derivate of vṛt with NiC and Kta, is not used when the signification is adhyayana ‘study’. For this, the niṣpātana must be stated to accomplish an absence of iT and LUK-deletion of NiC. This LUK-deletion, in turn, blocks applications relative to affixes (1.1.63 na lumatāṅgasya). Others, however, also desire varttitah, as in varttīto guṇo devadattena, with the signification of adhyayana.

7.2.27 वा दान्तशास्त्रपूर्णस्तूतस्पष्टचतुर्थम्:

vā dāntasiṃtāpaśrūṣastaspaśacchannajñaptāh
/ vā dānta-sānta-pūrṇa-dasta-spaśa-cchanna-jñaptāh 1/3 (ītār. dv.)/
(aṅgaśya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18 neḥ #26)
‘dama, śama, puṇi, das, spaś, chad, jñap’ ity eteṣām nyantānāṁ dhātunāṁ vā
aniṣṭatvāṁ niṣpātaye

The words dānta, sānta, pūrṇa, dasta, spaśa, channa, and jñapta are derived, optionally, via niṣpātana, from verbal roots dam ‘to be tamed, be calm’, śam ‘to be calm, tranquil’, puṇi ‘to fill, be filled’, das ‘to throw, toss’, spaś ‘to touch’, chad ‘to cover’, and jñap ‘to know, inform’ when ending in NiC.

EXAMPLES:

dāntaḥ / damitaḥ
sāntaḥ / śamitaḥ
pūrṇaḥ / puṇitaḥ
1. This again is a nipātana rule. Verbal roots dam, śam, pūr, das, spaś, chad, and jñap receive iT in their derivatives with affix Kta, optionally. Given śam + Kta and dam + Kta, the a of śam and dam gets replaced with its vṛddhi counterpart (6.4.15 anunāsikasya . . .). That is, when deletion of NiC and negation of iT is accomplished, via nipātana. Recall that śam and dam are considered mit ‘marked with M as an it’ (DP: janijjýksna . . .). The penultimate vṛddhi which they receive from 7.2.116 aṭa upadhayāḥ is replaced with its short counterpart (6.4.92 mitām hrasvaḥ). Rule 6.4.15 anunāsikasya . . . then replaces the same with its long counterpart. The short replacement of 6.4.92 mitām hrasvaḥ is also seen in samitaḥ and damitaḥ. The t of the niṣṭhā suffix Kta, in deriving pūr + Kta → pūrṇa, is replaced with ṇ (8.2.42 radābhyaṁ . . .). The penultimate vṛddhi of das + Kta = dasta, spaś + Kta = spaśta and jñap + Kta = jñaptā goes through shortening, via nipātana. An inclusion of jñap is made here to facilitate optional iT (7.2.49 sanivāntardha . . .), which would have been obligatorily negated by 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā.

7.2.28 रुष्यामत्वरसङ्गहुसङ्गवानाम्

rusyamatvarasaṅghusāsvanām
/rusy-am-ṭvara-saṅghuṇa-āsvaṇām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/
(angusya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18 vā #27)
'rusi, ama, ṭvara, saṅghuṇa, āsvana' ity eteṣām niṣṭhāyāṁ vā iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment iT is, optionally, not introduced relative to an anga, namely rusi ‘to be angry’, ama ‘to move, etc.’, ṭvara ‘to hurry’ and ghuṇa ‘to make indistinct noise’ used with the preverb sam, and svanA ‘to sound’ used with the preverb ā, when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

rusṭah
rusūtah
abhyāntah
abhyamitah
tūrtah
tvārītaḥ
saṅghuṣṭau
saṅghuṣitau (pādau)
āsvānto devadattaḥ
āsvanito devadattaḥ

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of vā is valid. Thus, there is no optional iT after
rusI, amA, tvarA, saṅghuṣṭA and āsvanA, when a nīsthā suffix follows. Inclusion of rusI is made here to facilitate optional iT against the obligatorily negation of 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā which, in turn, goes against optional iT of 7.2.48 āṣasahalubharuṣaṁśaḥ. Deriving abhyāmita, from abhi + am + Kta, involves penultimate lengthening (upadhādirga; 8.3.4 anunāsikasya . . .), yaN, and m→m→n (anusvāra-parasavarṇa, 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali; 8.4.58 anusvārasya yai . . .). A derivate with iT will be abhyāmita. Deriving tvar + Kta = tūrna involves a replacement in ūTH for which refer to notes under 6.4.20 jvaratvarasriyōva . . . Recall that this optional iT for tvar is made available against the obligatory negation of 7.2.16 āditaś ca. Deriving saṅghuṣṭa and saṅghuṣṭita also involves optional iT. Additionally, appropriate applications of ṣṭuta (t→), anusvāra (m→m) and parasavarṇa (m→n) are also needed. The bhūḍi and curāḍi verbal roots both are included within the reference of ghusIR. Commentators explains that ghusIR of the curāḍi class, when not used with sam, falls within the scope of 7.2.23 ghusir avisabdane. That is, when the signification is avisabdene 'non-expression of intent with words'. This is how we get ghusā rajjūḥ and ghusitau pādau. This same ghusIR falls within the scope of our present rule when sam is used and the derivate denotes visabdana 'expression of one's intent in words'. Thus, we get (saṃghuṣṭita) / (saṃghuṣṭan) vākyam āha. Rule 7.2.23, and our present rule, both become applicable to ghusIR when it is used with sam and the derivate denotes avisabdana. Our present rule blocks the earlier rule on the basis of viṣpratisedha. The penultimate vṛddhi is not applied in deriving āN-svan + Kta = āsvanita, when the option of iT is accepted. We get āsvāntam when this optional iT is not accepted. This optional iT blocks the nīpātana of 7.2.18 kṣubdhasvāntadhvānta . . . on the basis of paratva 'subsequent order of enumeration'.

7.2.29 हुषेलोमसु

hrṣer lomasu
/hrṣek 6/1 lomasu 7/3/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18 vā #27)
lomasu vartamānasya hrṣer niṣṭhāyām vā iḍ āgamo na bhavati

Augment iT is, optionally, not introduced relative to an āṅga, namely verbal root hrṣA 'to rejoice', when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows and the signification is loman 'hair'.

Examples:

hrṣṭāni / hrṣitāni (lomāni) 'excited pores'
hṛṣṭāh keśāh / hrṣitāh keśāh 'excited hairs'

1. This rule does not, optionally, allow iT to hṛṣU 'to be pleased', when a niṣṭhā affix follows and when loman 'hair, pores' is characterized. Example derives a joyful or unhappy state of mind, as reflected by the
state of hair and pores on body. There are two verbal roots which are both covered by this rule: \( hrṣU \) alike 'to be displeased, deceive' and \( hrṣ \) 'to be happy'. The first verbal root is marked with \( U \) as an \( i \). It is offered optional \( iT \)-status of 7.2.56 udito vā. However, this \( iT \)-status becomes unavailable (aṇprāpta) to this root when it is used before a niṣṭhā suffix. The second verb, i.e., \( hrṣA \) 'to be happy' is, of course, a root used with \( iT \) (seṭ, prāpta). The option of \( iT \) which was not available to \( hrṣU \) (aṇprāpta) is here made available (prāpta). The status of usage with \( iT \) which was available to \( hrṣA \) (prāpta) is here made optional (aṇprāpta). The option of this rule is thus characterized as uḥhayatra-vibhāṣā 'an option, not made available, and made available, both'.

The word loman here refers to 'hair' on 'head' (mūrdhā) as well as on 'body' (aṅga; Kāś. lomāṇī mūrdhajāṇi aṅgajāṇi ca sāmānyena grhyante). How can a root having the signification of action is here spoken of as having its application in a substance (dravya), i.e., loman? It is stated that such an application of action is possible by way of meaning (arthadvāreṇa). Recall that it is the meaning of \( hrṣ \) which loman accomplishes. Thus, action becomes part of the scope of 'hair'.

2. What is the purpose of specifying lomasu? Consider hrṣṭo devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is unhappy' and hrṣito devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is happy' where the first sentence uses \( hrṣU \) with the signification of 'displeasure'. The second sentence uses \( hrṣA \) with the signification of 'pleasure'. Since these two sentences do not have a common semantic scope of actions relative to loman they cannot be allowed optional \( iT \) of this rule. They will each have separate forms: hrṣṭa and hrṣīta.

3. A vārttika proposal denies \( iT \), optionally, when derivates share the scope of vīṣmīta 'shocked, startled' and pratighāta 'counter-attack'. Consider hrṣṭo devadattaḥ / hrṣito devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is shocked'. Now consider hrṣṭā dantāḥ/hrṣītā dantāḥ 'teeth broke'.

\[7.2.30\] अपचितत्व

\[ apacita ca \]
/apacitaḥ 1/1 ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neti #8 niṣṭhāyām #18 vā #27)
‘apacitaḥ’ iti vā nipātyate
The word apacita is also derived, optionally, via nipātana.

Examples:

apacito‘ nena guruḥ ‘the teacher was seen by him’
apacāyito‘ nena guruḥ ‘the teacher was respected by him’

1. The word apacita is optionally derived, via nipātana. We thus get apacito
gurur anena ‘the teacher was seen by him’ and apacāyito gurur anena ‘the teacher was respected by him’. Note that verbal root cāyīḥ has two meanings:
7.2.32 Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Two

pujā ‘worship, respect’ and niśāmana ‘seeing’. The nipātana of this rule applies to derivates with the meaning of niśāmana. Thus, we get cāy(R) + Kta → (cāy→ci) + ta = citā. Absence of iT and replacement of cāy with ci are accomplished via nipātana. We will get apracāya with iT and no replacement of cāy with ci if optional nipātana is not accepted.

2. A vārttika proposal notes that cāy is obligatorily replaced with ci, via nipātana, when affix KtiN follows. Consider cāy→ci + (K) ti(N) = citiḥ, as in apracāya ‘praise, worship’.

7.2.31 हृ द्वेःचन्दसि

hru hvarēś chandasi
/ hru (1/1 deleted) hvareḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 niṣṭhāyām #18)
hvarater dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ chandasi ‘hru’ ity ayam ādeso bhavati
The form hru comes in place of an aṅga, namely verbal root hvr ‘be crooked’, in the Vedic, when an affix termed niṣṭhā follows.

Examples:

hrutasya cāhrutasya ca ‘of that which is crooked and that which is not’
ahrūtaṃasi haviṛdhāṅgam

1. Note that a specification of verbal root hvr ‘be crooked’ is here made with its modified guṇa form hv(r→ar) = hvar. Note further that this monosyllabic verbal root is marked with anudātta. Consequently, it cannot avail augment iT (cf. 7.2.10 ekāv upadāse‘ nudātāt), anyway. This rule is then intended for purposes of replacement in guṇa only. Thus, (hvar→hru) + (K) ta → hruta, etc., with no iṬ.

2. Why do we have the condition of chandasi? Consider the classical usage huvṛtam, where the root does not go through any replacement.

7.2.32 अपरिहृत्ताच

aparīhṛtāś ca
/ aparīhṛtāḥ 1/3 ca φ/
(angasya #6.4.1 niṣṭhāyām #18 chandasi #31)
aparīhṛtāḥ nipātyante chandasi viśaye
The word aprahṛtā is derived, via nipātana, in the Vedic.

Examples:
aparīhṛtāḥ sanuyāma vājām

1. A specification with aparīhṛtāḥ indicates that this Vedic usage is always found in plural. What is accomplished here, via nipātana? An absence of replacement in hru, as could be expected from application of the preceding rule.
7.2.33 सोमेः ह्रवितः:

some hvaритaḥ
/some 7/1 hvaритaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nिष्ठायं #18 chandasi #31)
‘hvaритaḥ’ iti hvaɾaṃ niṣṭhāyām idāgamo guṇaś ca niṣṭāya te chandasi viṣaye,
somaḥ ced bhavati
The word hvaритa is derived in the Vedic, via niṣṭāṇa, when the derivate is
to denote soma.

EXAMPLES:

mā nāḥ somo hvaритaḥ ‘let our Soma not be stolen’

1. This rule derives hvaритaḥ, a niṣṭhā (1.1.28 ktaṅkatavatū niṣṭhā) derivate of
hra ‘to be crooked’, via niṣṭāṇa, in the Vedic. Recourse is here taken to
niṣṭāṇa for iT and guṇa. Thus, hva + Kta → hva + iT + Kta → hv(r→ar) + iT
+ Kta → hvaṛita.

7.2.34 ग्रसितस्कभितस्विभित्सभिंतविचारस्विभिनंतितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितিতितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितितิ
2.33 Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Two

prāśāstā
taryārām rathānām
tarūtāram
varūtāram
vārūtrīṣṭvā devīr viśvadgṛyāvati
agnir ujjvaliti
stokam kṣariti
stomam kṣamiti
yah somam vamiti
abhyamitī varuṇaḥ
ravim abhyamitī varuṇaḥ

1. Note that grāstā, skabhita, stabhita, uttabhita involve introduction of augment iT, via nipātana. Verbal roots grāsU ‘to eat’, skambhU ‘to obstruct’ and stambhU ‘to become stiff, stupefied’ are marked with U as an it (udit; 7.2.56 udito vā). Consequently, rule 7.2.56 udito vā offers augment iT, optionally. This, however, gets negated by rule 7.2.15 yasya viḥāśā. Our present rule offers it again, via nipātana. The nasal of skambhU and stambhU is deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hala upadāyāyā kniti. Now consider uttabhita where s of the root is changed similar to the preceding homogeneous t. Thus, ut + sta(m→∅) bh + iT + Kta → uttabhita. Recall that the classical language does not allow iT. Thus we get grātām, vīskabdham and stabdham. The t→dh and bh→b (jaśtva) replacements in vīskabdha is accomplished by 8.2.40 jhaṣasthordho‘ dhāḥ and 8.4.53 jhalām jās jhaśi, respectively.

Now consider our next two variables, catta (cat ‘to beg’) and vīkasta (kas ‘to move’), where cat + Kta and vi-kas + Kta are not allowed iT, again via nipātana. The classical language has catitā and vikastam as parallel forms. Examples such as vi-sās + trC = viṣāstra, sams + tr = sāṃstṛ (sams ‘to praise’) and sās + tr = sāstra (sās ‘to instruct’) also involve non-introduction of iT, via nipātana. The classical language has viṣāsitā, sāṃsitā and prāṣāsitām as parallel forms.

Examples such as tarutṛ, varutṛ, varūṭṛ, and varūtṛḥ are forms of tr ‘to float’, vrN and vrN ‘to choose, select’ where augments uT and uT are introduced via nipātana. Thus, we get tarutāram rathānām, etc. The classical language has taritāram and taritāram with optional lengthening of i. We similarly get varūtāram and varūtāram with corresponding classical forms varitāram and varitāram. Note that v(ṛ→ar) uT + trC = varuṛpr gets NiP of 4.1.5 mnebhya nip. Or else, one can also accept NiP, via nipātana. Examples such as ujjvaliti, kṣariti, kṣamiti, vamiti, and amiti are present indicative active forms of ud-jval ‘to be aflame’, kṣar ‘to move’, kṣam ‘to endure’, vam ‘to vomit’ and am ‘to move’ where a of SaP is replaced by i, again via nipātana. The classical language has forms such as ujjvalati, kṣarati, kṣamati, vamati, and amati, respectively. The Vedic examples can also be derived by deleting SaP and introducing iT, via nipātana.
The word iti, at the end of this rule, is used to indicate how similar operations can also be performed in the Vedic, via nipātana. Consider ravim abhyamiti varṇaḥ where a long i replaces the a of SaP.

7.2.35 आर्धधातुकस्येद्वालः

"ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ
/ārahadhātukasya 6/1 it 1/1 valādeḥ 6/1 = val ādir yasya (bu.), tasya/ (aṅgasya #6.4.1)
ārdhadhātukasya valāder id āgamo bhavati"

Augment iT is introduced to an affix which is termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukāṃ sēṣaḥ) and which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term vaL (Śs. 5-14).

Examples:

lavitā ‘he will cut’
lavitum ‘to cut’
lavitavyam ‘ought to be cut’
pavitā ‘he will cleanse’
pavitum ‘to cleanse’
pavitavyam ‘ought to be cleansed’

1. Note that chandasi is no longer carried over. This rule introduces augment iT to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukāṃ sēṣaḥ) which begins with a sound denoted by vaL (valādeḥ; Śs. 5-14). Refer to pavitaḥ, etc., in the appendix (II:441-42) of rule 1.2.22 pūnah kṣa ca, for operations similar to deriving trC, tumUN and tasyaT derives of this rule.

2. Why does Pāṇini use iT in this rule when he could have easily carried it, via anuvṛtti, from rule 7.2.8 ned vaśi kṛti? Recall that 7.2.5 ned vaśi kṛti makes a negative provision in association with iT. Carrying iT from this earlier rule will also involve carrying the negation of iT (Kāś: id iti vartamāne punar id grahaṇām pratīṣṭhānaḥ)? But since a negative provision makes sense only when a positive provision is already made, why can we still not anticipate this positive provision, via anuvṛtti? That this rule will be making a positive provision against the negative provision of iT is also clear from the qualification of valādeḥ. Since no provision of iT is made in the context of an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term vaL, this rule can be interpreted as making a provision for iT. This, however, cannot be accepted. The negative provision of 7.2.8 ned vaśi kṛti can itself indicate that a positive provision exists (cf. PM ad Kāś).

3. Why do we have the condition of ārdhadhātukasya? Consider āste, sete and vaste where augment iT cannot be introduced to te, an affix termed sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṇsit sārvadhātukam).

It is argued that no purpose can be served by making a specification in
this rule with the word ārhdhadhātuka. For, 7.2.76 rudādibhyāḥ sārvadhātuke makes a restrictive (niyama) provision of iṭ only after verbal roots rud, etc., when a sārvadhātuka affix follows. That is, since iṭ will be introduced only when a sārvadhātuka affix follows verbal roots rud, etc., we will get iṭ, elsewhere, when an ārhdhadhātuka affix follows. This argument is well taken though this restrictive provision causes proximity of understanding (jnānagaurava). A specification with ārhdhadhātuke here saves us from this proximity of understanding. Why can we not interpret this specification with ārhdhadhātuka to block introduction of iṭ to an āṅga? After all, this is the domain of āṅgasya and an āṅga can easily qualify for such introduction. This interpretation is not proper. If this introduction of iṭ was intended for an āṅga, negating the introduction of iṭ to an affix by 7.2.10 ekāc upadēse anudāśāt would not make any sense? Why? Why offer a negation when a positive provision would not be there. A negation of iṭ by 1.2.18 na kvā cēt and 1.2.10 nīśāḥ śīnsvīdīmādi . . . would also not make any sense, either. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) further illustrates this point with other examples and rules. I omit this discussion for lack of interest.

What is the significance of using valādeḥ? Consider lavyam, pavyam, lavaniyam and pavaniyam where affix yaT does not begin with a sound denoted by the abbreviated term vaL. We, therefore, do not get augment iṭ.

Why do we have iṭ expressly mentioned here when the same can be carried over, via anuvṛtti, from rule 7.2.8 neḍ vaśi kṛtṛ? That iṭ is connected with negation indicated by na ‘not’. An anuvṛtti of that iṭ (of 7.2.8 neḍ vaśi kṛtṛ) would also have occasioned the anuvṛtti of negation. The iṭ of our present rule makes a positive provision. But the question of negating iṭ by its anuvṛtti from 7.2.8 does not arise since no positive provision for iṭ is made. Well, this rule itself, if it had to make a negative provision, will also make a positive provision. The iṭ of this rule is then used to cancel a negative provision.

7.2.36 भक्तार्थितियांत्रिकरूपसाधनितिः

snuκramor anātmanepadanimītite
/snuκromoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); anātmanepadanimītite 7/1 = /ātmanepadasya
nimītite (śās. tat.); nātmanepadasya nimītite (nañ.)/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 ārhdhadhātukasyeṇ valādeḥ #35)
snuκramor ārhdhadhātukasyeṇa valāder iḍ āgamo bhavati, na cet snuκromau
ātmanepadasya nimītāṃ bhavatāḥ

Augment iṭ is introduced to an ārhdhadhātuka affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviated term vaL, and is introduced relative to an āṅga constituted by verbal roots snu ‘to flow, drip’ and kramU ‘to move’, provided snu and kramU do not condition the use of an affix termed ātmanepada.
EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{prasnavitā} 'a \text{ṭṛ}C\text{-derivative of \( \text{pra-snu + iT + \text{ṭṛ}C \)} = \text{prasnavitṛ + sU = prasnavitā} ' \]

\[ \text{prasnavitum} 'a \text{tumUN-derivative of \( \text{pra-snu + iT + tumUN = prasnavitum} \)} ' \]

\[ \text{prasnavitavyam} 'a \text{derivative of \( \text{pra-snu-iT + tavyaT} = \text{prasnavitavya + sU = prasnavitavyam} \)} ' \]

\[ \text{prakramitā} 'a \text{derivative of \( \text{pra-kram + iT + \text{ṭṛ}C + sU} \)} ' \]

\[ \text{prakramitum} 'a \text{derivative of tumUN . . .} ' \]

\[ \text{prakramitavyam} 'a \text{derivative of tavyaT . . .} ' \]

1. This rule is restrictive (niyama) in nature. That is, augment \(iT\) is introduced to an ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with a sound denoted by vaL, and is introduced relative only to an aṅga constituted by snu and kram. Additionally, snu and kram must not condition the use of affixes termed ātmanepada. Where do we find snu and kram which condition an affix termed ātmanepada? Where actions denoted by these roots are treated as forming the basis for introduction of affixes termed ātmanepada. For example, ātmanepada affixes are introduced after verbal roots snu and kram relative to denotation of their bhāva ‘root-sense’, karman ‘object’, kartṭkarman ‘agent as object’ and karma-vyāthāra ‘reciprocal action’. Rule 1.3.38 vṛttisargatāyānesu kramaḥ introduces ātmanepada in the context of kram when what is signified is vṛtti ‘uninterrupted movement’, sarga ‘enthusiasm’ and tāyana ‘expansion, growth’.

This rule can also be treated as making a somewhat negative (nisedha) provision. For, snU and kramU are included within the enumeration of roots with amudāṭa in upadeśa ‘initial citation’. Consequently, \(iT\) is already made available to them. This rule then negates \(iT\) in contexts where the use of ātmanepada is conditioned. Thus, we get prakramitā, prakramitum and prakramitavyam where we get \(iT\), guṇa and a replacement in av. Of course, when an affix termed ātmanepada is not conditioned.

2. Why when the use of ātmanepada affixes is not conditioned after these roots (anātmanepadanimitte)? The locative of anātmanepade with no nimitte could have then been interpreted as parasaptamī ‘a locative which follows’. That is, augment \(iT\) could not be made available when an ātmanepada affix followed. This interpretation, since it will accept ātmanepada as a qualifier to snu and kram, would also require the ātmanepada affix to follow these roots immediately. This may allow the derivation of prasnoṣiṣṭa and prakramśiṣṭa but may not allow the derivation of prasnosyate and prakramśyate. For, ātmanepada affixes in these derivatives are intervened by sya. If ātmanepada is accepted as a qualifier to ārdhadhātuka we can then account for prasnosyate and prakramśyate. However, we may not be able to derive prasnoṣiṣṭa and prakramśiṣṭa. For, augment sīy\(UT\) is part of ātmanepada and there will not be any ārdhadhātuka affix to follow. If one accepts both of these views, one will
have problems in deriving the desiderative form: prakīramsīsya. For, ātmanepada does not follow the sārvadhātuka affix immediately.

3. Why do we have to specify the word nimitta ‘cause, condition’? So that negation could apply to that which begins with siyUT (siyuḍādi) and also that, i.e., saN, after which there occurs that (sya) followed by that (ātmanepada; tatparaparāh). Consider prasnoṣīṣṭa and prakramśīṣṭa as examples of siyuḍādi. An example of tatparaparāh ‘that, followed by that, followed by that’ is offered in the form of prakīramsīsya where saN, followed by sya, is followed by ātmanepada. Refer to the earlier paragraph, especially relative to the interpretation of locative as parasaptami, for understanding the negation in this view. For example, the iT of saN cannot be negated if locative of ātmanepade is interpreted as parasaptami ‘that which follows’. For, sya will be intervening. We can get this negation of iT if nimitte is used in relation to snu and kramU. For, we will then get snu and kramU as nimitta of ātmanepada everywhere in examples such as prasnoṣīṣṭa, prakramśīṣṭa, prasnoṣyate, prakramśyate, prasusnuṣīṣyate and prakīramsīsya (Kāś. sarvatraivātra snauṭīḥ kramiṣ cātmanepadasya nimitam).

4. A vārttika proposal also desires negation (pratisedha) of iT when kramU, with the scope of ātmanepada, is not used with ātmanepada, and an affix termed kṛt with the denotation of agent (karti) follows. Thus, we do not get iT in (prakram + tṛC) + sU → prakrantā; and (upakram + tṛC) + sU → upakrantā. Consider prakramitavyam and upakramitavyam where affix tavyaT is used with the signification of bhāva or karman. Since the denotation is not karti ‘agent’, we do not get the negation of iT. Also consider nīkramitā where negation cannot apply because the root has scope for active endings (parasmaiti) only.

Note further that a negation of iT can be accomplished after snu by rules 7.2.12 śryukaḥ kiti and 7.2.12 sani grahaguhos ca, especially when saN, or an affix marked with K as an it, follows.

7.2.37 ग्रहोऽनितोऽद्यः:

graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ
/graḥaḥ 5/1 aliti 7/1 = na liṭ (nañ.), tasmin; dīrghaḥ 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ #35)
graha uttarasya itāḥ aliti dīrgho bhavati

An iT which occurs after verbal root grah ‘to seize, hold’ and is introduced to an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with the abbreviatory symbol vaL (ŚŚ. 5-14), though other than one replacing a LIT, is replaced with a long ī.

Examples:

grahīṭā ‘he will seize’
grahītum ‘for seizing’
grahītavāṃ ‘... ought to be seized’
1. This rule introduces long i as a replacement for the short of iT, introduced to an ārdhadhātuka affix other than one replacing LIT. Thus, we get grah + i(ī) + tr(C) → grah + (i→i) + tr = grahitṛ, etc. This rule allows a long replacement only for that iT which is specified here in this section. That is, it must be an iT which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol vaL. It cannot replace an iT which is gotten under the provision of cinuadbhāva ‘treatment similar to when GīN follows’ (Kāś: prakṛtasyeto dīrghatvam, idaṁ cinuad ito na bhavati). See my notes under 6.4.62 syāsīśyut ... for additional details. Thus, the iT of grahitā and grāhīsyate cannot be replaced with its long counterpart, clearly because iT is not introduced, here, after grah. It is introduced after the causal root grāhī. It is to make clear that iT is introduced after grah that Kāśikā states: graha uttarasya ‘in place of that which occurs after grah’. Incidentally, the iT which is carried over here, via anuvṛtti, is specified with the nominative in rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed vaḷādēḥ. It is here transformed into genitive in view of the ablative of grahaḥ, with support from 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya.

The condition of altar ‘when a non-LIT ...’ is specified so that this long replacement does not apply to the first personal dual and plural forms of LIṬ, i.e., jagṛhīva and jagṛhīma.

### 7.2.38 ञृतो वा

vṛto vā

/vṛṭah 5/1 = vṛ ca ṛt ca (itar. dv.), tasmāt; vā ṣ/

(anīgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyed valādēḥ #35 altar diṛghaḥ #37)

‘vṛ’ iti vṛṇuṛṇoh sāmānyena grahanam; tasmād uttarasya, ṛkārāntebhyaś ceto vā dirgho bhavati

An iT which, when introduced to an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with vaL, after verbal root vṛ (VṛN ‘to choose’/vṛN ‘to cover’), and also after roots which end in ṛ (long), is optionally replaced with its long counterpart (i).

**Examples:**

varitā/varitā ‘ṭṛG-derivatives of vṛ ‘to choose’

prāvaritā/prāvaritā ‘ṭṛG-derivatives of vṛ ‘to cover used with the preverb pra’

taritā/taritā ‘ṭṛG-derivatives of iṛ ‘to float’

āstaritā/āstaritā ‘ṭṛG-derivate of ā-stṛ ‘to cover’

1. The vṛ of vṛṭah makes a general reference to both vṛN and vṛN, especially since this rule lacks any particular specification to the contrary (Nyāsa ad Kāś: sāmānyena grahanam iti viśeṣanupadānāt). It also includes references to roots which end in ṛ. Thus, the i (of iT) which occurs after such roots is optionally replaced with its long counterpart.
2. Haradatta (PM ad Kāḍ) considers five possible interpretations of vṛtah, based on which this rule could have been formulated:

(i) vṛtah refers to vṛ where the root signifies the action of varāṇa ‘to choose’.
(ii) vṛtah refers to (i) plus other roots ending in ṛ.
(iii) vṛtah refers to (i) plus other roots ending in a short ṛ.
(iv) vṛtah refers to vṛN and vṛN plus other roots ending in a short ṛ.
(v) vṛtah refers to vṛN and vṛN plus other roots ending in a long ṛ.

If the first interpretation is accepted, this rule should have specified vṛtah as vṛah with a replacement in yaN similar to the specification of grah (8.2.20 gro yan). Interpretation (ii) could not be accepted since a separate mention of vṛ will be useless. Roots which end in ṛ will account for it. The third interpretation is also faulty. For, a specification with vṛtah (cf. 7.4.10 ṛtaś ca samyogādeḥ) where ṛ is short, will become unnecessary. One can carry the anuvṛtti of short ṛ from this rule. Interpretation (iv) will also render the inclusion of vṛ as vacuous (vyartha). For, a specification with ṛ can easily account for it. It is in view of this process of elimination (pārīṣeyāt) that the author of the Kāśikārūḍūti accepts the fifth interpretation: vṛṇvṛṇoḥ śāmānyena grahanām; tasmād uttarasya hārānte bhyaś ca ‘vṛ refers to both vṛN and vṛN in general; an i.Trim which occurs after that (vṛ) and also after roots which end in ṛ’.

2. Why do we have the condition of vṛtah? Consider karisyati and harisyati which serve as counter-examples. The roots of these two examples end in a short ṛ. Their Trim is also introduced by 7.2.70 yddhanoh sye. This rule requires a root to end in a long ṛ.

Why do we have the condition of aliṭi ‘when a non-LIT follows’? Consider vavarihī and teritha where we do not get a replacement in long ṛ because the examples are both derivates of LIT. That is, the i of Trim is not replaced with its long counterpart when LIT follows.

7.2.39 न लिनि

na lini
'na ḫ lini 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35 dirghah #37 vṛtah #38)
ṛ ṛt uttarasya ito lini dirgho na bhavati
An Trim which occurs after verbal root vṛ (vṛN/vṛN), and also after roots which end in ṛ, is not replaced with a long ṛ when LIT follows.

Examples:

vivārīśṭa ‘third singular LIN-derivate of vṛ used with the preverb vi’
prāvārīśṭa ‘third singular LIN-derivate of vṛ used with the preverb pra’
āstāriṣṭa ‘third singular LIN-derivate of stṛ used with the preverb āN’
vistāriṣṭa ‘third singular LIN-derivate of stṛ used with the preverb vi’

1. This rule extends the negation of a long replacement of iT, also to derivate of LIN introduced after vṛN/ vṛN, and to roots which end in ī. Consider vivariṣṭa and praṇavariṣṭa, etc., where iT is introduced by 7.2.42 liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu. Refer to saṃgamsiṣṭa (II:438; under 1.2.13 ā gamah) for derivational details. Derivates of this rule involve iT and guna of vṛ. Our present rule negates the provision of the preceding rule. Note that the ātmanepada suffix in vistāriṣṭa is introduced with the signification of karman ‘object’.

7.2.40 सिचि च परस्मैपदेः

sici ca parasmaipadesu
// sici 7/1 ca φ parasmaipadesu 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ii #35 dirghaḥ #37 vṛtah #38 na #39)
parasmaipadaṃpare sici vṛta uttarasya ito dirgho na bhavati
An iT which occurs after verbal root vṛ (vṛN/ vṛN), and also after roots which end in ī, is not replaced with a long vowel, namely i, when a sIC introduced relative to an affix termed parasmaipada follows.

Examples:

praṇavariṣṭaṃ ‘third person dual active LUN-derivate of vṛ used with the preverb pra’
praṇavariṣuh ‘third person plural active . . .’
atāriṣṭaṃ ‘third person dual active LUN-derivate of ṭṛ used with the preverb āN’
atāriṣuh ‘third person plural . . .’
āstāriṣṭaṃ ‘third person dual active LUN-derivate of stṛ used with the preverb āN’
āstāriṣuh ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule negates a long replacement of iT, also when sIC, followed by an active (parasmaipada) ending, follows vṛN/ vṛN and roots which end in ī. Thus, we get praṇavariṣṭaṃ, a derivate of LUN, from pra + aT + vṛ + iT + sIC + (tas → tām), where ṭ of vṛ goes through vṛddhi (7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadesu) and tas is replaced with tām (3.4.101 tāsthasthamipām . . .). Refer to additional derivational details under the appendix of rules 3.4.77 tiptasji . . ., 3.4.82 parasmaipadānāṃ . . . and 3.4.101 tāsthasthamipām . . . etc. The jus replacement for jhi, of pra-vṛN (LUN → jhi → jus) → pra-ṛv + i(T) + s(IC) + (J) us → praṇavariṣuh, is accomplished by 3.4.109 sijabhyastavidhbhaiṣ ca. Note that verbal root stṛ is used with the preverb āN in āstāriṣṭaṃ and āstāriṣuh. Forms of ṭ are derived with similar rule applications.

Why do we have the condition of parasmaipadesu? Consider praṇavariṣṭa and
7.2.41 ṭr tār iṣṭa where replacement in long i becomes optional on account of the middle (ātmanepada; 7.2.42 liṅsicor ātmanepadesu) ending.

7.2.41 हट सति वा

iṭ sani vā

/īt 1/1 sani 7/1 vā ṣṭī/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛṭṭah #38)

vṛṭṭah sano vā idāgamo bhavati

An iṭ is optionally introduced to affix saN, an ārdhadhātuka, which occurs after verbal root vṛ (vṛN/vṛN), and also after roots ending in āṭ.

Examples:

vuvūṛṣate ‘third singular middle LAT-derivate of vṛ ending in saN’
vivariṣate ‘ibidem; with iṬ’
vivariṣate ‘ibidem; with iṬ replaced with āṭ’
prṇuvuvūṛṣati ‘third singular active LAT-derivate of vṛ ending in saN and used with the preverb prṇ’
prṇivivariṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ’
prṇivivariṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ replaced with āṭ’
tīṭṛṣati ‘third singular active LAT-derivate of tṛ ending in saN’
tīṭarṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ’
tīṭarṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ replaced with āṭ’
āṭarṣati ‘third singular active LAT-derivate of stṛ ending in saN and used with the preverb āṭ’
āṭarṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ’
āṭarṣati ‘ibidem; with iṬ replaced with āṭ’

1. This rule allows optional iṬ to an ārdhadhātuka affix, namely saN, which occurs after vṛ (vṛN/vṛN), or after a root ending in āṭ. Consider vuvūṛṣate (the active form vuvūṛṣati is a suspect) where the root derives from vṛN + saN, and saN is treated as marked with K as an it (1.2.9 iko jhal). Rule 6.4.16 ajhanagamāṁ sani then replaces the r with āṭ. This āṭ, however, is replaced with u (7.1.102 udōṣṭhyapūrvasya), followed by r (rapara; 1.1.51 ur aṇ raṇraparaḥ). Replication, and operations related to it, produce (vuvūṛṣa + LAT) → vuvūṛṣate. Refer to derivational details of cikīrśakāḥ and jihīrśakāḥ, under the appendix (II:407-8) of 1.1.58 na padānta . . . for some general applications. Recall that this introduction of iṬ was obligatorily denied by 7.2.12 sani grahaguhō ca. Our present rule makes it optionally available. The i-replacement (itva) in āṭarṣati is accomplished by 7.1.100 ṛṇa iddhātoḥ. The optional long replacement of iṬ is accomplished by 7.2.38 śṛṇo vā. Thus, we get three forms: āṭarṣati, āṭarṣati and āṭarṣati. Incidentally, Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) questions the active (parasmaipada) reading of āṭarṣati (āṭarṣatiḥ parasmaipadapātoḥ na yuktāḥ).
Why do we not get the introduction of $iT$ in cikirṣati and jihirṣati? Because $kr$ and $hr$ do not take $iT$. But they can qualify for $iT$ after $r$ is replaced with long (6.4.16 ajjhanagamāṃ sani). We can still not get $iT$ since $r$ is not original (aupadesika) with the root. It is gotten via application of a rule (lākṣanika).

7.2.42 लिंसिचोरासात्मनेपदेः

\[\text{līṃsicor āṭmanepadeṣu}\]

\(/	ext{līṃsicoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ, āṭmanepadeṣu 7/3/}\]

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛtah #38 vā i g #41)

vṛto liṇi sici ca āṭmanepadapare vā id āgamo bhavati

Augment $iT$ is introduced, optionally, to a LIN and sIC which occurs after an anga, namely verbal root $vr$ (vrN/vrN), and after roots which end in $ṛ$, provided LIN, or sIC, followed by an āṭmanepada ‘middle’ affix follows.

**Examples:**

vr̥ṣīṣṭa
variṣīṣṭa
prāvr̥ṣīṣṭa
prāvariṣīṣṭa
āstariṣīṣṭa
āstīrṣīṣṭa
āvṛta
avarīṣṭa
avarīṣṭa
prāvṛta
prāvariṣṭa
prāvariṣṭa
āstīrṣa
āstariṣṭa
āstariṣṭa
āstariṣṭa

1. This rule allows $iT$, optionally, when a replacement of LIN, or affix sIC, followed by an āṭmanepada affix follows verbal roots vrN, vrN, or roots which end in a long $ṛ$. Thus, we get vr̥ṣīṣṭa/variṣīṣṭa; prāvr̥ṣīṣṭa/prāvariṣīṣṭa, etc. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (II:436-37) of rules 1.2.11-1.2.12 līṃsicāv . . . and 1.2.12 us ca. A derivate of LIN will not get a long replacement in view of 7.2.39 na liṇ. However, an optional $iT$, in the context of sIC, will get a replacement in long. Note that rule 8.2.27 hrasvād aṅgāt deletes sIC, via LUK, when the option of $iT$ is not accepted. An option of $iT$, when accepted, leads to optional long replacement (7.2.33 vṛto vā), subsequent to the application of guṇa, etc. Consider āstīrṣa and āstariṣṭa where optional long replacement is applied with $iT$. Now consider āstariṣṭa where the option of $iT$ is not accepted.
2. Why do we have the condition of ātmanepada? Consider \((pra-ur + (LU\text{N} \rightarrow tas \rightarrow tām)) = \text{prāvāriṣṭām and } (pra-ur + (LU\text{N} \rightarrow jhi \rightarrow us)) = \text{prāvāriṣṭuḥ}\), where (cf. 7.2.40 sici ca parasmaipadesu) augment \(iT\) is introduced, obligatorily (nityam). Counter-examples of \(LI\text{N}\) are impossible to find (asambhavāt). Since affix \(yāsUT\) does not begin with \(v\)a\(L\) (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasye\(d\) valādeh), the question of introducing \(iT\) does not arise. There is no question of an option when the provision itself is missing.

7.2.43 ओत्तरण संयोगादि:

\(\text{ṛtā ċa samyogādeh} \)  
\(\text{/ṛtāḥ 5/1 ċa ċa samyogādeh 5/1 = samyoga ādir yasya (bp.), tasya/} \)  
\(\text{angasya #6.4.1 vā i#41 liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu #42} \)  
\(\text{ṛdantād dhātōḥ samyogāder uttarayor liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu vā i# āgamo bhavati} \)

Augment \(iT\) is also introduced, optionally, to a \(LI\text{N}\) and \(sI\text{C}\) which occurs after an \(āŋga\), namely a verbal root ending in \(r\) and beginning with a conjunct (\(samyoga\)), provided, of course, affixes \(LI\text{N}\) and \(sI\text{C}\) are related to the ātmanepada affix which follows.

Examples:

\(\text{dhvṛṣiṣṭa/dhvāriṣṭa} \)  
\(\text{smṛṣiṣṭa/smariṣṭa} \)  
\(\text{adhvṛṣiṣṭam/adhvariṣṭātām} \)  
\(\text{asmṛṣiṣṭām/asmariṣṭātām} \)

1. Follow derivational details of examples already discussed. Note, however, that verbal roots \(dhvṛ\) 'to be crooked' and \(smṛ\) 'to remember, think' are active (\(parasmaipada\)). Their derivate with middle endings are possible only when they are introduced with the denotata of \(bhāva 'action' and karman 'object' (1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ). As usual, there is no \(guṇa\) because of the \(kit\)-status of \(sI\text{C} (1.2.12 uṣ ca)\).

Why do we have the condition of \(ṛdanta 'ending in ķ'\)? Consider \(cṛṣiṣṭa (cya), ploṣiṣṭa (plu) and aṣṣiṣṭa and aplọṣṭa where, because the roots do not end in \(r\), augment \(iT\) is not introduced.

Why do we have the condition of \(samyogādi 'conjunct-initial'\)? Consider \(ṛṣiṣṭa, hrṣiṣṭa\) and \(akṛta, ahrta\), where the roots can be used with active as well as middle endings. However, \(iT\) cannot be introduced since the roots do not begin with a conjunct.

Why do we have the condition of \(ātmanepadeṣu\)? Consider \(adhvārṣiṣt/asmārṣiṣt\), where we do not get augment \(iT\) when an active ending (\(parasmai-pada\) follows.

How come we get \(iT\) when \(kṛ\), used with the preverb \(sam\), becomes conjunct-initial as a result of addition of augment \(sUT\). That is, given \(sam + sUT + kṛ +\)
Kta. This rule requires conjunct-initial status of roots in *upadeśa* ‘initial citation’. Besides, *sūṬ* does not become part of the root (*abhāktatvāṅ*). Consequently, augment *iṬ* cannot be introduced (*Kāś: saṃskṛṣiḍa/samaskṛta ity atropadeśādikārāt abhāktatvāṅ ca suṇ idāgamo na bhavati*).

7.2.44 स्वर्तिसूतिसूयतिसूयतिधृणूदितो वा

*svaratiśūtisūyatidhūṇūdito vā*

/ *svarati-sūti-sūyati-dhūn-uditaḥ 5/1 = āḍ it yasya = āḍīt (bu.); svaratiś ca sūtiś ca sūyatiś ca dhūn ca udic ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt/  
(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ #35*)  
‘svarati, sūti, sūyati, dhūn’ ity etebhyāḥ ūdidbhyaś cottarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā id āgamo bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *va.li.* (Śs. 5-14), provided the same occurs after an *āṅga*, namely verbal roots: *svarati* (*svṛ* ‘resound, heat, torture’), *sūti* (*sūṇ* ‘give birth to’; *advādā*), *sūyati* (*sūṇ* ‘give birth to’; *dvādā*), *dhūn* ‘to shake’ (*svādī, kṛyādī and curādī*), and roots marked with *ū* as an *it*.

Examples:

*svarṛtāḥ/svarītāḥ*  
*prasotāḥ/prasavītāḥ*  
*sotā/savītāḥ*  
*dhotā/dhavītāḥ (forms of *dhūn*)*  
*vigāḍhā/vigāhītāḥ (forms of gāhū ‘to churn’)*  
*gopāṭa/gopītāḥ (gūhu ‘to protect, preserve’)*

1. This rule allows *iṬ* after enumerated verbal roots, plus roots which may be marked with *ū* as an *it* (*ūd-it*). Note that *suv, sūṇ* and *sūṉ* are all *anudātta*. Consequently, they had negation of *iṬ* applicable to them. Verbal root *dhūn* is *udātta*. It thus has obligatory *iṬ* already made available. Remember here that this specification of *dhū* (with *N* as an it; *sāmubandhaka*) does not include any reference to *dhū* (used without any it; *nirnubandhaka*). Thus, *svarītāḥ/svarītāḥ*; *prasotāḥ/prasavītāḥ*; *sotā/savītāḥ*; *dhotā/dhavītāḥ* (two forms each with, and without, *iṬ*); *vigāḍhā/vigāhītāḥ* and *gopītā/gopītāḥ*. Note that *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ* is also carried to this rule. Most of the cited examples involve *guna* and, where applicable, a replacement in *av*. Of course, in addition to *iṬ*. Examples of *gāhū*, i.e., *vigāhā/vigāhītāḥ* involve *hā→dh* (*dhatvā; 8.2.31 ho dhāḥ*), *t→dh* (*dhatvā*), and deletion of *dh* (*dhalopa; 8.3.13 ḍho dhe lopāḥ*). Thus, *vi-gāh + (LUT→ti→Dā) → vi-gāh + t (āś →ϕ) + ā→ vi-gāh (h→dh) + (t→dh→dh) + ā→ vi-gāh(dh→ϕ) + dh + ā = vigāḍhā.

Recall here that as *tāśi* is introduced when *LUT* follows, we get *sya* when *LUT* and *LRT* (3.1.33 syatāsī . . . ) follow. The *sya* which may occur after *suv*
will avail $iT$, optionally. Rule 7.2.70 rddhanoḥ sye will block this optional provision of $iT$. However, 7.2.11 śrūkaḥ kitā will block this option by way of pūrva-viprātiṣedha ‘resolution of conflict among two rules where the preceding wins’. This, of course, will happen under the condition of an affix treated as if marked with $K$ as an $i$. We will thus get svṛtvā. Kāśikā also observes that svṛ will get $iT$, obligatorily, against the optional one of our present rule based on viprātiṣedha ‘conflict among two rules of equal strength where the subsequent rule wins’. Thus, our present rule has its independent scope of application relative to two forms of svṛ: svartā and svārītā. Forms such as kariṣyati and harīṣyati justify the independent scope of 7.2.70 rddhanoḥ sye. But given svṛ + sya + $i$, we find both rules applicable. Rule 7.2.70 rddhanoḥ sye will win the conflict in view of 1.4.2 viprātiṣedhe param kāryam. We will thus get svārīṣyati. Some here claim that param of 1.4.2 viprātiṣedhe param kāryam means iṣṭa ‘desired’.

Recall that gupta ‘to hide, protect’ is marked with anudāṭta as an $it$. Thus, it would allow $iT$, optionally, when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with val follows. Recall also that forms of LUT also involve tās (3.1.33 syatā . . .). This also involves introduction of āya (3.1.31 āyādeya . . .). Thus, we will get the āya forms of gupta with $iT$, such as gopāyitā ‘he will protect’. This $iT$ will become optional in the absence of āya. Thus, goptā, goptārau, goptārah, with $iT$ and no āya. We get goptā, goptārau, goptārah, with no āya and no $iT$.

2. Why use vā again when the same can be carried, via anuvṛtti, from 7.2.41 if sani vā. But since the vā of the earlier rule is associated with LIN and sIC, its anuvṛtti will also bring LIN and sIC to this rule. This, of course, is not desired. The vā of this rule is used to cancel the anuvṛtti of LIN and sIC.

Refer to notes under rule 7.2.13 kṛṣṇābhūrtstva ... for details of restrictive provision generally referred to as krādi-niyama.

7.2.45 राधादिभ्यक्ष

radhādibhyās ca
/radhādibhyāḥ 5/3 = radha ādir yeśām (bu.), tebhyaḥ; ca $\phi$/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyaḥ valādeḥ #35 vā #44)
‘radha hiṁsāśamsidhyoh’ ity evam ādibhyo śatbhya uttarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment $iT$ is also introduced, optionally, to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka when this same begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol vaL (Śs. 5-14), and occurs after the set of verbal roots enumerated beginning with radhA ‘to accomplish, harm’.

Examples:

radhā/radhitā
namśṭā/nāsītā
mogdhā/modhā/mohitā
snegdhā/sneḍhā/sneḥitā

1. Eight roots which are enumerated beginning with radhā ‘to harm, oppress, accomplish’ are allowed to have iṭ introduced to their following ārdhadhātuḥka affix beginning with a sound denoted by vaL (Śs. 5-14). The enumerated roots are: radhā, nasi ‘to disappear’, trpa ‘to be pleased’, drpa ‘to be pleasant, be infatuated’, druhā ‘to wish harm to’, muhā ‘to be perplexed’, snuha ‘to throw up, vomit’, and snihā ‘to be affectionate’. An optional iṭ offers two forms for each one of the listed verbs. Thus, radhā, radhitā; and namstā, naśtā, etc., all derivatives of trC. Recall that augment aM is optionally introduced to roots which are marked with anudatta and contain r in their upadhr ‘penultimate position’. We thus get three forms (cf. 6.1.59 anudattasya ca . . . ) each for trpa and drpa, i.e., traptā/tarpitā/tarpā and draptā/darpitā/darpā. Verbal root naśa receives nUM (7.1.60 masjinaśor jhāli) where m is also replaced with anusvāra. The s of naśa also goes through sūṭvā (8.2.36 urascabhṛasjasra . . . ). We thus get namstā and naśtā (cf. 7.1.60 masjinaśor jhāli).

We get three forms each of verbal roots druha, muha, snuha and snih: drodhā/droḍhā/drohitā; mogdhā/modhā/mohitā; snogdhā/sneḍhā/sneḥitā and snegdhā/sneḍhā/sneḥitā. These roots, in the absence of optional iṭ, receive an optional replacement of their h with gh (8.2.33 vā druhadruhamuha . . . ). The following t then goes through a replacement in dha (dhatva; 8.2.40 jhasastathordho’ dhaḥ). The gh, for example of dr(u→o)h → dro(h→gh), is further replaced with g (jaśtvā; 8.4.52 jhalam jaś jhasā). Thus, we get drogdhā, mogdhā, snogdhā and snegdhā. We can similarly get drodhā, modhā, etc., when optional replacement of h with gh (dhatva; 8.2.33 vā druhamuha . . . ) is not accepted. We will then get h replaced with dh (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho dhah). An acceptance of optional iṭ will similarly produce drohitā and mohitā, etc. That is, druha, muha, snuha and snih produce three forms each.

2. Rule 7.2.13 kṛṣybhṛṣtrudrusruṣruvo liti offers a restrictive provision: ‘verbal roots kr, sr, bhr, vr, stu, dru, sru, and sru, alone, are not allowed to have iṬ introduced when LIT follows’. This is what generally is known as the krādi-niyama ‘restrictive provision with reference to roots specified beginning with kr’ (cf. notes under 7.2.13). Some state that roots of this rule could not be allowed iṬ in consonance with krādi-niyama. However, since this rule is subsequent in order (para), its optional iṬ must prevail. Others state that the krādi-niyama is a restrictive negation (pratisedha) of iṬ. Since a niyama ‘restrictive provision’ is more powerful (balaṇṭara), this rule must offer iṬ, obligatorily. They will thus get raranḍhīva and raranḍhima. I omit further details of these views.

7.2.46 निः: कृषः
nirah kuṣah
7.2.47

Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Two

/ nirah 5/1 kuṣah 5/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ #35 vā #44)

‘nir’ iy evam pūrvāt kuṣa uttarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā id āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is, optionally, introduced to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka when the same begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol val and occurs after an aṅga, namely verbal root kuṣ ‘to squeeze out’ used with the preverb nir.

**Examples:**

niskoṣā/ niskoṣēta
niskoṣum/ niskoṣitum
niskoṣṭavyam/ niskoṣṭitavyam

1. This rule allows iT to an ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term val and is used after kuṣ ‘to squeeze out, hurt’, used after nir. Thus, we get niskoṣā, niskoṣēta, etc. Note here that the non-affixal visarga of ni(r→h), in niḥ + koṣā, etc., is replaced with s (satuva; 8.3.41 idupadhāyana . . ).

2. Why do we state the condition of nirah ‘occurring after nir’? Consider koṣēta, koṣitum and koṣītavyam where, because of kuṣ not occurring after nir, we get iT, obligatorily. The iT where kuṣ occurs after nir is optional (7.2.46 nirah kuṣah).

Why was this specification with the preverb not made as nisah? So that one can identify a reference to this nir, a different preverb. It is this nir whose r is replaced with l in nilayanam, etc., by rule 8.2.19 upasargasyāyatau. The rof nis cannot be replaced with l since r will become asiddha ‘suspended’ (8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham).

7.2.47 इन्निष्ठायाम्

/in niṣṭhāyām /

/īt 1/1 niṣṭhāyām 7/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nirah kuṣah #46)

nirah kuṣo niṣṭhāyam id āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced to an affix termed niṣṭhā (1.1.28 ktktavatū niṣṭhā) which occurs after an aṅga, namely verbal root kuṣ used with the preverb nir.

**Examples:**

niskuṣītaḥ
niskuṣītavān

1. Why use iT explicitly here when the same is available from anoṣṭita? So that this provision of iT could be made obligatorily. Thus, (nir + kuṣ + iT +
Kta) + sU → ni(r−h−s) kuṣitaḥ = niṣkuṣitaḥ and niṣkuṣitavān. In the absence of this explicit mention of iT, the provision of this rule could have become optional, in view of 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā. It is thus intended to block application of 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā (Kāś: idgṛahaṇāṁ nityārtham. ārambh hi ‘yasya vibhāṣā’ ity asya bādhakaḥ; anyathā hi vikālpaḥ eva syād. atraṇa nityam idāgamaḥ, uttaratva vikālpa eveti). The provisions of this rule alone are accepted as obligatory. Provisions of iT which follow are optional.

7.2.48 तीषसहलुभधकपरिशः:

tiṣasahalubharusarisaḥ
/ ti 7/1 iṣa-saha-lubha-ruṣa-riṣah 5/1 = iṣaś ca sahas ca lubhaś ca ruṣaś ca rii
ca iṣ ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt/
(anīgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasyed #35 vā #44)
takārādāv ārdhadhātuke ‘iṣu, saha, lubha, ruṣa, riṣa’ ity etebhyo vā iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced, only optionally, to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka when the same begins with t and occurs after an anīg, namely verbal roots iṣU ‘to desire’, sahA ‘to endure’, lubhA ‘to be greedy’, ruṣA ‘to harm’ and riṣA ‘to harm’.

Examples:

preṣītā/ preṣītum/ preṣitavam
soḍhā/ sahītā
lobhā/ lobhiṭā
roṣṭā/ roṣītā
reṣṭā/ reṣītā

1. This rule introduces augment iT, optionally, to an ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with a t and occurs after verbal roots iṣU, sahA, lubhA, ruṣA and riṣA. Thus, (iṣ + iT + trG) + sU → eṣṭā and eṣṭā, with a replacement in s−s (ṣatva) and t−t(ṣṭutva). Commentators note that this optional iT is desired for iṣU ‘to desire’. Augment iT is obligatorily introduced in the context of iṣ ‘to move’, as in preṣītā and preṣītavam. The kṛyādi root iṣA ‘to do something over and over again’ also has a single form. This is the reason why iṣ of this rule is cited as iṣU. Verbal root sahA will have two forms: soḍhā and sahītā where sah + trG, with no iT, will have to go through replacements such as h−dh−ṇ. The a of sa will also be replaced with o (6.3.112 sahivahor od . . .). Similar rules apply in deriving (lubh + trG) + sU → lobhā and lobhiṭā; roṣṭā and roṣītā; a reṣṭā and reṣītā.

2. Why do we have the condition of t-initial (takārādi)? Consider eṣīsyati where augment iT is introduced, obligatorily. For, there is no t-initial (takārādi) affix termed ārdhadhātuka to follow.
7.2.49 सनीवन्तर्थ्यद्ब्रजर्षन्यन्वयुक्त्योपध्यायः

sānvantardhṛṣṭadṛṣṭadambhusārisvṛṭyūrṇubharajñānapanām
/sāni 7/1 ivantardhṛṣṭadambhusārisvṛṭyūrṇubharajñānapanām 6/3 = īva
ante yeṣām te = ivantāh (bu.); ivantās ca ṛdhās ca hṛṣṭajās ca dambhuī ca śriś
ca svā ca yuṣ ca urṇuṣ ca bharas ca jñāpiṣ ca saṁś ca (īta. dv.), teṣām; sāni
7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vā #44 it #47)
ivantānām dhātūnām 'ṛdhu, bhrasja, dambhu, śri, sūr, yū, urṇu, bhara, jñāpi,
san' ity eteṣām ca sāni vā iṣ āgamo bhavati

Augment īT is introduced, optionally, to affix saN when the same occurs after roots ending in īva, or after verbal roots ṛdhU 'to grow', bhrasjA 'to cook', dambhU 'to cheat', śri 'to serve', sūr 'to be noisy, to heat, pain', yu 'to mix', urṇuN 'to cover', bhṛN 'to bear, provide for', jñāpI 'to inform', and san 'to give, gain'.

EXAMPLES:

dideviṣati/dudviṣati (forms of div)
siseviṣati/susviṣati (forms of siv)
ardidhiṣati/irdiṣati (forms of ṛdh)
bibhrajīṣati/bibhrakṣati
bibhargiṣati/bibharkṣati (forms of bhrasj)
didambhiṣati/dhiṃṣati/dhipiṣati (forms of dambhU)
ucchiśriṣati/ucchiśṛṣati (forms of ut-śri)
sisvariṣati/suvīrṣati (forms of sṛ)
yiyaviṣati/yuṣyaviṣati (forms of yu)
pronumaviṣati/pronumuvaviṣati/pronumūṣati (forms of urṇU)
bibhariṣati/bubhūṛṣati
(form of the bhvādi root bhṛN)
jjñāpayiṣati/jñāpìṣati (forms of jñāpI)
sisaniṣati/siṣāṣati (forms of san)

1. This rule offers optional īT to roots which end in īv, or to roots such as ṛdhU, bhrasj, dambhU, śri, sūr, yū, urṇU, bhara, jñāpI, and san, when affix saN follows. Verbal root san here refers to san 'to give' and saN 'to divide, distribute' both. Thus, we get (div + saN) + LAT → didiviṣ + ā + (ṣ + ā) + LAT → didiviṣ + (LAT→tiP) → didiviṣati. This, of course, when optional introduction of īT is accepted. We will get div + saN → d(i→y) + ā(TH) + sa(N) = dyū + sa, where, in the absence of optional īT, augment ā(TH) (6.4.19 eccvoh śud amanāsike) is introduced. Affix saN, for this purpose, is treated as if marked with K as an īt (kitvā; 1.2.10 halantāc ca). A subsequent application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci produces dyū + sa. Operations such as doubling (6.1.9 sany añoh), retention of a unit formed with the first consonant (halādiśeṣa (7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ)), shortening (7.4.59 hravah) and s→
(satva) produce dyù + sa → dyù + dyù + sa → d(y→φ)(ù→u) + dyù + sa → du + dyù + (s→s) a = dudyùsa + (LAT→tiP) → dudyùsa + ŠaP + tiP = dudyùsati. Forms of verbal root sīv, i.e., siseviṣati and susyūṣati, follow similar derivational steps.

2. Some offer a modified reading of this rule as follows: ... bharajñātipisanitānpatidaridrānām. This then additionally accounts for forms of tani ‘to stretch’, pati ‘to fall’ and daridrā ‘to be poor’. Thus, titaniṣati, titamsati, titāmsati; pipatisati, pīsati; and didaridrisati, didaridrāsati.

3. Why do we have the condition of sani ‘when saN follows’? Consider devitā where it is introduced obligatorily. Now consider bhraṣṭā where it is not available (abhāva). Of course, augment iT will be optional where saN follows and all other conditions are also met.

7.2.50 किसाह: कत्वानिष्ठयोः:

kliśah ktvāniṣṭhayoh
/kliśah 5/1 ktvāniṣṭhayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 và #44 it #47)
kliśah ktvāniṣṭhayor và iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced, optionally, to affix Ktvā, and also to an affix termed niṣṭhā, when these affixes occur after an aṅga, namely verbal root kliśA ‘to torment’.

EXAMPLES:

kliśtvā/kliśītvā
kliśṭah/kliśṭavān
kliśītaḥ/kliśītavān

1. This rule introduces augment iT, optionally, after verbal root kliś when Ktvā, and an affix termed niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktaktavatū niṣṭhā), follows. Note that kliś here refers to both kliś ‘torment’ and kliśU ‘refute, harass’. We will get kliś + i(T) + (K) tvā) = kliśtvā. The guṇa of i of kliś is blocked on the basis of Ktvā being treated as if marked with K (kitvata; 1.2.7 mṛđamrdagudha ...).

Not accepting optional iT will produce (kliś(s→s) + (t→t)vā) = kliśtvā, with s→s (sativa; 8.2.36 vṛścabhreqasṛja ...) and t→t (stutva; 8.4.41 śṭunā stuh).

Similar optional forms can also be derived with iT and affixes Kta and KtvatU. Thus, kliśītaḥ, kliśṭah; and kliśītavān, kliśṭavān.

Why do we state Ktvā in the wording of this rule when 7.2.44 svartisūtisūyati ... already offers optional iT in the context of kliśU before affix Ktvā? But this optional iT gets negated in niṣṭhā by 7.2.15 yasya vibhabā. This rule is then necessary to offer optional iT there. We get obligatory iT in the context of kliś ‘to torment’ before Ktvā and niṣṭhā both. The Ktvā of this rule turns that obligatory iT into optional (Kāś. kliśa upatāpe ity asya tu ktvāyaṁ niṣṭhāyāṁ ca nityam idāgamaḥ prāṇnoti tadartham ktvāgrahamāṁ kṛitye).
7.2.51 पूर्वच

पूणाह ca
/puṇah 5/1 ca φ/
(अंगस्या #6.4.1 vā #44 i t #47 ktvāniśṭhayoh #50)
pūnaḥ ca ktvāniśṭhayor vā iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment iṬ is introduced optionally to affix Ktvā, and to an affix termed niṣṭhā, also when these affixes occur after an anāga, namely verbal root pūN ‘to cleanse’.

Examples:

पूतवाः/पवित्राः/सोम’ तिपविताः
pūtavan, pavitavan

1. This rule offers optional iṬ after pūN when Ktvā, or an affix termed niṣṭhā, follows. This optional provision of iṬ is made against its obligatory negation by 7.2.11 śyukaḥ kiti. Thus, pūN + Ktvā = pūtvā. Recall that 1.2.22 pūnaḥ ktvā ca negates the kit ‘K as an it’ status of Ktvā, Kta and KtvātU. That is why we get guna, and subsequent av, in pūN + iṬ + Ktvā → p(ū→o→av) + iṬ + Ktvā = pavitvā. We similarly get pūtaḥ, pavitaḥ, and pūtavan, pavitavan.

7.2.52 वसतिक्षुधोरिद्

vasatikṣudhor it
/vasati-kṣudho 6/2 (itar. dv.); it 1/1/
(अंगस्या #6.4.1 ktvāniśṭhayoh #50)
vasateḥ kṣudheś ca ktvāniśṭhayor iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment iṬ is introduced to affix Ktvā, and also to an affix termed niṣṭhā, when these affixes occur after an anāga, namely verbal roots vas ‘to dwell, stay’ and kṣudh ‘be hungry’.

Examples:

सुसिताः/सिताः/सितवाः
suṣitvā, suṣitah, suṣitavān
kṣudhitvā/kṣudhitah/kṣudhitavān

1. This rule offers iṬ to vasA and kṣudhA when Ktvā, or an affix termed niṣṭhā, follows. These roots both are marked with anudātta. Consequently, they were thus obligatorily blocked from availing iṬ. Why use iṬ explicitly in this rule when the same could be brought, via anuvṛtti, from the earlier rule. Since iṬ of the earlier rule is associated with an optional provision, this rule must use iṬ to make the provision obligatory (nitya). We thus get vas + i(Ṭ) + (K) tvā → (v→u) as + i(Ṭ) + (K) tvā → (ua→u)s + i(Ṭ) + (K) tvā → u(s→ s) + i(Ṭ) + (K) tvā = usītvā. Note that the smprasāraṇa in the root is accomplished by 6.1.15 vacisvāpiyajādīnām. . . The s is replaced with s (satva) by 8.3.60 sāsivasighasānīm. . . Deriving kṣudhitvā, kṣudhitah and kṣudhitavān with
iT does not offer anything new. Recall, however, that 1.2.26 ralo vyupadhādd halādeh sams ca, optionally, negates kīt status of Ktvā. This optional negation then blocks guṇa.

2. Note that the root in vasateh, since it is here specified with ŚaP, refers to the bhūdī root vas ‘to dwell’. That is, this iT is not relatable to vasA of any other class. Verbal root vasA ‘to cover’ should have iT available just on the basis of being marked with udātta. An explicit mention of iT in this rule is intended for making an obligatory provision. For, the iT of the earlier rule is intended for making an optional provision.

7.2.53 अङ्कः पूजायाम्

aṅcēḥ pūjāyām
/aṅcēḥ 5/1 pūjāyām 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ktvāniṣṭhayoh #50 it #52)

aṅcēḥ pūjāyām arthe ktvāniṣṭhayor id āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced to affix Ktvā, and also to an affix termed niṣṭhā, when these occur after an aṅga, namely verbal root aṅcU, provided pūjā ‘respect’ is denoted.

Examples:

aṅcitvā jānu juhoti ‘offers the sacrifice with bent knee’
aṅcitā asya guravaḥ ‘respected is (are) his teacher’

1. This rule offers iT after verbal root aṅcU when Ktvā, or an affix termed niṣṭhā, follows. Note that aṅcU is marked with U as an it (udit). It thus receives optional iT from 7.3.56 udito vā. This rule offers iT, obligatorily. Verbal root aṅcU is denied augment iT when a niṣṭhā affix follows (7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā). Our present rule offers iT, again, obligatorily.

Why do we have the condition of pūjāyām ‘when the derivate denotes praise’? Observe: (ud-aṅc + Kt) = udakta of udaktam udakam kūpāt ‘fetched water from the well’, where udakta denotes the sense of uddhṛta ‘drawn, taken out’. That is why we do not get augment iT.

7.2.54 लुभो विमोहने

lubho vimohane
/lubahah 5/1 vimohane 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ktvāniṣṭhayoh #50 it #52)
lubho vimohane rthe varītanatānāk ktvāniṣṭhayor id āgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced to affix Ktvā, and also to an affix termed niṣṭhā, when these occur after an aṅga, namely verbal root lubh, provided vimohana ‘confusion, perplexity’ is denoted.
EXAMPLES:

lubhitvā lobhitvā ‘having become perplexed’
vilubhitāḥ keśāḥ ‘disordered hairs’

1. This rule offers augment iT to lubh when Ktvā, or an affix termed niṣṭhā, follows and the derivate denotes vimohana. The word vimohana is explained as the state of ākulikaraṇa ‘agitation, perplexity, disorder’. Thus, we get lubhitvā and vilubhitāḥ. An optional kit-status (1.2.26 ralo vyupadhād . . . ) may facilitate guṇa to yield lobhitvā.

2. Note that 7.2.48 ṭīsasahalubha . . . offers optional iT. Rule 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā denies iT before affixes termed niṣṭhā. This rule blocks all those provisions in favor of an obligatory iT.

3. Why do we state the condition of vimohana? Consider lubdho vrṣalāḥ ‘this lowly śūdra is tormented by cold’ where we do not get iT since the sense is not vimohana. What the derivate denotes is: ‘śītena piḍitah ‘tormented by cold’’. Now consider lubdhu, lubhitvā and lobhītā where augment iT is optionally introduced in consonance with 7.2.48 ṭīsasahalubharuṣa. . . . The third form goes through guṇa in consonance with optional kit-status of Ktvā (1.2.26 ralo vyupadhād . . . ). What the derivate denotes here is gārdhya ‘greed’.

7.2.55 ज्वरच्छो: कित्व

jjvraṣcyoh ktvih
/ jī-vaṛscyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); ktvih 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 iT #52)
‘jī, vraṣci’ ity etayoh kvā pratyaye id āgamo bhavati
Augment iT is introduced after an aṅga, namely verbal roots jī ‘to decay, be old’ and vraṣci ‘to cut’, when affix Ktvā follows.

EXAMPLES:

jaritvā/ jariṭvā
vraṣcitvā

1. This rule offers iT after verbal roots jī and Ovraṣcū when affix Ktvā follows. Thus, we get jī + Ktvā → jī + iT + Ktvā → (jī→jāra) + i(T) + (K) tvā) → jaritvā, with application of replacement in guṇa. An optional long replacement for the short i of jari can be availed by 7.2.38 vṛto vā. This will give us jaritvā. One can similarly derive vraṣcitvā with Ktvā and iT. Note that, because of negation (pratisedha) of kit-status of Ktvā (1.2.18 na kvā set), samprasārana of 6.1.16 grahiyāvayi . . . will be blocked.

2. Note that iT, in the context of jī, is negated by 7.4.11 śryukaḥ kiti. Verbal root vraṣcū is marked with Ū as an it. Consequently, an optional iT is made available by 7.2.44 suvaratisūti . . . Our present rule blocks these provisions in favor of an obligatory iT.
3. Why is \textit{Ktvā} used again explicitly? So that the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{nīsthā} could be canceled. Or else, this obligatory \textit{iT} is intended only when \textit{Ktvā} follows.

7.2.56 उदितो वा

\begin{quote}
\textit{udito vā}
\end{quote}

(\textit{aṅgasya #6.4.1 i#52 ktv#55})

\textit{udito dhātoḥ ktvāpratyaye parato vā id āgamo bhavati}

Augment \textit{iT} is, optionally, introduced to affix \textit{Ktvā} when it follows an \textit{aṅga}, namely a verbal root marked with \textit{u} as an \textit{it}.

**Examples:**

\begin{quote}
\textit{śamitvā/ śāntvā ‘Ktvā-derivate of \textit{samU} ‘to be tranquil’}
\textit{tamitvā/ tāntvā ‘Ktvā-derivate of \textit{tamU} ‘to faint’}
\textit{damitvā/ dāntvā ‘Ktvā-derivate of \textit{damU} ‘to tame, control’}
\end{quote}

1. This rule allows optional \textit{iT} after verbal roots which are marked with \textit{U} as an \textit{it} (\textit{udit}). Of course, when \textit{Ktvā} follows them. Thus, \textit{śamU + iT + Ktvā} \rightarrow \textit{śamitvā}. Rule 6.4.15 \textit{anunāsikasya kuj . . .} will order a long replacement for the short penultimate vowel (\textit{upadhādirgha}) if the option of \textit{iT} is not accepted. Thus, \textit{s(a→ā)m + tvā → sā(m→m→n) + tvā = śāntvā}, with \textit{m→n} (\textit{anuvrāpa; 8.3.23 naś cāpadāntasya jhali}) and \textit{m→n} (8.4.58 \textit{anuvrāpa yāyī parasavarnāḥ}). We will similarly get \textit{tamitvā; tāntvā and damitvā; dāntvā}.

7.2.57 सेविशिच कृत्तचन्तक्षतद्वृत:

\begin{quote}
\textit{se’ sici krtacṛtaçhṛdatṝdanṝtah}
\end{quote}

(\textit{aṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasya #35 i#52 vā #56})

\textit{sakārādāv asicyārdhadhātuke ‘kṛta, cṛta, chṛda, ṭṛda, nṝtā’ ity ete bhya dhātubhyo vā id āgamo bhavati}

Augment \textit{iT} is introduced to an affix termed \textit{ārdhadhātuka} which begins with \textit{s}, though not with \textit{sIc}, and occurs after an \textit{aṅga}, namely verbal roots \textit{kṛtI ‘to cut’, cṛtI ‘inflict harm to’, UṛṭṛdIR ‘glow . . .’, UṛṭṛdIR ‘inflict harm, to offer’ and nṝtI ‘to dance’}.

**Examples:**

\begin{quote}
\textit{kartṣyati ‘third person singular LR’T-derivate of kṛt’}
\textit{akartṣyat ‘third person singular LRN-derivate of kṛt’}
\textit{cikṛtsati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of kṛt ending in saN’}
\textit{acartṣyat ‘third person singular LRN-derivate of cṛt’}
\textit{cičṛtsati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of cṛt ending in saN’}
\textit{acchartṣyat ‘third person singular LRN-derivate of chṛd’}
\end{quote}
cichrtsati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of cht ending in saN’
tartsyati ‘third person singular LRT-derivate of trd’
atartsyat ‘third person singular LRN-derivate of trd’
tírtsati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of trd ending in saN’
nartsyati ‘third person singular LRT-derivate of nrt’
anartsyat ‘third person singular LRN-derivate of nrt’
ninrtsati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of nrt ending in saN’

1. This rule offers an optional i\textit{T} to an \textit{ārdhadhātuka} affix which begins with \textit{s}, though not with that of \textit{sIC}, and follows verbal roots \textit{krtA}, \textit{crtA}, \textit{chrda}, \textit{trdA} and \textit{nrt}. These roots are all marked with \textit{udātta} as their \textit{it} (\textit{udātta}). This rule is formulated to offer \textit{iT}, optionally. We will thus get \textit{kartsyati}, \textit{akartsyat} and \textit{cikhtsyati}, etc., where augment \textit{iT} is not introduced before \textit{LRT}, \textit{LRN} and \textit{saN}. We will get \textit{kartisyati}, \textit{akartisyat} and \textit{cikartisyati}, instead, when the option of \textit{iT} is accepted. Refer to derivational details under the appendix (II:497-98) of 1.3.92 \textit{vydbhyah syasanoh}. Note that when the option of \textit{iT} is accepted, \textit{guna} is blocked at the strength of the non-\textit{kit} status of \textit{saN}.

2. Note that the \textit{a} of \textit{sa} in \textit{se} of this rule is not intended as particularly important. It can be simply accepted as used for ease of articulation (\textit{uccāranārtham}). It is not intended to serve any other purpose (\textit{avivakṣitavāt}). This facilitates optional \textit{iT} also before \textit{syA}. We know that \textit{a} is not \textit{tantra} ‘principal’ on the basis of the accompanying negation of \textit{asi}. If the use of \textit{a} is non-principal (\textit{atantra}) then why did \textit{Pāṇini} not formulate the wording of this rule with \textit{s(i→y)} + \textit{asi} = \textit{syasici}? He did not use \textit{syasici} for fear of confusion. Such a formulation could also be interpreted as: ‘before \textit{syA} and \textit{sIC}’. Using \textit{se} and \textit{asi}, side by side in the locative, will clearly give the intended meaning of ‘beginning with a \textit{s} which is not of \textit{sIC}’. Even then doubts may persist about whether it meant ‘before a \textit{sIC},’ or ‘something other than a \textit{sIC}.’ If it is said that ‘also when \textit{sIC} follows’, this may be viewed as an useless specification. He should then have said only \textit{si} (\textit{Nyāsa: yadi hi sicy api syāt adupādānam anarthakaṃ syāt, sīty evaṃ brūyāt}). Refer to Nyāsa ad Kāśikā under this rule for further details.

3. Why do we have the twin conditions of \textit{se} and \textit{asi}? Consider \textit{krt} + (\textit{LUT}→\textit{tās}) → \textit{k(→ar)} + \textit{iT} + \textit{tās} = \textit{kartītā} where \textit{iT}, because of no \textit{s}-initial suffix, cannot be introduced optionally. It must be introduced, obligatorily. Now consider \textit{akartīt} where, because of \textit{sIC} before \textit{LUN}, we also get an obligatory \textit{iT}.

7.2.58 गमेत्ति परस्मैपदेशु

\textit{gamer \textit{iT} parasmaipadeṣu}
\textit{/gameh 5/1 \textit{iT} 1/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/3/}
\textit{(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasya #35 se #57)}
\textit{gamer dhātor sakārāder ārdhadhātukasya parasmaipadeṣu id āgamo bhavati}
Augment \(iT\) is introduced to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka, which begins with \(s\) occurring after an \(aṅga\), namely verbal root \(gام\), 'to go', provided an affix termed parasmaiępada follows.

**Examples:**

- \(gamiṣyaṭi\) 'third person singular \(LRT\)-derivate of \(gам\)
- \(agamiṣyaṭi\) 'third person singular \(LUN\)-derivate of \(gам\)
- \(jigamiṣati\) ‘third person singular \(LAT\)-derivate of \(gам ending in saN\)

1. This rule introduces augment \(iT\) to an ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with \(s\), provided an affix termed parasmaiępada occurs to follow verbal root \(gам\). Note that parasmaiędasesu is not strictly used for ensuring the occurrence of affixes termed parasmaiędapa. It is, instead, used for negating the occurrence of affixes termed parasmaiędapa. This is how augment \(iT\) could be introduced to affix \(saN\) in jigamiṣitam, jigamiṣā and jigamiṣitā, where affixes termed \(kṛt\) follow. As against this, we do not get \(iT\) in deriving \(gamiṣyaṭe\) where \(te\) is an affix termed ātmaneṇaḥ. Augment \(iT\) could thus be desired anywhere outside the context of an ātmaneṇaḥ affix. It can even be introduced in contexts where a parasmaiędapa affix has gone through deletion, via \(LUK\). Thus, we get saṃjigamiṣitā/ adhijigamiṣatā vyākaraṇasya ‘intense desire to learn grammar’. These two examples both are derivatives of \(trÇ\). Of course, this introduction of \(iT\) is limited to affixes which begin with \(s\).

Note that \(gam\), 'to go' is treated as marked with anudāta. This condition of \(s\) is important. We do not get \(iT\) in gantāṣmi/ gantāṣvah/ gantāṣmah where the following affixes begin with \(m\) and \(v\). This rule facilitates \(iT\) with express mention of \(iT\) under the condition of an affix which begins with \(s\). This provision of \(iT\) is thus obligatory.

Example derives illustrate introduction of \(iT\) when (replacements of) \(LRN\), \(LUN\), and \(saN\) follow. The \(gam\)-replacement of \(iN\) gets a replacement in long by rule 6.4.16 ajjhanagamāṃ saṇi. Refer to derivational details of jīgamiṣati under the appendix (III:700) of 2.4.47 saṇi ca. Other derivates do not offer anything new.

Why after \(gam\) (gameḥ)? Consider cesiyaṭi where, since the root is not \(gam\), we do not get \(iT\).
‘to turn’, \( \text{vr dhU} \) ‘to grow’, \( \text{śrdhU} \) ‘to reproach’ and \( \text{syandU} \) ‘to drip, ooze, move’, provided an affix termed \text{parasmaipada} follows.

**Examples:**

\( \text{vartsyat} \) ‘third person singular \( \text{LRT} \)-derivate of \( \text{vrt} \)
\( \text{avartsyat} \) ‘third person singular \( \text{LRT} \)-derivate of \( \text{vrt} \)
\( \text{vivrtsyat} \) ‘third person singular \( \text{LAT} \)-derivate of \( \text{vrt} \) ending in \( \text{san} \)
\( \text{vartsyat/avartsyat/ivrtsyati} \ldots \) derivatives of \( \text{vr dhU} \)
\( \text{sartsyat/asartsyat/sirtsati} \ldots \) derivatives of \( \text{śrdhU} \)
\( \text{syantsyati/asyantsyat/sisyantsati} \ldots \) derivatives of \( \text{syandU} \)

1. This rule blocks the introduction of \( \text{iT} \) to a \( \text{s-initial ārdhadhātuka} \) affix when an affix termed \text{parasmaipada} follows \( \text{vrtU}, \text{vr dhU}, \text{śrdhU} \) and \( \text{syandU} \). Refer to derivational details under the appendix (II:497-98) of 1.3.92 \( \text{vr dhbyah} \) \( \text{syasanoh} \).

2. Note that the plural in \( \text{vr dhbyah} \) is used for indicating the meaning of \( \dot{ā}di \) ‘and its like, etc.’ All these four roots are \( \text{udātta} \). The first three roots have \( \text{iT} \) made available to them obligatorily. Verbal root \( \text{syandU} \) gets \( \text{iT} \), optionally, since it is marked with \( \dot{U} \) as an \( \text{it} \). This rule offers negation to these obligatory and optional provisions of \( \text{iT} \), both.

It is stated that \( \text{caturbhyah} \) ‘after the four’ should not be stated in the wording of this rule (\( \text{Kāś: caturbhayh iti na vaktavyam} \)). For, \( \text{vrt} \) of \( \text{vr dhbyah} \), is used for indicating the end of the listing of roots forming a class headed by \( \text{dyut} \). It is further said that since \( \text{vrt} \) means ‘end, finish’, and is read at the end of the class headed by \( \text{dyut} \), it should indicate ‘the end’ of the class listing’. But there are four verbal roots also used after \( \text{vrt} \). It is stated that \( \text{vrt} \) can still indicate the end of their listing. Does this mean we do not need \( \text{caturbhyah} \). Commentators say that it is still needed. They say that an optional \( \text{iT} \), based upon the status of roots as marked with \( \dot{U} \) as an \( \text{it} \), is internally conditioned. The word \( \text{caturbhyah} \) is used so that the negation of this rule could also block this optional \( \text{iT} \). That is, negation (\( \text{pratīṣedha} \)) becomes more powerful against the option. This is why \( \text{syandU} \) also does not get optional \( \text{iT} \). This is what the word \( \text{caturbhyah} \) is used for.

3. Recall that this negation applies only when an affix termed \text{parasmaipada} follows. This negation also applies before \( \text{krt} \) affixes, and also where \( \text{LUK} \)-deletion of a \text{parasmaipada} affix is accomplished (\( \text{Kāś: anyatra sarvatra pratīṣedhaḥ kṛty api hi parasmaipadatuki ca pratīṣedho bhavati} \)). This statement of the \( \text{Kāśikāvṛtti} \) is confusing. For, if the negation applies everywhere else, how could it not apply to \( \text{vivṛtsitaḥ} \) with \( \text{iT} \), and \( \text{vivṛtsa (tvam)} \) without \( \text{iT} \)? The \( \text{Mahābhāṣya} \) discusses the scope of this negation separately with reference to affixes termed \text{parasmaipada}, \( \text{ātmānepada} \), i.e., \( \text{tiN} \), and \( \text{kṛt} \). \( \text{Kāśikā} \) combines these two sets of derivates and ends up creating confusion.

4. \( \text{Nyāsa} \) tries to answer the question: ‘how do we get an \( \text{iT} \) specified with
parasmaipadesu, also when kṛt, or a LUK-deletion of parasmaipada follows’. Jinendrabuddhi accepts rule-splitting whereby we get two rules:

(i) gamer iṬ which, with the anuvṛtti of se from the preceding rule, yields the interpretation: sakārādāv ārdhadhātuke idāgamo bhavati ‘augment iṬ is introduced when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with s follows’.

(ii) parasmaipadesu ‘when parasmaipada follows’. This split-rule is intended for making a restrictive provision. If this restrictive provision is made without any particular qualification, then the earlier rule will become vacuous. It is therefore suggested that this restrictive provision be made with reference to an affix similar in class. That similar-in-class affix could only be a tiN. Thus, the restrictive provision will read: ‘if augment iṬ is to be introduced within the scope of a tiN, it must be introduced only when a parasmaipada, and not an ātmaenpada, affix follows.’ This enables iṬ to be introduced before a kṛt and LUK-deletion of parasmaipada, especially since this restrictive provision will not cover it.

Jinendrabuddhi further observes: ‘as we get iṬ after gam when an affix beginning with s follows, that same way we will not get iṬ after verbal roots vṛt, etc. Consequently, as we get iṬ everywhere with the exception of where ātmaneṇpada follows, that same way we get the negation of iṬ after verbal roots vṛt, etc.’ (Nyāsa ad Kāś. gameḥ sakārādau yena prakāreṇa iṭ tenaiva prakāreṇa vṛdādibhyo neḥ iti. tena yathā gamer ātmaneṇpadavarjam anyatra sarvatraived bhavati, tathā vṛdādibhyo’ pi pratiśedha iti.)

7.2.60 तासि च क्रमः:

tāsi ca kṛpaḥ
/tāsi (deleted 6/1) ca φ kṛpaḥ 5/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 ārdhadhātukasya #35 se #57 iṭ #35 na #59)
kṛpa uttarasya tāseḥ sakārādēś cārdhadhātukasya parasmaipadesu iḍ āgamo na bhavati

Augment iṬ is not introduced to tās, and to an affix termed ārdhadhātuka which begins with s, when they occur after an āṅga, namely verbal root kṛpU ‘to be capable, to adapt’, and when an affix termed parasmaipada follows.

Examples:

śvāḥ kalptā ‘... will adapt tomorrow’
kalpsyati ‘... will adapt’
akaalpsyat ‘... adapted’
ciklpaṣati ‘... wishes to adapt’
1. This rule negates introduction of augment iṬ also to tās, or an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with s, when an affix termed parasmaipada follows an anāga constituted by kpṬU ‘to be capable’. Thus, kalpiṭa, kalpsyati and ciklpsati. Refer to the appendix (II:498-99) under 1.3.93 luṭi ca klpah for derivational details. Note, however, that klpU is marked with Ṣ as an it and, hence, is qualified for an optional iṬ. This rule negates that optional provision. Refer also to notes under the preceding rule.

It is noted that iṬ is desired to be introduced, also, after a root when the same occurs in a pada before an ārdhadhātuka affix termed ātmanepada. Elsewhere, iṬ is negated. That is, it is negated in the context of a kpṬ affix and an affix termed parasmaipada. Thus, we get ciklpsitā (with trC) and ciklpsa tvam, second person singular in LOT ‘imperative’.

7.2.61 अच्छतालस्तत्तल्यनितिनित्यम्

acās tāsvat thaly anīto nityam
/ acāḥ 5/1 tāsvat ṣ thali 7/1 anīṭaḥ 5/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 iṭ #35 na #59)
tāsvu ye nityānīto dātvavo jantāḥ tebhyas tāsvāv iva thalidāgamo na bhavati
Augment iṬ is not introduced after roots which end in a vowel in upadeśa, and obligatorily remain non-iṬ before thās, when thaL, in a manner similar to thās, follows.

Examples:

pātā ‘he will protect’
papātha ‘he protected’
yātā ‘he will go’
yayāṭha ‘he went’
cetā ‘he will heap’
cicetha ‘he heaped . . .’
netā ‘he will lead’
ninetha ‘he led . . .’
hotā ‘he will perform the sacrifice’
juhoṭha ‘he performed the sacrifice’

1. This rule extends blocking of augment iṬ after roots which, in upadeśa ‘initial citation’, end in a vowel and obligatorily remain non-iṬ before thās, provided when thaL ‘second person singular active replacement of siP in perfect (LIT; 3.4.82 parasmaipadānām . . .)’ follows specified roots in a manner similar to thās ‘second person singular middle replacement of LA’ (3.4.78 tiptasjhisiphās . . .).

Note that upadeśa is carried over from here to the next rule as a qualifier to acaḥ. If upadeśa was not carried over, negation of iṬ in (hr→har) + thaL = jahartha could not be accomplished. For, a replacement in guṇa, i.e., ar, for
of ĥṛ would apply first on the basis of being obligatory (nitya) and subsequent (para). Given this, an introduction of augment iT in har + tha, made available under the restrictive provision of krādiniyama (cf. notes under 7.2.13), could not be stopped. For, the root will no longer end in a vowel. But reading upadesē can save the situation, and this rule could apply. So long as we meet the condition of upadesē. It does not make any difference whether the root now ended in a consonant. Haradatta rightly remarks:

upadesagrāha' ṣty atra vakṣyamāno' pakṣyate/
guṇe nitye kṛte' ṣty esa ṛddante prāṇmūyāh katham//
'this presently stated upadesa is also carried over here; how could this introduction of iT then apply to a root ending in r'

The word acah is a qualifier to dhātoḥ which must be supplied here from 7.2.59 na vrddhyaś . . . and interpreted via tadantavidhi 'treating as ending in x'. For, thal is possible only after a verbal root. We thus get the interpretation: ajantād dhātoḥ 'after a verbal root ending in a vowel in upadesa'. Not carrying the anuvṛtti of acaḥ could also yield undesired forms. That is, correct forms of bhid 'to pierce' and chid 'to cut' with thal, i.e., bhīdhētha / cicchētha, could not be derived with augment iT. The iT, made available under the restrictive provision of krādiniyama, could have been blocked.

The word tāsvat is a derivate of vatI introduced after a pada ending in saptamī 'locative'. We then get the meaning: tāsau iva = tāsvat 'simlar to tāś'. That is, we do not get iT in thal in a manner similar to iT in tās. This rule is a partial exception to the iT made available under the restrictive provision relative to krādī (see notes under 7.2.13 kṛṣbhrvṛstu . . .).

Examples such as yātā, etc., are given to illustrate the obligatory non-iT status of specified roots. Refer to kaniṭā (II:343-44) and goptā (III:715) for derivational details of derivatives of LUṬ. Refer to pecītha and śekītha (III:787) for derivational details of forms deriving with thal, where thal is a replacement of siP introduced to replace LIṬ.

Note that aniṭ is here specified for qualification by nityam 'obligatorily'. In the absence of anīṭ, nityam could only qualify negation (pratiśedha). The word anīṭ is not used here for canceling the iT-status (sej). For, tāsvat is already used. Thus, 'iT does not apply when thal follows exactly as it does not when tāś follows'. That is, if iT is optionally allowed when tāś follows, it cannot be negated when thal follows. Augment iT is obligatorily allowed, instead. Thus, consider vidhotā, vidhavitā and vidudhavitha (also see notes under 7.2.13 kṛṣbhrvṛstu . . .).

Why do we use the specification with vatI in tāsvat? So that that which applies (non-iT) to a form when tāś follows could be negated when thal follows. For, roots which are not specified to occur before tāś, and are thus obligatorily non-iT, cannot be denied iT when thal follows. A specification with vatI is made to indicate complete similarity (sarva-sādṛṣya). A specification
tion with locative (saptamā), i.e., tāsau, could not account for it. Consider jaghasitha and uwayitha, etc., where ghas and vay are replacements of ad and veN. This rule cannot apply here since these forms of LUT are not similar to forms when tās follows. Verbal roots ad ‘to eat’ and veN ‘to weave’ do not get replaced with ghas and vay in LUT where tās is introduced. The negative provision of this rule is thus not accepted there. That is, iT is introduced. Consider the following kārikā verse:

tāsvad ity ucyamāne tu vateḥ sādṛṣyagocarāt
yathābhūtasya tāsau net tathābhūtasya thaly api/
ītā na bhāvyam ity eṣa doṣo naiva prasajyate
ītas tāsy asato dhātor niśedhe vihite thali
abhāvah sadṛśo na syāt thali tāsy asato bhavet/

7.2.62 उपादेशोज्ज्वतः:

upadēśa tvataḥ
/ upadēṣe 7/1 atvataḥ = akāro' sminn asstītī = atvān, tasmāt/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35 na #59 tāsvat thaly anīto nityam #61)
upadēṣe yo dhātur akāravān tāsau nityāniḥ tasmāt tāsāv iva thalidāgamo na bhavati

Augment iT is not introduced after a root which ends in a vowel in upadēṣa, and obligatorily remains non-iT before thās, when thalI, in a manner similar to thās, follows.

EXAMPLES:

paktā ‘he will cook’
papaktha ‘he cooked’
yastā ‘he will perform the sacrifice’
iyasṭha ‘he performed the sacrifice’
śaktā ‘he will go’
śaśaktha ‘he went’

1. This rule further extends the blocking of iT after roots which contain an a in upadēṣa, all other conditions remain similar to the preceding rule. Consider pac + (LUT→ti) = pac + (ti→(D) a) = pac + tās + ā → pac + t(ās→φ) + ā = pa(c→k) + t + ā = pakta, where tiP is replaced with (D) ā (2.4.85 lutah prathamasya . . . ), tās goes through ti-deletion of ās (6.4.143 teh) and c of pac goes through a replacement in k (kutva; 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ). The j of verbal root yaj is similarly replaced with s (ṭatva; 8.2.36 ivaścāhṛasaj . . . ). We get ya(j→s) + t + ā = yas + (t→t) + ā = yastā, through a replacement in t for t (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭukh). Deriving iyasytha, from yaj + (LIT→siP→thalI), involves iteration (dvītva) and operations relative to the assignment of the term abhyāsa. We thus get yaj + tha→ya + yaj + tha. An application of samprasārana and pūrvarūpa ‘a single replacement similar to what precedes in a sequence’ produces (y→i) a
+ yaj + tha → (i+a→i) + yaj + tha = i + yaj + tha. The j of yaj is again replaced with ś followed by śtutva, i.e., i + ya(j→ś) + (th→th) a = iyaśtha. Note here that our present rule negates the introduction of augment iT. Refer to additional details of these derivations under the preceding rule.

2. Why do we have the condition of atvatah ‘containing a in upadesa’? Consider krś + (LUT→ti→Dā) = k(r→ar)s + t(ās→φ) + ā = karś (t→t) ā = karṛtā and cakarsitha with iteration, k→c and iT, where an absence of a in upadesa cannot negate iT before thaL. The a of krś→karś which is gotten through application of gura is not any part of upadesa. Negation of iT in thaL will thus not apply. Similar non-negation of iT is witnessed in deriving bibhedita where bhid does not contain a in upadesa. Why do we have the condition of a followed by t (tapara)? Consider rādh + LUT→tiP→Dā → rāddhā, and rādhitha where the root contains a long ā, instead. The iT in rādhitha can thus not be negated. It will apply obligatorily in view of the restrictive provision of krādi (7.2.13 krśbhṛyṛ...).

The condition of tāsvat ‘non-iT’ in a manner similar to when tās follows is also important. Consider jīghṛkṣati and jagrahitha where grah is allowed iT before tās but is not allowed before saN (7.2.12 sanī grahguhoś ca). This negation cannot apply before thaL since it is not similar to the provision of iT when tās follows. That is, iT is introduced. Finally, the condition of anito nityam ‘obligatorily non-iT’ must also be satisfied. Thus, iT cannot be negated before thaL in anānjitha where verbal root anīj is marked with ु as an ii. This allows optional iT to its forms before tās. Thus, we get aniktā and anjītā. A negative provision of iT cannot be accepted before thaL since it is made against an optional, and not an obligatory, non-iT.

7.2.63 ऋहो भार्दवाजयस्य

ṛto bhāradvājasya
/ṛtah 5/1 bhāradvājasya 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35 na #59 tāsvat thaly anīto nityam #61)
rkārāntād dhātor bhāradvājasyaścāryasya matena tāsāv iva nityāṇītas thali
idāgama na bhavati

Augment iT, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, is not introduced obligatorily to thaL, in a manner similar to tās after a verbal root termed an āṅga ending in r, when thaL follows.

Examples:

smarttā ‘he will remember’
sasmarthā ‘he remembered’
dhuvartā ‘he will be crooked’
dadhvarghā ‘he was crooked’

1. Note that a negation of iT for roots which end in r is already made
available by rule 7.2.61 \textit{acas tāsvat} \ldots The non-\textit{i}\textit{T} provision of this rule then becomes restrictive. For, a provision made against one already made available is made for restrictive purposes (\textit{siddhe satyā ārambhō nīyamārthah}). That is, non-\textit{i}\textit{T} status of roots, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, applies only to those roots which end in \textit{r} (Kāś. \textit{rta eva bhāradvājasya nā́nyeśāṁ dhātiṁām}). We thus get examples such as \textit{yayitha}, \textit{vavitha}, \textit{pacitha} and \textit{śekitha}. Roots which do not end in \textit{r} will, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, receive \textit{i}\textit{T}. That is, this rule can then be treated as making an optional provision of \textit{i}\textit{T} against provisions of the preceding two rules (Kāś. \textit{tad ayam arthāṁ pūrvayor yogayor vikalpah}).

Recall that verbal roots \textit{vrN} and \textit{vṛN} have been enumerated as \textit{udāṭta} among roots which end in \textit{ā}. We cannot find \textit{thaL} after \textit{vṛN} since this root occurs only before middle endings (ātmanepada). Verbal root \textit{vṛN}, since it is allowed the negation of \textit{i}\textit{T} in the Vedic, via \textit{nīpātana}, can be accepted as allowing \textit{i}\textit{T} in the classical usage. This rule is thus not formulated for blocking augment \textit{i}\textit{T} of these two roots. This rule cannot be accepted as formulated for blocking augment \textit{i}\textit{T} of roots which end in \textit{r}. Such roots are \textit{anudāṭta} and hence, they qualify as non-\textit{i}\textit{T}, obligatorily, before \textit{tās}. Their \textit{i}\textit{T} can be negated by 7.2.61 \textit{acas tāsvat}. \ldots This rule could not have been formulated for them. It is true that these roots may become \textit{anajanta} 'not ending in a vowel', especially when they yield forms with the application of \textit{guna} followed by \textit{r} (\textit{raparā}). This, however, cannot take them out of the scope of the preceding rule. For, the condition of \textit{ajanta} 'ending in \textit{a}', requires \textit{aC} in \textit{upadeśa}. Thus, this rule is formulated for restrictive purposes, especially since its provision can be accounted for by existing rules.

2. Note that \textit{T}, at the end of \textit{r} in \textit{rtaḥ} (\textit{tapiKarakaṇa}), is intended for excluding roots which may end in a long \textit{r}. This rule is thus saved from becoming an operational rule (\textit{vidhī-sūtra}) for roots ending in long \textit{r}. That is, it is blocked from making operational provisions for roots ending in long \textit{r}. Since no provision is made for such roots by any earlier rule, and also since this rule does not make any operational provision for them, this rule is restrictive, as against operational. This restrictive provision for roots ending in a short \textit{r} thus becomes more powerful (PŚ109) \textit{vidhinīyamsambhave vidhīr eva jyāyān}).

3. The following \textit{kārikā} verse summarizes provisions of rules 7.2.13 \textit{kṛṣṇbhūrṣvaduśrūśravu līti}, 7.2.61 \textit{acasāsvatthaly anītō nītym}, 7.2.62 \textit{upadeśe}’ \textit{tvataḥ} and 7.2.63 \textit{ṛto bhāradvājasya}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ajanta}’ \textit{kāraṇvān} yas tāsy anīt thāli veḍeyam/
\textit{rddanta} idṛś nītyānīt krādyanyo līti seḍ bhavet//
\end{quote}

'a verbal root is allowed \textit{i}\textit{T}, optionally, before \textit{thaL} if the root is obligatorily non-\textit{i}\textit{T} before \textit{tās}, and it either (i) ends in an \textit{aC} which is not a short \textit{r}, or (ii) it contains a short \textit{a}; a root such as this which ends in a short \textit{r} and which remains obligatorily non-\textit{i}\textit{T} before \textit{tās}, also remains non-\textit{i}\textit{T}, obligatorily, before \textit{thaL}; roots other than those enumerated
as krādi (7.2.13 krṣybhṛ . . .), obligatorily, remain set ‘with the provision of it’ before LIṬ

Bhaṭṭoji offers a kārikā verse summarizing provisions of rules 7.2.61 acas tāsvat . . . through 7.2.63 ṛto bhāradvājasya, especially as they operate in view of the restrictive provision known as krādi-niyama:

ajanto’ akāravān vā yas tāsy anīt thali ved ayam/
ydanta īḍrī nityā’ niḥ krād anyo liṭi se ṣhavēt/ //
‘augment iṬ is introduced, optionally, before thaL when the same occurs after a root which ends in a vowel, or contains a short a, and is obligatorily non-iṬ before tās; a similar root which ends in short r is obligatorily non-iṬ before thaL’

Bhimasena Śāstri (II:167) offers a three-way summation:

(1) Augment iṬ will become optional in case of a root which remains non-iṬ obligatorily before tās, if this root ends in a vowel (other than r) or contains a short a. For, 7.2.61 acsa tāsvat . . . and 7.2.63 upadesē . . . negate iṬ after these roots when thaL follows. But Bhāradvāja accepts the introduction of iṬ after such roots (7.2.63 ṛto bhāradvājasya). This then means an optional iṬ in thaL. Examples of roots ending in a vowel: kṣi ‘to decay’: cikṣayitha / cikṣetha.

Examples of roots with a short a, for example pac and śak, with optional iṬ in thaL: pecitha / papaktha; śekitha / śasaktha.

(2) Augment iṬ can never be introduced before thaL after a root which remains non-iṬ, obligatorily, in thaL, but ends in a short r. For, 7.2.61 acas tāsvat . . . and 7.2.62 ṛto bhāradvājasya both negate iṬ after such a root before thaL. Consider jahartha, a derivate of hr ending in r with no iṬ.

(3) The restrictive provision of krādi (7.2.13 krṣybhṛvṛ . . .) offers iṬ after all anudāṭa roots in LIṬ, with the exception of eight roots listed as kr, etc. Consider forms of bhid and chid as examples of roots which are anudāṭa but which are not listed in the eight roots beginning with kr: bibhediṭha / bibhidiva / bibhidimā; cicchediṭha / cicchidiva cicchidima. Note that roots not listed under the eight roots of 7.2.13 krṣybhṛ . . ., if qualified for application of preceding two provisions, will have optional iṬ in thaL of LIṬ. Of course, no iṬ after the enumerated eight roots when used elsewhere, in LIṬ.

7.2.64 बभुषातमत्तन्धनमभववर्षीति निगमे
babhūṭhātatanthajagṛmbhavavartheti nigame
/babhūṭha-ātatantha-jagṛmbha-vavartha (1/1 deleted after all constituent bases) iti ṣ nigame 7/1/
'babhūva, ātatantha, jagrmbhā, vavartha' ity etāni nipātyante nigamavīṣaye
Forms such as babhūtha, ātatantha, jagrmbhā and vavartha are derived,
via nipātana, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

tvaman hi hota prathamo babhūthā 'you indeed were the first officiating
priest . . .'
yenāntariksamūrvātatanthā 'the power by means of which you expanded
. . .'
jagrmbhā te daksinamindra hastam 'O Indra! we grasped your right
hand . . .'
vavartha tvaman hi jyotisā 'you indeed enveloped yourself with light . . .'

1. Here again the negation of iṬ is already made available under the
restrictive provision of krādi (7.2.13 kṛṣybhṛṣr . . .). Stating it again turns this
rule into a restrictive provision. That is, iṬ is negated here only in the
context of the Vedic. Classical usage, of course, will not be affected (Kāś: nigama
eva, na bhāṣayām iti). Thus, we get babhūtha, ātatantha, jagrmbhā and vavartha,
where babhūtha lacks iṬ which was made available by krādi-niyama (7.2.13
kṛṣybhṛ ...). Refer to babhūva (II:429) for relevant derivational details. We get
bhū + (lit→siP→thaL) = babhūvitha, with iṬ and augment vUK (II:430),
in the classical usage. Now consider ātatantha, a second person singular lit-
derive of tanU2 to expand' used with āN. We will get ātenitha with iṬ where
deletion of the abhyāsa and replacement of a with e (etva) must be accomplished
(6.4.121 thali ca seti). We get grah + (lit→mas→ma) → jigrmbhā,
where ma replaces mas (3.4.82 parasmaipadānām . . .) and samprasaṇa is
accomplished by 6.1.16 grahiyaṇaviy. . . . The h of grah, subsequent upon
doubling (dvitva), is replaced with bh (vt: hṛgharor bhās Chadasi hasyeti
vaktavyam; ad 8.2.35 hṛgharorḥbhas . . .). The final a is then replaced with ā to
produce jigrmbhā. We get jagrhima in the classical language. Recall that iṬ
after vṛN 'to choose' in vavartha is already negated (7.2.13 kṛṣybhṛ ...). A
repeat negation of iṬ is here made for restrictive purposes. That is, a negation
of iṬ after vṛN with thali is limited, only to the Vedic usage. Thus, we get
vavaritha in the classical usage with iṬ and guṇa.

7.2.65 विभाषा सृजितरूपः:

vibhāṣā sṛjī-trūpaha
/vibhāṣā 1/1 sṛjī-trūpaha (itar. dv.) 6/2/
(angāya #6.4.1 i#35 na #59 thali #61)
‘sṛjī, dṛṣṭi’ ity etayos thali vibhāṣā idāgamo na bhavati
Augment it is, optionally, not introduced to thali when it follows an
angā constituted by verbal roots sṛj ‘to create, project’ and dṛṣṭIR ‘to
see'.

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EXAMPLES:

sasraṣṭa 'he created . . .'
sasarjitka 'ibidem'
dadrāṣṭha 'he saw . . .'
dadarśītha 'ibidem'

1. Note that iṬ, in view of restrictive provision of krāḍi-niyama (7.2.13 kṛṣṣrbhr . . .), is, obligatorily, made available to these two roots. Our present rule renders that obligatory provision optional. Thus, stj + (LIṬ→siP→thaL) \(\rightarrow\) sasraṣṭha and drś + (LIṬ→siP→thaL) \(\rightarrow\) dadrāṣṭha where, after operations relative to doubling (dvitva), the j of stj is replaced with s (8.2.36 vraśca-
bhrsaj . . .). Augment aM (6.1.57 sṛḍrśor . . .) is then introduced to derive sasraṣṭha with application of yaN and śuṭva (8.4.41 śuṇā śuṭh). Similar applications are also seen in deriving dadrāṣṭha. We will get sasarjitka and dadarśītha, with iṬ and guṇa, when the optional iṬ provision of this rule is accepted.

7.2.66 इद्तत्वतिव्ययानाम

iḍ attyartiyayaṭāṁ
/it 1/1 atty-arti-vyayāṭāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 thalī #61)
‘atti, arti, vyayati’ ṭī ṭesāṁ thaṅṅā ṣaṅgo bhavati
Augment iṬ is introduced to thaL of an anga relative to verbal roots ad
‘to consume’, r ‘to go’ and vyeN ‘to cover’.

EXAMPLES:

aditha 'second person singular ad-derivate of LIṬ"
ārīthā 'second person singular LIṬ-derivate of r’
sāmvivayithā 'second person singular LIṬ-derivate of veN, used after
sam and vi'

1. Note that iṭ is explicitly used here for clarity (Kāś. atrey graham viṣpaṭārtham). Why could it not be accepted as making an optional provision (vikalpa)? For, that would have made the use of arti and vyayati as vacuous (vyarthā). Their optional iṬ has already been made available by 7.2.63 ṭo bhāradvājasya. Is this explicit use of iṭ then, made for negating iṬ? This could hardly be the purpose. Specification of arti in this rule will again become vacuous. For, this negation is already made available by 7.2.63 ṭo bhāradvājasya. Since this rule could not make any optional, or negative, provision, its provision must be accepted as obligatory (nitya). An explicit use of iṭ makes it clearly known that the anuvṛtti of na (7.2.59 na vyṛdhyāś . . .) and viṅkhaṣā (7.2.65 viṅkhaṣā sṛjḍṛśoḥ) is canceled.

2. This rule introduces iṬ to thaL of an anga constituted by adA 'to con-
sume', r ‘to go’ and vyeN ‘to cover’. Thus, ad + (LIṬ→siP→thaL) = aditha, r +
(LIṬ→siP→tha) = ārīthā and vyeN + (LIṬ→siP→thaL) = vyayitha, where an
optionally available \( i^\prime \) is made obligatory. The \( a \) of the abhyāsa (in āditha and āritha) is replaced with its long counterpart (ātva; 7.4.70 ata ādeh), subsequent upon doubling (dvitva). This ā, however, is negated in the context of vyē\( \text{N} \). Refer to derivational details of saṃsvayitha under 6.1.45 na vyo liti. Recall that rule 7.2.63 rto bhāraddvijāyasya allows optional \( i^\prime \) in connection with \( ad \) (attī) and vyē\( \text{N} \) (vyayati). It also negates \( i^\prime \) in connection with roots ending in \( r \). This rule is formulated for making the introduction of \( i^\prime \) obligatory.

7.2.67 कव्येकाजाद्वसासाम

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vasu ekājadghasām} \\
/\text{vasu } 1/1 \text{(deleted) } \text{ekājadghasām } 6/3 & = \text{eko' c yasmin sa ekāc (b.v.), ekāc} \\
& \text{ca āt ca ghaś ca (itar. dv.), teśām/} \\
& \text{(āṅgasya } #6.4.1 \text{ i } #66) \\
\text{kṛtadvrvacanānām dhātunām ekācām ākārantānām ghaseś ca vasāv idāgamo bhavati}
\end{align*}
\]

Augment \( i^\prime \) is introduced to vas\( \text{U} \) when it occurs after a root which, after doubling, either consists of a single syllable, or ends in ā, or else, is constituted by ghas ‘to eat’.

**Examples:**

- ādivān ‘he ate’
- āśivān ‘ibidem’
- pecivān ‘he cooked’
- śekivān ‘he left’

1. Note that roots which are specified here as consisting of a single syllable, or ending in ā, or else, constituted by ghas, must be understood as those which yield such forms after going through doubling and related operations (Kāś: kṛtadvrvacanānām dhātunām ekācām akārantānām). A specification with vas\( \text{U} \) is here made to refer to Kvas\( \text{U} \) (3.2.107 kvasūs ca), a replacement of LIT. Thus, verbal roots \( ad \) and \( ās \) yield their monosyllabic forms ād and ās after going through doubling (\( ad+ad \), halādiseśa ‘retention of which begins with initial consonant’ \( (a+ad; 7.4.60 \text{ halād } \text{śesah}) \), replacement in ā (ātva; a→ā+ad; 7.4.70 ata ādeh) and ‘replacement in homogeneous long’ (savarnadīrga; (ā+a→ā) d; 6.1.100 akāh savarna dīrgah). Verbal root \( sā \) follows the same pattern. Verbal roots pac and šak go through deletion of their reduplicate (abhpyāsa; 6.4.120 ata ekahalmadhya . . . ) in deriving pecivān and śekivān. Their \( a \) is also replaced concurrently with \( e \) (etva). Refer to jaksivān in the appendix of 3.2.107 kvasūs ca (III:745) for derivational details.

2. Note that this provision of \( i^\prime \) must be restrictive (niyamārtha) since roots specified by this rule should have received \( i^\prime \) from rule 7.2.13 kṣṛbhṛ. . . . For, a provision made in view of one already made available is
accepted as restrictive. That is, augment \(iT\) is introduced to \(vasU\) only when it occurs after these specified roots, and not when it occurs after any other root (Kāś: siddhe saty ārambhō niyāmarthahā, ekājādghasām eva vasāv idāgamo bhavati nānyeśām). It is for this reason that \(iT\) cannot be introduced in deriving bibhīdhāvān, cicchīdhāvān, babhīhāvān and śīśīhāvān. This restrictive provision of \(iT\) becomes applicable as a result of the krādī-niyama, or for an absence of any other negative provision (pratishedhābhāva).

Why do we need a specification with āt ‘after that which ends in ā’ when the ekāc condition of ‘containing a single vowel’ can already account for it? Roots which are specified here with āt also become monosyllabic, after doubling and operations relative to abhyāsa ‘reduplicated syllable’ are performed. A separate specification with āt is made for roots which do not consist of a single vowel (ekāc). Consider yejiwān where the root is yaya + (\(LIT\)→\(KvasU\)) before augment \(iT\) is introduced. Since such roots become monosyllabic only after their final ā is deleted and also since this deletion is accomplished only after \(iT\) is introduced, these roots cannot be covered by ekāc. That is, they will still be consisting of more than one vowel when \(iT\) will be introduced. A specification with āt is thus necessary.

But accepting this explanation of āt will make \(iT\) available to \(vasU\) after daridrā ‘to be poor’. Recall that daridrā also receives ām (vī. kāsy anekāc . . . ad 3.1.35 kāspratayād ām amantre). Rule 2.4.81 āmah then causes deletion of \(LIT\). How could one introduce \(iT\) to a replacement of \(LIT\), i.e., \(vasU\), when \(LIT\) is already deleted? Augment \(iT\) is thus not available to daridrā. It could not be made available in the context of daridrā, even when one does not introduce ām. For, the ā of daridrā will then be deleted, prior to the introduction of \(KvasU\). This deletion will clearly remove the condition of ādanta ‘ending in āt’. Augment \(iT\) will thus be blocked again.

Is it necessary to include a reference to ghas? Yes. For, in its absence, doubling of ghaś will be blocked. Note that 6.4.100 ghasibhasa hari ca is subsequent in order to rules which accomplish doubling. If this rule applies first to delete the penultimate (upadhā) a, of gh(a→φ)s = *ghs, on the basis of its subsequent order (paratva), doubling cannot be accomplished. The form will simply not have any vowel (anakca). A specification of ghas in this rule enables \(iT\) to block penultimate deletion (upadālopa) on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent in order’ (1.4.2 vipratiśedhe . . . ). Rule 6.4.98 gamahanajanaghasām . . . accomplishes penultimate deletion after \(iT\) is introduced. This deletion becomes sthānivat ‘similar to what it replaced’ (1.1.59 dhīrvacane ci) in view of application of doubling. This is how one derives jakṣivān. It is thus important that ghas be specified here separately.

7.2.68 विभाषा गमहनविदविशाम

vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 gamahanavidaviśām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #66 vasu #67)
‘gama, hana, vida, viṣa’ ity ētesāṁ dhātūnāṁ vasau vibhāṣā iḍāgamo bhavati

Augment iṬ is optionally introduced to vasU when it occurs after an aṅga, namely gam 'to go', han 'to harm, kill', vid 'to gain, profit' and viṣ ‘to enter’.

Examples:

jagmivān ‘... went’
jaganvān ‘ibidem’
jaghnīvān ‘... killed’
jaghanvān ‘ibidem’
vividvān ‘... gained’
vividvān ‘ibidem’
vivīśvān ‘... entered’
vivīśvān ‘ibidem’

1. This rule introduces iṬ to vasU after verbal roots gam, han, vid and viṣ. Note that vid here refers to the tudādi root meaning lābha ‘gain’. We know it from its associated (sahacarīta) listing, here, with viṣ which is also a root of the tudādi class. Verbal root vid, which has the signification of jñāna ‘knowledge’, is also not specified here. For, it receives iṬ obligatorily (nityam), as is attested by its single form vividvān. Verbal root vid with the signification of sattā ‘existence’ and viḍa ‘to think’ could not be included here either. For, they are middle verbs (āmaneṇpadī) where Kvāsu is not introduced.

2. Derivational details of jagmivān / jaganvān and jaghnīvān / jaghanvān are similar to examples of the preceding rules. We get gam + LIṬ → jagan + ivas with Kvāsu, iṬ, doubling and operations relative to abhyāsa. Note that doubling is accomplished in view of 1.1.59 dvirvacane ‘ci. Deletion of the penultimate a of jagan is accomplished by 6.4.98 gamahana. . . . An introduction of nUM then derives jagmivān (cf. III:745; under 3.2.107 kvāsū ca). The m of gam, in jaganvān, is replaced with n (8.2.65 mvoś ca). The h of jaghnīvān will go through a replacement in gh (kutva; 7.3.55 abhyāsāc ca). Remaining examples follow similar derivational applications.’

3. A vārttika proposal is also made for an optional introduction of iṬ in connection with dṛṣ ‘to see’. Thus, we get dadrīvān and dadrśvān.

7.2.69 सानिष्ठसानिष्ठवांसम्

saniṃsasaniṃvāṃsam
/saniṃsasaniṃvāṃsam 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #66 vasu #67)
sanoteh sanater vā dhātoḥ ‘saniṃsasaniṃvāṃsam’ iti nipātyate

Augment iṬ is introduced to vasU when it occurs after san, used in conjunction after sanim, in deriving saniṃsasaniṃvāṃsam, via nipātana.
EXAMPLES:

*saniṃsasanivāṃsam*

1. This word is derived, via *nipātana*, only as an accusative singular. Since this form is only found in the Vedic, and also since the example in the classical language (*bhāṣā*) is *senivāṃsam*, commentators restrict this *nipātana* to the Vedic.

2. Note that *saniṃsasanivāṃsam* could be derived, either from the *bhvādi* root *saṇA* or the *tudādi* root *saṇU* 'to give', used in construction preceded by *sanim*. This derive does not replace the *a* of *saṇV* with *e* (*etva*; 6.4.120 *ekahalmadhye* . . .). It also does not accept deletion of its *abhyaśa* before *vas*, used with *iT*. We get *senivāṃsam* in the classical usage with the application of replacement in *e* (*etva*), introduction of *iT* and deletion of *abhyaśa*.

7.2.70 र्द्धनोऽस्ये

*ṛddhanoḥ* sye

*/ṛddhanoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.) sye 7/1/

(anāgasya #6.4.1 i ि #35)

*ṛkārāntām dhātunām hanteś ca sye idāgamo bhavati*

Augment *iT* is introduced to *sya* when occurring after an *āṅga* constituted, either by roots ending in *ṛT* or by verbal root *han*.

EXAMPLES:

*karisyati* 'he will do'

*harisyati* 'he will carry'

*hanisyati* 'he will kill'

1. Note that *T* (*taparakaṇaraṇa*) of *ṛT* is used for clarity (*vispaṭārtham*). Recall that 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe* . . . will negate *iT* in connection with a root which ends in a short *ṛ*, or is constituted by *han*, since they contain a single vowel and are also marked with *anudātta*. Rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyatī* . . ., especially in connection with *svṛ*, makes this negative provision optional. Our present rule, since it makes a provision against one which already exists, makes *iT* available, obligatorily. This obligatory provision is accepted against optional *iT* on the basis of *vipraṭiśedha* (1.4.2 *vipraṭiśedhe param kāryam*).

This preceding explanation, as Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśi*) claims, is made out of compassion for those who may be forgetful (*vismaraṇaśīla*).

2. Why specify *ṛ* with a following *t* (*taparakaṇaraṇa*)? This specification is made for clarity (*vispaṭārtham*). That is, it is made for excluding any reference to long *ṛ*. For, a root which ends in *ṛ* will avail *iT* on the basis of its *udātta*. A specification with *ṛ* will also make clear that *ṛ* refers to a sound. It does not, for example, refer to verbal root *ṛ* 'to go'.
7.2.71 अङि: शिवि

aṅjeḥ sici
/aṅjeḥ 5/1 sici 7/1/
(anāgasya #6.4.1 it #35)
aṅjeḥ sici idāgamu bhavati

Augment iṬ is introduced to a sIC which occurs after an anāg constit-
tuted by verbal root aṅj ‘anoint’.

Examples:

aṅjit ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of aṅj’
aṅjiṣṭām ‘third person dual active . . .’
aṅjiṣuḥ ‘third person plural active . . .’

1. Note that 7.2.44 svaratisūti . . . allows optional iṬ to aṅjū at the strength
of its Ě as an it (Kāś: ĥiditvād vibhāṣā bhavati). This rule is then formulated
for making that provision obligatory (nītya). But since this rule further con-
ditions its provision with sIC, we will get iṬ, obligatorily, only in derivates of
LUN. Elsewhere, because of no introduction of sIC, we will get an optional
iṬ. Thus, we will get aniktā and anjītā. Incidentally, our example derivates
will receive their āṬ from 6.4.72 āḍ ajāḍinām. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.3
iko guṇavarḍdhī for derivational details of many LUN-derivates (II:333-34).

7.2.72 स्तुस्युवध्यय: परस्मापदेशु

stusudhūṁbhyaḥ parasmaipadeśu
/stusudhūṁbhyaḥ 5/3 (stār. dv.); parasmaipadeśu 7/3/
(anāgasya #6.4.1 it #35 sici #71)
‘stu, su, dhūṁ’ ity etebhyāḥ sici parasmaipade parata idāgamu bhavati

Augment iṬ is introduced to sIC when it occurs after an anāg consti-
tuted by verbal roots stu (stuḥ) ‘to praise’, suN (suN) ‘to press out’ and
dhūṁ ‘to shake’, provided an affix termed parasmaipada follows.

Examples:

astāvīt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of stu’
asaṁvīt ‘third person singular active . . . of suN’
adāvīt ‘third person singular active . . . of dhūṁ’

1. Note that 7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe . . . will obligatorily negate iṬ in the con-
text of verbal roots stuN and suN. For, they are both marked with anudāṭṭa as an
it. Verbal root dhūṁ qualifies for an optional iṬ in view of 7.2.44
svaratisūtisūyati . . . . Our present rule makes its provision of iṬ, obligatory. It is
thus an exception to both 7.2.10 and 7.2.44. Refer to astāvīt under the
appendix (II:334) of 1.1.3 iko guṇavarḍdhī for derivational details.

2. Why do we have the condition of parasmaipadeśu ‘when affixes termed
parasmaipada follow? Consider astoṣṭa, asoṣṭa and adhoṣṭa which are third person singular middle (āṭmanepada) derivates of Sṭuṅ, Sūṅ and dhūṅ, respectively. Since these roots are marked with ēṅ, they can be derived with both the active and middle endings (ubhayapadi). We will not get iṅ in their derivates with the middle endings.

7.2.73 यमरममात्सकसः

yamaramanamātāṃ sak ca
/yamaramanamātāṃ 6/3 (yama ca rama ca nama ca āc ca = yamaramanamāt, teṣām; itar. dv.); sak 1/1 ca ḫ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35 sici #71 parasmaipadesu #72)
‘yama, rama, nama’ ity teṣām aṅgānām, ākārāntānāṃ ca saṅgogaḥ bhavati
parasmaipade sici idāgamaś ca

Augment sak, and iṅ as well, is introduced to an aṅga which is constituted by yamā ‘to restrain’, ramū ‘to sport’, namā ‘to bend, bow’, and to a root ending in ā, when sIC, followed by an affix termed parasmaipada, follows.

Examples:

ayamsīt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of yamā’
ayamsīṣṭām ‘third person dual . . .’
ayamsīṣuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
vyaṃsīt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of ramū’
vyaṃsīṣṭām ‘third person dual . . .’
vyaṃsīṣuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
anamsīt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of namā’
anamsīṣṭām ‘third person dual . . .’
anamsīṣuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’
avāṃsīt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of yā ‘to reach’
avāṃsīṣṭām ‘third person dual . . .’
avāṃsīṣuḥ ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule introduces two augments, i.e. sak and iṅ, concurrently. Recall that these roots are all marked with anudāṭta. Consequently, their iṅ remains negated by 7.2.10 ekāca upadeśe . . . Our rule not only allows iṅ but also makes a concurrent (sanniyoga-śīṣṭa) provision of augment sak. Since sak is marked with K as an it, and also since verbal roots yamā, etc., are specified here with sāṣṭhī ‘genitive’, sak is introduced at the end (1.1.46 ādyantau tākitau) of yamā, etc. Augment iṅ, since it is marked with T as an it, will be introduced at the beginning of sIC.

Consider yam + (LUN→tiP) which, after the introduction of aT and sIC, produces aT + yam + sIC + tiP. Augment iṅ (7.3.98 bruva it, etc.) must also be introduced to tiP, a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṅsit . . .) affix which begins with a
consonant and is marked with $P$ as an it. This, with $saK$, $iT$ and $iT$, will give us: $(aT + (yam + saK) + (iT + sIO) + (iT + tiP))$. The $s$ of $sIO$ will get deleted by 8.2.28 $it$ $iti$. Refer to akārṣit (II:332) for full derivational details. Incidentally, active endings in vyāramṣit are introduced by 1.3.83 vyānparibhyo. . .

Note that yamA, ramU and namA also qualify for vr̥ddhi conditioned by their terminal consonant (halanta-lakṣanā; 7.2.3 vadavrajā . . .). However, this vr̥ddhi is blocked by rule 7.2.4 netī.

The condition of parasmaiṃpadeṣu 'when affixes termed parasmaiṃpada follow' is still valid. Consider āyamsta, āramsta and anamsta which derive from ($āN$-yamA + ($LUN$ → $ta$)), ($ā$-ramU + ($LUN$ → $ta$)) and ($ā$-(n→n)amA) + ($LUN$ → $ta$). The first string replaces $LUN$ with a middle ($ā$-manepada) ending in view of 1.3.28 āno yamahanah. The second string has ramA, a root marked with anudātta as its it. The third string must accept middle in view of the denotation of karmakartṛ 'object turned agent'. Recall, in this connection, that īnN is blocked here by 3.1.89 na duhasnamām yacinau. These strings must fall outside the scope of this rule on account of not meeting the condition of parasmaiṃpadeṣu.

7.2.74 सिमपुष्परुङ्कव्यां सनि

-smipūnraṇjaśāṁ sani
-smitipūnraṇjaśāṁ 6/3 (itar. du.); sani 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35)

'smin, pūn, r, anjū, asū' ity eteṣāṁ dhātunāṁ sanidāgamo bhavati

Augment $iT$ is introduced to affix saN when the same occurs after an anga constituted by verbal roots smiN 'to smile', pūN 'to purify, cleanse', r 'to go, reach', anjū 'to anoint', and asū 'to pervade'.

Examples:

sismayiṣate ' . . . wishes to smile'
piṭpaviṣate ' . . . wishes to cleanse'
artriṣati ' . . . wishes to go'
āṇjiṣiṣati ' . . . wishes to smear'
asiiṣate ' . . . wishes to pervade'

1. Note that $N$ as an it in pūN is used to rule out any reference to verbal root pūN 'to purify, cleanse'. This root gets a form such as puṣiṣati. Verbal root asū 'to pervade', a member of the svādī group, is referenced with ē as an it (ūdit) to similarly block any reference to āṣA 'to eat' of the kṛyādi group. This latter involves $iT$, obligatorily, on the basis of its udāṭa as an it (Kāś: nakāragrahaṇaṃ puṇa mā bhūt . . . aṣer ēdito grahaṇād aśnoter nityam īdāgamo sty eva).

Recall that roots which are marked with ū as an it (ūdit) receive $iT$, optionally (7.2.44 svaratiṣūṭiṣuṭi . . .). Augment $iT$ is negated in the context
of $smiN$ by 7.2.10 $ekāca$ upadeśe. . . . It is obligatorily negated in connection with other roots on the basis of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term $uK$ as their $it$ ($uganta$; 7.2.12 $saniguhoś ca$). Our present rule makes $iT$ available after specified roots when $saN$ follows.

2. Note that $(pū + saN) + LAT$ will produce $pipaviśate$ where the $saN$-derivate, $pipavisa$, will be derived via doubling, i.e., $pū + pav + i + saN$. That is, in view of 1.1.59 $dvirvacane$ ci, subsequent to replacement in $guna$ and subsequent $o→av$. Thus, $pū + saN → pū + iT + saN → pū + ρ(ū→o→av) + saN → pū + pav + i + saN$. The $ū$ of the abhyāsa will be replaced with $i$ (7.4.80 oḥ puyanyajjyapare). Doubling of $aririsi$, i.e., $r + saN → r + iT + saN → ar + iT + saN → a + ris + ris + a → (ari + risa) + LAT$), is accomplished by 6.1.2 aji$āder dvīsyaśa$. Doubling in $aṇi$jiśati will exclude $n$ (6.1.3 na ndrāḥ $saniyogādayah$) and thus yield $ajis + jis + a$.

7.2.75 किरुष्च पञ्चब्यः:

$kiraśca pāncabhyah$

/kirah 5/1 ca ṣ pāncabhyah 5/3/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it #35 sani #74)

kīrāṭībhyaḥ pāñcabhyas sani idāgamo bhavati

Augment $iT$ is introduced to affix $saN$ when the same occurs after an $aṅga$ constituted by five verbal roots listed beginning with $kṛ$ ‘to scatter’.

EXAMPLES:

$cikariśati ‘... wishes to (kṛ+saN) scatter’$

$jigrarśati ‘... wishes to (gr+saN) swallow’$

$didariśate ‘... wishes to (drN+saN) insult’$

$didharśati ‘... wishes to (dhṛN+saN) be inattentive’$

$pippracchisati ‘... wishes to (pracch + saN) ask’$

1. A set of five roots of the tudādi group headed by $kṛ$ forms the operational focus of this rule. Recall that verbal roots $drN$ and $dhṛN$, because they end in $uK$ ($uganta$), are denied $iT$ when $saN$ follows (7.2.12 sani grahaguoś ca). Our present rule offers $iT$ against that negation. Augment $iT$ is negated in connection with remaining roots since they are marked with anudātta. Our present rule offers $iT$ against that negation. Refer to $piprechisati$ (II:432) for derivational details. Other examples can be similarly derived.

2. Why do we have the limitation of $pāncabhyah ‘after five verbal roots’$? Consider $śryśati$ where $iT$ is not allowed because $ṣry$ is not included within the set of five specified roots.

3. Note that 7.2.41 it $sani vā$ allows optional $iT$ to $kṛ$ and $gr$. An optional long replacement is also made available by 7.2.33 $vṛ̤io vā$. A desideratum of the Mahābhāṣya finds this long replacement undesired (asyeto dirghatvaṁ necchanti).
7.2.76 रुदादिभ्यः: सार्वभाषातुके

rūḍādibhyāḥ sārvadhātuke
/rūḍādibhayāḥ 5/3 sārvadhātuke 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 valādeḥ it #35 sārvadhātuke #76 paṅcabhyāḥ #75)
(rūḍādibhya uttarasya valādeḥ sārvadhātukasya idāgamo bhavati)

Augment i}$/ is introduced to a sārvadhātuka affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term vaL (Śs.5-14; a consonant other than y) and occurs after an aṅga constituted by five verbal roots beginning with rūḍ ‘to cry’.

Examples:

roditi ‘... cries (rūḍ)’
svapṭiti ‘... reclines, sleeps (svap)’
śvasiti ‘... breathes (śvas)’
prāṇitī ‘... idibem (pra-an)’
jaṅkiti ‘... eats (jaṅk)’

1. Note that five verbal roots headed by rūḍ are: rūḍ ‘to cry’, svap ‘to sleep’, śvas ‘to breathe’, an ‘to breathe’ and jaṅk ‘to eat’. Since jāegr ‘to wake up, be awake’ falls outside this set of five, we do not get i}$/ in jāegrati. This is what the specification of paṅcabhyāḥ ‘after the five ...’ does. A condition of sārvadhātuke (3.4.113 tiṁśī sārvadhātukam) similarly rules out i}$/ in contexts where an affix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣah) may be involved. Consider svapṭā ‘who will sleep’, a derivate of svap with tās (3.1.33 syaṭāsi ...), an ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣah). Finally, the condition of valādeḥ ‘... beginning with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term vaL’ must also be met. Augment i}$/ will be blocked in examples such as rūḍanti where, obviously, the affix which follows rūḍ does not begin with a sound denoted by vaL.

7.2.77 इशः: से

iśāḥ se
/īśāḥ 5/1 se (deleted 6/1)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 i}$/ #35 sārvadhātuke #76)
iśa uttarasya ‘se’ ity etasya sārvadhātukasya idāgamo bhavati

Augment i}$/ is introduced to an affix termed sārvadhātuka, namely se, when the same occurs after i}$/ ‘to be master’.

Examples:

iśise ‘second person singular middle LAT-form of i$/’
iśīṣva ‘second person singular middle LOT-form ...’

1. Note that the specification of se is made here by deleting the genitive
ending after it (luptāsaṣṭhyantaniṃdesa) by rule 7.1.36 supām suluk. . . Or else, this specification of se is made with no nominal ending (avibhaktiko yan nirdesāḥ), at all.

The form se itself is a replacement for thās, per 3.4.80 thāsāḥ se. Note also that e of se, when replaced with va, under the provision of 3.4.91 savābhīyāṁ vāmau, yields sva. This can also be included within the reference of se, especially in view of the paribhāsā (37): ekadesavikṛtam ananyavad bhavati 'modification in a part does not make the modified any different from the original'. Consequently, iṣiṣva also involves introduction of augment iT.

7.2.78 ईडजनोध्वे च

idajanordhve ca
/idajanah 6/2 dhve (deleted 6/1) ca φ/
(angasya #6.4.1 it #35 sārvadhātuke #76 se #77)
'ida, jana' ity etābhīyāṁ uttarasya 'dhve' ity etasya 'se' ity etasya ca sārvadhātukasya idāgamo bhavati

Augment iT is introduced to sārvadhātuka affixes dhve, and se, when these occur after an anīga constituted by verbal roots idA and jaN.

EXAMPLES:

ididhve 'second person plural middle LAT-form of īd'
ididhvam 'second person plural middle LOT-form . . .'
idīse 'second person singular middle LAT-form . . .'
idīṣva 'second person singular middle LOT-form . . .'
janidhve 'second person plural middle LAT-form of jan'
janidhvam 'second person plural middle LOT-form . . .'
janīse 'second person singular middle LAT-form . . .'
janīṣva 'second person singular middle LOT-form . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment iT to sārvadhātuka affixes, namely dhve (dhvam with replacement in e (etva); 3.4.78 tiptasjhi . . .; 3.4.79 tit ātmanepadānām . . .) and se (3.4.80 thāsāḥ se), when these affixes occur after an anīga constituted by verbal roots idA 'to praise' and jaN 'to be born'. Note that dhve refers to the second plural middle ending dhvam, with its ti (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ti) replaced with e (etva; 3.4.79 tit ātmanepadānām . . .). A similar specification is made to the second singular middle ending thās with its replacement in se (3.4.80 thāsāḥ se). Thus, idA + (LOT→dhvam) → īd + dhv(am→e) → īd + i(T) + dhve → ididhve. We similarly get jaN + (LOT→thās→se) → jan + i(T) + se → janīse. The s of se is then replaced with s (8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh). Recall that 3.4.91 savābhīyāṁ vāmau replaces an e-replacement relative to LOT with va and am, provided e occurs after s and v.

Thus we get ididhvam and ididhve, janidhvam and janīse. Recall that these forms are treated as optional. For, sarve vidhayāḥ chandasi vikalpyante 'all operations in the Vedic are made optional'.

2. Note that janA is a root of the div-ādi class. Consequently, we get the introduction of ŚyaN (3.1.69 divādibhyah śyan) after verbal root janA. This ŚyaN, however, goes through deletion by LUK in the Vedic. The penultimate deletion (upadālpopa) of 6.4.98 gamahanajanakhana... is also blocked.

This rule, with its specification of janA, also refers to janA 'to be born', a root of the juhotyādi class. We thus get vyatijañīse / vyatijanīsva and vyatijanidhve / vyatijanidhvam, its derivatives with the signification of karma-vy athāra 'reciprocal action' (1.3.14 kartari karmavayathāre). Recall that the juhotyādi class of roots have ŚLU as their marker. This ŚLU is subsequently deleted (2.4.76 bahulaṃ chandasi). The root, however, is subjected through doubling (6.1.10 ślau) and operations relative to their abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaśa).

3. Kāśikā states that iT is also desired after ī when dhve follows. Thus, we get īsidhve and īsidhvm. For this, some read this rule as: īdijanōh sdhve ca. Since ś-initial se thus becomes included within the rule, ca is interpreted as used for attracting ī. That is, ca is not relatable to sdhve. It, instead, is used for bringing ī from the previous rule. Why did Pāṇini not employ brevity (lāghava) and read the sūtra, jointly, as: īdijanām sedhvayoh? This would have saved two usage of the nominal endings, and also of ca. Pāṇini's formulation of rule(s) is indeed wonderful (vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇineh).

4. Since this specification with dhve is made with e as a replacement for the ti of dhvam, a derive of LA+N with dhvam should not receive iT. But dhvam of LOT could still receive iT, based on the maxim: ekadesavikṛtam ananyavat 'that which is modified in one place is not any different from the original'.

7.2.79 लिङ्क: सलोपोनन्त्यस्य

liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya
///liṅaḥ 6/1 salopaḥ 1/1 anantyasya 6/1 (na ante bhavaḥ (naN. tat.), tasya) /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sārvadhātuke #76)

sārvadhātuke yo īni tasya anantyasya sakārasya lopo bhavati

The non-final s of a sārvadhātuka replacement of affix LIÑ goes through deletion by LOPA.

Examples:

kuryāt 'third person singular active (potential) LIÑ-form of kr'
kuryātām 'third person dual active . . .'
kuryaḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
kurvīta 'third person singular middle (potential) LIÑ-form of kr'
kurvītām 'third person dual middle . . .'
kurvīran 'third person plural middle . . .'

1. Note that sārvadhātuke (3.4.113 tiṅsit sārvadhātukam) is still carried over.
Thus, the non-final s of a replacement of \textit{LIN}, when occurring before a \textit{sārvadhatu} affix, goes through deletion via \textit{LOPA}. What is this non-initial s of \textit{LIN}? A reference is here made to the s of yās\textit{UT}, s\textit{UT} and sīy\textit{UT} which, in turn, are introduced as augments to \textit{LIN} before a \textit{parasmapi}da ‘active’ verbal ending termed \textit{sārvadhatu} (3.4.102 \textit{liṅah} sīy\textit{UT}-3.4.107 sūt tithoḥ). It is stated that a \textit{LIN}, when qualified with \textit{sārvadhatu}, refers only to injunctival (\textit{vidhi}) \textit{LIN}. The benedictive \textit{LIN}s, of course, \textit{ārdhadhatu} in view of 3.4.116 \textit{liṅ āśiṣi}.

Refer to derivational details of \textit{kuryāt}, \textit{kuryātām} and \textit{kuryāh} under 3.4.103 \textit{yāsuṭ} . . . (III:784). Similar deletion of s of sīy\textit{UT} and s\textit{UT} is witnessed in \textit{kurvīta}, \textit{kurvīyātām} and \textit{kurvīran}. Consider \textit{kuru} + sīy\textit{(UT)} + tā → \textit{kuru} + (s→ϕ) iy + tā → \textit{kuru} + iy(ϕ) + tā → \textit{kuru} + (u→v) + iy + tā = \textit{kurvīta}, where y-deletion is accomplished by 6.1.64 \textit{lōpo vyor vālī}. There is no y-deletion in \textit{kurvītām}. Refer to \textit{pacetra} for deriving \textit{kurvīran} (III:785).

2. Why do we state the condition of \textit{anantasya} ‘of a non-final’? Consider \textit{kuryāh} and \textit{kuryāh} where the final s is replaced with \textit{visarga}.

Why do we have the condition of \textit{sārvadhatu} ‘when an affix termed \textit{sārvadhatu} follows’? Consider \textit{kṛyāstām} and \textit{kṛyāsuh} where s-deletion cannot apply. For, a benedictive \textit{LIN} becomes \textit{ārdhadhatu} under the provision of 3.4.116 \textit{liṅ āśiṣi}. Similar non-deletion of s can also be found in \textit{kṛṣṇāṣṭā}, \textit{kṛṣṇāyāstām} and \textit{kṛṣṇāran}.

\textbf{7.2.80 अतो येचः:}

\begin{verbatim}
ato yeyah
\textit{/atah} 5/1 yā (6/1 deleted) iyah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sārvadhatu #76)
akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya ‘yā’ ity etasya sārvadhatukasya ‘iy’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
\end{verbatim}

The yā of a \textit{sārvadhatu} affix is replaced with iy when the same occurs after an aṅga ending in a.

\textbf{EXAMPLES:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{pacet} ‘third person singular active \textit{LIN}-form of \textit{pac’}
  \item \textit{pacetām} ‘third person dual active . . .’
  \item \textit{paceyuh} ‘third person plural active . . .’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule offers iy as a replacement for yā of a \textit{sārvadhatu} affix when the same occurs after an aṅga ending in a. Consider \textit{pac} + (\textit{LIN→ti}(P)) \rightarrow \textit{pac} + (Ś)a(P) + ti → \textit{pac} + a + yās\textit{(UT)} + ti → \textit{pac} + a + yās + t(ϕ) → \textit{pac} + a + yā(s→ϕ) + t → \textit{pac} + a + yā + t → \textit{pac} + a + (yā→iy) + t → \textit{pac}(a+i→e)y + t \rightarrow \textit{pace}(y→ϕ) + t = \textit{pacet}. Note that yās\textit{UT} is introduced by 3.4.103 yāsuṭ parasmaipade . . . The i of ti goes through deletion of 3.4.100 itas ca. The s of yās\textit{UT} gets deleted by 7.2.79 \textit{liṅah salopo} . . ., and our present rule replaces
yā with iy. A single replacement in guṇa, similar to the following i of the sequence a+i of pac + a + iy + ta, is then offered by 6.1.97 ato guṇe. We thus get pac + ey + t, where y gets deleted by 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali. We similarly derive paseṭām and paceyūh, where the third personal dual verbal ending, tas (3.4.78 tiptasīhi . . . ), and the plural, jhi, get replaced with tam and jus, respectively (3.4.101 tasthanasthipāṃ . . . ; 3.4.108 jher jus). Why do we not get a single replacement similar to the following (pararūpa) i of the vocalic sequence a+i in pac + (a+i)y + us? This single replacement is here blocked by 6.1.96 usy apadāntāt.

2. Why do we have the condition of atah ‘after the a-final an̄ga’? Consider cinuyāt and sunuyāt, where yā occurs after an an̄ga ending in u. This yā cannot be replaced with iy.

Why is a specified with a following t (tapaṭarakarāṇa)? So that this replacement in iy does not apply in yāyāt, where yā occurs after the long ā of yā.

Recall that the condition of sārvaradhatuka is still valid. That is why we do not get iy in cikīrṣā, a derivate of benedictive Līn where the root ends in san and the ārdhadhatuka affix yās UT follows.

3. Now consider the derivation of cikīrṣ(a→ϕ) + yā(s→ϕ) + t → cikīrṣā, where 6.4.48 ato lopah deletes the a of cikīrṣā before the ārdhadhatuka affix yās. A replacement in iy for yā of this rule is also blocked because yās is not a sārvaradhatuka affix. An objection is made against carrying the anuvrtti of sārvaradhatuka. Why bring sārvaradhatuka when, after the deletion of a (6.4.48 ato lopah) under the condition of ārdhadhatuka, the an̄ga will not end in a. The applicational condition of this rule will then be removed. The anuvrtti of sārvaradhatuka is thus not necessary to block application of this rule. But this view will create problems with pacet and ya jet, where 7.3.101 ato dīrgho yanī may apply to replace the short a of pacā with its long counterpart. A long counterpart will then not permit the application of this rule. Our present rule, hence, blocks the application of 7.3.101 ato dīrgho yanī. That is how we get pacet and yajet. If the word sārvaradhatuka is not carried over to this rule, it will also block application of a-deletion (6.4.48 ato lopah). Carrying the anuvrtti of sārvaradhatuka will not permit iy to replace yā. For, yā is an ārdhadhatuka.

4. It is further argued that 7.3.101 ato dīrgho yanī also carries the anuvrtti of tiṇī (7.3.88 bhūsuvo tiṇī). This would enable our present rule to only block the application of 7.3.101 ato dīrgho yanī. It cannot block the application of 6.4.48 ato lopah. For, iy blocks dīrgha ‘long vowel-replacement’ by way of becomimg niravakāsa ‘without any scope of application’. It is because of this niravakāṣātva ‘scopelessness’ that iy blocks dīrgha by way of being an exception (apavāda). This iy cannot be accepted as an exception to a-deletion, because iy will apply whether a-deletion applied or not. This is supported by the maxim of (Pū.58) yena nāprāpte yo vidhīr ārabhyate . . . ‘a rule whose scope of application removes the condition of application of another is blocked by the other’. Also, (Pū.61) madhye ‘pavādān pūrvān vidhīn bādhante
nottarān 'exceptions read in between only block operations which precede, and not any others which follow'. Our present rule will thus block the application of 6.4.48 aito lopah. It cannot block the application of 7.3.101 aito dirgho yañi. Carrying over the anvortti of sārvadhatuke will block the application of this rule in cikirśyā. For, its ya is an ārdhadhatuκa.

5. A question is raised as to how we get yeṣa? We have two interpretations:

(i) yā + ṇas + iya + sU → yā + iyah, where the genitive goes through LUK-deletion and ỵ(ā+i→e)yā yields yeṣa + sU = yeṣaḥ, through a single guna-replacement. This single replacement is then considered ārṣa: accomplished by the sage Pāṇini in this rule.

(ii) yā + ṇas + iya + sU, where ā of yā (aito dhātuk) is deleted and s of ṇas is replaced with y, via rU (8.3.17 bhobhagagho . . .). We thus get y(ā→φ) + ə(s→rU→y)) + iyah = y + ay + iyah, where y of ay goes through deletion of 8.3.19 lopah śākalyasya. Rule 6.1.97 ād gunaḥ then applies on ya + iyah to yield y(ā+i→e)yah = yeṣaḥ, through a single replacement in guna. Is this single replacement in guna accomplished by accepting y-deletion as suspended by 8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham? Since this specification is part of a rule, y-deletion is not considered asiddha 'suspended' in view of application of guna (Nyāsa: ‘chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti’ iti, tasmāt sauratvād asya nirdēsasyaśiddhatvam anāśritya ‘ād gunaḥ’ kṛtah).

6. Some read this rule as: aito yāsiyaḥ. They recognize yās as the substituendum (sthānī) replaced with iy. They also interpret yās + ṇas + iya + sU = yāsiya as a genitive tatpuruṣa compound (Kāś: kecid atra ‘aito yāsiyaḥ’ iti sūtraṃ paṭhanti. teśaṃ sakārāntaḥ sthānī, saṣṭhī samāśaś ca).

Varadarāja does not accept yā as the substituendum replaced by iy. He accepts yās, instead (Laghukauumudā (428: aito yeṣaḥ: atah parasya sārvadhatukāvayasya yāsā ity asya iy . . .)). It is stated that (Bhāmasena Śāstri, II:68) considering yās as the substituendum will create difficulties in deriving bhava + yā + us = bhavyah. Given . . . yā + us, rule 6.1.96 usy apadāntāt will apply to accomplish a single replacement in u for the vocalic sequence ā+u. This single replacement cannot be blocked in favor of a replacement in iy of this rule. Bhāmasena Śāstri argues against invoking vipratīṣedha (4.1.2 vipratīṣedhe param kāryam). He recognizes that iyādeśa ‘replacement in iy’ has its independent scope of application in bhavet, etc. An independent scope of application of 6.1.96 usy apadāntāt is also established by apyuḥ ‘third person plural active LUN-derive of pā (to drink)’. This application of iyādeśa (7.2.80 aito yeṣaḥ) and y(ā +u)s → us, a single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence i.e., (bhava + y(ā+u→us); (pararūpa; 6.1.96 usy apadāntāt) is simultaneously applicable to yā + us of bhava + yā + us. This is a context where two rules of equal strength both become applicable simultaneously.
(yugapati). Sastri argues that pararupa is internally conditioned (antaranga) because it is only applicable to the affix. Replacement in iy, since it is dependent upon an anga ending in at, is externally (antaranga) conditioned. Since an internally conditioned operation takes precedence over an externally conditioned operation ((Ps51 asiddham bahiraangam antaranga), iyadesa cannot be applied on the basis of vipratisedha. That is, yas must be accepted as the substituend for replacement with iy, against pararupa. Recall that Kasika mentions yas as a substituend for iy with kecit 'in the opinion of some scholars'. Obviously, Kasika does not accept yas as the substituend.

7.2.81 आतो दिताः:

āto nītah
/ātah 6/1 nītah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sārvadhātu ke #76 atah iyah #80)
ākārasya nīdavayavasya akārantād aṅgād uttarasya sārvadhātukasya 'iy'
ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

An ā which forms part of a sārvadhātuka affix marked with N as an it, and occurs after an anga ending in a, is replaced with iy.

Examples:

pacete 'third person dual middle LAṬ-form of pac'
pacethe 'second person dual middle LAṬ-form of pac'
pacetām 'third person dual active imperative of pac'
pacethām 'second person dual active imperative of pac'
yajete 'third person singular middle LAṬ-form of yaj'
yajethe 'second person singular middle LAṬ-form of yaj'
yajetām 'third person dual active imperative of yaj'
yajethām 'second person dual active imperative of yaj'

1. Note that the anga must end in a in view of the anvṛtti of atah, ending in the ablative (pañcamī). Since atah is used here as a qualifier to anga, a qualifier-qualified relationship between atah, ending in the ablative, and aṅgasya, availed, via anvṛtti, ending in the genitive, is impaired. The genitive of aṅgasya is hence transformed into the ablative (pañcamī) to facilitate this qualifier-qualified relationship. This is how we get the meaning: 'after an anga ending in a'. We also get a qualifier-qualified relationship in ātah and nītah, both ending in the genitive. But this relationship is not co-referential (saṁnādhi karana). It is, instead, interpreted as vyadhikarana, denoting different loci. The genitive of ātah is interpreted as sthānasasthi 'in place of' in connection with replacement (ādeśa) in iy. The genitive of nītah, in connection with the genitive of ātah, is interpreted as denoting avayava 'part of a whole'. The genitive of ātah nītah thus yileds the meaning: ākārasya nīdavayavasya 'in place of an ā which is part of that (a sārvadhātuka affix)
which is marked with न as an 'it'. Thus, the ा which is to be replaced with य must also be a part of the sārvadhātuka affix marked with न as an 'it'.

Refer to derivational details of पाच a + ाम = पाचेत ‘third person dual middle LA7-form of पाच’ and पाच a + धास = पाचेथे ‘second person dual middle LA7-form of पाच’ under rule 1.1.11 īदुद्दे dvivacanam . . . (II:346-47). Similar rules apply in deriving यजेते and यजेथे. Deriving पाचेताम ‘third person dual active imperative of पाच’ and पाचेथाम ‘second person dual active imperative of पाच’ from पाच a + (LO7→ाम) → पाच a + (ा→य) ाम and पाच a + (LO7→ाथाम) → पाच a + (ा→य) ाथाम would, in addition to replacement in य for ा of ाम and ाथाम, require two applications: 3.4.79 तित ातमनपदानांम ते य and 3.4.90 अम य. This second rule will block application of the first and retain अम. Rule 6.1.97 ाद गुण क will apply on पाच + (ात→े) य + ाम and पाच + (ात→े) य + ाथाम to yield पाच + ए + ाम and पाच + ए + ाथाम. The य of य will, of course, be deleted by लोपो vyo vali. We will thus get पाचेताम and पाचेथाम. Similar rules apply in deriving यजेताम and यजेथाम.

Recall that नि ‘न as an ‘it’ serves a condition for sārvadhātuka affixes used in these examples. Affixes such as ाम and ाथाम are not marked with न as an ‘it. How do they meet the requirement of न as an ‘it? Actually, they are offered extensional (ातिदेशिका) status as marked with न by rule 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit. That is, a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tīsīt sārvadhātukam) affix not marked with प as an ‘it (apit) is considered marked with न as an ‘it.

2. Why do we have the condition of ाम ‘in place of an ा'? Consider the dual sets of third person plural active and middle forms of पाच and याधि: पाचानि/ याजानि and पाचानि / याजानि, where the affix does not have an ा. The question of a replacement with य thus does not arise.

Why do we have the condition of निताम ‘of a part of that which is marked with न as an ‘it’? Consider the first person dual and plural present middle forms of पाच: पाच a + (LA7→वहि) → पाच a + (ात + वहि) → पाचवहाह and पाच a + (LA7→माहि(N)) → पाच a + (ात + माहि) → पाचमाहि, where the suffix begins with ा, but is not marked with न as an ‘it. Recall that augment ाति is introduced by 3.4.92 ाद उत्तमाय सिक, whereby it will concurrently be extended the status of ‘marked with प as an ‘it (पित). The question of य replacement for ा, again, does not arise. Incidentally, वहि and माहि produce वाहि, through ए replacement of ति (3.4.79 तित ातमनपदानांम ते य). This ए is further replaced by ऐ of 3.4.93 ए ऐ, thereby yielding पाच a + ावधि (ि→े→ऐ) = पाचा + ावधि and पाच a + ामाहि. An application of homogeneous long vowel-replacement (सावनवदर्गा; 6.1.100 ाक सावनव दर्गा) then produces: पाच a + (ात→ा) वाहि = पाचबाहि and पाचमाहि.

The condition of ाम ‘after an अंगा ending in ा’ is still valid. Consider सिवा and सुन्वा, where सिन and सुन end in u. The ा of ा, hence, cannot be here replaced with य.

Why do we have this specification made with 7? Consider मान + (सा→श्ल) + (LA7→ाम) = मिना and मान + (सा→श्ल) + ाथाम) =
mimāthe, the third and second person dual forms of māṇi ‘to measure’. We get \( m(ā→i) + mā + ātām = mi + mā + ātām \) and \( m(ā→i) + mā + āthām = mi + mā + āthām \), where ā of the abhyāsa ‘reuplicated syllable’ is replaced with \( i \) (7.4.76 bhṛṇām \( i \)). The ā of the abhyāsa ‘both elements of ruduplicated form’ then goes through deletion, via LOPA (6.4.112 śnā ‘bhuyastra yātāh’) to produce: \( mi + m(ā→φ) + ātām \) and \( mi + m(a→φ) + āthām \). The ϕ-replacement of \( tī \), i.e., ām, of ātām and āthām (3.4.79 iti ātmānēpānām ter ē), will finally produce \( mimāti(ām→e) = mimāte \) and \( mimāth(ām→e) = mimāthe \).

7.2.82 आने मुकः

āne muk
/āne 7/1 muk 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 atah #80)
ato parato ‘ṅgasātō mug āgamo bhavati
Augment mUK is introduced to the \( a \) of an āṅga when affix āna follows.

EXAMPLES:

pacamānah ‘cooking’
yajamānah ‘performing a sacrifice’

1. Note that the two examples both derive with LAT replaced with āna (ŚānaC; 3.2.124 laṭah śatṛśānacāv . . .). The pañcamī ‘ablative’ of atah, because of the saptamī ‘locative’ of āne, is transformed into saṣṭhī ‘genitive’ in view of 1.1.65 tasminn iti nirdīste pūrvasya. Augment mUK is thus introduced here to the \( a \), i.e., here ŚaP, of the āṅga before āna. Refer to derivational details of pacamāna (III:751) under 3.2.124 laṭah śatṛśānacāv . . .

2. Note that a LA-affix which is assigned the term sārvadḥātuka is assigned udāta. Augment mUK is here introduced to the short \( a \) (aT) of the āṅga. That is, mUK is considered part of \( a \) to which it is introduced. Since it is not introduced to the final \( a \) of an āṅga, it is not considered a part of the āṅga. If it was considered a part of the āṅga, it would have intervened between \( a \) which is part of the āṅga and the LA affix which is termed sārvadḥātuka. The anudātta of 6.1.186 tasy anudātten . . . would have thus been blocked. Augment mUK cannot be considered intervening between \( a \) and the LA affix termed sārvadḥātuka. Why? Because it becomes part of \( a \). But this may create another problem.

Augment mUK, since it becomes part of \( a \), may be referred to as \( a \). It will thus not be an intervening element. This being the case, 7.2.81 ato nītaḥ may cause the ā of ān to be replaced with \( i \). This problem can be easily resolved. The āṅga, there, is specified as ending in \( a \). Augment mUK, when considered as \( a \), will add its half duration to the \( a \) and \( a+mUK = a \) will carry the duration of one and a half mora. Recall that the specification of \( a \) in 7.2.81 is made with \( t \) (taparakaṇa). That \( a \) carries the duration of only one
mora. Since the a to which mUK is introduced carries the duration of more than one mora, replacement in īy will be blocked. If this is blocked then anudātta of a LA termed sārvadhātuka must also be blocked. No. The specification of anudātta is made with reference to a in upadeśa ‘initial citation’. A difference in duration incurred after initial citation does not affect the accent. Note that īy is not a citation in upadeśa. Consequently, 7.2.81 āto nītah does not apply. This is why, even after 7.3.101 āto dīrgho yaṁi has applied to replace the a of SaP with ā, the anudātta accent of the LA termed sārvadhātuka in pacāvah and pacāmah is not blocked.

7.2.83 इदास:

\text{id āsah}

/īt 1/1 āsah 5/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āne #82)

āsa uttarasyānaśabdasya ikārādeso bhavati

Affix āna which occurs after ās is replaced with ī.

EXAMPLES:

āśino yajate ‘sitting he performs the sacrifice’

1. Note that the saptamī ‘locative’ of āne which occurs after the pañcamī ‘ablative’ of āsah will be transformed into ṣaṭthī ‘genitive’ (ṣaṭṭhī), in view of the interpretative provision of 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya (Kāś: atra pañcamyāḥ parasya ṣaṭṭhī kalpyate). That is, an ā which is part of āna and occurs after that which ends in a is replaced with ī (Kāś: atra pañcamyāḥ parasya ṣaṭṭhī kalpyate). Refer to derivational details of āśīnāh in the appendix (II:391).

7.2.84 अष्टि आ विभक्ति

aṣṭan ā vibhaktau

/aṣṭanaḥ 6/1 āḥ 1/1 vibhaktau 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

aṣṭano vibhaktau parata ākārādeso bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely aṣṭan ‘eight’, is replaced with ā when an affix termed vibhakti follows.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭabhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of aṣṭan’
aṣṭabhyaḥ ‘dative/ablative plural . . .’
aṣṭānām ‘genitive plural . . .’
aṣṭāsu ‘locative plural . . .’

1. Note that n of aṣṭan is replaced with ā in view of 1.1.52 aḷo’ nītasya. The substitute (ādesa) is specified here in particular (vyakti), against one made in view of the class (jāti). If this specification was made in view of jāti, we will
get a nasalized ā as replacement. This would have been the choice in view of
close similarity with the item to be replaced (Kāś. ‘ā’ iti vyaktinirdesō’ yam.  
akarasthānē’ nūnāsikākāraḥ syāt).

The formulation of 6.1.169 āstana dīrgbāt makes known (jñāpayati) that
this replacement is optional. There was no need to specify ā at the end of
āstana with dīrgaḥ. That is, ā will always remain a dīrgaḥ ‘long’. The optionality
of this replacement is also indicated by āstābhyaḥ of 7.1.21 āstābhya auś where
āsā is specified after replacing a with ā (Kāś. kṛtātvasya nirdesāt). This is why
we get āstābhyaḥ and āstābhyaḥ, both. Note that tadantavidhi ‘a specification
made with x also refers to that which ends in x’ is also desired (iṣyate). Thus,
we also get priyāstānāḥ and priyāstau, as in priyā āstau yeśm = priyāstānāḥ
‘those to whom eight are dear’.

Consider āstā(n→ā) + bhis → āstābhīḥ, where s of bhis goes through a
replacement in rU→ h (rutva-visarga). Deriving āstānām, from āstā(n→ā) +
naU + ām, involves introduction of augment naU (7.1.55 saṭcaturbhyaś ca).

7.2.85 Ṛāyoḥ hali

rāyaḥ hali
/rāyaḥ 6/1 hali 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ā vibhaktau #84)
rai iti etasya halādau vibhaktau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
The final sound of an aṅga, namely rai ‘wealth’, is replaced with ā
when a consonant-initial affix termed vibhakti follows.

Examples:

rābhyaṁ ‘instrumental dual of rai’
rābhīḥ ‘instrumental plural . . .’

1. Consider rai + bhyaṁ → r(ai→ā) bhyaṁ = rābhyaṁ and r(ai→ā) + bhis →
rābhīs → rābhīḥ, where bhyaṁ and bhis begin with a consonant.

2. Why do we state the condition of hali ‘consonant initial . . .’. Consider
rai + au → rāyaḥ, where ā is blocked in favor of āy (6.1.78 eco ‘yavāyāvah’). We
similarly get rai + Jas → rāyas → rāyaḥ. That is, the nominal endings here
begin with a vowel.

Why do we have the condition of vibhaktau ‘when a nominal ending . . .’?
Consider rai + tvā → raitva + sU → raitvam and rai + taL → raitā, where tvā
and taL (5.1.119 tasya bhāvas tvatalau) are not termed vibhakti.

3. Note that vibhaktau is carried through rules enumerated prior to 7.2.114
mṛjer vṛddhiḥ.

7.2.86 yuṣmadasmadānadeḥ

yuṣmadasmador anādeṣe
/yuṣmadasmadoḥ 6/2 = yuṣmac ca asmac ca = yuṣmadasmadi, tayoḥ (itar.
dv.); anādeśa = na ādeśaḥ, tasmin (nañ. tat.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āḥ vibhaktau #84)
yuṣmadasmad ity etayor anādeśe vibhaktau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
An ā comes in place of an aniga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, provided
an affix termed vibhakti which has not gone through any replacement
follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmābhīḥ `instrumental plural of yuṣmad'
asmābhīḥ `instrumental plural of asmad'
yuṣmāsū `locative plural of yuṣmad'
asmāsū `locative plural of asmad'

1. This rule offers ā as a replacement for the final sound segment of
yuṣmad `second personal pronominal' and asmad `first personal pronomi-
nal' when a consonantal ending which has not gone through any replacement
(anādeśe) follows. Thus, yuṣma(ῶ→ā) + bhis → yuṣm(a+ā→ā) + bhis → yuṣmā
+ bhī(s→rU→h) → yuṣmābhīḥ and asma(ῶ→ā) + bhis → asm(a+ā→ā) + bhis →
asmābhīḥ.

2. What is the purpose of stating anādeśe `when not re-placed'? Consider
yuṣmad + (bhyas→at) → yuṣmat and asmad + (bhyas→at) → asmat, where this
replacement cannot be applied. Notice that bhyas is here replaced with at
(7.1.10 pañcamyā at). The d of yuṣmad and asmad is replaced with a (7.2.102
tyadādinām ah). Rule 6.1.97 ato gune then applies to yield yuṣm(a+a→a) t =
yuṣmat and asmat.

Note that this replacement, before a consonant-initial ending, can be
easily blocked by the anusvṛtti of hali `when a consonant follows'. This, there-
fore, cannot be the purpose of stating anādeśe. Commentators note that the
purpose of stating anādeśe becomes clear in the application of rule 7.2.89 yo'
ci. For, that rule requires a vowel-initial nominal ending which has not gone
through any replacement. That purpose is stated here in this rule by using
the word anādeśe.

7.2.87 द्वितीयायः च
dvitiyāyām ca
/ dvitiyāyām 7/1 ca $/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āḥ vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #86)
dvitiyāyāṃ ca parato yuṣmadasmador ākārādeśo bhavati
An ā also comes in place of an aniga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, when a
vibhakti termed dvitiyā `second; accusative' follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣvāṃ `accusative dual of yuṣmad'
āvām ‘accusative dual of asmad’
yuṣmān ‘accusative plural yuṣmad’
asmān ‘accusative plural asmad’

1. Note that our earlier rule requires the following vibhakti to be one which did not go through any replacement (anādeśe). Our present rule is formulated to allow this replacement where a replacement of dvitiyā ‘accusative’ follows (Kāś: ādesārtham vacanam). Consider (yuṣm → tvā) ad + am → tva + a + (d → ā) + am → tv(a+a→ā) + ā + am → tv(a+a→ā) + am → tv(ā+a→ā) m = tvām, where yuṣm is replaced with tvā (7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane) and a+a is replaced with ā, via pararūpa (6.1.97 ato gune). The d is then replaced with ā of this rule. The a+a sequence is then replaced with ā (6.1.101 akāh savarnē . . .), whereby we get tvā + am. Rule 6.1.107 ami pūrvah then applies to yield tv(a+a→ā) m = tvām. We similarly get (asm → ma) ad + am → m(a+a→a) d + am → ma(d→ā) + am → mā + am → mām.

Recall that 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am offers am as a replacement for sU, au, Jas, am and auT which, in case of the accusative, yields yuṣmad + (au→am) = yuṣmad + am. We similarly get asmad + am. Forms of Jas will similarly yield yuṣmad + am and asmad + am. A replacement in yava and āva (7.2.92 yuvāvau dvivacane) for yuṣm and asm, followed by ā-replacement of d, will produce yuva + a + ā + am and āva + a + ā + am. These, with subsequent applications, will produce yuvām and āvām. We can also derive yiyām and vaya in the nominative plural from yīya + ad + am and vaya + ad + am, where yuṣm and asm get replaced with yīya and vaya (7.3.93 yuvāvayau jasī), and Jas gets replaced with am.

This rule is thus formulated to allow ā-replacement when replaced nominal endings follow (Kāś: ādesārtham vacanam).

7.2.88 प्रथमायाच द्विवचने भाषायाम्

prathamāyāś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām
/prathamāyāḥ 6/1 ca φ dvivacane 7/1 bhāṣāyām 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 aḥ vibhaktau #84 yuṣmādasmadoh #86)
prathamāyāś ca dvivacane parato bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye yuṣmādasmadārādēso bhavati

The final sound segment of an āṅga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, is also replaced with ā in the classical usage (bhāṣāyām), when a vibhakti termed prathamā ‘nominative’ follows with the signification of two (dvivacana) follows.

Examples:

yuvaṃ ‘nominative dual of yuṣmad’
āvām ‘nominative dual of asmad’

1. Refer to derivational details under the preceding rule. What is the
purpose of stating prathamāyāḥ 'of a nominative'? Consider yuvayoh and āvayoh
where this replacement in ā is not allowed before the genitive and locative
dual nominal ending as.

Why do we have the condition of dvivacane 'when the sense of two is
denoted'? Consider tvam, yūyam and ahām, vayam, where this replacement is
not allowed when the sense of one (ekavacana) and many (bahuvacana) 'plu-
ral' is denoted.

Why do we have the condition of bhāṣāyāṃ 'in the classical usage'? Con-
sider yuvam, as in yuvam vastrāṇi pūrga vāsāthe, where we do not get this
replacement since the usage is Vedic.

7.2.89 योजिण

yō' ci
/yah 1/1 aci 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmador anādeśe #86)
aidāvā vibhaktav anādeśe yuṣmad asmador yakārādeio bhavati
The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, is re-
placed with y when a vowel-initial (aṇḍi) affix termed vibhakti, with no
replacement of its original, follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvayā 'instrumental singular of yuṣmad'
mayā 'instrumental singular of asmad'
tvai 'locative singular of yuṣmad'
mayi 'locative singular of asmad'
yuvayoh 'genitive-locative dual of yuṣmad'
āvayoh 'genitive-locative dual of asmad'

1. This rule offers y as a replacement for d of yuṣmad and asmad. Consider
(yuṣm→tva) ad + (T) ā → tva + a(d→y) + ā = tvā and
(asm→ma) + ad + (T) ā → ma + a(d→y) + (T) ā = m(a+a→ma)y + ā = mayā.
Deriving yuvayoh and āvayoh with d→y and further replacements in yuva and
āva, for yuṣm and asm (7.2.92 yuvāvau dvivacane), does not pose any
problem.

Note here that d, or ad, can both be replaced with y. Refer to my notes
under 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am. Replacing d with y would require appli-
cation of 6.1.97 ato goṇe, etc. We can similarly get tvai and mayi.

2. Why do we have the condition of aci 'when a vowel-initial . . .'? Con-
sider yuvāḥyāṃ and āvāḥhyāṃ, where this replacement is blocked since hhyāṃ
does not begin with a vowel.

If one carries over hali, via anuvṛtti, to 7.2.86 yuṣmadasmador anādeśe, aci of
this rule is not needed. It then becomes used for clarity (vispaṭārtham).

The condition of anādeśe 'when not replaced' is still carried over. That is
why we do not get this replacement in tvad and mad of tvad gacchati ‘... goes away from me’ and mad gacchati ‘... goes away from me’. These are ablative singular forms where Nasī is replaced with at (7.1.10 pañcamyā at).

7.2.90 शेषे लोपः:

\[ \text{šeše lopah} \]
\[ / \text{šeše 7/1 lopah 1/1/} \]
\[ (\text{aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmādasmadoḥ #86}) \]
\[ \text{šeše vibhaktau yuṣmādasmador lopo bhavati} \]

LOPA applies to the final of an aṅga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, when an affix termed vibhakti, not enumerated thus far by the preceding, follows.

Examples:

\[ \text{tvam ‘nominate singular of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{aham ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{yūyam ‘nominate plural of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{vayam ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{tubhyam ‘dative singular of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{mahyam ‘dative singular of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{yuṣmabhyaṃ ‘dative plural of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{asmabhyaṃ ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{tvat ‘ablative singular of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{mat ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{yuṣmat ‘... of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{asmat ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{tava ‘genitive singular of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{mama ‘... of asmad’} \]
\[ \text{yuṣmākam ‘genitive plural of yuṣmad’} \]
\[ \text{asmākam ‘... of asmad’} \]

1. This rule offers deletion of the final sound segment of yuṣmad and asmad when the nominal endings, not enumerated thus far, follow. The word śeṣa is used in the sense of uktād anyah ‘other than that which is already stated’. The nominal endings which remain to be stated are: singular and plural of nominative (prathamā: sU/ fas), dative (caturthē: Ne/ bhyas), ablative (pañcamā: Nas/ bhyas) and genitive (ṣaṣṭhī: Nas/ ām). The following verse summarizes it:

\[ \text{pañcamyāś ca caturthyāś ca ṣaṣṭhīprathamayor api/} \]
\[ \text{yāny adviśucanāny atrā tesu lopo vidhiyate/} \]
\[ \text{‘this provision of deletion by LOPA is made in the context of non-dual nominal endings of ablative (pañcamā), dative (caturthē), genitive (ṣaṣṭhī) and nominative (prathamā)’} \]
Consider *tvam* and *aham* where *yuṣm* and *asm* get replaced with *tva* and *aha* (7.2.91 *tvāhau sau*). Rule 7.1.28 *ne prathamayor am* replaces *sU*, *au*, *Jas*, *am*, *auT* and *Ne* with *am*. Our present rule deletes *d*, or *ad*. Thus, *(yuṣm→tva) ad + sU → tva + (ad→φ) + sU → tva + (sU→am) → tva + am → tv(a+a→a) m = tvam. We similarly get *aham* with *asm* replaced with *aha*. We get *yūyam* and *vayam*, in the plural, when *d*, or *ad*, is deleted after *yuṣm* and *asm* are replaced with *yūya* and *vaya* (7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi*). We can also get *tubhyam* and *mahyam* where *Ne* is replaced with *am*. Rule 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau nayi* offers *tubhya* and *mahya* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm*. We thus get *tubhyam* and *mahyam*. The dative and ablative plural forms will have their *bhyas* replaced with *bhyam* (7.1.30 *bhyaśo bhyaṃ*). This will give us *yuṣmabhyaṃ* and *asmabhyaṃ*. The deletion of *d* is accomplished only after replacement in *bhyam* is accomplished. We will get a replacement in *bhyam* if *ad* alone is deleted. It will be *ahyam* if *d* alone is deleted. The ablative singular and plural endings get replaced with *at* (7.1.10 *pāncamya at*). Thus, we get *tvat*, *mat*, and *yuṣmat* and *asmat*. The genitive singular ending *Nas* is replaced with *aS* (7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṇasō ś*). The deletion of *d* is accomplished after rule 7.2.96 *tavamamau nasi* replaces *yuṣm* and *asm* with *tava* and *mama*. The genitive plural forms are derived with the introduction of *sUT* followed by *ākam* (7.1.34 *sāma ākam*). We thus get *yuṣmākam* and *asmākam*.

2. Why do we have to make a specification with *śese* ‘when the remainder . . . ’? It is used for clarity, especially since different replacements are offered in other contexts.

Why is affix *TāP* not introduced to denote feminine after this deletion has applied? Why do we have *tvam brāhmaṇi* and *aham brāhmaṇi*? The feminine affix is not introduced because an operation marked with proximity cannot cause the destruction of the condition under which it applied ((PŚ86) sanntīptalaksanō vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya). One can even accept the use of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* without any denotation of gender.

3. Some claim that *śese* can also refer to the remainder of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* after they are replaced with *yuṣm* and *asm*. What is left is *ad*. It is claimed that this *ad* should form the focus of deletion. This view would require the application of *ti*-deletion on *ad*. If this deletion is applied after replacements of bases and endings have applied, deletion of *d*, or *ad*, will not create any difficulty. Deleting *d* may require rules such as 6.1.97 *ato gune*, 6.1.101 *akah savarnne dirghah* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* to apply. Deleting *ad* will require fewer rule applications.

7.2.91 मपर्यान्तस्य

maparyantasya

/ maparyantasya 6/1 = mah paryanto yasya (bv.), tasya/

(angasya #6.4.1, vibhaktau #84)

‘maparyantasya’ ity ayam adhikārah. yad ita ārdhvam anukramisyāmaḥ
‘maparyāntasya’ ity evam tad veditavyam
In place of that which extends up to (and including) m.

Examples:

yuvām ‘nominative-accusative dual of yuṣmad’
āvām ‘nominative-accusative dual of asmad’
tvāyā ‘instrumental singular of yuṣmad’
mayā ‘instrumental singular of asmad’

1. Note that this is a governing rule (adhikāra). Whatever is stated here-
after prior to 7.2.79 tricaturōḥ . . . must include the reading of maparyāntasya
‘in place of that which extends up to (and including) m’. This reference to
a formal unit extending up to m is construed as yuṣm and asm of yuṣmad
‘second personal pronominal’ and asmad ‘first personal pronominal’, re-
spectively. Consider the following rule (7.1.92 yuvaṃvacau dvivacane) whereby
yuva and ava are offered as replacements. Our present rule, when read with
the following, will specify yuṣm and asm as forms of an anga constituted by
yuṣmad and asmad. These, in turn, will be replaced with yuva and ava, re-
spectively. Carrying the anvṛtti of maparyāntasya helps specify items (sthāni)
which go through the process of replacement (ādeśa). Thus, yuṣmad + (au →
am) → (yuṣm→yuva) ad + am → yuva + a(d→ā) + am → yuv(a+a→a) + ā + am →
yuv(a+a→ā) + am → yuv (ā+a→ā) m = yuvām, where yuva replaces yuṣm
and d of ad is replaced with ā of 7.2.88 prathamāyaś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām.
The vocalic sequence of a+a in yuv(a + a) ā + am then goes through a guna-
replacement similar to what follows (pararūpā; 6.1.97 aṭo gune). The resultant
vocalic sequence a+ā is replaced with a single long homogeneous vowel
ā (savarna-dīrga; 6.1.100 aṅkā savarnē dīrgaḥ). The next sequence ā-a goes
through a replacement similar to the ā which precedes (pūrvarūpā; 6.1.107
aṃ pūrvah). Recall that the nominal ending au is replaced with am of 7.1.28
ne prathamayor am. Similar rules apply in deriving āvām from asmad + au.

The replacement in ā for accusative is accomplished by 7.2.87 dvitiyāyaṃ
da. The final d of yuṣmad and asmad is replaced with y, instead, when a vowel-
initial non-replaced nominal ending follows.

2. Why do we have the condition of maparyāntasya? So that a replacement
could not be ordered for that which includes akAC (5.3.71 avyayasa-rva-
nāmāṃ . . .). Consider yuvakām and āvakām which end in a nominal end-
ing (sUP) and are derivate of yuṣmad and asmad where akAC is introduced
prior to the ā (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ā, i.e., ad) of yuṣmad and asmad. In the
absence of a specification with maparyanta, we may find yuva and ava com-
ing as replacements in place of the entire pronominal stem augmented with
akAC. We could thus not get the desired forms yuvakām and āvakām.

Now consider rule 7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane whereby yuṣm and asm are re-
placed with tva and ma. We thus get (yuṣm→tva) ad + (T) ā → yuṣmad + ā and
asmad + (T) ā → (asma→ma) + ad + ā, where Tā is the singular ending of
instrumental (त्रिया). Rule 7.2.97 त्वमाव​ खकावाने​ then requires युःम and asm to be replaced with tva and ma. We now have tva + ad + ā and ma + ad + ā. Rule 7.2.89 yo’ ci then applies to replace the final d with y before ā, a nominal ending which has not gone through any replacement (anādesē). Given tva + a(ā→y) + ā = tva + ay + ā and ma + ay + ā, 6.1.97 ato gune applies to replace the sequence a+ā with a single gna vowel a, a replacement similar to what follows (परारिता). We thus get tv(a+a→a)y + ā → tway + ā = twayā and m(a+a→a)y + ā → may + ā → mayā. If we do not limit the extent (avadhī) of items to be replaced with tva and ma with a specification made by maparyantasya, yuṣmād and asmad will then be replaced, in toto, with tva and ma. For, these replacements consist of more than one sound segment (1.1.55 anekālśit sarvasya). If replacements come in place of forms with akAC, the a of tva and ma will then be replaced with y of 7.2.89 yo’ ci. These all will produce wrong forms. A specification with maparyantasya will yield desired results. If we replace yuṣma and asma with tva and ma, against the condition of maparyantasya, the a of tva + ā and ma + ā will then be replaced with y (7.2.89 yo’ ci). We will now get wrong forms: (yuṣm→tv(a→y)) + ā = *tvyā and asm→m(a→y) + ā = *myā. We get correct derivational results if maparyantasya remains stated.

Why include pari in maparyantasya when māntasya (ma + antasya) alone could account for desired forms? A specification with māntasya would mean: ‘in place of that which ends in m’. This may or may include m as part of the specified form. Pāṇini included pari to state a relative limit (avadhī). That is, a form of yuṣmad and asmad which extends up to, and includes, ‘m which occurs before a’. It is stated that pari in this rule is included for blocking over-application of this replacement (prasakti-vāraṇa). Consider yuṣmi and asmi which are causal roots, derived with a vārttika (vt: tat karo ‘tad ācāste, 3.1.26 hetumati ca) parallel to (yuṣmān/ asmān) ācāste with NiC. The ad of yuṣmad and asmad gets deleted in view of nāv iṣṭhavat prāti-padikasya (cf. 6.4.115 ṣek). This rule uses pari to indicate the extent of the form of yuṣmad and asmad, so that a replacement could not apply to a form of yuṣmad and asmad ending in m (mānta). We get such a form before NiC of yuṣm(ad→φ) + i + KuIP and asm(ad→φ) + i + KuIP. Recall that NiC, for example in yuṣmi + KuIP and asmi + KuIP, also gets deleted. This deletion cannot be accepted as sthānivat ‘similar to that which it replaced’, in view of the statement: kvaup lupte na sthānivat ‘deletion of KuI is not considered sthānivat’. A replacement for (yuṣm + (NiC→φ) + (KuIP→φ)) = yuṣm and (asm + (NiC→φ) + (KuIP→φ)) = asm, which ends in m, cannot be ordered before a nominal ending (vibhakti). Pāṇini uses pari, in maparyantasya, to thus block any over-application of replacement. The use of pari is intended to determine the extent with reference to which replacements could be made. That extent is marked with m (Mbh: māntasety eva siddhe asmin yat parigrahanam krtam avadhidyotanārtham tat mante mā bhūi).
7.2.92 युवावक्ष द्विवचने

yuvāvau dvivacane
/yuvāvau 1/2 = yuvāsa ca āvaś ca (itar. dv.); dvivacane 7/1 = dvayoh vacane (saṣ tat)/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #86 maparyantasya #91)
dvivacane ye yuṣmadasmadi (dvayarthābhiddhānaviṣaye) tayor maparyantasya
sthāne ‘yuva, āva’ ity etāv ādesau bhavataḥ

LOPA applies to part of an āṅga extending up to m, namely that of
yuṣmad and asmad, when the pronominals occur with the signification
of two.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣyam ‘nominative plural of yuṣmad’
vasayam ‘nominative plural of asmad’

1. This rule offers replacements in yuva and āva, for yuṣm and asm of
yuṣmad and asmad, when they are used (before a dual nominal ending) with
the signification of two (dvivacane). Thus, yuṣmad + au → (yuṣm → yuva) ad +
au = yuva + ad + bhyām and āva + ad + bhyām. Recall that d of ad is replaced
with ā (7.2.86 yuṣmadasmador anādesa). An application of savarna-dirgha pro-
duces: yuva + a (d → φ) + bhyām → yuv(a+a→ā) + bhyām = yuvābhīyām and āva +
a(d → φ) + bhyām → āv(a+a→ā) + bhyām = āvābhīyām. The d of yuṣmad and
asmad is replaced with ā before a vowel initial nominal ending which is not a
replacement (7.2.89 yo’ ca). Thus, we get (yuṣm → yuva) a(d → y) + os)) →
yuvāyəh and āvāyəh.

Note that the use of dvivacane requires yuṣmad and asmad to be used with
the signification of two. Consequently, they may be subject to replacements
when used with the signification of two. Why was dvivacane ‘when the signi-
fication is two’ not used with the straight technical sense of dual number.
The ‘signification of two’, instead of technical dual number, was used so
that yuṣmad and asmad, even in a compound, could avail this replacement.
Recall that yuṣmad and asmad can be used in compounds as constituents
with the signification of two, but the resultant compound is not necessarily
going to be used with the signification of two. Thus, dvivacane facilitates
yuṣmad and asmad to be replaced with yuṣm and asm when they are used with
the signification of two. Of course, when these replacements are not blocked
by rules such as 7.2.94 tvāhau sau, etc. Consider the following compound
derivatives: atikrāntam yuvām = atiyuvām, atikrāntam āvām = atyāvām; atikrāntān
yuvān = atiyuvān and atikrāntān āvān = atyāvān; atikrāntena yuvām = atiyuvayā,
atikrāntena āvām = atyāvayā; atikrāntair yuvām = atiyuvābhī; atikrāntaih āvām =
atyāvābhī; atikrānte bhyaḥ yuvām = atiyuvabhyam, atikrānte bhyaḥ āvām =
atyāvabhyam; atikrāntād yuvām = atiyuvat, atikrāntād āvām = atyāvat, atikrānte bhyaḥ
yuvaṃ = atiyuvat, atikrānte bhyaḥ āvām = atyāvat; atikrāntānām yuvām = atiyuvākam.
atikrāntānām āvām = atyāvākam; atikrānte yuvām = atiyūvayi, atikrānte āvām = atyāvayi; and atikrānteṣu yuvām = atiyuvāsu, atikrānteṣu āvām = atyāvāsu.

These preceding allow replacements in yuva and āva before dual endings. But rules such as 7.2.93 yūyavayau jasi, 7.2.94 tvāhau sau, 7.2.95 tubhyamahyau ūnayi and 7.2.96 tavamamau ānasi block these replacements in favor of yūva, vaya; tvā, aha; tubhya, mahya; and tava, mana. Thus we get: atikrāntaḥ yuvām = atitvām, atikrāntaḥ āvām = atyāham, etc. This, as commentators explain, is accomplished in view of conflict among rules of equal strength (vipratisedha). That is, the rule which is subsequent in order (para) wins (1.4.2 vipratisedhe . . .). How is this conflict established? It is stated that tvā, aha, etc., find their independent scope of application when yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of ‘many’ (bahvartha). An independent scope of application of yuva and āva is clearly established when they are used with the signification of ‘two’ (dvaryaḥ). We get the application of both under the condition of sau (7.2.94 tvāhau sau) ‘when sU follows’.

Recall that one may find yuṣmad and asmad, used with the signification of ‘two’, in a compound. However, the compound as a whole may be used with the signification of ‘one’ or ‘many’. What if yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of ‘one’ and ‘many’, but the compound is used with the signification of ‘two’? A replacement in yuva and āva will then be blocked. Thus, atikrāntau tvām = atitvām, atikrāntau mām = atimām; and atikrāntau yuṣmān = atiṣmān, atikrāntau asmān = atyasmān, etc.

The following kārikā verses capture the complexity of these replacements:

samasyamāñe dvyeKatuvācānī yuṣmadasmadānī
samāśarthaḥ nyasaṃkhyāś cet sto yuvāvau tvamāv api//1//
‘when, in a compound-formation, yuṣmad and asmad denote a meaning qualified with two or one, but may be denoting a different number in the predicated compound, even then they are replaced with yuva and āva in the dual, and tvā and ma in the singular’

suyasnaḥassu parata ādesāḥ suyā sadaiva te
tvāhau yūyavayau tubhyamahyau tavamamav api//2//
‘if, in a compound, yuṣmad and asmad occur before sU, Jas, Ňe and Ňas, yuṣmad is replaced with tvā, yūya, tubhya and tava, respectively; asmad is replaced with aha, vaya, mahya and mana, respectively’

ete paratvād bādhante yuvāvau viṣaye svake
tvaṃāv api prabhādante pūrvavipratisedhataḥ//3//
‘these replacements of yuṣmad, i.e., tvā/yūya/tubhya/tava, and of asmad, i.e., aha/vaya/mahya/mama, being offered subsequently (para) in the context of nominal endings sU, Jas, Ňe and Ňas, block replacements is yuva and āva; additionally, they also block tvā and ma on the basis of pūrvavipratisedha ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’
when, after the formation of a compound, its sense is denoted by
sional or dual, and *yūṣmad* and *asmad* as constituents of the com-
 pound are used with the denotation of ‘many’, replacements in *tva*
and *yuva*, and *ma* and *āva*, are not accomplished

7.2.93 यूयवयी जसि

*यु्ययवयां जसि*

/yūyavayau 7/2 = yūyaś ca vayaś ca = yūyavayau (itar. dv.); jasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yūṣmadasmadoh #86 maparyantasya #91)
*yūṣmadasmad cor maparyantasya jasi parato ‘yūya, vaya’ ity etāv ādeśau
bhavatāh

*yūya* and *vaya* come in place of that part of the *aṅga* which extends up
to *m* of *yūṣmad* and *asmad*, provided the nominative plural ending *jas*
follows.

**Examples:**

*yūyam* ‘nominative plural of *yūṣmad*

*vayam* ‘nominative plural of *asmad*

1. This rule offers a replacement in *yūya* and *vaya* for that part of an
aṅga, namely *yūṣmad* and *asmad*, which extends up to *m*, provided the nomi-
native plural ending *jas* follows. Thus, (yūṣm → yūya) ad + (j) as → yūya + ad +
(as → am) → yūya + (ad → Φ) + am = yūy(a+a→a)m → yīyam, where *ad*, in
other’s view *d* (1.1.52 alo’ nityasya), goes through deletion (7.2.90 śeṣe lopah;
Φ-deletion). One must apply 6.1.97 ato gune where *d* alone is deleted by 7.2.90
śeṣe lopah. Thus: yūya + α(Φ → Φ) + am → yūy(a+a→a)m = yīyam, through addi-
tional application of 6.1.106 ami pūrvah. Note here that *jas* is replaced with
*am* of 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am. Deleting *ad* will not require application of
6.1.97 ato gune. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya under 7.2.90 śeṣe lopah for further discussion.

Kāśīkā states that, in the domain of 6.4.1 aṅgasya, we find operations applic-
able to both the *aṅga* as well as what follows it (Kāś: aṅgādhikāre tasya ca
taduttarapadasya ca). That is, a specification with *yūṣmad* and *asmad* also in-
cludes references to what ends in them, or what they follow. Consider
paramayūyam/paramavayam and atiūyam/atiyāyam, where *yūṣmad* and *asmad*
are used as final compound constituents. These replacements obviously in-
voke *tadantavidhi* ‘interpreting *x* as also that which ends in *x*’, whereby *yūṣmad*
and *asmad* could also be interpreted as referring to what ends in them. Of
course, *maparyantasya* ‘extending up to, and including, *m*’ is still valid. Refer
also to 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am for derivational details.
7.2.94 त्वाहै सौ

tvāhau sau
/tvāhau 1/2 (itar. du.); sau 7/1/
(anāgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadah #86 maparyantasya #91) yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya sau pare tvā, aha ity etāu ādeśau bhavataḥ tvā and aha come in place of a part of the anga extending up to m, namely of yuṣmad and asmad, respectively, when the nominative singular (prathamā) ending sU follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvam ‘nominative singular of yuṣmad’
aham ‘nominative singular of asmad’
paramatvam ‘nominative singular of a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent, introduced with sU’
paramāham ‘nominative singular of a compound with asmad as its final constituent, introduced with sU’
atitvam ‘nominative singular of a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent, introduced with sU’
atyaham ‘nominative singular of a compound with asmad as its final constituent, introduced with sU’

1. This rule is an exception to the subsequently stated rule 7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane. A question is raised as to why tvā was stated in this rule. Besides, a replacement in tvā is already made available by 7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane. Why not just offer here the replacement in aha. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule simply as: ahaḥ sau ‘aha comes as a replacement in place of asmad when sU follows’? Formulating this rule as ahaḥ sau will still include yuṣmad within its scope of replacement. That is, aha could still replace yuṣm. It is therefore impossible to formulate this rule as ahaḥ sau. Why then not formulate this rule as asmadoḥ haḥ sau ‘aha comes as a replacement in place of asmad when sU follows’? This formulation will be prolix (gaurava). Consequently, this rule should be left the way it is formulated (Nyāsa: aha tvagrahaṇāṃ kimaratham, na ‘ahaḥ sau’ ity evoceta, tvādeśo hi ‘tvamāv ekavacane’ ity evam bhaviṣyatī. aṣakyaṃ eva vaktum. asati tvagrahahaṇe yuṣmadoḥ ‘py ahāḥdeśasyāt. athavā atra ‘asmadoḥ haḥ sau’ ity evoceta. evam api gauravaṃ syāt. tasmād yathānyāsam evāṣtu).

2. This rule offers tvā and aha as replacements for that part of the anga, namely yuṣmad and asmad which extends up to, and includes m, provided when sU follows. Thus, we get tvam and aham. Acceptance of tadantavidhi (cf. 7.2.93) also allows these replacements in compounds such as paramatvam ‘you (are) the best’, paramāham ‘I (am) the best’ and atitvam ‘you, who excelled’ atyaham ‘I, who excelled’, where yuṣmad and asmad combine in a compound ending in sU. Recall that 7.2.97 tvamāv ekavacane offers ma as a
replacement for asm. This rule constitutes an exception to that, based on pūrva-vipratisedha conflict between two rules where the preceding in order of enumeration wins. Note that paramatvam and paramāham are tatpurūsa compounds which are termed karmadhāravya. Also refer to 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am for additional derivational details.

7.2.95 तुभ्यमह्यां डधि

tubhyamahyau īayi
/tubhyamahyau 1/2 (itar. dv.); īayi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #89 maṇḍavyaṣṭya #91) yuṣmadasmadoḥ maṇḍavyaṣṭya ‘tava, maņa’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato īayi parataḥ

tubhya and mahya come in place of yuṣm and asm, the part of an aṅga, namely of yuṣmad and asmad extending up to m, provided when the dative (caturthi) singular ending Ne follows.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyam ‘dative singular of yuṣmad’
mahyam ‘dative singular of asmad’
paramatubhyam ‘dative singular of a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent’
paramamahyam ‘dative singular of a compound with asmad as its final constituent’
atitubhyam ‘dative singular of a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent’
atimahyam ‘dative singular of a compound with asmad as its final constituent’

1. This rule offers tubhya and mahya as replacements for yuṣm and asmad of an aṅga when the dative singular nominal ending Ne follows yuṣmad and asmad. Thus, we get tubhyam, mahyam; paramatubhyam, paramamahyam; atitubhyam, atimahyam. Recall that Ne is here replaced with am (7.1.28 ne prathamayor am). Operations specific to ti-deletion and tadantavidhi treating x as also that which ends in x’ are similar to many preceding derivates. Also refer to 7.1.28 ne prathamayor am for additional details.

7.2.96 तवमामां डधि

tavamamau īasi
/tavamamau 1/2 (itar. dv.) īasi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #89 maṇḍavyaṣṭya #91) yuṣmadasmadoḥ maṇḍavyaṣṭya ‘tava, maņa’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato īasi parataḥ
tava and mama come in place of yuṣm and asma, parts of an aṅga extending up to aṅga, namely of yuṣmad and asmad, respectively, provided the genitive singular nominal ending Nas follows.

Examples:

tava 'genitive singular of yuṣmad'
mama 'genitive singular of asmad'
paramatava 'a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
paramamama 'a compound with asmad as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
atitava 'a compound with yuṣmad as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
atimama 'a compound with asmad as its final constituent ending in the genitive'

1. This rule offers tava and mama as replacements for yuṣm and asm when Nas 'genitive singular' follows yuṣmad and asmad. Thus, we get tava and mama. Compound derivates will similarly be: paramatava, paramamama; atitava and atimama. Recall that Nas is here replaced with aŚ (7.1.27 yuṣmadasmaddhyām . . .). Operations such as tī-deletion and pararūpa 'single replacement similar to the second in a vocalic sequence' also apply here. Compound derivates are derived in view of tadbhiṣadhi, as explained.

7.2.97 तमाच्यावेकवचने

tvamāv ekavacane
/tvamau 1/2 (itar. du.); ekavacane 7/1 (sāṣ tat), tasmān/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #89 maparyantasya #91)
ekavacane ye yuṣmadasmadā ekārthaḥbhidhānaviṣaye tayor maparyantasya
sthāne 'tva, ma' ity etāv ādeśāv bhavataḥ
tva and ma come in place of part of an aṅga extending up to m, namely of yuṣmad and asmad, respectively, when an affix termed vibhakti with the signification of one (eka) follows.

Examples:

tvām 'accusative singular of yuṣmad'
mām 'accusative singular of asmad'
tvayā 'instrumental singular of yuṣmad'
mayā 'instrumental singular of asmad'
tvai 'ablative singular of yuṣmad'
māt 'ablative singular of asmad'
tvai 'locative singular of yuṣmad'
mayi 'locative singular of asmad'
1. This rule offers tva and ma as replacements for yuṣm and asm of ananga, namely yuṣmad and asmad, provided when yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of ‘one’. Recall that the ḍ of ad in these derivates is replaced with ā (ātva; 7.2.87 dvīṣyāyām ca). The y of tvayā and mayā has its source in the application of 7.2.89 yo’ ci. Note that tva and ma also replace yuṣm and asm in compounds where yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of ‘two’ (dvītva) and ‘many’ (bahutva). Replacements such as tva and aha (7.2.94 tvāhau sau; 7.2.95 tubhyamahau nayi; 7.2.96 tavamamau īsī), etc., are offered in view of conflicts where the preceding rule wins (pūrva-vipratīṣṭha). Thus, atikrāntau tvām = atitvām and atikrāntau mām = atitimām, as against atitvam and atyaham, etc. Refer to Nyāsa for full scope of derivational examples.

7.2.98 प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोः

pratyayottarapadayoś ca
/pratyayaottarapadoḥ 7/2 = pratyayaś ca uttarapadam ca = pratyayottarapade (ītar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca ṣa/
(arasasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #89 maparyantasya #91 tvamāvekavacane #97)
pratyaya uttarapade ca parata ekavacane vartamānayor yuṣmadasmadom maparyantasya ‘tva, ma’ ity etau ādesau bhavataḥ
tva and ma come in place, respectively, of that part of ananga, namely yuṣmad and asmad which extends up to their m, when an affix, or some other constituent, follows, and yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of one.

Examples:

tvadiyāḥ ‘this is yours’
madiyāḥ ‘this is mine’
tvattarāḥ ‘better than you’
mattarāḥ ‘better than me’
tvadyati ‘... desires you’
madyati ‘... desires me’
tvadyate ‘... acts like you’
madyate ‘... acts like me’
tvatputrāḥ ‘your son’
matputrāḥ ‘my son’
tvannāthāḥ ‘he whose master you are’
mannāthāḥ ‘he whose master I am’
yuṣmadiyāṁ ‘your own’
asmadiyāṁ ‘my own’
yuṣmatputraḥ 'your son'
asmatputraḥ 'my son'

1. This rule offers tvā and ma as replacements for yuṣm and asm when the aṅga, yuṣmad and asmad, are followed by an affix (pratyaya), or a compound constituent, provided yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of 'one'. Consider tvā ayam = tvādiyaḥ and mama ayam = madiyaḥ, where yuṣmad and asmad are considered vṛddha (1.1.74 tyadadini ca) and affix cha (4.2.114 vṛddhāc chaḥ) is introduced. Thus, yuṣmad + ṇa + cha (yuṣm → tvā) ad + ṇa + (cha → įya) = tv(a + a→a) d + ṇa + įya → tvad + (ṇa→ϕ) + įya = tvādiya, through yuṣm → tvā, cha → įya (7.1.2 āyaneiṇiṇiyyaḥ . . .) and a+a→a (pararūpa; 6.1.97 ato gune). Refer to śāliyaḥ (II:326-27); 1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic) for additional derivational details. One can similarly derive madiyaḥ.

Now consider atiśayena tvām = tvattarāḥ and atiśayena aham = mattrāḥ where tvā + ad + taraP yields tvā + a(d→t) + taraP = tvattara, through affix taraP (5.3.57 duvvacana-vibhajjopapade), yuṣm → tvā, pararūpa (6.1.97 ato gune) and tvā(d→t) + tara(P) = tvattara (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca) Affix KyaN (3.1.8 supra āṭmanah kyac) is introduced in deriving tvām āṭmana icchati = tvadyati and mām āṭmana icchati = madyati, where yuṣmad + am + KyaN and asmad + am + KyaN have yuṣm and asm replaced with tvā and mama. Recall that affix LAT→tiP is introduced after tv(a+a→a) d + (K)ya(ṇ) → tvadya to finally yield tvadyati and madyati. We similarly get tvadyate and madyate, parallel to tvam iva ācarati and aham iva ācarati, with the introduction of KyaN (3.1.11 karttuḥ kyan salopas ca) and subsequent LAT→te (1.3.12 anudāttanī āṭmanepadam).

Examples such as tvā pr ṭuraḥ = tvatputraḥ, mama pr ṭuraḥ = matputraḥ, tvam nāṭhaḥ asya = tvannāṭhaḥ and aham nāṭhaḥ asya = mannāṭhaḥ illustrate the specification of utterāpade 'when a following (final) compound constituent . . .'. These are bahuvrīhi compounds where tvā and ma replace yuṣm and asm after deletion of sUP contained within individual compounds. Operations such as d→t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca), a+a→a (pararūpa; 6.1.97 ato gune) and d→n (parasavarna; 8.4.44 yaro 'nunāsike . . .) apply where required.

2. Note that ekavacane 'when signification of one' still carries. Why? So that we do not get these replacements where yuṣmad and asmad are used with the signification of 'many'. Thus, yuṣmākam idam = yuṣmadīyam 'this is yours (plural)', asmākam idam = asmādiyam 'this is ours'; and yuṣmākam pr ṭuraḥ = yuṣmatputraḥ 'your (plural) son', asmākam pr ṭuraḥ = asmatputraḥ 'our son'.

3. Note that these rules are placed within the domain (adhiṅkara) of vibhaktau (7.2.84 āṣtan ā vibhaktau). Our present rule is formulated so that yuṣm and asm could be replaced, even when an affix other than vibhakti, or a constituent in combination, follows.

A question is raised as to why these replacements cannot be accomplished before vibhakti 'nominal ending'? After all, these examples do have nominal endings contained within their derivational strings. That is, why can we not replace yuṣm and asm before 2.4.71 supo dhūtaprātipadikayoḥ accomplishes
LUK-deletion of nominal endings contained within derivational strings. That is, at the time when the condition of vibhaktau 'when a nominal ending follows' could be satisfied. This, however, cannot be done. A LUK-deletion is considered externally conditioned because it is caused by assignment of terms such as dhātu 'verbal root' (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ) and prātipadika 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca). Replacements of yuṣm and asm will be considered internally conditioned (antarāṅga) because the base (prakṛtī) must occur before a nominal ending (vibhakti). But since an externally conditioned (bahirāṅga) operation is also nitya 'obligatory', it should be blocked by the internally conditioned operation. Besides, an internally conditioned (antarāṅga) operation is considered more powerful than one which is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga; PŚ.39: pūrvaparanityāntaraṅgāpavādānām uttarottaro balīyaḥ). A replacement of yuṣm and asm can still not be accomplished prior to LUK-deletion of sUP. This is one of the reasons why this rule is formulated. In summary, an internally conditioned operation may be blocked by an externally conditioned deletion by means of LUK (Kāś: antaraṅgāṇa api vidhīn bahiraṅgo' pi tuc bādhate). Replacement operations of this rule thus become an indicator (jñāpaka) for this. This is why nUM, etc., are blocked by LUK-deletion in examples such as gomāṇ prīyāḥ asya = gomatprīyāḥ 'he to whom rich-in-cows is dear'.

If this jñāpaka is accepted then replacements in tava and aha (7.2.94 tvaḥau sau) will also not be accepted before a non-vibhakti affix and a following constituent (pratyayottaraṇapadayos ca). Thus, tuvam pradhānam esām = tvat- pradhānāḥ 'you are the head of these people' and aham pradhānam esām = matpradhānāḥ 'I am the head of these people' where we will get tua and ma.

We will similarly get yūya and vaya in: yūyam putrā asya = yuṣmatputraḥ and vayam putrā asya = matputraḥ. Accepting this jñāpaka will not allow replacements of 7.2.95 tubhyamahyau naiyin tubhyam hitam = tvaddhitam and mahyam hitam = maddhitam. It will also not allow replacements of 7.2.96 tavamamau nasi in tava putrata = tvaputraḥ and mama putraḥ = matputraḥ.

Why do we have to accept this jñāpaka for blocking an internally conditioned (antarāṅga) operation by an externally conditioned (bahirāṅga) LUK-deletion? Why can we not accept this jñāpaka to block replacements such as tva, aha, etc.? A jñāpaka should be accepted in view of desired goals. That which can account for comparatively larger goals should be accepted (Kāś: jñāpakārthe hy etasmin bahutaram iṣtam sangrhyate).

7.2.99 त्रिचतृतो: रिष्यां तिस्तुलतयु

tricaturoh striyam tisṛcatasṛ
/tricaturoh 6/2 = trīś ca catur ca = tricaturau (itar. dv.), tayoh; striyam 7/1
tisṛcatasṛ 1/1 (deleted) = tisṛ ca catasṛ ca (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84)
‘tri, catur’ ity etayōḥ striyāṁ vartamānayos ‘tisṛ, catasṛ’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhaktau parataḥ

tisṛ and catasṛ come in place of an aṅga, namely tri ‘three’ and catur ‘four’ used with the signification of feminine (striyām), when an affix termed vibhakti follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisraḥ ‘three; (nominative/accusative) plural’
catasraḥ ‘four; (nominative/accusative) plural’
tisṛbhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of ti ‘three’’
catasṛbhiḥ ‘. . . of catur ‘four’’

1. This rule offers tisṛ and catasṛ as replacements for tri and catur when they are used with the signification of feminine. Thus, we get (tisṛ + ā as/ (Śas) = tisraḥ where ā is replaced with r (7.2.100 aic ra ṛtah). We similarly get catur + ā as/ (Ś) as → catasraḥ. Strings with (tri→tisṛ) + bhis and (catur→catasṛ) + bhis will produce tisṛbhiḥ and catasṛbhiḥ, without replacing r with r.

2. Why when used with the signification of stri ‘feminine’? Consider trayah/ catuvaḥ and trini’/catuṇi where bases used with the signification of masculine and neuter do not avail these replacements. Note that striyām ‘when feminine . . . ’ is used here as a modifier to aṅgasya, and not to tri and catur. Consequently, it is not necessary that the aṅga derived with tri and catur must also be used in the feminine. That is, these replacements should apply when tri and catur are used with the signification of feminine and the derived aṅga may be used with the signification of something other than feminine. Consider priya tisraḥ brāhmanyah asya brāhmaṇasya saḥ = priyatisā brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa to whom three brāhmaṇa women are dear’, where tri of priyatisṛ is used with the signification of feminine but the derived aṅga, i.e., priyatisṛ, is used with the signification of something other than a feminine. We similarly get priyāḥ tisraḥ asya tat brāhmaṇakulam = priyatisṛ brāhmaṇakulam ‘a brāhmaṇa-clan to whom three (people; masculine) are dear’. Note further that the samāsānta ‘end of compound’ affix kaP (5.4.153 nadyṛtaś ca) cannot be introduced in these examples because tisṛ and catasṛ are replacements externally conditioned (bahiranga) by vibhakti. What if the aṅga is feminine and tri and catur refer to something other than a masculine or neuter? These replacements will not be allowed. Consider priyās trayō syāḥ brāhmanyāḥ ‘the three (masculine) who are dear to this brāhmaṇi’ and priyāni trinī asyāḥ brāhmanyāḥ ‘the three (neuter) which are dear to this brāhmaṇi’, where we will get priyātriḥ. We similarly get priyacatuḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa woman for whom four are dear’.

3. A vārttika proposal is made to allow tri to be replaced with tisṛ when affix kaN is introduced. Thus, tisṛkā nāma grāmaḥ ‘a village named Tisṛkā’.

A similar proposal is made for catasṛ to be marked udātta at the beginning. Thus, catasraḥ paśya.
7.2.100 अचि र ज्ञतः:

aci ra ṛtah
/aci 7/1 rah 1/1 ṛtah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktav #84 tisṛcatasṛ #99)
'tisṛ, catasṛ ity etayor ṛtah sthāne repḥādeśo bhavaty ajādau vibhaktau parataḥ
A r comes in place of ṛ of an aṅga, namely one constituted by tisṛ and catasṛ, when a vowel-initial (ajādi) affix termed vibhakti follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisras tiṣṭhanti 'these three are sitting'
tisraḥ paśya 'see these three'
catasras tiṣṭhanti 'these four are sitting'
catasraḥ paśya 'see these four'
priyatisra ānaya 'O you who are dear to three, bring!'
priyacatasra ānaya 'O you who are dear to four, bring!'
priyatisraḥ svam 'the property of one who is dear to three'
priyacatasraḥ svam 'property of one who is dear to four'
priyatisraḥ nidhehi 'place your trust in one who is dear to three'
priyacatasraḥ nidhehi 'place your trust in one who is dear to four'

1. This rule allows the ṛ of tisṛ and catasṛ to be replaced with r when a nominal ending begins with a vowel follows. Why is this rule formulated when ṛ as a replacement for ṛ, can be gotten with the application of 6.1.77 iko yaṅ aci? So that a single replacement similar to what precedes in a sequence of two vowels could be blocked before the accusative plural nominal ending Śas (6.1.101 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnah). It is also formulated so that a replacement in u (utva, 6.1.110 ṛta ut) before the ablative and genitive singular nominal endings Nasi and Nas could be blocked. Finally, this rule is also formulated so that a replacement in guṇa (7.3.110 ṛto ni) before the locative singular ending Ni and the nominative plural ending Jas could be blocked. Our present rule is thus an exception to all these rules. Note in this connection that 7.3.110 ṛto ni is placed subsequently (para) in order.

2. Note that ṛtah of this rule refers to the ṛ of tisṛ and catasṛ. It does not refer to an aṅga ending in ṛ. For, in that case, ṛ would have been replaced with r to give the form of the rule as: aciraḥ. This new specification would then have enabled r to replace the final ṛ of tisṛ and catasṛ.

7.2.101 जराया जरस्यन्यतरस्याम्

jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām
/jarāyāḥ 6/1 jaras 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktav #84 aci #100)
'jarā' ity etasya 'jaras' ity ayam ādesō bhavati anyatarasyām ajādau vibhaktau parataḥ
jaras comes, optionally, in place of an āṅga, namely jarā 'old age', when a vowel-initial affix termed vibhakti follows.

**Examples:**

jarasā dantā śiryaṃte
'tooth decay because of old age'
jarayā dantā śiryaṃte 'ibidem'
jarase tvā paridadyuḥ 'they abandoned you to old age'
jarāyai tvā paridadyuḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers jaras as an optional replacement for jarā when a vibhakti begins with a vowel follows. Thus, (jarā → jaras) + au → jarasau. We will get jarā + (au → Śī) → jarā + ī (7.1.18 āuṅ āpah) when the option of replacing jarā with jaras is not accepted. This, with the application of 6.1.87 ād gunah, gives us jar(ā +ī → e) = jare. We similarly get (jarā → jaras) + Tā → jarasā in the instrumental singular. Not accepting the option of jaras will yield jar(ā → e) + (T) ā = jare + ā, where 7.3.105 ārni cā 'paḥ offers a replacement in e (etva). An application of e → ay (ayādēśa; 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah) will give us jar(e → ay) + ā → jarayā. The dative singular form jarāyai derives from jarā + yā(Ṭ) + (N) e → jarā + yā + e, with introduction of augment yāṬ (7.3.113 yād āpah). We get jarā + y(ā +e → a) = jarāyai through application of 6.1.88 vrddhir eci. We will get jarase if optional replacement of jaras is accepted.

Now consider atijārāṃsi brāhmaṇakulāni and atijarasam brāhmaṇakulaṃ paśya where atijara is a compound termed neuter (natpumsaka). The accusative singular string atijara + am finds three rules applicable: 7.1.23 svamor napūṃsakāt 'sU and am go through deletion, via LUK, after an āṅga used with the signification of neuter'; 7.1.24 ato' m 'sU and am are replaced with am after an āṅga which ends in a and is used with the signification of neuter'; 7.2.101 jarāyai jaras anyatarasām.

Rule 7.1.24 blocks 7.1.23 by way of being an exception (apavāda). Our present rule then replaces jara with jaras. Thus, we get atijara + (sU→am) = atijara + am → ati(jara→jaras) + am = atijarasam. We cannot apply LUK-deletion on atijaras + am, again, since 7.1.23 svamor napūṃsakāt cannot be revived.

The Mahābhāṣya discusses atijaram and atijaraḥ as the nominative singular and instrumental plural form of atijara, respectively, in the opinion of Gonardiya (Patañjali?). Others hold that these forms with replacement of jara with jaras cannot be accepted since am→sU and (ais→bhis (7.1.9 ato bhis ais)) were introduced after atijara under the condition of atijara ending in a. These same nominal endings cannot be allowed to condition the replacement of jara with jaras since it will destroy the a which conditioned them (PŚ (86): sanāpātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittam tadvighātasya). Others argue back that this paribhāṣā is anītya 'non-obligatory'. That is, jara can still be replaced with jaras. Now a question: how can one replace jara with jaras when the replacement rule specifies jarā to be replaced with jaras? For, a replacement
should come in place of that which is specifically given \( (PŚ \text{ (13)}): \text{nirdīṣya-} \\
\text{mānasyādēṣā bhavanti}) \). The answer: a form which is modified in one place \\
should still be accepted as its unmodified original \( (PŚ \text{ (38)}): \text{ekādeśavikrtam} \\
ananyava) \).

Let us now consider \text{atijarāmsi} which derives from \((\text{atijara} + (\text{Jas}/\text{Śas}))\) where \text{Jas} and \text{Śas} are replaced with \((\text{Ś})i (7.1.20 \text{jaśasoh śi}) \). Our present rule \\
also introduces \text{jaras} as a replacement for \text{jara}. Rule 7.1.72 \text{nāpumṣakasya} \\
\text{jhāy atah}, read with 1.1.47 \text{mīd aco} \text{ ntyāt parah}, then introduces augment \\
\text{nUM}. We thus get: \text{atijara→jaras} + (\text{Jas}/\text{Śas}→(\text{Ś})i) \rightarrow \text{atijara} + \text{nUM} + s + i \\
= \text{atijarans} + i. The final short \text{a} is then replaced with its long counterpart: \\
\text{atijar(a→ā)ns} + i = \text{atijarā(n→m)s} + i = \text{atijarāmsi}. Recall here that \text{jara} must \\
be replaced with \text{jaras} before augment \text{nUM} is introduced. For, \text{nUM} will \\
ter intervene between \text{atijara} and the nominal ending, if it is introduced prior \\
to \text{jaras} replacing \text{jara}. Besides, 7.2.101 \text{jarāyah jaras} \ldots should apply first \\
since it happens to be subsequent in the order of enumeration.

7.2.102 \text{त्वदादीनामः:}

\text{tyadādīnām aḥ}

\text{/tyadādīnām 6/3 = tyad ādir yeśām (bu), teśām; aḥ 1/1/}

\text{(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84)}

\text{‘tyad’ ity evamādīnām akārādeśo bhavati vibhaktau parah}

The final sound segment of an \text{āṅga} constituted by items enumerated 

in the list headed by \text{tyad ‘that’} is replaced with \text{a} when an affix termed 

\text{vibhakti} follows.

\text{Examples:}

\text{syah/tyau/ te ‘nominaive singular/dual/plural of tyad’}

\text{sah/tau/ te ‘nominate singular/dual/plural of tad’}

\text{yah/yau/ye ‘nominate singular/dual/plural of relative yad ‘he who’ ‘}

\text{esaḥ/etau/ete ‘nominate singular/dual/plural of etad’}

\text{ayam/ima/ime ‘nominate singular/dual/plural of idam’}

\text{asau/amā/amā ‘nominate singular/dual/plural of adas’}

\text{dvau/dvābhāyām ‘nominate/instrumental dual of dvi’}

1. Note that items enumerated in the list headed by \text{tyad ‘that’} include 

\text{tyad, tad, yad, etad, idam, adas, and dvi}. That is, a replacement in \text{a} is desired 

only for items enumerated beginning with \text{tyad} and up to (and including) 
\text{dvi} (Kāś: dviparyantānām tyadādīnām atvam iṣyate). Thus, \text{bhavān ‘nominate} 

\text{singular of bhavat ‘you (polite)’}’ does not qualify for this replacement. This 

is a sub-list included within the general listing of pronominals (1.1.27 sarvādīnī 

sarvanāmāṇi).

2. A replacement in \text{a} must come in place of the final sound segment of 

these enumerated items termed an \text{āṅga (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya)}. Thus, \text{tyad + sU}
\[
\rightarrow \text{tya}(d \rightarrow a) + s \rightarrow (t \rightarrow s)\text{ya} + a + s \rightarrow \text{ty}(a+a \rightarrow a) s \rightarrow \text{tya} + (s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = \text{tyah},
\]
where \(d\) (7.2.102) and \(t\) are replaced with \(a\) and \(s\) (7.2.106 \(t\)ado \(s\)ah \ldots\), respectively. Rule 6.1.97 \(a\)to \(gune\) applies to replace the vocalic sequence \(a+a\) with a single \(a\) (pararūpa). Similar applications are also involved in deriving \(tad + sU \rightarrow sah\). Refer to sarve (II:360) for derivational details of plural forms such as \(tye\), etc. Deriving \(esa\) from \(etad + sU\) involves several replacement operations subsequent to \(eta(d \rightarrow a) + sU\) of this rule. First, the vocalic sequence \(a+a\) goes through a single \(guna\) (pararūpa; 6.1.97 \(a\)to \(gune\)) replacement. Rule 6.2.102 \(tadoh sah\ldots\) then replaces the non-final \(t\) with \(s\): \(et(a+a \rightarrow a) + s(U) \rightarrow e(t \rightarrow s) a + s = esa + (s \rightarrow h) = esa + h\). Rule 8.3.55 \(apada\)ntasya \(mūrdhanyah\) finally produces \(e(s \rightarrow s) a = esa\). The final \(s\)\(U\) of this string produces a \(visarga\): \(esa + (s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = esa\). It may also be deleted (6.1.131 \(etattadoh\ldots\)) to produce \(esa\) under certain conditions. Thus, we may get \(esa\) \(karoti\).

Note here that items affected by this replacement are also termed sarvanāman ‘pronominal’ (1.1.27 sarvādini sarvanāmāni). This, in turn, may have additional implications. This replacement will be blocked where \(tyad\), etc., are used with the signification of a name (samjña). It will also be blocked when \(tyad\), etc., are used as secondary members of a compound. This replacement will apply where they are used as principal component constituents. Finally, there are implications relative to rules contained within the domain of 5.4.1 prāg diśo vibhaktih. Consider the introduction of affixes after items termed sarvanāman (5.1.2 kimsarvanāma \ldots\) for illustration.

7.2.103 किम: कः

kimah kah
/kimah 6/1 kah 1/1/
(angsasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84)
‘kim’ ity etasya ‘ka’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati vibhaktau paratah
\(ka\) comes in place of an \(aṅga\), namely \(kim\), when an affix termed vibhakti follows.

Examples:

kah ‘nominative singular of kim (who)’
kahau ‘nominative dual’
ke ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule offers \(ka\) as a replacement for an \(aṅga\), namely \(kim\), when a nominal ending follows. Note that, in view of 1.1.55 anekālṣit sarvasya, \(ka\) replaces \(kim\) in toto (sarvādeśa). Thus, \((kim \rightarrow ka) + sU = kah\). Refer also to \(kah\) and \(ke\) (II:400-401) for derivational details. Why not formulate this rule as kimo’ \(t\), thereby replacing \(m\) with \(a\), and \(i\) with \(a\): \(ki(m \rightarrow a) + sU \rightarrow k(i \rightarrow a) a + sU = k(a+a \rightarrow a) + sU \rightarrow kah\). Refer to notes under 5.3.1 kimo’ \(at\) and 5.3.13 \(vā\) ha ca cchandasī for additional perspective.
7.2.104 कु तिहोः:

ku tihoh
/ku 1/1 tihoh 7/2 = tiś ca haś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 kimah #103)
takārādau hakārādau ca vibhaktau parataḥ ‘kim’ ity etasya ‘ku’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
ku comes in place of an aṅga, namely kim, when an affix termed vibhakti, beginning with t or h, follows.

Examples:

kutah ‘from whence’
kutra ‘where’
kuha ‘where’

1. This rule offers ku as a replacement for kim when a nominal ending which begins with t(t) and h follows. Thus, (kim + ņi + traL → (kim→ku) + ņi + tra(L) = ku + (Ńi→ϕ) + tra = kutra. Recall that traL is an affix termed vibhakti (5.3.1 prāḍitiśo vibhaktiḥ) which is introduced after a string ending in saptami ‘locative’ (5.3.10 saptamāṃs tral). Rule 1.1.38 tadddhatā cāsarvavibhaktiḥ assigns the term avyaya ‘indeclinable’ to forms thus derived. Nominal endings contained within these forms are then deleted by 2.4.82 avayayād āpuṇḍaḥ. Our next example kutah derives from (kim → ku) + ñasI + tas(IL) = ku (ŃasI→ϕ) tas → kut(a(s→rU→h) = kutah. Affix tasIL, a vibhakti, is introduced by 5.3.7 pañcamāṃs tasil. Our last example kuha derives from kim + ņe + ha, of 5.1.13 va ha cchandasi, where ha is a vibhakti. Refer to the appendix (II:370-71) for additional derivational details.

7.2.105 क्राति

kvāti
/kva 1/1 (deleted) ati 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 kimah #103)
‘ati’ ity etasyāṃ vibhaktau parataḥ ‘kim’ ity etasya ‘kva’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
kva comes in place of an aṅga, namely kim, when an affix termed vibhakti constituted by aT follows.

Examples:

kva gamisyasi ‘when will you go’
kva bhokṣyase ‘when will you eat’

1. This rule offers kva as a replacement for kim where aT follows. Consider kim + ņe + a(T) = kva. Refer to the appendix (II:446) for derivational details.

Why introduce a new substitute (ādeśa) when ku of the preceding rule
could account for kva, with an additional application of replacement in yaṇ? This replacement is added so that the guna application of 6.4.146 or gunah could be blocked. For, a guna application would have been accepted as more powerful than a replacement in yaṇ. Why not formulate the rule as kimo ḍvat, thereby accounting for kva after deletion of u on the basis of D as an it in ḍvāT (6.4.143 teh). This formulation can account for kva from kim + Ne + ḍvāT. It cannot account for forms where kim may be used with affix akAC (5.3.71 avyayasarvanām . . .). An akAC form of kim with ḍvāT will produce an undesired form *kakva, as a result of i-deletion of im. This is another reason for offering aT as a replacement against ku.

7.2.106 ततोः सः सावनन्ययोः:

tadoh saḥ sāvanantyayoḥ

/tadoh 6/2 = taś ca daś ca (sitar. dv.), tayoḥ; saḥ 1/1 sau 7/1 anantyayoḥ

6/2 = na antyau (nañ. tat.)/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 tyādādinām aḥ #102)

tyādādināṁ takārādaṇkārayor anantyayoḥ sakārādeśo bhavati sau parataḥ

s comes in place of the non-final t and d of an aṅga constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by tyad when an affix termed vibhakti, particularly sU, follows.

Examples:

syah ‘nominative singular ‘that’

saḥ ‘nominative singular ‘he’

esaḥ ‘nominative singular; this person’

asau ‘nominative singular; that person’

1. This rule offers s as a replacement for a non-final (anantya) t and d of an aṅga, namely of tyad, etc., when the nominal ending sU follows. Refer to notes under 7.2.102 tyādādinām aḥ for derivational details.

2. Why do we state the condition of ‘non-final’ (anantyayoḥ)? Consider he (tyad + sU) = he saḥ where, if anantyayoḥ is not accepted as a condition, this rule will block the application of 7.2.102 tyādādinām aḥ on the basis of parātva (1.4.2 vipratisedhe . . .). We will then get (t→s)ya(d→s) = s(y→ϕ)as = sa = he *sas. Affix TāP cannot be introduced after *sas since it will no longer end in a vowel (4.1.4 ajādyatas tāp). It is to remove this difficulty that anantyayoḥ has been used in the wording of this rule.

Tattvaodbhini (ad SK) notes that the derived final s can be replaced with a, and with the application of pararūpa ‘single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence’, we can still get the desired form. We will have to resort to punah prasaṅgavijnāna ‘applying a rule when its context reappears’. That is, anantyayoḥ can be dropped from the wording of this rule. The Tattvaodbhini prefers changing the order of rules against accepting anantyayoḥ as part of the wording of this rule.
adasa au sulopās ca
/adasah 6/1 au 1/1 sulopah 1/1 = sor lopah (ṣaṣ tat); ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 sau #106)
adasaḥ sau parataḥ sakārasya avakārdeśo bhavati
au comes in place of the s of an aṅga, namely adas ‘that one’, when an
affix termed vibhakti, particularly sU, follows; additionally, sU also gets
deleted by LOPA.

EXAMPLES:

asa‘that’

1. This rule offers au as a replacement for adas when sU follows. Additionally, sU goes through deletion by LOPA. This replacement comes in place of the final s of adas (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya). Refer to notes under the preceding rule for illustration.

2. The following vārttika proposals have been made in the Mahābhāṣya under this rule:

(i) au is optionally negated in favor of introducing u in place of a which occurs after s of adas, provided when adas is used with akāc.
Thus, ad(akāc+ as) + sU → ad(a→u)kas + sU → adukas + (sU→φ) =
a(d→s) ukas → asuka(s→rU→h) = asukaḥ. A non-negation of au will produce:
adakas + sU → adaka(s→u) + sU → adakau + (sU→φ)
→ a(d→s) akau = asakau (vt. autvapratisedhah sākackād vā vaktavyah
sād utvama ca).

(ii) A replacement stated for tyād, etc., when used in combination with a following constituent, applies prior to combining them with sandhi. Thus, paramāham, paramāyam and paramānena (vt. uttarapadabhūtānām tyāddīnām akṛtasandhīnām ādeśā vaktavyāḥ).

3. The following kārikā verses of the Mahābhāṣya sum up an interesting discussion:

adasah sor bhaved autvaṃ kim sulopo vidhīyate/
hrasvāl ṭuptaṁ sambuddhir na halah prakṛtam hi tat/ /
āpa etvaṃ bhavet tasmin na jhalaty anuvartanāt/
pratyayasthāc ca kād itvam śībhāvas ca prasajyate/ /
’sU after adas should be replaced with au. Why are we offering deletion of sU by LOPA? There will then be deletion of sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanām sambuddhiḥ) after a short vowel (hrasvāt). But how could that happen when hal is carried there? We will then get a replacement in e (etva) for āp. This will not happen since jhalī is carried over. Rule 7.3.44 pratyayasthāt, , will cause a replacement in i (itva) for that which occurs before k. But we will still get Ś for au (7.1.18 auṇ āpah)"
Note that we can get asau from adas + sU → ada(s→a) + sU → ad(a+a→a) + sU → a(d→s)a + au → as(a+au→au) = asau, with s→a, sU→au and pararūpa. Why then offer deletion of sU? We will run into problem with adas + (sU→au) where sU is that of sadbuddhi ‘address’ (6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt . . . ). That is, we will get deletion of sU turned au. Thus, au should not replace sU. This, however, will not happen since hal is carried there. That is, sU→au cannot be deleted since it is no longer constituted by a consonant. But, given asā + (sU→au), where asā ends in the feminine affix TāP, rule 7.3.106 sambuddhāau ca will replace a with e (etwa) in he khaṭve. But this is not a problem. We get the anuvṛtti of jhal in 7.3.1 sambuddhāau ca. Thus, this replacement in e, since it applies only before a sambuddhi which begins with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal, will be blocked.

This solution still has problems. We will get i before k, for example, in asakā + au, where akAC is involved. If au is introduced as a replacement to the base we will not get TāP, and hence, a replacement in i. Thus, sU cannot be replaced with au. But strings such as asā + au will then have their a go through a replacement in Śi. This will produce wrong forms. It is, therefore, advised to have s replaced with au with concurrent deletion of sU.

4. It is argued that this rule should be formulated simply as adasa au. We can carry over sau from 7.2.106 tadoḥ saḥ sāv anantya-yoh. The locative of sau in 7.2.106 tadoḥ . . . will be transformed into genitive (saṣṭhī). For, it has served its purpose in 7.2.106 tadoḥ . . . , and adasaḥ of 7.2.107 is specified in the ablative (pañcamī). The sūtra will then mean: ‘let au replace sU which occurs after adas’. Thus, given adas + sU, we will get au in place of sU. The s will be replaced with a by 7.2.102 tyadaṁnāṁ ah. We will finally get the form asau with the application of pararūpa ‘single replacement similar to what follows’, vrddhi, and replacement of d→s (7.2.106 tadoḥ saḥ . . . ).

But this view creates problems in derivates such as he asau, where sU occurs after a short vowel. Rule 6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt sambuddhau will thus apply to delete sU. This is what is stated as a fault by hrasvāt lūpyeta sambuddhiḥ of the kārikā quoted above. We cannot get au when sU has gone through deletion. The address form can thus not be derived as he' sau. A solution to this problem is offered by: na halah prakṛtaṁ hi tat. It is explained that 6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt sambuddhau deletes the consonant (haL) of sambuddhi. We do not find the consonantal sambuddhi here since sU has been replaced with au. Since au is a vowel, it cannot go through deletion. But for this interpretation of 6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ, one must read halah in the wording of rule 6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt . . . We do not need to read halah in the wording of rule 6.1.69 since halah of 6.1.68 halīyābhyo dirghāt . . . is already there. But halah of 6.1.68 is specified in the nominative (prathama) and we need it here in the genitive (saṣṭhī). This should pose no problem. The ablative (pañcamī) of 6.1.69 eñ hrasvāt . . . will be transformed into genitive at the strength of 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya. Thus, there is no problem in deriving he asau.
But there is another problem. We cannot derive *he asau in the feminine, because similar to *he rame in the feminine, we will get a replacement in -e by 7.3.106 sambuddau ca. That is, we will end up with the form he *asayau. Given adas + sU, and after the application of 7.2.102 tyadādinām ah, pararūpa, and the feminine affix TāP, we will get he adā + sU. This sU will then get replaced with au, and the ā of TāP will be replaced with e. Of course, the d will be replaced with s. Given he ase + au, we should get he *asayau through ay replacement of e. A resolution to this problem is being offered in the verse: na jhaly ity anuvartanā. It is stated that jhali will be carried over to 7.3.106 sambuddhau ca from 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et. The meaning will be: a replacement in e offered by 7.3.106 sambuddhau ca applies when a sambuddhi beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL follows. Since au does not begin with a sound denoted by jhaL, replacement in e is blocked. The verse states: to state that a replacement in e by 7.3.106 sambuddhau ca will become applicable is not appropriate. For, that carries the anuvṛtti of jhali.

Yet another fault is brought to notice by the kārikā phrase: pratītyasthāc ca kād itvam. It is stated that, given adas + sU, and a desire to express the sense of ‘not known’, etc., parallel to asakau brāhmaṇī, rule 5.3.71 avyayasarvasanāmnām akac prāk . . . will introduce akAC before the tī (1.1.64 acu ‘nyādi tī). This will give us adakas + sU. A replacement in a of 7.2.102 tyadādinām ah, pararūpa (a), and introduction of TāP, will now yield adakā + sU. A replacement in i must now be introduced for a before k of the affix. The result will be: adikā + sU which, through the application of 7.2.107 adasa au sulpās ca, will yield *asikau, and not the desired asakau. A similar problem can also be faced in deriving asau brāhmaṇī where we will get a ś-replacement by 7.1.18 avāna śpāh for resolution of this problem.

7.2.108 इदमो मः:

idamo maḥ

/idamah 6/1 maḥ 1/1/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 sau #106)

idamah sau parato makāro antādeṣo bhavati

m comes in place of the final m of an aṅga, namely of idam ‘this’, when an infix termed vibhakti, particularly sU, follows.

Examples:

iyam ‘this (feminine)’

ayam ‘this (masculine)’

1. A replacement in m for the final m (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) of idam is recommended here so that idam can be saved from replacement in a (atvo) of 7.2.102 tyadādinām ah (Kāś: idamo makārasya makāravacanaṃ tyaddhyatva
bādhanaṁthaṁ). Recall that id of idam is replaced with ay in the masculine (7.2.11 ido ay puṁsi). Thus, idam + su → (ido→ay) am + sU→ ayam + (sU→ϕ)
= ayam. We get i(d→y) am + sU→ iyam + (sU→ϕ) = iyam, in the feminine with y as a replacement for its d (7.2.110 yah sau).

7.2.109 दुर्घ
dāś ca
/dāh 6/1 ca ϕ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaṅtau #84 idamo maḥ #108)
idamo dākārasya sthāne mahārāṣṭe bhavati vibhaṅto parataḥ
m also comes in place of d of an anga, namely of idam, when a nominal ending follows.

Examples:

imau/ime ‘nominative dual and plural of idam’
imam/imau/imān ‘accusative singular/dual/plural . . .’

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating sU in the next rule when the same could be carried, via anuvṛtti, from this rule. Pāṇini does not want sU to be read in the wording of this present rule. He explicitly states it in the next rule because he needs it there. We have to read vibhaṅta ‘nominal endings’, in general, for purposes of this rule.

This rule offers m as a replacement for d of idam before a nominal ending. Thus, ida(m→a) + au → ida + a + au → i(d→m) a + a + au → im(a+a→a) + au → im(a+au→au) = imau. Applications such as tyādāṁyatva (m→a; 7.2.102 tyādāṁnāmaḥ), d→m (7.2.109 dāś ca), pūrvarūpa (a+a→a; 6.1.97 ato guṇe) and single replacement in vṛddhi (a+au→au; 6.1.88 vṛddhir eci) are easy to understand. Note, however, that imān, accusative plural, will get a replacement in n (nātva; 6.1.102 tasmāc chaso . . .).

7.2.110 चः सै
yah sau
/yah 6/1 sau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaṅtau #84 idamoḥ #108 daḥ #109)
idamo dākārasya yukārāṣṭe bhavati sau parataḥ
y comes in place of d of an anga, namely of idam, when an affix termed vibhaṅti, namely sU, follows (and feminine is denoted).

Examples:

iyam ‘this’

1. Note that this replacement applies only in the feminine. Why? Because our next rule specifies a replacement in the masculine (puṁsi). Why can
this replacement not be meant for neuter (*napuṣsaka*). That is impossible
(*asambhava*), since $sU$ gets deleted there in view of 7.1.23 svamor napuṣsakāt.
We cannot invoke 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣanam* to still accomplish
this replacement. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumarāṅgasya* will block any such effort.
Our example *iyam* gets $m$ as a replacement for the final $m$ of *idam*. This, as
explained, is an exception to the *a* (*tyadātyatva*) of 7.2.102 *tyadādinām ah*.

2. Some edition of *Kāśikā* reads the *vṛtti* as *idamo makārasya yakārudeśo
bhavati*. . . . This is wrong. A replacement in *y* for *m* of *idam* will make it hard
to derive *iyam*. I, therefore, follow Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita (cf. *SK*: *idamo dasya yah
syāt sau*) in presenting the *vṛtti* of this rule: *idamo dakārāsyā yakārudeśo bhavati.
S.C. Vasu also writes his *vṛtti* with *makārasya*, although his English translation
is correct.

7.2.111 इधोप्य पुम्सि

*ida' y pumṣi*

/ *idah 6/1 ay 1/1 pumṣi 7/1/*

(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 idamaḥ #108 sau #110*)

*idam idrūpasya pumṣi sau parataḥ 'ay' ity ayam ādesā bhavati
ay comes in place of *id* of an *āṅga*, namely of *idam*, when an affix termed
*vibhakti*, namely $sU$, follows and the derivate signifies masculine (*pumṣi*).

**Examples:**

*ayam brāhmaṇah 'this is a brāhmaṇa'*

1. Why do we state *pumṣi* 'when masculine'. Note that *id* is not replaced
with *ay* in the feminine. Consequently, we get *iyam brāhmaṇi* 'this is a
brāhmaṇa woman' where $d$ of *idam* is replaced with *y* (7.2.110 *yāh sau*).

7.2.112 अनाप्यकः

*anāpy akāh
/an 1/1 (deleted) āpi 7/1 akāh 6/1 = na vidyate kakāro yasmin tat (bv.),
tasya/
(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 idamaḥ #108 sau #110 idah #111*)

*idamo' kakārasya idrūpasya sthāne 'ana' ity ayam ādesā bhavati āpi vibhaktau parataḥ
ana comes in place of *id*, namely a *k*-less form of an *āṅga* constituted by
*idam*, when an affix termed *vibhakti* denoted by the abbreviatory term
āP follows.

**Examples:**

*anena 'instrumental singular of *idam* 'this’
anayoh 'genitive and locative dual of *idam*'
1. Note that āP is accepted as an abbreviatory term denoting nominal endings Tā ‘instrumental singular’ through suP ‘locative plural’. Our next rule offers deletion of id before a nominal ending beginning with a consonant (halādi). This rule then applies in contexts where a nominal ending begins with a vowel and is denoted by āP. It generally applies when nominal endings Tā ‘instrumental singular’ through os ‘locative dual’ follow. A negation with akaḥ ‘... other than k’ is given so that this rule does not apply when akAC (5.3.71 avayasarvanāmnām ...) is used after id of idam. Consider idam + ṭā → anena, where id is replaced with ana (7.2.112 anāpy akaḥ) and 7.1.12 tānasiṇāsmā ... replaces ṭā with inā. Thus, (id→ana) a+ (Ṭā→ina)) = ana + a + ina. A single replacement in a for a+a is offered in consonance with 6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ. We can similarly get ana + os, where 7.3.104 osı ca replaces the final o of ana with e. A replacement in ay for the resultant e, followed by rU→h (rūṭva-visarga), produces anayōḥ.

2. Note that we do not find ana as a replacement, for example in imakena and imakayōḥ, since their idam is introduced with akAC, and thus becomes a form with k.

7.2.113 हलिलोपः

hali lopah
/ hali 7/1 lopah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vibhaktau #84 idamaḥ #108 idaḥ #111 ahaḥ #112)
halādaḥ vibhaktau parata idamo’ akakāraṣya idrūpasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of the non-k form of an aṅga, namely id of idam,
when an affix termed vibhakti beginning with a consonant follows.

Examples:

ābhyaṁ ‘instrumental, dative and ablative singular form of idam (this)’
ebhīḥ ‘instrumental plural form of idam’
ebhyaḥ ‘dative and ablative plural form of idam’
esāṃ ‘genitive plural form of idam’
esu ‘locative plural form of idam’

1. Refer to derivational details of ābhyaṁ (appendix, II:354-55). Forms with the instrumental plural ending bhīs, and the dative-ablative nominal ending bhyaś, after m→a and single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence (pararūṣa), involve a replacement in e (etva; 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et). Thus, (a→e) + bhīs = ebhīs and (a→e) + bhyaś = ebhyaś.

Recall that augment sUT (7.1.52 āmi sarvanāmnāḥ ...) is introduced in deriving esām. The s of the derivate is then replaced with s (sattva; 8.3.59 ādesāpratayōḥ).

2. Why can we not delete the final d of id in accord with 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya? Because this interpretive convention (paribhāṣā) does not apply where a speci-
fication (here id) does not have any meaning (Kāś: ‘nānarthake lontyavidhiḥ
titi sarvasyāuam idrūpasya lopah). Consequently, id is deleted in its entirety. An
application of 1.1.52 alo’ niyasya can be made possible only when one carries
the anuvṛtti of an from 7.2.112 anāpya kah. That will then facilitate deletion
of n of an which replaces id. Refer to derivational details of ābhyaṁ (II:354-
55).

7.2.114 प्रेरणविन्धः:

mrj eruḍhiḥ
/mrjeh 6/1 eruḍhiḥ 1/1/

(anāgasya #6.4.1 iko guṇavṛddhi #1.1.3)

mrj eruṅāṣya iko vṛddhir bhavati

A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of a vowel denoted by the
abbreviatory term iK, of an aṅga constituted by mrjI ‘to wipe, cleanse’.

Examples:

māṛṭā ‘purifier’
māṛṭum ‘. . . for wiping’
māṛṭavyam ‘. . . ought to be wiped’

1. Note that mrjeh specifies a verbal root (dhātu) in the genitive. Conse-
quently, this rule will apply to a verbal root which constitutes an aṅga when
an affix follows. Thus, kamsaparimṛj + bhyaṁ will not involve this rule
application. For, bhyaṁ is an affix which is not introduced after a verbal root. Refer
to derivational details of cetā (II:329) for deriving a derivate with affix trC.
Our examples are derivates of affixes trC, tumUN and tavyaT. Thus, mrj +
tr(C) → m(rār)j + tr → māṛj(j→ś) + tr → māṛs + (t→t) r = māṛṭr, etc., with
vṛddhi (r→ār, 7.2.114), j→ś (śauta; 8.2.96 vraścabrasjasṛjmaṛja . . .) and t→t
(śutuva). Other rule applications are similar to cetā where r of trC receives
anāN (7.1.93 anāṇ sau). Examples with tumUN and tavyaT do not offer any-
thing new.

7.2.115 आचो विणिति

aco’ niṇiti
/acaḥ 6/1 niṇiti 7/1 = niś ca niś ca = niṇau (dv.); niṇau itau yasya (bv with
int. dv), tasmin/

(anāgasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #114)

ajantaśāṅgaṇī niṇi niṇi ca vṛddhir bhavati

A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of the vowel denoted by iK of an
aṅga which ends in aC, when an affix marked with N and N follows.

Examples:

ekas taṅḍulaniscāyah ‘one heap of rice’
dvau śūrpaniśpāvau ‘two winnowing basketful of rice’
kāraḥ ‘doer’
hāraḥ ‘carrier’
gauḥ/ gāvau/gāvaḥ ‘nominative singular/dual/plural of go (cow)’
sakhāyau/sakhāyaḥ ‘nominative dual and plural of sakhi ‘companion’’
jaitram ‘victory’
yautram ‘mixing’
cyautnah ‘moving’

1. Refer to derivational details of nispāvau (appendix, III:762). Similar rules apply in deriving nicāyah from nisci + GHaN, where the vrddhi-vowel ai is replaced with āy, and s of nis goes through a replacement in s (ścutva; 8.4.40 stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ). Deriving kāra and hāra, from kr + GHaN and hr + GHaN, with replacement in vrddhi is easy. The vrddhi-replacement of g(o→au), in go + sU, go + au, go + Jas; and sakhi + au and sakhi + Jas, is accomplished via extensional operations (atidesa-kārya) applied in the context of sarvāmāsthāna (1.1.43 śi sarvanāmasthānam; 1.1.44 sud anapumṣakasya), similar to that which is marked with N as an it (nidvadbhāva; 7.1.90 goto nīt; 7.1.92 sakhyur asambuddhau). Refer to derivational details of most examples under rules 7.1.90 and 7.1.92. Deriving jaitra and yautra, from ji + ŚtraN and yu + ŚtraN, via nīt, through bāhulaka ‘variously’ and vrddhi (3.3.1 unādayo bahulam) is not difficult. Deriving cyautna, from cyu + tnaN (Uṣṇīṣa), follows the same pattern of derivation.

7.2.116 अत उपथया:

ata upadhāyāḥ
/atah 6/1 upadhāyāḥ 6/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhi #114 niñiti #115)

āṅgopadāyāḥ akārasya sthāne niñiti niñiti ca pratyayeva vrddhir bhavati
A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of next to the last a (1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt purva upadhā) of an aṅga when an affix marked with N and N follows.

Examples:

pākah ‘cooking’
tyāgaḥ ‘renunciation’
yāgaḥ ‘sacrifice’
pacayati ‘he has someone cook’
pākakah ‘cook’
pāṭhayati ‘he has someone recite; teaches’
pāṭhakah ‘reciter’

1. The first three examples are derivates of GHaN, introduced after pac, tyaj and yaj. Replacements in k and g, for c and j, respectively, are gotten
after the penultimate \textit{vṛddhi} of 7.3.52 caجاج ku. . . . The last four examples are derivates of \textit{NiC} (3.1.26 hetumati ca), where penultimate \textit{vṛddhi} is also applied. The \textit{NvLu} of \textit{pācakāh} and \textit{pāṭhakāh} yields \textit{aka} (7.1.1 yuvor anākau).

2. The condition of \textit{ataḥ} 'in place of a' is imposed so that \textit{bheda} and \textit{bhedakaḥ}, with no \textit{a} in the penultimate position (\textit{upadhā}), could be excluded from getting a replacement in \textit{vṛddhi}. This \textit{a} must be penultimate (\textit{upadhā}) so that \textit{cakāsaya} 'illuminates' and \textit{taksaka} 'carpenter' which, because of no \textit{a} in the \textit{upadhā}, could be excluded from getting this \textit{vṛddhi}. Recall that \textit{a} of \textit{taksaka} will be termed \textit{guru} before the conjunct (1.4.11 \textit{samyo} \textit{guru}).

\section{7.2.117 тत्तद्विष्ठितामादः:

taddhīteśu acāṃ ādeḥ
\textit{/tatdhihēṣu 7/3 acāṃ 6/3 ādeḥ 6/1/}
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 \textit{vṛddhih #114 aco ṇītī #115})
taddhīte ṇītī ca parāyante vṛddhir bhavati

A vowel termed \textit{vṛddhi} comes in place of initial among vowels of an \textit{āṅga} when an affix marked with \textit{N} and \textit{N} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{gārgya} 'a gotra-descendant of Garga'
  \item \textit{vātsya} 'a gotra-descendant of Vatsa'
  \item \textit{dākṣī} 'son of Dakṣa'
  \item \textit{plāksī} 'son of Plakṣa'
  \item \textit{aupagavā} 'a descendant of Upagū'
  \item \textit{kāpāṭavā} 'a descendant of Kapaṭu'
\end{itemize}

1. Note that \textit{gārgya} and \textit{vātsya} are derivates of the \textit{taddhīta} affix ya\textit{N} (4.1.105 gargaḍibhyya . . . ). Our next two examples are derivates of i\textit{N} (4.1.95 ata iṅ). The last two examples are derivates of a\textit{N} (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 vṛddhir . . .).

2. Commentators explain that an initial \textit{vṛddhi} blocks the application of penultimate (\textit{upadhā}) and final \textit{vṛddhi}. Consider \textit{tvāṣṭrā} and \textit{jāgata} where their bases derive from \textit{tvāṣṭr} + a\textit{N} and \textit{jagat} + a\textit{N} with application of initial \textit{vṛddhi}.

\section{7.2.118 किति ca

\textit{kiti ca}
\textit{/kiti 7/1 ca ʃ/}

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 \textit{vṛddhih #114 acaḥ #115 taddhītesv acāṃ ādeḥ #117})
kiti ca taddhīte parato ṇīgasyācāṃ āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati

A vowel termed \textit{vṛddhi} comes in place of initial among vowels of an \textit{āṅga}, also when a \textit{taddhīta} affix marked with \textit{K} as an it follows.
EXAMPLES:

nāḍāyanaḥ ‘a descendant of Nāda’
cārāyanaḥ ‘a descendant of Cara’
āksikaḥ ‘he who plays with a dice; gambler’
sālākikaḥ ‘he who plays with a śalākā ‘(ivory) stick’; gambler’

1. The first two examples are derivates of affix phaK (4.1.99 naḍādibhyaḥ phak). The last two are derivates of affix thaK (4.4.1 prāg vahateḥ thak; 4.4.2 tena divyati . . . ). Note that pha and tha yield replacements in āyana and ika (7.1.2 āyaneyiniyiyah . . . ; 7.3.50 thaṣyeṃkaḥ), respectively.

PĀDA THREE

7.3.1 देविकाशिश्वपादियावार्धिः पारिशत्रयस्यसमानत

devikāśīṃśapādītyavādādīrghahatsattrāśreyasām āt
/ devikā-śīṃśapā-dītyavāt-dīrghahatsatra-śreyasām 6/3 (iṭar dv); āt 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco' nñiti #7.2.115 taddhis evaṃ ādeḥ
#7.2.116 kiti #7.2.117)
‘devikā, śīṃśapā, dītyavāt, ādīrghahatsatra, śreyas’ ity etesām āṅguṇām āder acaḥ
sthāne vrddhiprasange ākāro bhavati niti niti kiti taddhiḥ parataḥ
An ā comes in many among vowels of an āṅga, namely devikā,
śīṃśapā, dītyavāt, ādīrghahatsatra and śreyas, when a taddhīta affix marked
with N, N and K follows, and the context is that of replacement in
vrddhi.

EXAMPLES:

dāvikam udakam ‘water of river Devikā’
dāvikākulaḥ śālayah ‘a variety of rice grown on the banks of river Devikā’
pūrvadāvikah ‘someone born at a village named Pūrva-devikā’
śīṃśapāścamasah ‘a ritual vessel made with Śīṃśapā leaves’
śīṃśapāśthalah ‘found at a place named Śīṃśapāśthalā’
pūrvasāṃśapah ‘someone born in Pūrva-Śīṃśapā’
dātyauham ‘this belongs to Dītyavāt’
dārghasattram ‘that which is found in the soma sacrifice of Dīrghasatra’
śrāyasam ‘that which is found in the best’

1. Note that āṅgasya (6.4.1) is carried over. It thus shares a qualifier-qualified relationship (vīṣeṣaṇa-viṣeṣyabhāva) with devikā, etc. Haradatta (PM ad
Kāśikā) discusses four interpretational possibilities of this rule, depending
upon:

(i) whether devikā, etc., are accepted as qualifiers to āṅgasya; or
(ii) āṅgasya is accepted as a qualifier to devikā, etc.; and
(iii) whether coreferentiality (sāmānādhikaranya); or
(iv) non-coreferentiality (vaiyadhikaranyā), forms the basis of such a qualifier-qualified relationship.

If we accept devikā, etc., as qualifiers to anāga based on coreferentiality, then, via tadantarvadihi ‘interpreting x as one which also ends in x’, we get the following interpretation: the first among vowels of an anāga which ends in devikā, etc., is replaced with ā. This interpretation will block ā from replacing the first vowel of devikā, etc., where they constitute an anāga by themselves. For, devikā, etc., can then not be interpreted as ending in devikā, etc.

Treating devikā, etc., as principal, and thereby also accepting them as ending in themselves, via vyapadesivadāvāva ‘treating something secondary as principal’, is not possible. For, vyapadesivadāvāva is ruled out in case of nominal stems. If, however, such a negation of vyapadesivadāvāva is restricted only to affixes introduced after nominal stems then replacement in ā could apply only to devikā, etc., when used alone. This replacement in ā could not apply to devikā, for example, of dāvikākūlāḥ sālayah, paraphrased as devikākūle bhavāḥ sālayah ‘rice produced on the bank of the river Devikā’. This replacement will cause an over-application (atiprasānga) in saudevikam, paraphrased as sudevikādāvā bhavāh ‘that which is produced in sudevikā, etc.’ We will, thus, end up having the u of su replaced with ā. Haradatta finds problems with all these interpretations.

A non-coreferential paraphrase of this qualifier-qualified relationship will accept ā as a replacement for the initial vowel of an anāga which may be part of devikā, etc. That is, this interpretation will accept devikā, etc., as a whole of which an anāga will become a part. This interpretation will not permit ā to replace an initial vowel where devikā, etc., may constitute an anāga by themselves. For, how could a whole by itself constitute its part(s). Recall that treatment of a part as its corresponding whole, via vyapadesivadāvāva (PŚ Ś1: vyapadesivad ekasmin), is ruled out in case of a nominal stem. If this negation is, however, limited to the context of affixes, then ā-replacement will be possible only where devikā, etc., constitute an anāga by themselves. This interpretation will also encounter problems relative to tadantarvadihi ‘treating x as referring, also, to that which ends in x’ and vyapadesivadāvāva ‘treating something secondary as principal’. There should be no problem where devikā, etc., are used alone, or where they constitute the initial constituent of an anāga. This interpretation, however, will create problems by introducing ā as a replacement in devikā, etc., when the same are used as the following constituent of an anāga. This ā will be desired in prāgrāme and pūrvaśāmsapah. It will be undesired in sudevikā, etc., where the context is not grāma ‘village’. One may try to resolve this problem by carrying the anuvṛtti of prācām grāmanagarāṇām (7.3.14) and by resorting to split-interpretation of the rule, via yogavābhāga, in two rules: (i) prācām grāmanagarāṇām uttarapadasyāder aco vṛddhir bhavati ‘a vṛddhi vowel comes in place of the initial vowel of the following (final) compound-constituent used with the denotation of an eastern
village, or city’; (ii) ā comes in place of initial among vowels of devikā, etc., when used as a following constituent. Haradatta does not accept it as the intent of the author of the vṛtti. For, the vṛtti should then have also stated the anuvṛtti of uttarapadavṛddhau (7.3.14). Haradatta concludes that what is carried over, i.e., ā, should be related primarily to devikā, etc. Thus, ā comes in place of the initial vowel of devikā, etc. That is, when the context is vṛddhi and devikā, etc., constitute an aṅga. Whether they constitute an aṅga as part of an initial, or following constituent, does not matter. The following verses summarize Haradatta’s view:

kastarhi vṛttikārasya pakṣo’ yam abhidhiyate
paribhāseyaṃ antaryāparibhāṣā’ pavādini/
devikāder acām āder yatra vṛddhiḥ prasajyate
itatropatiśhate tena sarvam िचम praśiddhyati//

‘how is this identified as the intent of the author of the vṛtti; this interpretive convention is offered as an exception to that which favors the interpretive convention of proximity; it applies where the vṛddhi-replacement of first among vowels of devikā, etc., becomes applicable; and, thus, all which is desired is accomplished by it’

Jinendrabuddhi also presents three interpretations for which refer to Nyāsa ad Kāśikā. I accept the interpretation offered by the Kāśikāvṛtti.

2. Note that pūrvadevikā, pūrvaśīṃṣapā, etc., are names of villages in the east. A derivate of these with the significition of 4.3.53 tatra bhavaḥ ‘born, or found, there’ will qualify for replacement in vṛddhi of 7.3.14 prācām grāmanagarānām. This rule offers replacement in ā (ātva) as an exception. A derivate such as śaṃśapacamasah involves introduction of affix aN (4.3.139 palāśādbhyo vā; or 4.3.138 anudāttāde ca). This rule offers ā against the vṛddhi of 7.2.117 so taddhite. . . Similar explanations can be offered for other examples.

3. A vārtika proposal is made to ensure ā as a replacement (itva) for initial among vowels of vahinara. Thus, vahinara + iN → v(a→i) hīnara + iN = v(i→ai) hīnara + iN = vahinari ‘son of Vahinara’.

7.3.2 केकयनित्रयुप्रलयनाम यादेति:

kekayamitravyupratayānāḥ yāder iyah
/kekaya-mitravyu-pratayānām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśām; yādeḥ 6/1 = ya ādir
yesām (bu.), tasya; iyah 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 nītī #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu #7.2.117 kīti #7.2.118)
‘kekaya, mitrayu, pralaya’ ity etesām yakārādeḥ ‘iya’ ity ayam ādeso bhavati
taddhite nītī kīti ca parataḥ
ty comes in place of the y-initial part of an aṅga, namely kekaya, mitrayu
and pralaya, when a taddhīta affix marked with N, N and K follows.
Examples:

kaikayāḥ ‘an offspring of Kekaya’
maitreyikāyā śāṅgahate ‘... praises with the sentiment of a friend’
prāleyam udakam ‘devastating floods’

1. This rule replaces ya and yu with iy of kekaya, mitrayu and pralaya. We thus get kaikeya, from kekaya + ṇaś + aṈ (4.1.166 janapadaśabdāḥ ...), with vrddhi-replacement of the initial vowel: k(e→ai) kaya ...; replacement in iy: kaika(ya→i)y a; replacement in guṇa: kaiκ(a+i→e) ya; kaikeya + aṈ; 6.1.94 ād guṇah; and deletion of a (kaikeya(a→φ) + aṈ = kaikēya (6.4.148 yasyeti ca).

Similar rules apply in deriving maitreyikāyā, with the feminine affix ṭāp and related i (itva; 7.3.44 pratyayasthāti ...), parallel to maitreyikāyā śāṅghate ‘... praises with the sentiment of a friend’. We find affix vuṈ→aka (5.1.133 gotaccaranāc ... ) introduced after mitrayu. Affix aṈ is similarly introduced after prāleya, with the signification of 4.3.74 tata āgataḥ ‘arrived from there’, to derive prāleya.

7.3.3 न व्याख्यान पदात्मायं पूर्वी तु ताथ्यायैर्

na vyābhyāṃ padāntābhīyāṃ pūrvau tu tābhīyāṃ aic
/ na φ vyābhyāṃ 5/2 = y ca vaś ca vyau (itar. dv.), tābhīyāṃ; padāntābhīyāṃ
5/2 = padasya antau (śaṣ. tat.), tābhīyāṃ; pūrvau 1/2 tu φ tābhīyāṃ 5/2 aic
1/1/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 niṇi #7.2.115 taddhītesv acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kitii #7.2.118)

yakāravakārābhīyāṃ uttarasya acāṃ āder acāh sthāne vrddhir na bhavati,
tābhīyāṃ tu yakāravakārābhīyāṃ pūrvam aijāgamo bhavato niṇi niṇī kitii ca
taddhīte parataḥ

A replacement in vrddhi does not come in place of the first among vowels which occurs after y and v at the end of a pada; a vowel denoted by aiC, instead, is introduced before y and v, provided a taddhita affix marked with ṇ, ṇ and K follows.

Examples:

vaiyasanam = vyasane bhavam ‘found in a vice’
vaiyākaranāṇah = vyākaraṇam adhīte ‘a grammarian; he who studies gram-

saucavaśah = svāsvasyāpatsah ‘a son of Svāsva’

1. Note that aiC is an abbreviatory term which denotes ai and au, and is assigned equivalency in consonance with the order of enumeration of y and v. That is, ai must precede y and au must precede v. Thus, we get (v(i→y) + asana + aṈ)) → (v + ai)y + asana + aṈ) = vaiyasanasa. Similar derivational applications are involved in deriving v(i→y) + ākaraṇa + aṈ)) → v(ai)y +
ākaraṇa + aN) = vaiyākaraṇa, where aN is introduced with the signification of 4.2.58 tad adhīte tad vedas. The aN (4.1.112 śivādibhyo . . .) of (s(u→v+ aśva + aN)) → s(au)v + (aśva + aN)) = sauvaśva denotes an aputya ‘offspring’, where au is inserted before replacement in u→v. Note that u and v which end in y and v after i→y and u→v replacements are considered pada.

2. The condition of a pada-final y and v is required so that nr + artha = nr + artha + iN = nrārthi is blocked from availing the ai and au inserts of this rule. What we find here is an r at the end of a pada. Consequently, initial vrddhi applies.

Now consider yāśṭikaḥ, paraphrased as yastiḥ praharaṇam asya ‘he whose weapon is a stick’. Affix ikaK (4.4.59 śaktiyaśṭyor ikaK) is introduced after yasti ‘stick’, where y occurs at the beginning of a pada. Thus, we get a replacement in vrddhi, and not an insert in ai.

3. Note that the negative provision of this rule is made to exactly define the scope of inserts denoted by the abbreviatory term aiC. Thus, consider dādhyāśvīḥ ‘son of Dadhyāśva’ and mādhaśvīḥ ‘son of Madhaśva’, where iN is introduced after dadhyāśva + Nās and madhaśva + Nās. There is no occasion here for vrddhi before y and v of dadhy and madhv. Consequently, there is no negation of vrddhi and introduction of aiC. This rule concurrently does two things: negation of vrddhi and introduction of aiC. Since a negation makes sense only when a positive provision obtains, and also since negation of vrddhi concurrently inserts aiC, there is no vrddhi of i after y and v in dadhyāśvī and mādhaśvī. There is also no insert in aiC.

4. Commentators indicate that this negation of vrddhi is also desired for a following (final) compound constituent (uttarapada). Consider pūrvatraya-lindah which derives from pūrvarā + alinda + aN. Rule 7.3.13 diśo mādṛānām may now cause initial vrddhi of alinda, a following constituent. But since the a of alinda occurs after y, this rule negates vrddhi. Additionally, it inserts ai before y. Thus, pūrvarāt(i→y) + alinda + aN → pūrvarāt(ai)y + alinda = pūrvaratrayalinda.

Note, however, that this negation and aiC will be applicable to a following constituent only when the resultant y and v are relatable to the following constituent. This negation and aiC is thus not desired where y and v do not result relative to the following constituent. Consider dvāyāśītakah which derives with affix thaK (5.1.80 tam adhiṣto . . .) introduced after dv(i→y) + aśiti = dvay + aśi ‘eighty-two’. The vrddhi of a of aśi, made available here by 7.3.15 saṁkhyāyāḥ saṁvatsara . . ., can thus not be negated. For, y comes as a replacement relatable to the initial constituent dv. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya, and PM ad Kāśīkā, for a detailed discussion.

7.3.4 द्वारादिनाम ca

/dvārdinām 6/3 = dvāra ādir yeśām (bv.), teśām; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 nṛṇīti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kīti #7.2.118 na yuvāḥyāṃ pūrvau tu tābhāyāṃ aic #3)
‘dvarā’ ity evamādīnāṃ yuvāḥyāṃ uttarapadasyācām āder acāḥ sthāne vṛddhir na bhavati, pūrvau tu tābhāyāṃ aijāgamau bhavataḥ

A replacement in vṛddhi does not come in place of first among vowels which occurs after y and v of nominals enumerated in the list headed by dvāra ‘door’; a vowel denoted by aic, instead, is introduced before y and v, provided a taddhīta affix marked with ṇ, ṇ and Ḃ follows.

Examples:

dauvārapālam = dvārapālasyedam ‘this belongs to the gate-keeper’
sauvarah = svaram adhiṅkṛtya kṛto granthah ‘a treatise on accentuation’
vaiyalkāṣaḥ = vyalkaṣe bhavaḥ ‘born at Vyalkaśa’
sauvastikāḥ = svastitī āha ‘he said svasti ‘blessings’

1. This rule begins introducing aic before a non-pada final y and v. A tadādividhi ‘treating a specification made with xas also referring to that which begins with x’ interpretation is also valid here. That is, aic is also introduced where dvāra, etc., are used as initial compound constituents. Consider dvāra + (thā(K)→īka) = d+au+vārika + sU = dauvārikāḥ and dvārapāla + aN → d+au+vārapāla + sU = dauvārapālam. The first derives from dvāra + thāK where thāK is used with the signification of 4.4.69 tatra niyuktaḥ ‘appointed there’, with assignment of the term bha (1.4.18 yaci bham) and deletion of a. The second is a derivate of aN introduced after dvārapāla, with the signification of tasyedam (4.3.120). Derivates such as svara + aN → sauvara = sauvara + sU = sauvarah and vaiyalkaṣaḥ = vāyiyaṃkāṣaḥ = vāiyaṃkāṣaḥ = vāyiyaṃkāṣaḥ involve affix aN with the signification of 4.3.116 kṛte granthe ‘a treatise made . . .’ and 4.3.58 tatra bhavaḥ ‘born or found there’, respectively. The a of svara goes through ti-deletion under assignment of the term bha (6.4.148 yasayeti ca). An additional example is given as sauvastikāḥ derived with thāK. The signification of tatra bhavaḥ is also invoked in deriving svauvaḥ with aN, paraphrased as svast bhavaḥ.

7.3.5 न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य

nyagrodhasya ca kevalasya

nyagrodhasya 6/1 ca kevalasya 6/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 nṛṇīti #7.2.115 tadadhīteṣu acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kīti #7.2.118 na yuvāḥyāṃ pūrvau tu tābhāyāṃ aic #3)

nyagrodhasadbasya kevalasya yakārad uttarasyācām āder acāḥ sthāne vṛddhir na bhavati, tasmāc ca pūrvam aikāra āgamo bhavati

A replacement in vṛddhi does not come in place of first among vowels which occurs after y and v of an aṅga constituted by nyagrodha itself; a vowel denoted by aic, instead, is introduced before y and v, provided a taddhīta affix marked with ṇ, ṇ and Ḃ follows.
Examples:

\[ \text{naiyagrodhaś camasaḥ} = \text{nyagrodhasya vikāraḥ} \ 'a ladle made with wood from the nyagrodha tree' \]

1. This rule negates initial \( vyddhi \) and introduces \( ai \) before \( y \) of \( nyagrodha \) when the same is used by itself. All other conditions remain unchanged. Thus, \( \text{nyagrodhasya vikāraḥ} = \text{naiyagrodhaḥ (camasaḥ)} \), a derivate of \( \text{aNy} \) with the signification of 4.3.134 \( \text{tasya vikāraḥ} \ 'a product of that' \). But this negation of \( vyddhi \) and introduction of \( ai \) will not be available in deriving \( \text{nyagrodhamūlā (sālayaḥ)} \ 'rice growing near the root of the nyagrodha tree' \). For, \( \text{nyagrodha} \) is not used by itself.

It is argued that this rule is not needed. For, introduction of \( aiC \) could be easily accomplished by the general rule: 7.3.3 \( \text{na yvābhyaṃ padāntābhyaṃ} \).

True. But we must then derive it as: \( ni + aṅc + \text{KvIn} = nyak \) and \( \text{nyak + ruh + aC = nyagrodha} \), where deriving \( nyak \) would involve a replacement in \( k \) for \( c \) after total deletion of affix \( \text{KvIn} \). The \( h \) of \( \text{ruh} \) will be replaced with \( dh \) of 7.3.53 \( \text{nyaṅkvāḍidām ca} \). The \( k \) of \( \text{nyak} \) will also go through a replacement in \( g (jaśtva) \), and there will be a replacement in \( \text{guna} \) for the penultimate \( u \) of \( \text{nyaṅgr (u→o) dh + a = nyagrodha} \). A provision made against one already made available is then to be interpreted as restrictive (\( \text{niyama} \)). What is the restriction. The word \( \text{nyagrodha} \) should not only be used by itself, but should also be considered underived (\( \text{avyutpanna} \)). We thus need this rule for insertion of \( aiC \).

7.3.6 न कर्मव्यतिरिहरे

\[ \text{na karmavyatihāre} \]

\[ / \text{na} \phi \text{karmavyatihāre 7/1/} \]

\[ (aṅgasya #6.4.1) \]

\[ \text{karmavyatihāre yad uktam tan na bhavati} \]

That which was stated does not happen in the context of \( \text{karmavyatihāra} \ 'reciprocal action' \).

Examples:

\[ \text{vyāvakṛśi vartate 'there is reciprocal action of shouting there'} \]
\[ \text{vyāvakekhi vartate '... of scratching ...'} \]
\[ \text{vyāvavartet vartate '... of applying ointment ...'} \]
\[ \text{vyāvahāśi vartate '... of deriding ...'} \]

1. This rule blocks the negation of \( vyddhi \) and introduction of \( aiC \) where derivates signify \( \text{karmavyatihāra} \ 'reciprocal action' \). Recall that affix \( \text{NaC (3.3.43 karmavyatihāre ...)} \) is introduced with the signification of feminine. Rule 5.4.14 \( \text{načah striyām} \) then makes a provision of \( \text{aNy} \) as an exception to \( \text{NaC} \) in the signification of feminine. This \( \text{aNy} \) then conditions insertion of
aiC as an exception to *vrddhi*. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (III:763) of 3.3.43 *karmavyathāra*.

7.3.7 स्वागतादीनं च

svāgatādīnām ca

/svāgatādīnām 6/3 = svāgata ādir yeśām (bu.), teśām; ca φ/

(arīgasya #6.4.1 na #6)

‘svāgata’ ity evamādīnām yad uktam tan na bhavati

That which was stated for an anīga enumerated in the list headed by svāgata ‘welcome’ also does not apply here.

EXAMPLES:

svāgatikāh = svāgatam ity āha ‘he who says, “you are welcome”’

svādhvārikāh = svādhvārena carati ‘he who performs rituals beautifully’

svaṅgīh = svāṅgasyāpatyam ‘a son of Svaṅga; one whose limbs are beautiful’

vyādiḥ = vyāṣasyāpatyam ‘son of Vyāda’

vyāvahārikāh = vyāvahārena carati ‘he who conducts himself beautifully’

svāpateyah = svāpatau sādhuḥ ‘he who is good to his master’

1. A negation of *vrddhi*, and introduction of aiC (7.3.3 na vyāvyāyam . . .), also does not apply to an anīga enumerated in the list headed by svāgata. That is, they go through *vrddhi*. Thus, we get svāgata + ṭhaK = svāgatika (4.4.1 prāg vahates ṭak; vt. tad āheta . . .), su + adhvara = svadhvara + ṭhaK = svādhvarika (4.4.8 carati); and su + anīga = svāṅga + iN = svāṅgi ‘son of Svaṅga’ and vi + anīga = vyāṅga + iN = vyāṅgi ‘son of Vyāṅga; one who has deformed limbs’ (4.1.95 ata iN). We also get (vi + aua + hāra) + ṭhaK = vyāvahārika, where, since karmavyathāra is not the signification, our previous rule does not apply. Our last example, svāpateyah, is a derivate of ḍhaN→eya (4.4.104 pathyatiṣṭhi . . .), where initial *vrddhi* is accomplished against the negation of aiC. The i of *pati* goes through bha-deletion of i. This negation of aiC is made necessary since sva is enumerated in the dvārādī group of nominals (7.3.4 dvārādīnām ca).

7.3.8 स्वादेरिः

śvāder īnī

/svādeh 6/1 = śvā ādir yasya (bu.), tasya; īnī 7/1/

(arīgasya #6.4.1 na #6)

śvāder anīgasya īnī parato yad uktam tan na bhavati

That which was stated also does not apply to an anīga beginning with a constituent listed in the group headed by śvan ‘dog’, provided iN follows.
Examples:

śvabhāṣṭriḥ = śvabhāstrasyāpayam 'son of Śvabhāstra'
śvādāṃśtriḥ = śvādaṃśtrasyāpayam 'son of Śvādaṃśtra'

1. Here again we find vṛddhi accomplished and aiC (7.3.3 na yvābhīyam ...) negated. Of course, when an āṅga beginning with śvan, etc., occurs before iN. Note that śvan is listed in the dvārādi (7.3.4 dvārādīnām ca) group of nominals. It thus forms a sub-group. Recall also that taddāvividhi 'interpreting x as also including reference to that which begins with x' applies in connection with nominals of the dvārādi group. Since nominals of the śvādi group are listed within the dvārādi group, taddāvividhi will also apply to nominals of the śvādi group. This rule then becomes necessary to block aiC which, otherwise, would obtain here in connection with taddāvividhi. It, i.e., negation of aiC, here, then becomes an indicator that taddāvividhi applies in case of nominals of the dvārādi group (7.3.4 dvārādīnām ca). For, this negation cannot make sense unless there was some positive provision already made.

2. A vārttika proposal requires this rule to apply when a taddhita affix beginning with i follows. Of course, when an āṅga beginning with śvan occurs before such affixes. Thus, śvāganeṇa carati = (śvāgaṇa + thaK→i ka) + sU) = śvāganikah 'he who wanders about with a group of dogs' and śvāyūthena carati = śvāyūthikah 'ibidem'.

Yet another proposal is made to apply vṛddhi and negate aiC when an āṅga ends in i (iN) and a taddhita affix other than iN follows. Thus, śvābhāstrer idam = (śvābhāstri + Nas + aN) + sU) = śvābhāstram 'this belongs to Śvābhāstri', where aN is introduced by 4.2.112 iṇaś ca.

7.3.9 पदान्तस्यान्यात्तरस्यायम्

padāntasyānyatarasyām
\[\text{/padāntasya 6/1 = padaśabda ante yasya tat (bu.), tasya; anyatarasyām 7/1/}\\ (āṅgasya #6.4.1 na #6 śvādeḥ #8)
śvāder āṅgasya padaśabdāntasyānyatarasyām yad uktam tan na bhavati
That which was stated for an āṅga beginning with śvan also, optionally, does not apply to an āṅga which begins with śvan, etc., and ends in pada 'foot'.

Examples:

śvāpadam = śvāpadasya idam 'this belongs to Śvāpadā'
śawvāpadam 'ibidem'

1. Note that śvāpada is a bahuvrīhi compound paraphrased as śuna iva padam asya 'he whose foot is similar to a dog's foot'. Affix aN (4.3.120 tasyedam)
is then introduced to derive the two example derivates, i.e., with vrddhi and optional au. The long a-replacement of sauv(a→ā)pada is accomplished by a vārttika (ad 6.3.130 mitre carsau; vt. suno danta . . .). This optional provision then applies in connection with introduction of aiC.

7.3.10 उत्तरपदस्य

uttarapadasya
'/uttarapadasya 6/1 = uttaram ca tat padam ca (karm tat), tasya/
(anāgasya #6.4.1)
'uttarapadasya' ity ayam adhikāraḥ, 'hanasto' cīṇaloh iti prāg etasmāi yad ita īrdhvaṁ anukramisyāmah 'uttarapadasya' ity evaṁ tad veditavyaṁ
That which follows (from here on prior to 7.3.32 hanasto' cīṇaloh) applies to the following constituent of an item termed anāga.

Examples:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This is a governing rule (adhikāra) That is, uttarapadasya 'of a (final) constituent which follows' should be read in all rules enumerated prior to 7.3.32 hanasto' cīṇaloh. This adhikāra 'governing domain' is stated against the vrddhi of first among vowels of an anāga (PM: anāgyācām āder aco vrddhau pṛāptāyām idam ucyate). What is the use of stating uttarapadasya when a specification with paṅcamī 'ablative', as in 7.3.11 avayavād ṛtoḥ, can facilitate this vrddhi of the final compound constituent in accord with 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya? This adhikāra is stated to facilitate vrddhi in contexts such as 7.3.10 je praśṭhapadānām, where no specification is given in paṅcamī. Even in contexts where a specification is offered in paṅcamī, this adhikāra offers clarity (vispaśṭārtham) and facilitates application of vrddhi. Consider 6.2.105 uttarapadavrddhau sarvam ca, whereby a pada constituted by sarva 'all' is marked with udātta at the end. This accentuation is conditioned by a following (final) constituent with an application of vrddhi. Such a condition will be difficult to comprehend if uttarapadasya was not given as an adhikāra for application of vrddhi.

7.3.11 अवयवादतोः:

avayavād ṛtoḥ
'/avayavāt 5/1 ṛtoḥ 6/1/
(anāgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ōniti #7.2.115 taddhitesv acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kitii #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10)

avayavavācina uttarasya rūtvācina uttarasyācām āder aco vrddhir bhavati taddhite niți niți kitii ca parato
A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an anāga which signifies ṛtu 'season' and is used
in combination after a constituent signifying *avayava* ‘part of a whole’, provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows.

**Examples:**

*pūrvavārsikam* ‘that which happens in the first part of the rainy season’

*pūrvahaimanam* ‘that which happens in the first part of the winter season’

*aparavārsikam* ‘that which happens in the second part of the rainy season’

*aparahaimeanam* ‘that which happens in the second part of the winter season’

1. This rule allows *vrddhi* to first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, used with the signification of *tatu*, where its preceding constituent denotes *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. Of course, the *aṅga* must be followed by an affix marked with *N, N* and *K* as an *it*. Thus, *pūrva* ‘prior’ combines with *varṣa* ‘rain’ to form an *ekadēś-samāsā* ‘a *tatpuruṣa* formed with constituents denoting part of a whole’ (2.2.1 *pūrvaparādharottaram* . . . ). Affix *thaK*’s then introduced with the signification of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. We thus get *pūrvavārsikah*, paraphrased as *pūrvam varṣānām*, *tatra bhavaḥ* ‘prior part of the rainy season, born in there’, with *vrddhi* of *a* of *varṣa*. Other derivates involve similar rule applications. Derivates with *hemanta* ‘first two months of winter’ receive *aN* (4.3.21 *hemantāc ca; 4.3.22 sarvatrāṇ tatopāsa ca*) with deletion of *ta*. The specification of *avayavāt* ‘after that which denotes a part’ indicates that *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as that which also ends in *x*’ is acceptable here. That is, an affix can also be introduced after a nominal which ends in a constituent denoting ‘season’. Recall that a specification made with a nominal stem (as in 4.3.21 *hemantāc ca*) does not permit *tadantavidhi* (*Poś* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena* . . . ). Why is this *tadantavidhi* not applicable in case of *pūrvāṣu varṣāsū bhavaḥ* = *paurivaśrīkam* ‘that which happened during earlier rains’? This *tadantavidhi* only applies when the preceding constituent denotes a part. Obviously, *pūrva* of this derivate of *thaN* (4.3.11 *kālātha* *thaN*) does not denote any part of a whole. It denotes an entirely different whole, instead.

**7.3.12 सूसवार्धानजनदस्य**

*susarvārdhāj janapadasya*

/ *susarvārdhdhāt 5/1 suś ca sarvaḥ ca arddhaṇ ca (saṃ. dv.), tasmāt; janapadasya 6/1/ (aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṇñiti #7.2.115 taddhitṛsv acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10) ‘su, sarva, ardhā’ ity etebhya uttarasya janapadavācina uttarapadasyācām āder aco vrddhir bhavati taddhite ṇiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*
A vowel termed *vyṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *āṅga* which signifies a *janaṇapada* 'principality, district' and is used in combination after *su* 'good', *sarva* 'all' and *ardha* 'half', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows.

**Examples:**

*supāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'born in the beautiful principality of Paṅcāla'

*sarvāpāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'found everywhere in the Paṅcāla'

*ardhāpāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'found in half of the Paṅcāla'

1. Note that examples are all derivatives of *vuṆ* (Ṇ, 4.2.124 *avyṛddhād aśi . . .*). These compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugati . . .* (*supāṅcaḷakaḥ*), 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaika . . .* (*sarvāpāṅcaḷakaḥ*) and 2.2.2 *arddham napumṣakam* (*ardhāpāṅcaḷakaḥ*). Our present rule introduces *vyṛddhi* to a following constituent, as against the initial. The *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* as also that which ends in *x*’ interpretation is also facilitated by a *vārttika* (ad 7.3.12 *susarvārdhāj . . .*): *susarvārdhādikṣadbebhīyo . . .*

7.3.13 दिशोऽभ्राग्नांपूर्वापांचालकाः

*diśo* madrāṇām

/ *diśah 6/1 amadrāṇām 6/3 = na madrāh (naṅ. tat.), teśām/

(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 vyṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṇniti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 janapadasya #12)

*digvācina uttarasya janapadavācino madravarjitasayācām āder aco vyṛddhir bhavati taddhite nīti nīti kiti ca parataḥ*

A vowel termed *vyṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *āṅga* which signifies a *janaṇapada* 'a principality other than the madra', and is used in combination after a constituent signifying *diś* 'direction', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows.

**Examples:**

*pūrvāpāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'born, or found, in a place located in the east, outside of the country of the Paṅcālas’

*aparāpāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'born, or found, in a place located in the west, outside of the country of the Paṅcālas’

*dakṣiṇāpāṅcaḷakaḥ* 'born, or found, in a place located in the south, outside of the country of the Paṅcālas’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.51 *taddhītārthottaraṇpadā . . .* Affix *vuṆ*, and initial *vyṛddhi* of the following constituent, are both similar to examples of the preceding rule. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation is also gotten from the *vārttika* cited under the preceding rule.

2. The condition of *diśah* 'after that which denotes a direction' is imposed
so that initial vrddhi could be accomplished in paurvapañcālakahār 'born, or found, in the eastern part of the Pañcālas' and āparapañcālakahār 'born, or found, in the western part of the Pañcālas', where the compound is formed by 2.2.1 pūrvāparādhārottaram . . . with the signification of avaya 'part of a whole'. Affix vuN is here introduced with the signification of tatra bhavah 'born, or found, in there'. Similar explanation can be offered for the condition of amadrāṇām 'of the country of the Madras' relative to pauruamadraḥ and āparamadraḥ, both derivates of aN (4.2.108 madrebbho añ).

7.3.14 प्राचँ ग्रामनगराणाम्

prācāṃ grāmanagaranām
/prācām 6/3 grāmanagarāṇām 6/3 = grāmāś ca nagarāṇi ca = grāmanagarāni (itar. dv.), teṣām/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ūniti #7.2.115 taddhiteṣu acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 janapadasya #12 diśaḥ #13) pracāṃ deśe grāmanagarāṇāṃ diṣa uttaraēṣām acām āder aco vrddhir bhavati taddhite niit niit kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an aṅga which signifies a grāma 'village' and nagara 'town' of an eastern janapada 'a principality, district', and is used in combination after a constituent signifying diś 'direction', when a taddhita affix marked with N, N and K follows.

Examples:

pūrvaïṣukāmasyamaḥ = pūrveṣu īṣukāmasyām bhavah 'found in the east(ern; prior) part of Īṣukāmasyām'
aparaiṣukāmasyamaḥ 'found in the western part . . .'
pūrvaśāṁnṛṣṭikāḥ 'found in the east(ern; prior) part of Kṛṣṇaṁṛṣṭikā'
aparaiṣukāmasyamaḥ 'found in the western part . . .'
pūrvapāṭaliputraḥ = pūrvasmin pāṭaliputre bhavah 'found in the eastern part of Pāṭaliputra'
aparapāṭaliputraḥ 'found in the western part . . .'
pūrvañyakubjaḥ 'found in the eastern part of Kāṇyakubja'
aparapāṭaliputraḥ 'found in the western part . . .'

1. This rule allows vrddhi of i of īṣukāmasyami, the following constituent in the compound formed by 2.1.50 dikṣamkhya samjñāyām, parallel to pūrvaś cāsaū īṣukāmasyami ca 'that which is eastern and is also Īṣukāmasyām'. This vrddhi is accomplished when affix Na (4.2.107 dikpūrvaṇapaṭadād . . .) is introduced to follow. Refer to derivational details of compound formation under the appendix of rule 2.1.5 dikṣamkhya . . . The vuN of pūrvapāṭaliputraka is introduced by 4.2.122 ropadhetoḥ . . . This provision of vrddhi is made against initial vrddhi of the first constituent.
2. It is argued that a separate mention of grāma and nagara is not needed. For, a nagara could also be treated as a cluster of villages. Commentators explain that grāma and nagara are used separately to clearly identify their inter-relationship. They inform that, in a compound, where the first constituent denotes direction (diś), the compound as a whole denotes a village. In the compound pūrveśukāmāsamī, isukāmāsamī, cannot denote the village by itself. As against this, in a compound with the denotation of a city, a following constituent can denote the city (nagara) by itself. It is to make this clear that grāma and nagara are both used in this rule (Kāś: grāmatvād eva nagarānām api grahaṇe siddhe bhedenā yad ubhayaṁ upādānaṁ tatsambandhi-pratipatyartham).

3. It is stated that this vṛddhi must be accomplished before single replacement. That is, given pūrva + isukāmāsamī + Na, the i of isukāmāsamī must be replaced with ai. A single replacement in ai for a+ai can then be accomplished. We know it from the negation of vṛddhi relative to both the initial and following constituents of a compound (7.3.22 nendrasya parasya). Consider soma + indra + aN = suamendra, where the final a of indra gets deleted. If a single guna-replacement in e for a+i of som(a+i→e) ndr+a is accomplished, its following constituent will not have any vowel left. Consequently, negation of 7.3.22 nendrasya parasya will not make any sense. It is therefore suggested that vṛddhi, eventhough conditioned externally (bahirāṅga), should be performed first.

7.3.15 संख्या: संवत्सरसंख्या च

samkhyāyāḥ samvatsarasamkhyasya ca
/samkhyāyāḥ 5/1 samvatsarasamkhyasya 6/1 = samvatsaraś ca samkhyā ca
= samvatsarasamkhyam (sam. dv.), tasya; ca φ/
(arigasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ŋiti #7.2.115 taddhiteśv acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10)

samkhyāyā uttarapadasya samvatsarasadbasya samkhyayāś cācām āder aco
vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ŋiti ŋiti kiti ca parāh

A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an ariga which is constituted by samvatsara ‘year’, or signifies a number (samkhyā), and is used in combination after a constituent signifying samkhyā ‘number’, when a taddhita affix marked with N, N and K follows.

Examples:

dvisāmvatsarikaḥ = dvau samvatsarāv adhīsto
bhrto bhūto bhāvī vā ‘...commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for two years’

dvisāṭikāḥ = deve saṣṭī adhīsto bhrto bhūto bhāvī vā ‘commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for one hundred twenty years (days?)’
dvisāptaṭikāḥ ‘commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for one hundred forty years (days?)’

1. Note that ika of these examples has its origin in thāK (5.1.80 tam adhiśto bhṛto . . . ), introduced after compounds formed with the signification of a taddhita affix (2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada . . . ). A question is raised against introducing thāK, an affix with the signification of time (kāla), after a word denoting number (saṃkhya). The words dviṣaṣṭi, etc., do not denote time. They denote number, instead. How could one introduce an affix enumerated within the domain of time after a base which denotes number (Nyāsa: . . . na dviṣaṣṭyādīḥ kālaśābadh; kiṃ tarhi? saṃkhyaśābadh; tatkhatham kālaḥ-kāravihitaṁ pratyayam utpādayati). It is stated that these compounds do not denote number. They, instead, denote what is counted (saṃkhya; varaṣa ‘year’, etc.).

2. Note that saṃvatsara ‘year’ is separately specified here to indicate that parimāṇa ‘measure’ of the next rule does not include reference to time as a measure (kālaparimāṇa). What is desired to be accomplished by stating that a specification made with parimāṇa ‘measure’ does not include any reference to kālaparimāṇa ‘time as a measure’. This way, dvaisamikaḥ ‘commissioned for two years’ and traisamikaḥ ‘commissioned for three years’ do not get the initial vrddhi of their following constituents. It also follows from this that kāla ‘time’ cannot be accepted as a measure in general (saṃānyparimāṇa). Consequently, dvivārsā māṇavikā ‘a girl who is two years old’, trivārsā māṇavikā ‘a girl who is three years old’ do not come under the paryudāsa interpretation of negation of aparimāṇa ‘non-measure’ (4.1.22 aparimāṇabhistācīta . . . ). That is, varaṣa, etc., do not denote parimāṇa and the feminine affix NiP remains negated in deriving dvivārsā ‘two years old’, etc.

7.3.16 वर्षस्याभविव्ययति

varaṣasyābhavisyati
/varṣasya 6/1 abhavisyati 7/1 = na bhavisyat (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(angasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṇītī #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadaśya #10 saṃkhyaḥ #15)

saṃkhyaḥ uttarasya varaṣāsdāsāyaṃ āder aco vrddhir bhavati taddhite ṇītī ṇītī kiti ca parataḥ; sa cet taddhīto bhavisyatī arthe na bhavati
A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an anīga which is constituted by varaṣa, or signifies a number (saṃkhya), and is used in combination after a constituent signifying saṃkhya ‘number’, when a taddhita affix marked with Ni, Ni and K, but not used with the signification of bhavisyat ‘future’, follows.

Examples:

dvivārsikāh = dve varṣe adhiśto bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā
trivārsikāh
1. Note that derivatives with the denotatum of bhavisyat ‘future’ will be dvaivarsikah and traivarsikah, with no vrddhi of the initial vowel of varsa. Thus, yasya traivarsikam dhanyam nihitam bhityavritaye, adhiكام vāpi vidyeta, sa soman pātum arhati ‘he whose grains are enough, or more than enough, for supporting workers for three years, deserves to drink soma’. The negation of abhavisyati does not cover derivatives with the sense of adhīṣṭa and bhṛta (5.1.80 tam adhīṣṭo ...). For, sense of ‘futurity’ is not included there within the affixal meaning. Consider due varse adhīṣṭo bhṛto vā karma kāryasyati = dvivārśiko manusyaḥ ‘a man who, when entrusted or supported for two years, will do the work’. The sense of future is here indicated by the sentence. The initial vrddhi of the following constituent thus applies.

7.3.17 परिमाणांतस्यांसन्ताणांशाशायोः:

परिमाणांतस्यांसम्यान्नासनायोऽ

/ parimāṇāntasyāsamjñānāsānyayoh

parimāṇāntasya 6/1 = parimāṇam ante yasya (bv.), tasya; asamjñānāsānyayoh

6/2 = samjñā ca sānam ca = samjñāsāne (dv.); na samjñāsāne (nañ. tat. with int. dv.), tayoḥ)/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco nīti #7.2.115 taddhitav acām ādeḥ

#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 samkhyāyāḥ #15)

parimāṇāntasyāṅgasya samkhyāyāḥ paraṁ yad uttarapadam tasyācām āder

aco vrddhir bhavati taddhitav nīti nīti kiti ca parataḥ, samjñāyāṃ visaye śāne
cottarapade na bhavati

A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of an aṅga-final constituent which denotes a measure (parimāṇa), but is not śāna ‘a measure of weight for jewels’, and which occurs in combination after a number word (samkhyā) constituting the initial constituent of the aṅga, provided a name (samjñā) is not denoted and an affix marked with ṉ, ṇ and K follows.

Examples:

dvikauḍavikah = dvi kudavau prayojanam asya ‘that whose purpose is to measure something equal in weight to one half of a Prastha’

dvisauvarṇikam = dvāhyāṁ suvarṇābhyāṁ kṛitam ‘purchased with two gold coins’

dvisuvarṇam ‘ibidem’

dvinaiśkritikam = dvāhyāṁ niśkābhyāṁ kṛitam ‘purchased with two Niśkas (gold-coins)’

dviṃśakam ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows vrddhi to the first vowel of the following constituent under specified conditions. Thus, we get dvi + k(u→au) ñava + (thaN→ika) → (dvikauḍ(a→i) + ika)) = sU = dvikauḍavikah, etc., through thaN, vrddhi, a-deletion and sU. Affix thaN is here used with the signification of (5.1.109)
prayojanam ‘... purpose, occasion, object’. Affix thaKa similarly occurs after dvi + suvarṇa and dvi + nīka with the signification of 5.1.37 tena kriyam ‘purchased by that’. A vārtika (ad 5.1.29 vīhāsā kārsāpana ...) offers deletion of thaK, optionally, after suvarṇa, against obligatory deletion of 5.1.28 adhyārdhapūrva. ... Thus, we get dvīsuvarṇam with no vṛddhi and no replacement in tika. An optional deletion of thaK after dviniṣka is accomplished with similar results by 5.1.30 dvitripūrva. ...

2. The condition of samāña is imposed so that pāncalohitikam ‘that whose measure is five Lohit’ and pāncakalāpikam ‘that whose measure is five Kalāpas’ could be excluded from availing initial vṛddhi of their following constituents. These derivates denote a name. The condition of śaṇa similarly retains initial vṛddhi of the āṅga, against the provision of this rule. Thus, we get dvaisāṇam and traśiṣāṇam. Some also wish to include kulija as part of negation specified by asamjñāśāṇayoḥ. They can thus account for dvaukulijam and traikulijam, where kulija is a measure of grains (dhanya).

7.3.18 जे प्रोथपदानाम्

je prosthapatānām
//je7/1 prosthapatānām 6/3/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛddhi #7.2.114 aco niṇiti #7.2.115 taddhitev acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttārapadasya #10)
‘je’ iti jātārtho nirdiṣyate. tatra yas taddhito vihitas tasmin niṇi niṇiti kiti ca parataḥ prosthapatānām uttārasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of first among vowels of the final constituent of an āṅga, namely prosthapatā ‘name of a constellation’, when a taddhita affix used with the signification of jāta ‘born’ marked with N, N and K as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

prosthapādo mānavaḵaḥ ‘this boy was born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation prosthapatā’

bhadrāpādo mānavaḵaḥ ‘this boy was born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation bhadrapatā’

1. Note that je is used for referencing the sense of jātaḥ ‘born’. That is, this vṛddhi is introduced to the following constituent of an āṅga when an affix with the signification of jātaḥ (4.3.25 tatra jātaḥ) follows. All other affixal conditions remain the same. Recall that prosthapatā is a nakṣatra ‘constellation’. Affix aN is introduced after prosthapatā with the signification of 4.2.3 nakṣatraṁ yuktah kālaḥ ‘time in conjunction with a constellation’ to derive prosthapatā, with affixal deletion accomplished by 4.2.4 tāb aviṣeṣa. Yet another aN is introduced by 4.3.16 sandhitvelāda ... to denote the sense of tatra jātaḥ ‘born there’. This affix, by this rule, will cause vṛddhi of a of pada of prosthap-
pada. We thus get prosṭhapāda. The plural specification of prosṭhapadānām is
made to ensure that vṛddhi, and aN as well, also apply to synonyms of
prosṭhapada. Thus, we also get bhadrāpadāsu jātāh = bhadrāpadaḥ. Commenta-
tors offer prauṣṭhapadaḥ as a counter-example to the condition of je. We thus
get initial vṛddhi of the āṅga constituted by prosṭhapada, where the sense of
4.3.53 tatra bhavaḥ ‘found there’ is denoted.

7.3.19 इद्यगसिद्धवते पूर्वपदश्च

hṛdbhagaisindhvantepūrvapadasyaca
/ hṛd-bhaga-sindhu-ante 7/1 = hṛd ca bhagam ca sindhuṣ ca (dv.), tad; hṛdbhaga-sindhuante yasya (bv. with int. dv.), tasmin/
(angasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco āṇīti #7.2.115 taddhītesv acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10)
‘hṛd, bhaga, sindhu’ ity evam ante ‘nge pūrvapadasyottarapadasyācām āder
aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhīte ſtiti āṇīti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of first among vowels of initial as
well as final constituents of an āṅga when it ends in hṛd ‘heart’, sindhu
‘river, sea’ and bhaga ‘auspicious, prosperity’, and a taddhita affix
marked with ſ, N, and K follows.

Examples:

sauhārdam = suhṛdayasya idam ‘this belongs to one who is good-hearted
(well-wisher; friend)’
sauhārdyam = suhṛdayasya bhāvah ‘sense of being goodhearted; friendship’
saubhāgyam = subhagasya bhāvah ‘great luck’
daubhāgyam ‘misfortune’
saubhāgineyah = subhagaiyā apatyaṃ ‘son of Subhagā’
daubhāgineyah ‘son of Durbhagā’
sāktusaindhavah = saktupradhānā sindhavah ‘principality of Sindhu
where they mostly eat saktu’
pānasaindhavah = pānapradhānā sindhavah ‘principality of Sindhu where
people love to drink’

1. This rule, under special constituency relation, allows vṛddhi of both the
preceding and following constituents of a compound termed āṅga. Recall
that hṛdaya, for example in hṛdaya + aN, is replaced with hṛd (6.3.50 hṛdayasya
ḥṛlekhā . . . ). We thus get su(hṛdaya→hṛd) + aN = s(u→au) h(ṛ→āṛ) d + aN =
sauhārdam + su = sauhārdam. Affix aN of this example denotes tasyedam 4.3.120
‘it is his’. Our next example, sauhārdyam, involves affix ŚyaN (5.3.123 guṇa-
vacana . . . ), where a replacement in hṛd for hṛdaya ‘heart’ of sauhārdyam is
accomplished by 6.3.51 vā śokasyānoṇgesu. The next two examples are also
derivatives of ŚyaN. Deriving saubhāgineya, parallel to subhagaiyā apatyaṃ ‘off-
spring of Subhagā’ involves affix dhaK (4.1.126 kalyāṇyādīnām . . . ). Thus,
given subhagā + dharma, we get subhagā + (dha→eya) (7.1.2 ayanevinyiyyah . . .). The ā of subhagā is also replaced with inAN which, subsequent to applications of dual vṛddhi, produces subhag(a→inAN) + dharma→ s(u→au) bh(a→ā) gin) + (dha→eya))) = saubhāgineya. This same is also applicable to durbhagā + dharma = daurbhāgineya.

2. Recall that subhaga-durbhaga are read in the kalyānyādi (4.1.126 kalyānyādinām . . .) group of nominals. Rule 5.1.129 prānabhy . . . also cites subhaga in the udgātādi group. Since all operations may be made optional in the Vedic, we do not get initial vṛddhi of bhaga in mahāte saubhāgīya ‘to the great auspicious one’.

Now consider sāktusindhava which derives from saktusindhu + aN (4.2.133 kaccadibhyāsa ca). The sindhu of the kaccādi group of nominals is here allowed at the end through tadanāvidhi ‘accepting sindhu as referring also to that which ends in sindhu’. The compound saktusindhu is formed by a vārttika, ad 2.1.69 varṇo varṇena. That is, it is a compound of the type of sākapāṛthiva (vt sākapāṛthivādīnām siddhayey uttarapadopasyopasaṃkhyaṇam; ad 2.1.54 upamānāni sāmānyavacanāh), where a middle constituent gets deleted. What is deleted here in saktusindhu is pradhāna ‘principal’.

7.3.20 अनुसातिकादीनां च

anudatikādīnām ca
/ anudatikādīnām 6/3 = anudatika ādīr yeśām (bv.), teṣām; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vṛddhi #7.2.114 acο śiitī #7.2.115 taddhītesv acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvapadasya #19)
‘anusatika’ ity evamādīnām cāngānām pūrvapadasya cottaṃpadasya cācām
āde acah sthāne vṛddhir bhavati taddhīte niti niti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of first among vowels of both
initial as well as following constituents of an aṅga, particularly those
e numerated in the list headed by anusatika, when a taddhīta affix marked
with N, N and K follows.

Examples:

ānusātikaṁ = anusatikasyedam ‘this belongs to Anusatika’
ānuhauḍikāh = anuhoḍena ca raṭi ‘this belongs to Anuhoḍa (he who wand-
ers about with a girl)’
ānusamvarayām = ansamvarane diyate ‘that which is given at the end . . .’
ānusāṃvatariṅkāh = ansamvatsare diyate ‘that which is given in a year’
āṅgāravainavāḥ = angāravens apatyam pumān ‘son of Angāravenu’
avhalaukikāh ‘of this world’
avhalaukikāh ‘of the world beyond’
sāralaukikāh ‘of all the worlds’
pārastriṅeyāḥ ‘a son from another woman (a woman of bad character)’
1. Note that ānuśātiKA is derived, paraphrased as anuśatikasyedam, with aN (4.3.120 tasyedam). The word anuśatika, where satika derives with thaN, signifying kriyā 'purchased with' (5.1.37 tena kriyam), is paraphrased as anugataḥ satīkaḥ 'followed that which was purchased for a hundred'. Similar derivational details are offered for hodena carati = hauḍikāḥ; anugataḥ hauḍena = ānuhauḍikāḥ. We derive anusaṃvareṇa diyate = anusāṃvaraṇam, with aN, through extensional provision of bhavavat (5.1.96 tatra ca diyate kāryam bhavavat). The affixal provision of thaN, in anusaṃvartarikāḥ, comes from 4.3.67 bhaṅaco . . . , again through the bhavavat 'similar to bhavah' extension of 5.1.96 tatra ca. . . .

The thaN of aihala;ulikāḥ and pāralaukikāḥ is used with the signification of 5.3.53 tatra bhavah 'found there'. The thaN of sārvalaukikāḥ has its origin in a vārttika proposal (ad 5.1.44 lokasarvalokat thaN). The word pārastraṅeṣa is a derivate of thaK with inA(N (4.1.126 kalyāṇyādinām inaḥ ca). A gānasūtra proposal also recommends this double vṛddhi to derive rājapaurusyaṁ when affix SyaN (5.1.124 guṇavacana . . .) follows. This condition of SyaN is necessary in view of rājapuruṣāyaniḥ 'son of a king's man', where phiN (4.1.157 udićām vṛddhād . . .) cannot condition double vṛddhi.

2. Note that anuśātikādi is desired as an open-ended group (ākṛtīgana) of nominals. Thus, we also get abhigamam arhati = abhigamikāḥ 'deserves to understand; deserves to have sexual relation'; ādhideve bhavam = ādhidaivikam 'that which happens by fate; destiny'; ādhibhūte bhavam = ādhibhautikam 'that which is rooted in material; material causation'; and catasra eva vidyāḥ = cāturvidyām 'four kinds of knowledge'.

7.3.21 देवतधव्दूत्र च
devatādvandve ca
/devatādvandve 7/1 (devatānāṃ dvandvah (sa. tat.), tasmin; ca अ/(angasya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco niṣṭi #7.2.115 taddhīteṣv acāṃ ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvapadasya #19)
devatādvandve ca pūrvapadosyatārāpadossācām ādeḥ acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati taddhīte niṣṭi niṣṭi kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed vṛddhi comes in place of first among vowels of both the initial as well as final constituents of a dvandva compound termed an anga with its constituents denoting divinity (dvatā), when a taddhīta affix marked with N, N and K follows.

Examples:

āgni-vāruṇīm ‘a sacrifice whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa’
āgni-mārutam (karma) ‘a sacrifice whose divinities are Agni and Marut’

1. Commentators restrict this rule to apply only where a devatādvandva ‘a dvandva compound formed with constituents denoting divinity’, either re-
lates to a hymn (sūkta) or to named recipients of an oblation (havisya). It is for this reason that we do not get dual vṛddhi in skandaviśākhe devate yasya = skandaviśākhaḥ 'that of which the divinities are Skanda and Viśākha' and brahmaprajāpati devate asya = brahmprajāpatyaṃ 'that of which Brahman and Prajāpati are divinities', etc.

We get agnīvarṇau where the final i of agni receives a replacement in iT (6.3.26 idagne somavarunayoḥ). This rule applies dual vṛddhi when the compound base receives affix aN with the signification of 'that is its divinity' (4.2.24 sāṣya devatā). The final of agni is then replaced with i (6.3.28 id vṛddhau; or the introduction of i is blocked by i of this rule) under the condition of this vṛddhi to yield āgnīvāraṇam. Refer also to my note under 6.3.26 id agneḥ. . . .

7.3.22 नेंद्रस्य परस्य

nendraṣya parasya
/na φ indraṣya 6/1 parasya 6/1/
(aṅgaṣya #6.4.1 vṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ſñiti #7.2.115 taddhitēṣv acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 devatādvandve #21)
indrāśabdasya parasya yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which was said to apply does not apply to an aṅga constituted by a dvandva compound with constituents denoting divinity and indra as its final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

saumendraḥ ‘Soma and Indra’
aṅendraḥ ‘Agni and Indra’

1. This rule negates initial vṛddhi of indra, when this same occurs as a following constituent in a devatādvandva compound. Rule 7.2.117 taddhitēṣv acām . . . then offers initial vṛddhi to the aṅga. Thus, given soma + indra + aN, we derive s(o→au)m(a+i→e)nḍr(a→ϕ) + aN = saumendra, through initial vṛddhi, single guna-replacement and bha-deletion of a (6.4.148 yasyeti ca).

2. A question is raised against offering this negation. That is, why state this negation when i of indra, having become part of a single replacement in guna, i.e., e, will not be available for this negation of vṛddhi. Commentators state that operations relative to preceding and following constituents, even though externally conditioned, are accomplished first. An internally conditioned operation, for example this single guna-replacement, is accomplished subsequently. This is what facilitates derivation of pūrvaśūkāmaśamah, etc. (7.3.114 prācāṃ grāma . . .). Thus, soma + indra + aN first receives vṛddhi. Our present rule is then needed to negate vṛddhi when indra happens to be the following constituent.

3. Why do we have the condition of parasya ‘of a constituent which follows’?
So that this negation does not apply to *indra* which occurs as an initial constituent, for example, in *aindrāṇam* of *aindrāṇam ekādāṣakaṇapālam caruṇ nirvapet ‘... should offer oblation of *caru* in eleven bowls (to one whose) Indra and Agni are divinities’.

7.3.23 दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य

dīrghāc ca varuṇasya
/ dīrghāt 5/1 ca ṣ varuṇasya 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vyṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṣnīti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādēḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 devatādvandve #21)
dīrghād uttarasya varuṇasya yaḥ uktam ān na bhavati
That which was stated to apply does not apply also to *varuṇa*, used in combination after a long (*dīrghāt*) vowel, of an *aṅga*.

**Examples:**

*aindrāvaruṇam* ‘a ritual oblation whose divinities are Indra and Varuṇa’
*maitrāvaruṇam* ‘a ritual oblation whose divinities are Mitra and Varuṇa’

1. This rule does not permit *vyṛddhi* of initial vowel of *varuṇa* when the same combines as a following constituent after a long (*dīrghā*) vowel. Consider *aindrāvaruṇam* and *agnāvaruṇam* where ānAN is introduced in place of the final sound of the initial compound constituent (6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*). This long ā then facilitates *vyṛddhi* of initial vowel of *varuṇa*, the following compound constituent.

Why do we have the specification of *varuṇa* used in combination after a long vowel? Consider *agnivārunim* where 6.3.27 īd *agentḥ somavaruṇayoh* offers ī as a replacement for the final vowel of *agni*. But this ī is blocked by 6.3.28 īd *vyṛdāhau*. Consequently, initial *vyṛddhi* of *varuṇa* cannot be accomplished. Obviously, the ī of *agni* after which *varuṇa* combines to follow is not long.

7.3.24 प्राचीन नगरानेते

 prácaṁ nagarānte
/ prácaṁ 6/3 nagarānte 7/1 = nagarasya ante (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vyṛddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṣnīti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādēḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvapadasya #19)
prácaṁ deśe nagarānte nge pūrvapadasyottarapadasyācām āder aco vyṛddhir bhavati ṣnīti niṣṭi kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vyṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of both initial as well as final constituent of an *aṅga* which ends in *nagara*, relative to usage in eastern part of the country, provided when a *taddhita* affix marked with ā, ṛ, and ḷ follows.
Examples:

sauhmanāgaraḥ = suhmanagare bhavaḥ ‘a resident of the city of Suhmanagara’
pauḍranāgaraḥ ‘a resident of the city of Puṇḍranagara’

1. This rule offers vyddhi with reference to usage in the east. Why east? Consider madranagaraḥ where this vyddhi is blocked by initial vyddhi. For, madranagara happened to be a northern city.

7.3.25 जंगलधेनुवलज्ञानस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम्

jaṅgaladhēnunvalajñāntasya vibhāsitam uttaram
\[ jaṅgaladhēnunvalajñāntasya 6/1 = jaṅgalaś ca dhenuś ca valajaṇ ca (dv.), \]
tad ante yasya (bv. with int. dv.), tasya; vibhāsitam 1/1 uttaram 1/1/
(āngasya #6.4.1 vyddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṇṇiti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣv acāṃ ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvapadasya #19)
‘jaṅgala, dhenu, valajā ity evamantasyāṅgasya pūrvapadasyācām āder aco
vyddhir bhavati’

A vowel termed vyddhi comes in place of first among vowels of initial constituent of an aṅga, used in combination with a following jaṅgala ‘forest’, dhenu ‘milk-giving cow’ and valajā ‘ornament’, when a taddhita affix marked with \( \tilde{N}, \tilde{N} \) and \( K \) follows; the first among vowels of the following compound constituent goes through vyddhi, only optionally.

Examples:

kaṟuṟuḷaṅgalam = kuṟuṟuḷaṅgaḷeṣu bhavaḥ ‘born in Kuṟuṟuḷagala’
kaṟuṟuḷaṅgalam ‘ibidem’
vaśvadhainavam ‘this belongs the universal cow’
vaśvadhainavam ‘ibidem’
sauvarṇajālajāḥ ‘... gold ornament’
sauvarṇajālajāḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers dual vyddhi but makes it optional in case of the following constituent. The word uttaram here refers to the following constituent. Thus, kuṟuṟuḷaṅgalam = kuṟuṟuḷaṅgalam; kuṟuṟuḷaṅgaḷeṣu bhavam = (kuṟuṟuḷaṅgala + suP + aN) + sU = kaṟuṟuḷaṅgalam; kaṟuṟuḷaṅgalam, etc.

7.3.26 अर्धात् परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा

ardhāt parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā
\[ ardhāt 5/1 parimāṇasya 6/1 pūrvasya 6/1 tu ὕ vā ὕ / \]
(āngasya #6.4.1 vyddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṇṇiti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣv acāṃ ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10)
ardhaṣabdāt parasya parimāṇavācina uttarapadasyācāṃ āder acaḥ sthāne
vyddhir bhavati taddhite ṇṇiti ṇṇiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vyṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, used after *ardha* ‘half’ with the signification of *parimāṇa*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows; the first among vowels of the initial constituent goes through *vyṛddhi*, only optionally.

**Examples:**

ardhadraunīkam = ardhadronena kṛitam ‘purchased with half a Droṇa’
ārdhadraunīkam ‘ibidem’
ardhakauḍavikam ‘purchased with half a Prastha’
ārdhakauḍavikam ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the *vyṛddhi* of an initial constituent optional. A specification with *pūrvasya* ‘of that which precedes’ is interpreted as referring to the initial compound constituent. The compound constituent which follows *ardha* is not allowed this option. Our example derives receive *thaṅ* of 5.1.36 *tena kṛitam*. These compounds are formed in consonance with 2.2.2 *ardham* *napuṃsakam*.

7.3.27 नातः परस्य

nātaḥ parasya
/ na φ atah 5/1 parasya 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vyṛdhiḥ #7.2.114 aco īṃiti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣv acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 ardhā parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā #27)
ardhāḥ parasya parimāṇakārasya vyṛddhir na bhavati pūrvasya tu vā bhavati taddhite īṃiti īṃiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vyṛddhi* does not come in place of the first *a* of the following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies *parimāṇa* and is used after *ardha*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows; the first *a* of the initial constituent is replaced with its *vyṛddhi* counterpart, optionally.

**Examples:**

ardhaprasthikah ‘purchased with half a Prastha’
ārḍhaprasthikah ‘ibidem’
arthakamsikah ‘... with half a Kaṃsa’
ārṇhaṅksikah ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *vyṛddhi* of an initial constituent but disallows the same to initial *a* of the following constituent. Of course, when a constituent denoting *parimāṇa* ‘measure’ combines to follow *ardha*. Derivational details of example compounds are similar to those cited under the preceding rule.

2. Why do we state the condition of *ataḥ* ‘in place of *a’*? So that the initial
u of kuṭava is allowed vrddhi in deriving ardhakudavena kritaḥ = ardhakauda-
vikāḥ’ purchased with half a Prastha’, etc. Why do we have to specify a with T
(tarakarana)? So that ardhakhāryāṁ bhavā = ardhakhāri ‘found in half a Khāri’,
because of the long ā of khārī, does not come within the scope of this rule.
But this ā itself is a vrddhi. Hence, negating vrddhi by means of taparakarana
‘specifying x with a following t’ is of no consequence to it. This negation by
means of taparakāna, indeed, has its consequences. Consider ardhakhāri-
bhāryaḥ = ardhakhāri bhāryā yasya ‘he whose wife cooks food equal in measure
to one half of a Khāri’ and vaiyākaranaṁbhāryaḥ = vaiyākarani bhāryā yasya
‘he whose wife is a grammarian’. These derivates cannot avail pumvadhāva
‘masculine transformation’ of bhārya if vrddhi is not negated by means of
taparā-karana. That is, rule 6.3.39 vrddhinimittasya ca . . . cannot facilitate
pumvadhāva ‘masculine transformation’. It is argued that a taddhita affix
which, when following, conditions negation of vrddhi, cannot be accepted as
a cause for vrddhi (vrddhinimitta). It will be accepted as a cause for absence
(abhava) of vrddhi. If negation of vrddhi is not specified with aT (tapara-
karana), the ā of khārī in ardhakhāri will come under the scope of this rule.
That is, vrddhi will be negated, irrespective of whether this ā itself is a vrddhi.
The affix which then negates this vrddhi cannot be accepted as cause for
vrddhi. This being the case, rule 6.3.39 vrddhinimittasya ca . . . cannot allow
pumvadhāva in ardhakāri-bhāryaḥ and vaiyākarani-bhāryaḥ.

7.3.28 प्रवाहानसय से
pravāhaṇasya dhe
/ pravāhaṇasya 6/1 dhe 7/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 acaḥ #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acām ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kīṇi #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 purvasya tu vā #27)
pravāhaṇasya dhe parata uttarapadasyācām āder aco vrddhir bhavati
pūrvpadasya vā bhavati
A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of the
following constituent of an aṅga, namely pravāhaṇa, when a taddhita
affix, namely dhaK, follows. The first among vowels of the initial com-
pound constituent is, optionally, replaced with its vrddhi counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

pravāhaneyah = pravāhaṇasyāpatyam ‘son of Pravāhaṇa’
pravāhaneyah ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers initial vrddhi to the following constituent of an aṅga,
namely pravāhaṇa, obligatorily. Of course, when the taddhita affix dhaK fol-
ows. The vrddhi of the initial constituent is optional. The word pravāhaṇa is
derived with affix LyuT (3.3.113 kṛtyayuo bahulam), introduced with the
signification of agent (karaṭ), after the causal form of vah ‘to carry’ (nijanta).
A replacement in ī (ṇaḍva) is accomplished by 8.4.29 ner vibhāṣā. Note that 
pravāhana is an upapada compound. Affix ḍhaK, of pravāhaneya and 
pravāhaneyya, is introduced by 4.1.128 subhrādibhyāṅ ca.

7.3.29 तत्रत्रत्यायः च
tatpratyayasa ca
/ tatpratyayasa 6/1 = saḥ pratyayo yasmāt (br.), tasya; ca φ/
(anagasa #6.4.1 vrddhi #7.2.114 aco īṇīti #7.2.115 taddhītesu acām ādeḥ #7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvasya tu vā #27 pravāhaṇasya #28)

ḍhakpratyayāntasya pravāhānasabdasya taddhītesu parata uttarapadasyācām āder aco vrddhir bhavati pūrvasya tu vā

A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of the 
following constituent of an aniga, namely pravāhana terminating in affix 
ḍhaK, provided a taddhita affix marked with Ī, N and K follows; the 
first among vowels of the initial constituent is, optionally, replaced with 
its vrddhi counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

pravāhaneyiyih = pravāhaneyasyāpatyam ‘young male offspring of Pravāhaṇa’
pravāhaneyiyih ‘ibidem’
pravāhaneyakam ‘belonging to the offspring of Pravāhaṇa’
pravāhaneyakam ‘ibidem’

1. Why state this rule when the initial vowel of the following constituent 
ending in ḍhaK will obligatorily go through vrddhi? This could hardly be the 
purpose of formulating this rule. The formulation of this rule could not be 
accepted for offering initial vrddhi to initial constituent of the compound, 
either. For, this externally conditioned initial vrddhi will be blocked by internally 
conditioned optional vrddhi, offered relative to ḍhaK of the preceding 
rule. Commentators argue that a dual vrddhi which is conditioned by affixes 
ī, etc., cannot be blocked by such optional internal vrddhi. For, how could 
an external vrddhi conditioned by Ī can be blocked by an internal vrddhi 
conditioned by ḍhaK when Ī is not internal to the derivate of ḍhaK? That is, 
when Ī is not part of pravāhaneyya. This rule is therefore stated to block such 
externally conditioned optional vrddhi (Kāś: bāhyataddhitanīmittā vrddhir 
ḍhāśaryena vikalpya bādhitum āsakyeti sūtrārambhah). We thus get optional 
forms: pravāhaneyiyih and pravāhaneyiyih, i.e., pravāhanasyāpatyam yuvā ‘young 
male offspring of Pravāhaṇa’. We similarly get two optional derivatives of vuī 
(4.3.126 gotracanād vuī): pravāhaneyakam and pravāhaneyakam (Nyāsa: 
svāvaṃ bāhyam taddhitaṃ nimittam āṣrtya bhavanti bahiraṅgā; prāgeva tu 
bāhyataddhitotpatter ċhāśrayo vikalpo bhavann antaraṅgas tām bādhitum na 
śaknotī).
7.3.30 नञः सूचीस्वरक्षेत्रकुशसालनिपुणानाम्

nañah śuciśvarakṣetrafajñakuśalanipunānām
\nañaḥ 5/1 śuciśvarakṣetrafajñakuśalanipunānām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhīḥ #7.2.114 aco niñiti #7.2.115 taddhīteṣu acāṁ ādeḥ
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvapasya tu vā #27)
nañ uttareṣāṁ ‘suci, īśvara, kṣetrajña, kuśala, nipuṇa’ ity eteṣāṁ acāṁ āder
aco vrddhir bhavati, pūrvapadasya vā bhavati taddhite niñiti niñiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed vrddhi comes in place of first among vowels of the
following constituent of an aṅga, namely śuci ‘cleansed, pure’, īśvara ‘lord’,
kṣetrajña ‘knower of fields’, kuśala ‘skilled’ and nipuṇa ‘clever,
efficient’, when a taddhīta affix marked with ṇ, ṇ and K follows; the
initial vowel of the first constituent is, optionally, replaced with its vrddhi
counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

āśaucam ‘state of impurity’
asaucam ‘ibidem’
ānaiśvaryam ‘state of no lordship; non-prosperity’
anaiśvaryam ‘ibidem’
āksatrajñyam ‘belonging to one who does not know the supreme soul’
aksatrajñyam ‘ibidem’
ākauśalam ‘belonging to one who is not skilled’
akauśalam ‘ibidem’
ānaiṇipunam ‘belonging to one who is not clever’
anaiṇipunam ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers obligatory vrddhi in case of a following constituent, and
optional in case of initial. The aṅN of āśaucam and asaucam is introduced by
5.1.131 igantāc ca laghupūrṇat. Of course, after negating the bahuvrīhi com-
 pound śuci = vidyate śucir yasya with naṅ parphrased as na vidyate śucir
yasya. Derivatives such as ānaiśvaryam and anaiśvaryam involve affix ŚyāṅNafter
aniśvara and akṣetrajña, read in the brāhmaṇādi group of nominals. Affix
Śyāṅ (5.1.124 guṇavacana . . . ) is used here with the signification of bhāva.
The last two examples, i.e., ānaiṇipunam and anaiṇipunam, are derivatives of aṅN
used with the signification of 4.3.120 tasyedam.

2. A question is raised against vrddhi of initial constituents. Some argue
that since an affix, with the exception of tua and tal, is not introduced after
a negative tatpurūṣa compound with the denotatum of bhāva (5.1.121 na
naiṇipūrvat . . . ), vrddhi of naṅN is not available. For, ŚyāṅNis here blocked after
the negative tatpurūṣa compounds, on hand. It is stated that the negative
tatpurūṣa with naṅ and śauca is formed subsequent upon introduction of
Śyāṅ, after śuci. Our present rule then applies for vrddhi of initial constituent.
How do we know that ŚyāṅN is to be introduced prior to formation of the
negative *tatpuruṣa* compound? From this very rule, especially since its provision will otherwise become vacuous. Others still do not accept it, especially since they believe that negation of 5.1.121 *na naṅpurvāt* . . . is not universal (*sārvatrikā*). Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

7.3.31 यथातथयथपर्ययो: पर्याचेण

*yathātathayathāpurayoḥ paryāyena*  
/yathātathayathāpurayoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; paryāyena 3/1/  
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 vrddhiḥ #7.2.114 aco ṁiṇī #7.2.115 taddhītesu acām ēdeḥ  
#7.2.117 kiti #7.2.118 uttarapadasya #10 pūrvasya tu vā #27 naṅah #30)  
‘yathātatha, yathāpura’ ity etayor naṅi uttarayoḥ paryāyenaḥ ēdeḥ aco vrddhir  
bhavati taddhīte niṇi niṇi kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed *vrddhi* occurs in place of first among vowels of initial and following constituents of an *āṅga*, namely *yathātatha* and *yathāpura*, in turn (*paryāya*), provided *yathātatha* and *yathāpura* are used in construction after *naṅN*, and when a *taddhīta* affix marked with *N, N* and *K* follows.

**Examples:**

āyathāṭahamyam ‘not as what it should be’
āyāṭāṭathyam ‘ibidem’
āyathāṭapyum ‘not as what it previously was’
āyathāṭapyum ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *ayathāṭathā* and *ayathāṭpura* are both read in the *brāhmaṇādi* (5.1.124 gunavacanabrāhmaṇādi . . .) group of nominals. Consequently, negation of *SyāṅN* (5.1.121 *na naṅpurvāt* . . .) cannot apply here. The *vrddhi* of *ayathā* applies in turn (*paryāya*). That is, the *a* of *yathā* goes through *vrddhi* first. The *a* of *naṅN* then goes through optional *vrddhi*, in turn. We thus get *ayathāṭahamyam* and *āyathāṭathyam*, etc. A reference in this sūtra with *yathāṭathā* and *yathāṭpura* is made in view of their *avyayibhāva* formation. That is, after the compound-formation of *avyayibhāva* with *yathā*, used in the sense of *asāḍrṣya* ‘non-similarity’ (2.1.7 *yathā* sāḍrṣye), there is shortening (*hrasva*) of *tathā* conditioned by neuter (*napuṇaśaka; 1.2.47 hrasvo napuṇaśake . . .*). The *Mahābhāṣya* seems to be favoring the compound-formation by 2.1.4 *saha supā*, as is clear from the illustration of *ayathāṭathābhāvaḥ*. Given this, shortening of the compound will be accomplished based upon Pāṇini’s own usage in the rule (*sautraṭvāt*).

7.3.32 हनसेऽप्रियणणाय:  

*hanaḥ* to’ *cīṇaloh*  
/ *hanaḥ* 6/1 *tah* 1/1 *acīṇaloh* 7/2 = *cīṇ ca naḥ ca = cīṇalau (itar. dv.);  
na cīṇalau (naṅ. tat. with int. dv.)/
hānas takārādeśo bhavati ūniti prayaye parataḥ cīnīlau varjaitva

The final sound segment of an āṅga, namely han, is replaced with t when an affix marked with N and N, but other than cIN and NaL, follows.

**Examples:**

ghātayati '... has someone killed'
ghātakaḥ 'killer'
sādhughātī 'killer of a virtuous person'
ghātanghātam '... kills over and over again'

1. Note that taddhiṣṭu and hiti are not carried over. This rule, however, accepts the anuvṛtti of ūniti 'Nīt and Nīt' as part of the right context. Our first example ghātayati derives from ghāti + LAṬ, where the root is used with causal affix NīC. The n of han 'to kill' before NīC is replaced with t because of its status as marked with N as an it (Nīt). The h of han, in all derivates, goes through a replacement in gh (kutva; 7.3.54 ho hanter...). The initial vṛddhi of these derivates is accomplished by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāh.

Our example sādhughātin is an upapada 'conjoined' compound formed under the cooccurrence condition of sādhu with affix NīnI, introduced after han with the signification of tācchīlya 'this is his characteristic nature'. The ghātaka of our example is a derivate of (han + NīC) + NvuL)). We find affix NāmUĻ (3.4.22 ābhikṣṇya ṇamul) with the signification of ābhikṣṇya 'doing something over and over again' introduced after han + GHaN = ghāta, itself a derivate of GHaN. A vārttika (ad 8.1.12: ābhikṣṇya dve bhavataḥ) requires ghātam to be doubled up.

The condition of aciṇnaloḥ is imposed so that we do not get n of han replaced with t before CiN and NaL. Thus, consider aghāni and jaghāna, third singular LUN and LIṬ derivates of han. Why do we not find this replacement of n with t in vārtraghnam 'this is his, the one who killed Vṛtra'? Actually, an operation stated for a root must apply when the root is followed by an affix (Kāś. dhātoḥ kāryam ucmaṇānam dhātoḥ prayaye vijnāyate). Since we derive vrtrahan 'slayer of Vṛtra' with KuP (gone through total deletion) and then introduce aNa after the nominal stem, there is no replacement of n with t.

### 7.3.33 आतो युक्ति चित्तीकृतोः:

āto yuk cinkṛtoḥ
/ātaḥ 6/1 yuk 1/1 cin-kṛtoḥ 7/2 (itar. du.), tayoh/

(angasya #6.4.1 ūniti #7.2.115)

ākarāntasyāṅgasya cini krti ūniti yug āgamo bhavati

An augment, namely yukK, is introduced to an āṅga terminating in ā, when CiN, or a krt affix marked with N and N, follows.
Examples:

adāyi ‘third person singular middle LUN-derivate of dā’
adhāyi ‘. . . of dhā’
dāyah ‘a derivate of affix kṛt, (dā + GHaN) + sU’
dāyakah ‘a derivate of ṃvuL, (dā + ṃvuL) + sU’
dhāyah ‘a derivate of affix kṛt (dhā + GHaN) + sU’
dhāyakah ‘derivate of ṃvuL, (dhā + ṃvuL) + sU’

1. This rule introduces augment yuK to an āṅga which ends in ā, when ġiN, or a kṛt affix marked with ʷ and ṃ, follows. Consider adāyi and adhāyi which are third middle singular derivatives of LUN, introduced after dā and dhā with the signification of bhāvā ‘root-sense’ or kārman ‘object’. Thus, dā + (LUN->ta) → aT + dā + yUK + ġiN + (ta→φ) = adāyi, and dhā + (LUN->ta) = adhāyi, where 3.16.66 cīn bhāvakārmanōḥ introduces ġiN. The third singular middle (ātmānepada) replacement of LUN, which occurs after ġiN, is deleted (6.4.104 ċino luko).

2. The condition of ġiN, or of a kṛt affix marked with ʷ and ṃ, is imposed so that derivatives such as (dadau ← (dā + (LIṬ→(ṭIP→Nal))) and (dhā + (LIṬ→ṭIP→Nal)) = dadhau could be kept out of applicational scope of this rule. This same is true of caudih ‘son of ġuḍa’, bālākiḥ ‘son of Balaka’, and jñāḥ ‘. . . whose divinity is jñā’, derivatives of the taddhiṭa affixes iN (4.1.96 bāhvādibhyāca), and aṁN, respectively.

7.3.34 नोद्वटोपादेशस्य मातस्यानाचमेव:

قودिडिक्षारस्य मातस्यानाचमेव

/na φ udāṭtopadēsasya 6/1 = upadeśe udāṭṭhaḥ (saptat. tat.), tasya; maṁśa 6/1 = mo'nte yasya (bv.), tasya; anācāmeḥ 6/1 = na ācamīḥ (naṁ. tat.), tasya/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 niṁiti #7.2.115 cinkṛtoḥ #33)
udāṭtopadēsasya māntasyāṅgasyaśācāmīvāpheresya cīṇi kṛti ca niṁiti yad uktaṁ tan na bhavati

That which was stated for an āṅga when a kṛt affix, namely ġiN, or one marked with ʷ and ṃ, follows, does not apply to an āṅga which is marked with udāṭṭa in upadeśa and ends in m, but is not ācam ‘to sip’.

Examples:

aśami ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of šamU’
atami ‘. . . of tamU’
adami ‘. . . of damU’
šamakah ‘derivate of (šam + ṃvuL) + sU’
tamakah ‘derivate of (tam + ṃvuL) + sU’
damakah ‘derivate of (dam + ṃvuL) + sU’
šamah ‘derivate of (šam + GHaN) + sU’
tamah 'derivate of (tam + GHaN) + sU'
damah 'derivate of (dam + GHaN) + sU'

1. This rule disallows penultimate vṛddhi (7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ) of roots which are marked with udātta in upadeśa, or which end in m, with the exception of āN+cam = ācām 'to sip'. Consider the third singular middle LUN-derivates of samU‘be tranquil, calm’, tamU‘to faint, be exhausted’ and damU ‘to tame, restrain’ which are all marked with udātta in upadeśa ‘initial citation’. Thus, we get asami, atami and adami where penultimate vṛddhi is blocked. This vṛddhi is also blocked in derivates of Nvul and GHaN. Thus, śamakah, ātakah and damakah; and samah, tamaḥ and damah, respectively.

2. The condition of uḍāttopadesa is imposed so that this vṛddhi could not be blocked in yāmakah and rāmakah, etc., where yamU‘to be detached, desist’ and ramU‘to sport’ are marked anudātta in upadeśa. How come this vṛddhi is not blocked in derivates of aḍa ‘to strive’ and yama ‘to be detached’? This is done, via nipātana, necessitated by available usage. Why is upadeśa required as a condition? So that derivates of GĦiN (3.2.141 śamityaṣṭābhya . . .), i.e., śami, tami and dami, do not avail vṛddhi. The roots of those derivates are marked with udātta in upadeśa. Since the affixal i of these derivates become uḍātta (3.1.3 ādyudāttaś ca), their roots will now become anudātta (6.1.158 anudāttam . . .). But since these roots were originally marked with udātta, this rule will be able to block penultimate vṛddhi. Now consider (yam + Nvul) + sU = yāmakah and (ram + Nvul) + sU = rāmakah, where yam and ram are marked with anudātta in upadeśa. They become udātta because of L as an it in Nvul (6.1.193 lī). Our present rule cannot block vṛddhi here.

Why do we have the condition of mānta ‘ending in m’? Consider (car + Nvul) = cārakah and (path + Nvul) + sU = pāthakah, where vṛddhi cannot be blocked because car and path do not end in m.

3. Note that ācāmah, a GĦaN-derivate of āN-cam which ends in m, is excluded from this blocking of vṛddhi. A vārttika proposal is made to also exclude kam and vam of, for example kāmahu and vāmah, where GĦaN is introduced when the root does not take affix NiN (3.1.30 kamer niṁ). The vṛddhi is thus allowed.

Finally, this rule negates vṛddhi only where NiC, or a kṛt affix marked with N and N, follows. Thus, we do not get this blocking in āsāma and tatāma where NaL is marked with N, but is not a kṛt affix (3.1.93 kṛt atiṁ).

7.3.35 जनिवध्योष्ठ

janivadhvyōṣṭ ca
\(/jani-vadhvyoh 6/2 (itar. duv.); ca φ/\)
(angasa #6.4.1 ṇṇiti #7.2.115 ċiṅkṛtoḥ #33 na #35)
‘jani, vadhi’ ity etayoś cini kṛtī ca niṇiti yad uktam tan na bhavati
That which was stated for an āṅga when ČiN, or a kṛt affix marked with
Í and Í, follows, does not apply to an ánga constituted by janI ‘to come into existence; be born’ and vadhI ‘to kill, harm’.

**Examples:**

ajani ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of janI’
janakaḥ ‘derivate of (jan + NvUL) + sU’
prajanaḥ ‘derivate of (pra-jan + GHaN) + sU’
avadhi ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of vadh’
vadhakaḥ ‘derivate of (vadh + NvUL) + sU’
vadhāḥ ‘derivate of (vadh + GHaN) + sU’

1. This rule extends the negation of penultimate vṛddhi, also to derivatives of vadhI and janI. Thus, consider their third singular middle LUN-derivates avadhi and ajani with CiN. We get similar derivates with NvUL and GHaN, i.e., vadhakaḥ / janakaḥ; and vadhaḥ / prajanaḥ, respectively.

2. Note that vadh of this rule does not refer to vadha which, in turn, is a replacement of han ‘to kill’ (2.4.42 hano vadha lini). This vadh ends in a consonant and refers to verbal root vadh ‘to hurt, harm’ of the bhvādi group. The negation of vṛddhi in vadha is automatically accomplished, via sthāṇivadvābhāva ‘replacement treated as what it replaced’ proposal of deleted a. Thus, consider the absence of vṛddhi in: bhākṣakaṣ cēṇ na vidyeta vadhako’ pi na vidyate ‘if there is no bhākṣaka ‘killer (he who eats)’ then there is no vadhaka ‘killer’.

3. Finally, the right condition of CiN, and a kṛt affix marked with Ī and Í, is still operative. Thus, we do not get this negation in jajāna garbhaṇ mahi-mānām indraṃ ‘gave birth to glorious Indra’. Recall that jajāna is a LIT-derivate of jan where NaL (3.4.82 parasmaipadānāṃ . . .), a non-kṛt affix marked with Í, follows.

**7.3.36 अन्तेःप्रकृतीफळीयक्षेत्रायां पुष्पणी**

artttihṛvitārikñyūkṣmāyyātāṁ pug ḿau
/ artti-hṛi-vi-r-kñyū-kṣmāy-yātām 6/ (itar. dv.), teṣām /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
‘artti, hṛi, vi, rī, knyū, ksmāyī’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām ākāṛāntānām ca pug āgamo bhavati nau parataḥ
Augment pUK is introduced to an āṅga which is either constituted by artti (ṛ) ‘to go; to reach’, hṛi ‘to be shy, bashful’, vi ‘to choose, accept’, rī ‘to move, flow’, knyūī and ksmāyī ‘to shake, tremble’, or ends in ā, when affix Nī follows.

**Examples:**

arpayati ‘third singular active LAT-derivate of ṛ’
hrepayati ‘third singular active LAT-derivate of hṛi’
The Āstādhyāyī of Pāṇini

7.3.37

ulepayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of vṛtā’
repayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of rī’
knopayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of knūyī’
ksmāpayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of kṣmāyī ‘to shake, tremble’’
dāpayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of Dūdāṇ ‘to cut, divide’’
dhāpayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of Dūdāhāṇ ‘to place, hold’’

1. Note that artti refers here to both r ‘to move, reach’ (bhūdā) and r ‘to move’ (juhotyādī), both active. Thus, consider arpayati where we get (r→ar) + pUK + NiC = arpi; arpi + †T → arp (i→e→ay) + SaP + tiP = arpayati, through guṇa and a replacement in ay. The rī of our rule refers to roots with the signification of ‘moving’ and ‘wolf-cry’ (vykaśabda), or ‘noise’. Derivational details of other examples are not much different. Note, however, that y of knūyī and kṣmāyī is deleted (6.1.66 lopo vyor valī).

2. Why is augment pUK made final of what precedes (atha kimartham puk pūrvāntah kriyate). That is, why is this augment not offered as pUT and thereby made initial of what follows? So that penultimate shortening (upadāhārasva) of dāp + NiC + LUN → adidapat, could be accomplished. Note that dāp yields dap, through penultimate shortening (7.4.1 nau canī . . .), after CaN replaces CLI, and NiC gets deleted. This dap then goes through reduplication (dvitva). If pUT was introduced as an augment, it would then have become part of NiC. This would then have blocked penultimate shortening.

7.3.37 शाच्चासाहावयावेपां युक्तः

śācchāsāhvāvyāvepām yuk
/śāc-chā-sā-hvā-vyā-ve-pām 6/3 (itar. dv.); yuk 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
‘sā, chā, sā, hvā, vyā, ve, pā’ ity eteśām āṅgānām yug āgamo bhavati nau parataḥ

Augment yUK is introduced to an anga, namely sā←sō ‘to shape, fashion’, chā←cho ‘to cut, pierce’, sā←so ‘terminate’, hvā←hveN ‘to call out, challenge’, vyeN→vā ‘to cover’, veN ‘weave’ and pā ‘to drink’ when affix Ni follows.

Examples:
niśāyayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of ni(so→sā) + NiC + †T’
avavchāyayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of ava(cho→chā) + NiC + †T’
avasāyayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of ava(so→sā) + NiC + †T’

huṇāyayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of (hve→hvā) + NiC + †T’
samvāyayati ‘third singular active †T-derivate of sam(vyeN→vyā) + NiC + †T’
vāyayati ‘third singular active $LAT$-derivative of (ve$\bar{N}\rightarrow vā) + NiC + LAT’

pāyayati ‘third singular active $LAT$-derivative of (pā + NiC) + LAT’

1. Note that roots which are specified here as an aṅga will have their forms ending in ā (ātau). Thus, we will get so→sā, cho→chā, so→sā, hve→hvā, vyē→vyā, ve→vā and pā, with application of rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśeśīti. They, consequently, will come under the scope of pUK of the preceding rule. Accepting a form resulting from some rule application on a corresponding original indicates that the commonly known paribhāṣā (PS 114): laksanapratipadokyoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam ‘in conflicts between a form cited by a rule, or one derived by a rule-application, the form which is cited by a rule is favored’ does not apply in this section. This is also true in case of introduction of pUK in deriving adhyāpayati and jāpayati where verbal roots adhi-i and ji yield their forms in ā (6.1.48 krīṇinām . . . ), i.e., adhy-ā and jā. Recall that yUK is offered here as an exception to pUK.

Our present rule introduces yUK against pUK, when specified roots occur as an aṅga before NiC. Consider sāyayati, where 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe . . . replaces a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term eC with ā(T). That is, ā(o→ā) + NiC = sā + i. We get sāyī with introduction of augment yUK. Our example derive niśāyayati derives from niśāyi + (LAT→tīP). The ā of so is replaced with s by 6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ. . . Deriving avacchāyayati from ava-chāyi + (LAT→tīP) also involves augment tUK (6.1.73 che ca), before ch. The t of tUK then goes through a replacement in c (ścūtva; 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuh). Similar applications are involved in deriving other examples.

2. Note that a reference with pā includes references to both pā ‘to drink’ and pai ‘to dry’. This, however, does not include any reference to pā ‘to protect’, a root of the ad class (adādi) where ŚaP (3.1.68 kartari ṣap) gets deleted.

3. A vārttika proposal requires augment lUK in case of pā ‘to protect’ with a derivate in pālayati (ut. lugaḡamas tu tasya vaktavyah).

Yet another vārttika proposal introduces nUK in case of dhūN ‘to shake’ with its causal third singular present form dhūnayati. One can also get pṛiṇayati in case of pṛiN ‘to please’ (ut. dhūṇpriṇor luga vaktavyah).

Kāśikā informs that these augment, i.e., yUK, lUK and nUK, are also made final parts of roots which precede. Thus, we get nyāśāyat, apiṇalat, adudhunat, and apiṇinat, where shortening of the penultimate vowel is accomplished.

7.3.38 वो विधूषने जुकः

vo vidhūnane juk
/vah 6/1 vidhūnane 7/1 juk 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
‘vā’ ity etasya vidhūnane’ rtuḥ vartamānasya jag āgamo bhavati nau paraḥ
An augment, namely jUK, is introduced to vā, an aṅga, used with the signification of vidhūnana ‘agitation, shaking’, when affix NiC follows.
Examples:

*pakṣenopavājyati* ‘shakes (off water) with the (help of) wings’

1. This rule introduces augment āUK when vai→vā ‘to dry’ is followed by NiC and the signification is vidhūnana ‘to cause to shake’. We thus get *upavājyati*, as in *pakṣenopavājyati* ‘makes dry with the help of wing(s)’, where NiC is introduced (after *upa*vā).

How come *upavājyati* is not derived by introducing NiC after vaj ‘to move’, used with the preverb *upa*? This has been done to indicate that augment pUK is not introduced after vā. It is to accomplish the introduction of augment jUK, instead, that NiC is introduced after vā. Recall that pUK will be available to vai ‘to dry’ in view of ā (ātvā; vai→vā).

Why do we state the condition of vidhūnana? Consider āvāpayati keśān ‘has the hairs cut’, where shaking is not the meaning. Consequently, augment jUK could not be introduced.

7.3.39 लोलोनुगलुकावयतरस्या ब्रह्मविवापने

Ilor nuglukāv anyatarasyāṁ snehaviptātane
/lōloh 6/2 (itār. dv.); nug-lukau 1/2 (itār. dv.); anyatarasyām 7/1 snehaviptātane 7/1 (śās tat), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
‘li, lā’ ity etayor aṅgayor anyatarasyām ‘nuk, luk’ ity etāv āgamau bhavato nau parataḥ

Augments nUK and lUK are optionally introduced to li and lā, respectively, when the derivate signifies snehaviptāna ‘melting of fat’, and affix NiC follows.

Examples:

*ghṛtāṃ vilāyayati* ‘causes the ghee to melt’
*ghṛtāṃ vilīnayati* ‘ibidem’
... vilālayati ‘ibidem’
vilāpayati ‘ibidem’

1. Augments nUK and lUK are, optionally, introduced to an aṅga constituted by li and lā, respectively, when NiC follows, and derivate denote ‘melting of fat’. We get vilīnayati and vilāyayati, two forms of li where nUK is optional. Thus, vi-li + NiC → vi-li + nUK + i = vilīni + LAT = vilīnayati and vi-li + NiC → vi-l(i→ai) + i → vi-l(ai→āy) + i → vilāyi + LAT = vilāyayati. We similarly get two forms of lā where lUK is introduced optionally with pUK at the strength of optional replacement in ā (ātvā) of 6.1.51 vibhāṣa tiyateh. Thus, vilālayati and vilāpayati.

Note that i of li is specified here as conjoined (praśīṣṭa) i+i→i. That is, nUK must be introduced only to a li which ends in i. It will not be introduced
to a lī which goes through optional ā of 6.1.51 vibhāsā līyateh. This is the reason why we do not get an example of nUK where lī produces lā, through a replacement in ā (ātva). Kāśikā thus states: ‘lī’ iti līśinor grahanam; ‘lā’ iti lāteh kṛtāvasya ca līyateh. lī is specified to refer to both the kṛyādi root lā ‘to join, embrace’ and the dīvādī root lāN ‘to join’. Since no formal difference results by using them with NiC, a reference is also desired to lā ‘to bring’ and lī, with replacement in ā (kṛtāvasya; 6.1.51 vibhāsā līyateh).

Kāśikā offers jatuḥ vilāpayate ‘melts the lac’ and jaṭābhīr ālāpayate ‘frightens with matted hair’ as counter-examples to the condition of snehāvipātana ‘melting of fat’. Augment pUK is introduced here since the signification is something other than ‘melting of fat’.

7.3.40 भियो हेतुभये बुकः

bhiyo hetubhaye suk
/bhiyaḥ 6/1 hetubhaye 7/1 = hetor bhayam (sā. tat.), tasmin; suk 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 ni #36)
‘bhi’ ity etasya hetubhaye rthe sug āgamo bhavati nau parataḥ
Augment sUK is introduced to an āṅga, namely bhi ‘to fear’, when the signification is hetubhaya ‘fear from causal agent’ and affix Ni follows.

Examples:

mundo bhīṣayate ‘the ascetic with his shaven head causes fear’
jaṭīlo bhīṣayate ‘the ascetic with his matted hair causes fear’

1. Here again we find i of bhi resulting out of praśleṣa ‘conjoined specification’. That is, bh(i+ī→i) = bhi. Such a bhi which goes through replacement in ā (ātva) will not be allowed sUK. We will, instead, get bhāpayate with pUK, as in Mundo bhāpayate ‘the ascetic with his shaven head causes fear’. This ātva is accomplished by 6.1.55 bibheter hetubhaye.

2. Note that hetubhaya is explained as bhaya ‘fear’ caused by hetu ‘causal agent’. The word hetu is interpreted as instigator of an independent agent (1.4.54 tatpraya jaka hetuṣ ca). Kāśikā offers kuṇcikayainam bhāyayati ‘he causes fear in him with a broom’, with yUK, as a counter-example to the condition of hetubhaya ‘cause of fear; causal agent’. What is causing fear here is not the hetu but an instrument, i.e., kuṇcikā ‘broom’.

7.3.41 स्फायो वः

sphāyo vah
/sphāyaḥ 6/1 vaḥ 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
‘sphāy’ ity etasyāṅgasya vakārādeśo bhavati nau parataḥ
A replacement in v comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga, namely sphāy, when affix Ni follows.
EXAMPLES:

*sphāvayati ‘. . . fattens’

1. This rule offers v as a replacement for the final y of an āṅga constituted by sphāyi ‘to fatten’ when the same occurs before NiC. Thus, sphā(y → v) + NiC = sphāv + i = sphāvi + LAT = sphāvayati.

7.3.42 शंदेरातीतः तः

śader agatau taḥ
/śadeḥ 6/1 agatau 7/1 = na gatiḥ (nañ. tat.), tasmin; taḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
śader anārgyāgatāv arthe vartamānasya tākārādeso bhavati nau parataḥ
A replacement in t comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga, namely śadīt, used with the signification of agatiḥ ‘non-motion’, when affix NiC follows.

EXAMPLES:

phalāni sātayati ‘. . . is cutting (wasting) fruits’

1. The condition of agatiḥ is imposed so that we do not get this replacement in gāḥ śādāyati ‘. . . is causing cows to run’. Obviously, gati ‘movement’ is part of the signification here.

7.3.43 रुहः प्रोज्ज्वलस्यायः

ruhaḥ po' nyatārasaṁ
/ruhaḥ 6/1 pah 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nau #36)
ruhaḥ anārgya anayatarasyāṃ pakārādeso bhavati nau parataḥ
The final sound segment of an āṅga, namely ruh ‘to grow’, is optionally replaced with p when affix NiC follows.

EXAMPLES:

vrihiṇ āropayati ‘. . . plants rice’
vrihiṇ rohayati ‘ibidem’

1. We get two forms: āropayati and rohayati with optional replacement in p for the root-final k, and a replacement in vrddhi for the penultimate u. Haradatta notes that this rule should not be stated. For, ruP ‘to be confused’ is enumerated in the divādi group. This, used with NiC, will yield the form āropayati with the signification of janma ‘birth, coming into existence’. This signification of janma is possible because roots potentially denote many meanings (anekārtha). Verbal root ruh ‘to grow’, of course, will yield the form rohayati (PM: ayaṁ yogasākṣyovaktum. katham. ruPa ‘vimohane’ iti divādau
7.3.44 प्रत्ययशालकारूस्यात इदायसुपः:

\[\text{pratyayastha} \text{ कृत् पुरुस्यात्} \text{ id ओप्य} \text{ asupaḥ} \]
\[\text{pratyayastha} 5/1 = \text{pratyaye tiṣṭhati} \text{ (uṣpada} \text{ tat.), tasmāt; कृत्} \text{ 5/1} \]
\[\text{पुरुस्या} 6/1 \text{ atāḥ} 6/1 \text{ it} 1/1 \text{ opi} 7/1 \text{ asupaḥ} 5/1 = \text{na sup} \text{ (naṅ.} \text{ tat.), tasmāt/} \]
\[\text{pratyayastha} \text{ kakārāt पुरुस्यāकारasya} \text{ ikārādeśo bhavati} \text{ ophi parataḥ sa ced} \]
\[\text{āp supaḥ paro na bhavati} \]

A short vowel, namely \(i\), comes in place of \(a\) which occurs before \(k\) within an affix, provided \(āP\), when not used after a \(sUP\), follows.

**Examples:**

jaṭilīkā ‘she who wears matted hairs’
munḍīkā ‘she who has her head shaven’
kārikā ‘she who does’
hārīkā ‘she who carries away’
etiṅs caranti ‘... are grazing’

1. Note that affix \(ka\) (5.3.70 prāg ivāt kāḥ) is introduced after jaṭilā and munḍā to derive jaṭil(ā→a) + ka = jaṭila + ka with shortening of \(ā\) (7.4.13 ke’ naḥ). We get a replacement in \(i\) for the \(a\) of jaṭila which occurs before \(k\) of affix \(ka\). Of course, when \(āP\) (here affix \(ṬāP\)) follows. Thus, jaṭil(a→i) ka + \(ṬāP→jaṭil(a+ā→ā) = jaṭilīkā\), through savarṇaḍīrgha ‘homogeneous long vowel replacement’. We similarly get the feminine derivate of \(Nvnl:\) kāraka + \(ṬāP→kār(a→i)ka + \(ṬāP = kārik(a+ā→ā) = kārikā\) and hāraka + \(ṬāP = hārīkā\), again through savarṇaḍīrgha. Now consider etikā which derives from etād + \(ṬāP\) with the introduction of \(akAC\) (5.3.71 avayasarvanāmnām akac...). Given et(akAC) ad + \(ṬāP = etakad + ā\), the \(a\) before \(k\) is replaced with \(i\). The \(d\) of et(a→i) kad + ā is then replaced with \(a\) (7.2.102 tyadādinām ah) to produce etika(d→a) + ā = etika + a + ā. Finally, we get etikā by first replacing \(a+ā\) with \(a\) in accord with 6.1.97 ato gune and then applying homogeneous long vowel replacement (savarṇaḍīrgha). Thus, etik(a+ā→ā) = etikā + Jās = etikāḥ, as in etikās caranti.

2. Why do we have the condition of \(k\) as part of an affix? So that if \(a\) does not precede \(k\) which is part of an affix, this replacement does not apply. Consider śakā, a derivate of aC (3.1.134 nandigrahi...), where (śak + aC→ śaka) + \(ṬāP\) = śak(a+ā→ā) = śakā, through savarṇaḍīrgha, cannot avail this replacement. Obviously, because \(k\) is not a part of an affix. It is part of a verbal root, instead.

Why is stha used in pratyayastha ‘located within an affix’? It is stated that stha is used for clarity (vispaṭārtham). Why could it not indicate the absence
of *replacement where $kA$ alone constitutes the affix? A specification with $kA$ is made here to indicate a sound. The $a$ of $ka$ (in $kāt$) is used for facilitating articulation (*uccārāṇārtha*). There is no suffix constituted by $k$, alone, for which this negation with *stha* could be stated. That is why, $k$ will be interpreted as nothing but part of an affix. Why make an explicit statement for what could easily be understood from $kāt$? The *stha* of *pratayastha* is then used for clarity (*vispaśṭārham*).

Why do we state *kāt* ‘after $k$’? Consider manḍanā and ramaṇā which derive from manḍi + (Ly → ana) + TāP = manḍan(a+ā → ā) = manḍanā and rami + (Ly → ana) + TāP = ramaṇā. What we find here is not $k$ but $n$. Incidentally, Lyu (3.1.134 nandigrāhī . . .) is introduced under the *pacādi* qualification of manḍI ‘to decorate’ and ramU ‘to sport’. One can also introduce TāP after a base ending in yuC (3.3.107 nyāśasaṃtanho yuc) to derive manḍanā and ramaṇā.

Why do we have the condition of *pūrvasya* ‘in place of that which precedes’? So that this replacement does not apply to a which occurs after $k$ in (patau + ka) + TāP = pataukā ‘clever’ and (mydu + ka) + TāP = mydūkā ‘tender’.

Why do we have a replaced with $i$? Consider naukā ‘boat’ and gokā ‘cow’ where this replacement does not apply. For, there is no $a$ before $k$.

Why is this specification of $a$ made with a following $t$ (taparākaraṇa). So that its reference could be limited to a short $a$. That is, to block this replacement in rākā and dhākā where there is no short $a$.

Why do we have the condition of āpi ‘when āP follows’? What does āpi qualify? It qualifies $k$. But this interpretation will block $i$ in kāraka + TāP where $k$ is not immediately followed by TāP. That is, $k$ and TāP occur intervened by $a$. Since such intervening vowels are always going to occur in between $k$ and TāP, this rule will not find any scope of application. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that intervention (*vyavadhāna*) of one sound segment is considered non-intervention (*avyavadhāna*).

What is the significance of the condition of asupah ‘not after that which does not end in a sUP’? This rule will not apply if āP is used with a following sUP. Consider bahuparivṛjakā of bahuparivṛjakā mathurā ‘the city of Mathurā which is full of wandering ascetics’. This āP occurs after parivṛjakā which ends in a sUP. Remember that asupah is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. A paryudāsa interpretation will yield the meaning: ‘supo’ nyo sup ‘a non-sUP is one which is other than a sUP’. That is, when TāP follows something which is similar to, but other than the a, a sUP. This will cause replacement in $i$ (itva) and the form will be: *bahuparivṛjikā*. This negation will consider bahuparivṛjakā as a unit which TāP follows and which is other than parivṛjakā + Jas, a form ending in a sUP. A *prasajya* interpretation will rule out itva when TāP follows a form ending in a sUP. Note that TāP of parivṛjakā + TāP occurs after Jas which has been deleted. This deleted Jas can be manipulated to cancel negation of itva in view of 1.1.63 na lumbāṅgasya. For, this operation of itva is not to be accomplished on an anga with reference to
deleted Jas. It is to be accomplished with reference to TāP, instead.

3. There are two vārttika proposals under this rule:

(i) The a before k is not replaced with i when TāP follows māmakā and naraka. Consider māmakā and narikā.

(ii) This rule does not apply to an aṅga which ends in affix tyakaN (5.2.34 upādhibhyām tyakan . . .).

7.3.45 न यासयों:

na yāsayoh
//na φ yāsayoh 6/2 = yā ca sā ca (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupah #44)
‘yā, sā’ ity etayor ikārādeśo na bhavati

A short vowel, namely i, does not come in place of a, used before k within an affix relative to yad ‘that which’ and tad ‘that’, provided āP, when not used after a sUP, follows.

EXAMPLES:

yakā ‘derivate of yad with akACand TāP’
sakā ‘derivate of tad with akAC and TāP’

1. A specification with yā and sā should not be accepted as tantra ‘principal’. That is, it does not refer to nominative singular forms only. It should be accepted as making reference to forms of yad ‘that which’ and tad ‘that’ in general (Kāś: ‘yāsā iti nirdēso’ tantram, yattador upalaksanam etat). For, this negation of i is also desired in yakām yakām adhimāhe and takām takām adhimāhe, etc. Recall that yā ‘she who . . .’ and sā ‘she’ are nominative singular feminine forms of yad and tad, ending in TāP.

2. This rule negates i as a replacement for ā of yā and sā when TāP follows. This goes against obligatory provision of 7.3.44 pratyayasthāt kāt . . . Our derivate yakā and sakā are derived with augment akAC, introduced before ti (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi tī) of yā and sā. Thus, yak(akAC) ā = yakā and sak(akAC) ā = sakā. Incidentally, yā and sā both involve a replacement in a for the final d of yad and tad (tyādāyata; 7.2.102 tyādādīnām ah). The s, as a replacement for t of tad, is gotten from 7.2.106 tadoh sah . . .

3. Several vārttika proposals are made to also state this negation as follows:

(i) When a form ending in tyakaN (5.2.34 upādhibhyām tyakan . . .) occurs before TāP. Thus, we get upatyakā ‘area around foot of a mountain’ and adhityakā ‘upper area of a mountain’ (vt: yāsaryor itvapratīśedhe tyakana upasamkhyaṇam).

(ii) When pāvaka ‘fire’ occurs before TāP in the Vedic. A corresponding classical usage will be pāvikā (vt: pāvākādīnām chandasya upasamkhyaṇam).
(iii) When derivates denote benediction (āśiḥ; vt: āśiṣi copasamkhyānam). Thus, nand + (Nvul→aka) + パーラ = nandaśaka and bhuvakā.

(iv) When a following constituent is deleted (vt: uttarapadalope copasamkhyānam). Thus, deva (datta→ϕ) + ka) + パーラ = devaka/ devadattikā and yajñaka/yajñadattikā. Incidentally, affix kaN (5.3.76 anukampayām . . .) is introduced with the signification of anukampā ‘compassion’. The deletion of datta is made optional by a vārtika proposal (vt anajādau ca vibhāṣā . . . ; ad 5.3.83 ṭhājādāv īrdhvaṃ . . .).

(v) When kṣipaka and dhruvaka occur before パーラ (vt: kṣipakādīnām copasamkhyānam). Thus, kṣipakā and dhruvaka.

(vi) When tāraka occurs before パーラ and the signification is jyotis ‘luminary’ (vt: tārakā jyotisī upasamkhyānam). Thus, (tṛ + (Nvul→aka) + パーラ = tārakā.

(vii) When varṇaka is to be derived in the sense of a fiber product (tāntava; vt: varṇakā tāntava upasamkhyānam).

(viii) When vartakā is derived with the signification of a bird in eastern usage (vt: vartakā sakunau prācām upasamkhyānam). Thus, (varttaka + パーラ = varttakā.

(ix) When aṣṭakā is derived with the signification of pitṛdaivatya ‘a Vedic ritual’ (vt: aṣṭakā pitṛdaivatye).

(x) When sūtakā, putrakā and vṛndārikā are to be derived with optional negation of i (vt: vā sutakāputrakāvṛndārakānām upasamkhyānam). Thus, sūtakā / sūtikā; putrakā / putriḥκā and vṛndārakā / vṛndārikā.

7.3.46 उद्दिचामत: स्थाने यक्कूष्वाचाय:

udicām ātāḥ sthāne yakaṣpurvāyah
/udicām 6/3 ātāḥ 6/1 sthāne 7/1 yakaṣpurvāyah = yaś ca kaṣ ca (dv.); tāu pūrvau yasyāḥ (dv. with int. dv.), tasyāḥ/
(pratyaśthā kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupah #44 na #45)
udicām acāryāṇāṃ matena yakārṣapurvāyah kakārāpurvāyāś cātāḥ sthāne yo’ kāras tasyāḥ sthāne iksārādeo na bhavati

A short vowel, namely i, does not, in the opinion of northern grammarians, come in place of an a which replaces ā, used before k and y relative to an affix, provided āP, when not used after a sUP, follows.

Examples:

ibhyikā ‘young female elephant’
ibhyakā ‘ibidem’
ksatriyikā ‘young ksatriya female’
ksatriyakā ‘ibidem’
cāṭakikā ‘young sparrow’
caṭakakā ‘ibidem’
mūṣikikā ‘a little mouse’
mūṣikakā ‘ibidem’

1. The a which is here allowed this replacement in i is itself a replacement of ā. This, of course, is the opinion of northern grammarians. This a must occur as a replacement of ā before y and k relative to an affix. The word uḍīcyā is here used to denote an option (vikalpa). That is, this itva does not apply obligatorily in Pāṇini’s own opinion. Thus, ibham arhati = ibha + ya (5.1.66 daṇḍādibhyo yat); ibhy(a → a) + ka = ibhyaka (5.3.70 prāg ivāt kaḥ; 7.4.13 ke’ naḥ) and ibhyaka + TāP = ibhyikā / ibhyakā. Similar derivational proposals are available for ksatriyikā / ksatriyakā; caṭakikā / caṭakakā; mūṣikikā/ mūṣakakā.

2. Why do we have the condition of an a which replaces ā? So that we do not get the obligatory i, only in sāṅkāsyē bhavā = sāṅkāsyikā ‘born in Sākāśyā’, where a before k is not a replacement of ā.

Why do we have to use sthāne ‘in place of’ when the genitive of ātah ‘in place of ā’ itself can denote it? The word sthāne is used so that we could clearly understand the substituendum (sthānī). Thus, ātah qualifies atah, with sthāne clearly specifying ‘aT which, in turn, comes in place of ā used in the genitive’.

Why do we have the condition of yakapūrvāyāḥ ‘in place of that which occurs before y and k’? So that this replacement in i (itva) could apply obligatorily in asvikā.

Why is this specification made in the feminine with yakapūrvāyāḥ, as against neuter? So that the sense of feminine of ā which is replaced with a can be understood. This is why we do not get an optional itva in śubham yāti = śubhamyāh and śubhamyikā, bhadramyāh and bhadramyikā, etc.

3. A vārttika proposal is also made to negate the negation of itva where ā→a occurs before a root-final y and k. This, obligatorily, restores itva in sunayikā, susayikā, supākikā and susokikā.

7.3.47 भाषार्थाः जागृतिः नवरथाय ग्रंथाः

bhaṣṭhrāśajñāśvāsā naṇpūrvāṇām api
/bhaṣṭhrā-esā-ajā-jñā-dvā-svāh 1/3 (used with the signification of 6/3; itar. du.); naṇ-pūrvāṇām 6/3 = naṇ pūrvo yesām (bv.), teṣām; api φ/ (pratyaśthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupah #44 na #45 udićām atah sthāne #46)
‘bhaṣṭhrā, esā, ajā, jñā, dvā, svā’ esām atah sthāne yo’ kāras tasya itvam na bhavatī udićām acāryāyānāṃ matena
A replacement in short i, in the opinion of northern grammarians, does not come in place of an a which replaces ā of bhaṣṭhrā, esā, ajā, jñā, dvā and svā, irrespective of whether they are used in construction after naN.
EXAMPLES:

*bhastrakā* 'she who has a leather bag for carrying water'
*bhastrikā* 'ibidem'
*abhastrakā* 'she who does not have a leather bag for carrying water'
*abhastrikā* 'ibidem'
*eśakā* 'desirous'
*eśikā* 'ibidem'
*ajakā* 'she who has a goat'
*ajikā* 'ibidem'
*anajakā* 'she who does not have a goat'
*anajikā* 'ibidem'
*jānakā* 'she who knows'
*jānikā* 'ibidem'
*ajānakā* 'she who does not know'
*ajānikā* 'ibidem'
*dvakā* 'she who has control over two'
*dvike* 'ibidem'
*svakā* 'she who has control over herself'
*svikā* 'ibidem'
*asvakā* 'she who does not have control over herself'
*asvikā* 'ibidem'

1. Note that this replacement in *i (itva)* does not apply in the opinion of northern grammarians. It still applies in the opinion of Pāṇini. Thus, we get *bhastrakā* and *bhastrikā; abhastrakā* and *abhastrikā*. Note further that *bhastrā* does not have a corresponding masculine form. Our following rule would have thus negated this replacement in *i (itva)*. An inclusion of *bhastrā* in this rule is then made to restrict it to its usage as a compound constituent termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Thus, we get *avidyāmānā bhastrā yasya = abhastrāh* where *bhāstrā* is a secondary constituent. A corresponding derivate of this *bahuvarīhi*, in feminine with *ṬāP*, will be: *abhastrā*. The assignment of the term *upasarjana* to *bhastrā* leads to shortening (*hrasva; 1.2.48 gosṭriyar upasjarjanaśya*) of the final *ā* of *bhastrā* in deriving *abhastrāh*. The feminine affix *ṬāP*, which is introduced after the *bahuvarīhi* compound *abhastrā* to derive *abhastrā*, parallel to *avidyāmānā bhastrā yasyāḥ*, goes through shortening of *7.4.13 ke’ naḥ*. This happens when we introduce affix *ka* to derive *abhastrakā*, or *abhastrikā*, with optional replacement in *i (itva).*

Kāśīkā clearly states that 'the short *a* in place of *ṬāP* which occurs after masculine *abhastra* is brought about by *7.4.13 ke’ naḥ; this *a*-replacement of *ā* does not occur in place of a form which does not have a masculine counterpart' (*bhāṣitpumskād yāṣ ṭāḥ utpadyate tasya ke’ naḥ iti yo hrasvaḥ nāsāv abhāṣitpumskād vihitasyātah sthāne bhavati*). This statement shows how the next rule cannot account for negation of *itva* in a *bahuvarīhi* compound used
with ka (5.3.85 alpe) to derive abhastrikā and abhastракā with TāP, parallel to avidyamānā bhastrā yasyāḥ sa. Thus, (abhastrā→a) + ka) + TāP = abhastrikā / abhastakukan. We similarly get ajā/ ajikā/ ajakā; anajā/ anajikā / anjakā; and (jñā(ā→i) + ka)) + TāP) = jñikā / jñakā; ajñikā / ajñakā.

We get only one form anesakā, because of a lack of replacement in (itva) in (naN + sU) + (eta(d→akAC)d + sU)) TāP)). Since affix TāP here occurs after sU, whether or not a naN-īṣṭpurusa is formed before akAC, asupaḥ negates itva. We similarly get a single obligatory form advake with dvi ‘two’. Recall here that a pronominal, for example sva, is not termed sarvanāman ‘pronominal’ when the denotatum is jñāti ‘clansman’ and dhana ‘property’. We will get two forms svikā and svakā. A negative with affix ka will similarly yield two derivates of TāP: asvikā and asvakā.

This replacement in i (itva) of the northerners is available whether naN is used as a preceding constituent. Thus, asvakā and asvikā. The word api ‘also, even’ makes it possible for itva to also apply when something other than naN precedes, or does not precede at all. Thus, we get nirbhastrikā / nirbhastракā; bahubhastrikā / bahubhastakukan. But we also get svikā and svakā.

The phrase naN-pūrvanām api ‘also of those which are used with (or without) a preceding naN’ is thus used in this rule for making things clearer to slow-wits (mandabuddhi-pratipatyarthat).

PM ad Kāś presents a detailed discussion on whether itva applies to the same ā which goes through shortening. This discussion, especially, concerns interaction between akAC and TāP, on the one hand, and between sUP and naN on the other. Thus,

atrātaḥ sthāna ity etat svasabdasya viśeṣaṇam/
sambhavayabhicārau hi tatra stāḥ kākoḥ satōḥ/ /
dyetadāḥ sambhavo nāsti nānyatra vyabhicāritā/
sarvanāmnah svasabdasya tenāyam vidhīr bhavet/ /
‘from here on, sthāne’ in place of’ is considered a qualifier to the word sva; given the presence of ka and akAC, this qualifier meaning will be present, or there will be a lack thereof; these both are not at all possible; we do not find absence, elsewhere; this operation, therefore, is applicable relative to the pronominal word sva’

7.3.48 अभासितपुमस्काच

abhāśitaṭpaṃskāc ca
/ abhāśitaṭpaṃskāt 5/1 = bhāśitaḥ purmān yena = bhāśitaṭpaṃskāḥ (bv.); na bhāśitaṭpaṃskāḥ (naN. with int. bv.), tasmā; ca φ/
(pratisthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ #44 na #45 udiśam ātaḥ sthāne #46 nāpi pūrvāṇām api #47)
abhāśitaṭpaṃskād vihitaṣyātaḥ sthāne yo’ kāras tasyotām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ihārađeso na bhavati
A replacement in short \( i \) does not, in the opinion of northern grammarians, come in place of an \( a \) which replaces \( ā \), used before \( k \) of an affix of items which do not have a corresponding denotation of a male (\( abhāṣitāpumśka \)), irrespective of whether they are used in construction after \( naN \).

**Examples:**

\[ \text{khaṭvākā 'she who has a cot'} \]
\[ \text{khaṭvīkā 'ibidem'} \]
\[ \text{akhaṭvākā 'she who does not have a cot'} \]
\[ \text{akhaṭvīkā 'ibidem'} \]
\[ \text{paramakhaṭvākā 'she who has the best cot'} \]
\[ \text{paramakhaṭvīkā 'ibidem'} \]

1. Note that \( khaṭvā 'cot' \) is obligatorily feminine. That is, it does not have a corresponding masculine (\( abhāṣitāpumśka \)) form. The forms \( khaṭvākā \) and \( khaṭvīkā \) are derived with affix \( ka \) introduced after \( khaṭvā \). Rule 7.4.13 \( ke 'nah \) orders shortening of the final \( ā \) of \( khaṭvā \) before \( ka \). Affix \( TāP \) is then introduced to derive final bases where optional replacement in \( i \) (\( itva \)) also applies before \( ka \). Affixal operations relative to \( ka \) and \( itva \) are also seen in \( akhaṭvākā \) and \( akhaṭvīkā \), where \( akhaṭvā \) is a negative (\( naN \) \) \( tāpurusā \) compound, paraphrased as \( na khaṭvā \). Examples such as \( paramakhaṭvākā 'excellent cot' \) and \( paramakhaṭvīkā \) involve the formation of a karmadhāraya compound (2.1.61 \( sanmahat . . . \)), paraphrased as \( paramā cāsau khaṭvā ca 'that which is excellent, and is also a cot'.

2. It is stated that this rule must apply with optional \( i \)-replacement (\( itva \)) when shortening applies before affix \( kaP \) (5.4.154 \( sesād vibhāṣā \)), introduced relative to a \( bahuviṛhi \) compound with no corresponding masculine. For, this shortening applies in place of an \( ā \) which occurs as part of a base with no corresponding masculine (\( abhāṣitāpumśka \)). Thus, we get two forms with optional replacement in \( i \): \( na khaṭvā = akhaṭvā, avidyamānā khaṭvā 'syāh = akhaṭvākā / akhaṭvīkā 'she whose there is no cot'. The word khaṭvā, of akhaṭvā after which affix \( ka \) is introduced, is uniquely feminine. This same also applies to \( paramakhaṭvākā \) and \( paramakhaṭvīkā \), where \( ka \) is introduced after the karmadhāraya compound \( paramakhaṭvā \), paraphrased as \( paramā cāsau khaṭvā ca 'that which is best, and is also a cot'. Here again, \( paramakhaṭvā \) is uniquely feminine. That is, in \( paramakhaṭvākā \) and \( paramakhaṭvīkā \), shortening of \( ā \) of \( khaṭvā \) (to \( khaṭvā \)) has applied to a base which does not have a corresponding masculine. Consequently, optional replacement in \( i \) must apply. As against this, when shortening applies to an \( ā \) introduced after a base with a corresponding masculine, this optional \( itva \) must be blocked. Thus, \( avidyamānā khaṭvā asyāh = akhaṭvā, alpā akhaṭvā = akhaṭvīkā \). We cannot get optional \( i \)-replacement of this rule because the \( ā \) which goes through shortening in these examples has been introduced after a \( bahuviṛhi \) with a
corresponding masculine. We also get this same situation in atikrāntā khaṭvāṁ = akhaṭvā 'she who has excelled . . . '; alpā atikhaṭvā = atikhaṭvīkā. Here again, we find ā after that which has a corresponding masculine.

7.3.49 आदाचार्याणाम्

ād ācāryāṇām
/āt 5/1 ācāryāṇām 6/3/
(pratyaśthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupah #44 na #45 udicām ātah sthāne #46 naṁpūrvaṁ āpi #47 abhāṣitaṃskāt #48)
abhāṣitaṃskād ātah sthāne yo' kāras tasyācāryāṇām ākārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in ā, in the opinion of all other grammarians, comes in place of an a which replaces ā, used before k of an affix of items which do not have a corresponding denotation of a male (abhāṣitaṃskā), irrespective of whether they are used in construction after naṅ.

Examples:

khaṭvākā
akhaṭvākā
paramakhaṭvākā

1. Note that the preceding rule negates i-replacement for an a which, in turn, is a replacement of ā introduced after a base not having a corresponding masculine. But since this negation is made in the opinion of northern grammarians, it becomes optional. That is, in the opinion of other grammarians, this i-replacement will apply, obligatorily. Recall also that the a which is here subjected to i-replacement, or its negation, is itself a short counterpart of ā ordered by rule 7.4.13 ke’ ṇaḥ. Our present rule introduces ā, as against i of the earlier rule made optional by way of negation in the opinion of northern grammarians. That is, what should have been a or i, is here replaced with ā. In this sense, it is an exception to the preceding rule. Of course, in the opinion of grammarians other than northerners. But since this replacement in ā goes against the a ordered by 7.4.13 ke’ ṇaḥ, this rule also becomes an exception to 7.4.13 ke’ ṇaḥ (PM: itvāpavādo yam yogah; ‘ke’ ṇaḥ’ iti hrasvāpavādaś ca). One must also remember that all these proposals, i.e., replacement in i (7.3.44 pratyaśthāt kāt pūrvasyātāh . . . ), negation of i by northern grammarians in favor of retention of a (7.4.48 abhāṣitaṃskāc ca), and replacement in ā against retention option of a (7.4.49 ācāryāṇām), are made in connection with an ā introduced after a base with no corresponding masculine. Consequently, we get three forms, exclusively, in the context of a base which does not have a corresponding masculine. Thus, akhaṭvākā / akhaṭvīkā / akhaṭvākā (PM: sarvathā abhāṣitaṃskēṣu tairūpyam).

Questions have also been raised against interpretation of the word ācārya 'preceptor' of ācāryāṇām. Since a reference to northern grammarians is
already made, these grammarians, here referred to in the plural by ācāryāṇāṁ, must be non-northerns. But others say that ācārya refers to Pāṇini’s own teacher, used in the plural for showing respect (PM: aparā āha: ācārasya pāṇiner ya ācāryaḥ sa ihācāryaḥ).

7.3.50 ठस्येकः

thaṣyekeḥ
/ thaṣya 7/1 ikaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

aṅgasya nimittam yaḥ thaḥ tasya prayatayāḥasya ika ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in ika comes in place of tha of an affix which, when follows, conditions assignment of the term aṅga.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣikāḥ ‘he who plays with die’
sālālikāḥ ‘he who plays with ivory sticks’
lāvaṇikāḥ ‘he whose item for sale is salt’

1. There could be two possible interpretations of the word-forms tha and ika. Shall we accept the tha of thaṣya, simply as consonantal ṭh (varṇa-mātra), or as tha, a sequence (sāmghāta) with a? If we accept the first, we cannot justify the genitive specification with thaṣya ‘in place of tha’. If we accept the other, we find over-application (aṭiśrastaṅga) in the Uṇādi-derivate (108: kaṇes thaḥ) kaṃthaḥ. This over-application, however, can be blocked by the bāhulaka ‘variously’ provision of 3.3.1 unādayo bahulam. Accepting th of thaṣya, simply as a consonant (varṇa), will occasion sthāṇivadbhāva ‘treating a sound as what it replaced’, thereby resulting in ka, as a replacement (7.3.51 isusuktāntat khaḥ) for ika, which replaces th in māthitikaḥ. Given, mathita + (tha → ika), rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca deletes the aṅga-final a of mathita. Rule 1.1.56 sthāṇivad ādeśo nāvibhau may then be invoked to, thereby, yield ka as a replacement for ika, viewed as tha. This will produce *māthitakāḥ, a wrong form.

It is stated that an operation applicable to two relata cannot be invoked to impair their relationship. The t of mathit is brought about under the condition of a following vowel-initial ika. The t-final status of mathit cannot be accepted as destroying the vowel-initial status of the affix (PŚ 86: sannipātalaksano vidhir animittaḥ tadvighātasya). This then blocks the replacement in ka. This ka can also be blocked if sthāṇivadhāva is invoked by 1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau. That is, when pūrvavidhau ‘operation on what precedes . . . ’ is interpreted as a paṇcamī-śatpuruṣa compound paraphrased as pūrvasmād uttarsasya vidhau ‘when an operation on what follows, relative to what precedes, is to be performed’. This will remove the t-final status and, consequently, will block ka.

Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) states that tadantavidhi ‘treating x as also that
which ends in \( x \) can be accepted as operative in accepting a specification with sound (varṇa-grahaṇa). But since \( \text{anta} \) in 7.3.35 isuṣṭāntāt ... is used to emphasize \( t \)-final status in upadesa, the \( t \)-final status which results out of the application of 6.4.148 yasyeti ca cannot form the basis for a replacement in \( ka \). That is, \( th \) and \( ik \) alone are given as sthānī ‘that which is replaced’ and ādeśa ‘that which replaces’. The \( a \) of these forms, i.e., \( \text{tha} \) and \( \text{ika} \), is then treated as given for ‘ease of articulation’ (uccāraṇārtha). If this position is accepted then it will also apply to affixes \( \text{ḍha}K \), etc., where \( a \) is not intended for ease of articulation. If \( \text{tha} \) as a whole is accepted as the affix to be replaced, this same interpretation must also apply to \( \text{ika} \), the replacement. The first interpretation will make this replacement available to the final \( th \) of verbal root \( \text{pat}h \) in \( \text{pathitā} \), etc. The second interpretation will make it apply to affix \( \text{athaC} \) (5.2.35 karmanī ghaṭo’ \( \text{ṭha} \) in karmanā ‘diligent’. It is to correct problems encountered in either of these interpretations that the genitive of \( \text{thaśya} \) is interpreted as denoting nimitta-sambandha ‘cause or condition relationship’ and not the avayava-sambandha ‘part (of a whole) relationship’. Thus, \( \text{thaśya} \) means ‘... \( \text{ṭha} \) which conditions assignment of the term \( āṅga \)’. Both of these interpretations are correct, depending on how problems relative to them are resolved. The affix is generally accepted as \( \text{ṭha} \) where \( a \) is not used for articulation.

Our first two examples, i.e.,  ākṣikāḥ and śālālikāḥ, are derivatives of \( \text{ṭha}K \) (4.4.1 prāg vahate ṭhak), introduced after akṣa + bhīs and śalākā + bhīs, paraphrased as aksaṁ dīvyaṁ ‘plays with dice’ and śalākābhīr dīvyaṁ ‘plays with ivory sticks’. Operations such as replacement in ṭika, assignment of the term bhā, and deletion of \( a \) and \( ā \), are then performed to obtain final forms. Our last example, i.e., lāvanikāḥ ‘he whose item of sale is salt’, is a derivative of \( \text{ṭhaN} \) (4.4.52 lanaṇāṭ ṭhaṇ), paraphrased as lāvaṇaṁ panyam asya.

7.3.51 इसुसुकुटन्तात् कः:

\[ \text{isuṣṭāntāt} \text{ kaḥ} \]
\[ /\text{isuṣṭāntāt} 5/1 = \text{is} \text{ ca} \text{ us} \text{ ca} \text{ uk} \text{ ca} \text{ tas} \text{ ca} \text{ (dv.)}; \text{isuṣktam ante yasya saḥ} \]
\[ (\text{āṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{ ṭhasya} \#50) \]
\[ ‘\text{is}, \text{us}’ \text{ ity evamantaṁ ugaṁtāṁ tāntānāṁ cāṅgānāṁ uttarasya ṭhasya} \]
\[ ‘\text{ka}, \text{ity ayam ādeśo bhavati} \]

A replacement in \( ka \) comes in place of \( \text{ṭha} \) which occurs after an \( āṅga \) terminating in \( is, \text{us, uK} \text{ and t} \).

Examples:

sārpiṣkāḥ ‘he whose item for sale is ghee’
dhānuskāḥ ‘he whose weapon is a bow’
yājuskāḥ ‘he who enjoys sacrificial chants’
naisadakarsukah 'he who was born in Nisadakarsu'
sabarajambukah 'he who was born in Sabarajambu'
mayrakam 'that which is inherited from mother'
paitrakam 'that which is inherited from father'
audasvita = 'butter-milk'
shakrithkah 'a calf'

1. This rule offers *ka* as a replacement for *tha*, when the same occurs after some specified bases termed *anga*. We get *sarpis* + *sU + thaK* (4.4.51 *tad asya panyam*), where *ka* replaces *tha*. We similarly get *dhansuka* and *yajasuka*, from *dhanus + Ta + thaK* and *yajus + Ta + thaK* (4.4.2 *tena divyati . . .*), where *ka* also replaces *tha*. The final *s* of these bases goes through *ruta-visarga* and is, subsequently, replaced with *s* (8.4.39 *inah sah*).

Our next two examples, i.e., *naisadakarsuka* and *sabarajambuka*, derive from *nisadakarsu + Ni + thaN* and *sabarajambu + Ni + thaN* (4.2.119 or *de se thaN*), where *thaN* denotes the residual sense (*saishika*) of *tatra jatah* 'born in there', etc. These are examples where the *anga* ends in *UK*. The *anga-final* *u* is replaced with its short counterpart by 7.4.13 *ke' nah*. Affix *thaN* of *matrika* and *paitrya*, where *matri* and *pitr* constitute an *anga* ending in *r*, is introduced by 4.3.37 *tas thaN* with the signification of *tata agatah* 'arrived (received) from there'. Our final two derivates involve bases which end in *t*. The first, *udasvita + Ni + thaK = audasvita*, receives *thaK* with the signification of 4.2.15 *samskrtaḥ bhaksah*. The second, *sakrī + Ta + thaK*, receives its *thaK* with the signification of 4.4.22 *samsṛṣte* 'mixed with'.

2. Why do we not get this replacement in *aśīsā carati = aśīsīkah* and usā carati = ausikah? Because the bases, i.e., *aśīs ← aN + sas* and *us ← vas*, which here qualify to serve as an *anga* are not originally given as such. They result out of rule applications (*lakṣanika*), instead. That is, they are not what the rule requires, via specific enumeration, of bases (*pratipadoka*). For example, *us* of usā results from *samprasāraṇa* of *vas*.

3. A proposal is also made here to allow *ka* after *doṣa* to derive *dorhvaṃ carati = dauskḥaḥ*.

7.3.52 चाहोः कु धिणयतोः:

cahoḥ ku ghinyatoh
/ cahoḥ 6/2 = caś ca jaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ku 1/1 ghinyatoh 7/2 = gh it yasya (bv.); ghit ca nyac ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ/
(aṅgasva #6.4.1)
cakarajakarayoḥ kavargādeśo bhavati ghiti nyati ca pratyaye parataḥ
The final *c* and *j* of an *anga* are replaced with their corresponding sounds denoted by *kU* 'consonants of *k*-series', when an affix marked with *GH* as an *it*, or one constituted by *NyaT*, follows.
EXAMPLES:

\( \text{pākah} \) ‘cooking’
\( \text{tyāgah} \) ‘renunciation’
\( \text{rāgah} \) ‘attachment, color’
\( \text{pākyam} \) ‘that which is cooked’
\( \text{vācyam} \) ‘that which is said; a sentence’

1. This rule allows \( c \) and \( j \) to be replaced with \( k \) and \( g \), respectively. Of course, when an affix marked with \( GH \) as an \( it \), or one constituted by \( \text{NyaT} \), follows. Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.1 \( \text{vṛddhir ādaic} \) for derivational details of examples with \( \text{vṛddhi} \). Affix \( \text{NyaT} \), of \( \text{pākyam} \) and \( \text{vācyam} \), is introduced after \( \text{pac} \) and \( \text{vac} \) by 3.1.124 \( \text{ṛhalor yat} \).

2. Can we invoke \( \text{yathāsaṃkhya} \) ‘assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration of elements’, thereby to replace \( c \) with \( k \), only before an affix marked with \( GH \), and \( j \) with \( g \), only before affix \( \text{NyaT} \)? No. Commentators note that \( \text{yathāsaṃkhya} \) is not accepted here. The \( \text{nīpātana} \) provision of no replacement in \( j \) before \( \text{GHaN} \) serves as a \( \text{jñāpaka} \) ‘indicator’ (7.3.61 \( \text{bhujanyujbajau pānyupatāpayoh} \), 7.3.62 \( \text{prayājānuyājau yajñāinge} \)). Some also cite 4.2.1 \( \text{tena raktam rāgāt} \) as an indicator for no \( \text{yathāsaṃkhya} \).

7.3.53 न्यायकृतानां च

\( \text{nyaṅkvādīnām ca} \)
\( /\text{nyaṅkvādīnām 6/3} = \text{nyaṅkur ādir yeśām (bv.) te, teśām; ca φ/} \)
\( (\text{aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoḥ ku #52}) \)
\( \text{‘nyaṅku’ ity evamādīnām kavargādesa bhavati} \)

A replacement in \( kU \) comes in place of the final sound segment of an \( aṅgā \) enumerated in the list headed by \( \text{nyaṅku} \) ‘deer’, when an affix marked with \( GH \) as an \( it \), or one constituted by \( \text{NyaT} \), follows.

EXAMPLES:

\( \text{nyaṅkuḥ} \) ‘a deer’
\( \text{madguḥ} \) ‘an aquatic bird’
\( \text{bhṛguḥ} \) ‘name of a mythological race’
\( \text{dūrepākah} \) ‘cooking at a distance’
\( \text{phalepākah} \) ‘ripening of fruits on trees’
\( \text{māmsapākah} \) ‘cooking of meat’
\( \text{kāpotapākah} \) ‘cooking of pigeon meat’

1. This rule offers \( kU \)-replacements to items listed in the the group of nominal stems headed by \( \text{nyaṅku} \) (\text{nyaṅkvādi}). Thus, \( (nī-\text{aṅc} + u) \rightarrow (nī-\text{aṅk} + u) \rightarrow n(i→y) a(n→n) ku = \text{nyaṅku} \), where we introduce affix \( u \) (\( \text{Unādi: I.17: nāvaṅcēh} \)). A replacement in \( k \), followed by \( yaN \), and \( \text{parasavarna} \) ‘a single replacement homogeneous with what follows in a vocalic sequence’, etc., of
\( \tilde{n} \) (8.4.57 anusvārasya . . ), produces desired forms. We similarly derive masj + \( u = madgu \), with the \( \text{Unāḍi} \) affix \( u \) (I.7: \( mṛṣītācarīt \) . . ), through a replacement in \( g \) (jaśtva; 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaśi), via \( k \). Thus, \( \text{mas} \{j→k\} + u \rightarrow ma\{s→d\} \{k→g\} + u = madgu \). A similar affix \( u \) (\( \text{Unāḍi} \) I.28: pathimrabhrasjām salopaś ca) is also introduced after bhrasj ‘to roast’ to derive bhṛgu, where \( s \) is deleted.

Derivates such as dūrē pacaye svayam eva = dūrepākah ‘that which ripens at a distance’ and phale pacaye = phalepākah ‘that which ripens in fruition’, involve introduction of affix \( aC \) (3.1.134 nandigrahi . . ). These compounds retain their locative (6.3.14 tatpuruse krti bahulam) and receive \( \text{ṛddhi} \) of their penultimote (upadhā) vowels, via nīpātana. Some also read kṣanepākah ‘that which ripens quickly’ as an example. The last two examples, i.e., mānsapāka ‘meat-cooking’ and kapotapāka ‘pigeon-cooking’, have pāka ‘cooking’ as a following constituent where pac receives affix \( aN \) under the cooccurrence condition of mānsa + am and kapota + am (3.2.1 karnāy aṇ).

### 7.3.54 हो हनेनिन्नेशुरु

\[
\text{ho hanter ſṇinnesu} \\
/ \text{hā} 6/1 \text{hanṭe} h 6/1 \text{nīnnesu} 7/3 = \tilde{nā} s \text{ca} \text{naś ca} = \text{nīn} (\text{itar. dv.}) \\
\tilde{nīn} \text{nau itau yesām te} (\text{bv. with int. dv.}); \text{niśpat te} \text{naś ca} = \text{nīnnāh} (\text{itar. dv.}) \\
tesu/ \\
(\text{aṅgasya} #6.4.1 ku #52) \\
\text{hanter hakārasya kavargādēso bhavati nīti nīti pratitaye parato nakārei ca}
\]

A replacement in \( kU \) comes in place of \( h \) of an aṅga, namely han ‘to harm, kill’, when an affix marked with \( \tilde{N} \) and \( N \), or simply \( N \), as an it follows.

**Examples:**

ghātayati ‘. . . kills’
ghātakah ‘killer’
sādughātī ‘killer of the righteous’
ghātanghātam ‘killing over and over again’
ghāto vartate ‘there is killing going on’
ghnanti ‘they are killing . . .’
ghnantu ‘let them kill’
aghnant ‘they killed (LUṆ)

1. This rule replaces \( h \) with gh, its corresponding sound denoted by \( kU \), when \( n \), or an affix marked with \( \tilde{N} \) and \( N \), follows. Refer to my notes under 7.3.32 hanas . . . for most derivational details. The a of gh(a→ϕ)\( n + \)anti is deleted by 6.4.98 gamahān. . . . Thus, \( (h→gh) n + (a→ϕ) nti = ghnanti \). Similar applications are also witnessed in other examples. Derivates of \( LOT \) have their final i replaced with u by 3.4.86 eruh. This i, however, is deleted in examples of LAṆ, i.e., aghnā, etc. (3.4.100 itaś ca).
2. Why do we have to explicitly specify \( h \)? So that this replacement could be blocked from applying to the final \( n \) of \( \text{han} \) ‘to kill’, in view of 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya.

Why should this \( h \) must be the \( h \) of \( \text{han} \)? So that we do not get this replacement in place of \( h \) of \( \text{pra-hr} + \text{GHaN} = \text{prahāra} \) ‘attack’ and \( \text{pra-hr} + \text{NvnuL} = \text{prahāraka} \) ‘attacker’.

3. Affixes \( \text{Nīt} \) and \( \text{Nit} \) are used as qualifiers to \( \text{han} \). The \( n \) is similarly used as a qualifier to \( h \). Note that this rule will not find any scope of application when \( h \) and \( n \) remain intervened. More directly, this rule cannot apply to replace \( h \) with \( gh \), when an intervening sound is brought, via \( \text{stḥānivadbhāva} \) ‘treating a replacement sound as what it replaced’. Commentators state that this intervention is not acceptable. They, however, accept such interventions if the intervening item is necessary for desired results and also happens to be an original part of \( \text{han} \). Thus, the \( an \) of \( \text{han} \) intervenes between \( h \) and \( aha \) in deriving \( \text{ghātaka} \). This intervention should be accepted for replacing \( h \) with \( gh \) since \( an \) is part of the root. But consider \( \text{hananam icchati} = \text{hananīyatī} \) ‘wishes for killing’ where intervention of \( anīya \) cannot be accepted.

7.3.55 अभ्यासाच

\[ \text{abhyaśa} \, ca \]

\[ /\text{abhyaśā} / \, 5/1 \, ca \phi/ \]

\[ (\text{aṅgasya} \, #6.4.1 \, ku \, #52 \, ho \, \text{hanteḥ} \, #53) \]

\[ \text{abhyaśād} \, \text{uttarasya} \, \text{haner} \, \text{hakārasya} \, \text{kavargādeśo bhavati} \]

A replacement in \( kU \) comes in place of \( h \) of an \( aṅga \), namely \( \text{han} \), even when the same occurs after that which is termed an \( \text{abhyaśa} \) ‘reduplicated syllable’ (6.1.4 \( \text{pūrvo} \) \( \text{bhyāsah} \)).

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{jighāmsati} \, \ldots \, \text{wishes to kill} \]

\[ \text{jaṅghanyate} \, \ldots \, \text{kills over and over again} \]

\[ \text{aḥam} \, \text{jaghaṇa} \, \text{‘I killed’} \]

1. This rule allows a replacement in \( gh \) when \( \text{han} \) occurs after an \( \text{abhyaśa} \) (6.1.4 \( \text{pūrvo} \) \( \text{bhyāsah} \)). Consider \( \text{jighāmsati} \), a derivate of \( (\text{han} + \text{saN}) + (LAT→tiP) \), where the penultimate (\( \text{uṭpadhā} \)) vowel of \( \text{han} \) is replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.16 \( \text{ajjhanaqamāṁ sani} \)). Doubling (\( \text{dvitva} \)) and operations relative to \( \text{abhyaśa} \) (6.1.4 \( \text{pūrvo} \) \( \text{bhyāsah} \)) apply on \( ha + \text{hān} + \text{sa} \). The first \( h \) is replaced with \( j \) (\( \text{jaśtvā}; \, 8.4.53 \, \text{abhyaśe car ca} \)), via \( jh \) (\( \text{cutvā}; \, 7.4.62 \, \text{kuhoś cuh} \)). Thus, \( (h→jh→j) \, a + \text{hān} + \text{saN} → j(a→i) + \text{hān} + \text{sa} = \text{jihān} + \text{sa} \), where \( a \) of \( ja \) is replaced with \( i \) (7.4.79 \( \text{sany atāḥ} \)). Our present rule applies to \( \text{jihān} + \text{sa} \) to replace \( h \) with \( gh \). The \( n \) is replaced with \( \text{anusvāra} \) to produce \( \text{jighibāsa} \), a derived verbal root (3.1.32 \( \text{sanādyantā dhātavaḥ} \)) after which (\( LAT→tiP \)) can be introduced.
Similar rules apply in deriving jaṅghanyate, from \((\text{han} + \text{yaN}) + (\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{te})\)
, where there is no vṛddhi of the penultimate (upadḥā), but where augment nUK is introduced by 7.4.85 nug aṭo 'nunāsikāntasya. The jaghan of aham jaghan is a derivate of LIT where miP-replacement of LIT is replaced with NaL (3.4.82 parasmaipaḍāṇām . . .). The kutva 'replacement in a consonant of k-series' of this rule applies when NaL is optionally not treated as marked with N as an it (7.1.91 naḷ uttamo vā). Acceptance of a Nīt-status would have enabled the preceding rule to accomplish replacement in a consonant denoted by kU (kutva).

2. Note that this kutva applies to h which occurs after the abhyāsa of han termed an anga. Of course, when the affix which conditions assignment of the term anga follows (Kāś: abhyāsanimitte pratyahe hanter angasya yo' bhyāsas tasmād evaitat kutvam). This is why kutva is blocked in hananiyitum icchati = jihananiynchron, a derivate of (hananiya + saN) + LAT. For, it is hananiya, and not han, which is termed an anga. The term anga applies to han before IyuT.

7.3.56 हेरचवि

her acañi
/ heh 6/1 acañi 7/1 = na cañ (nañ. tat.), tasmin /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ku #52 hañ #54 abhyāsā #55)
hinotar hakārasyābhīyāśād uttarasyā kavargādeśo bhavati acañi
A replacement in kU comes in place of h of an anga, namely hi 'to go, incite', when an affix other than CaN (acañi; 3.1.48 niśri . . .) follows.

Examples:

prajīghīṣati 'third singular active derivate of (pra-hi + saN) = prajīghīṣa + (LAT → tiP)'
prajīghīyate'third singular active derivate of (pra-hi + yaN) + (LAT → tiP)'
prajīghāya 'a derivate of pra(hi + (LAT → tiP → NaL))'

1. This rule allows h of verbal root hi(noti) to be replaced with gh when an affix other than CaN (3.1.47 niśri . . .) follows. Consider (pra-hi + saN) + LAT → prajīghīṣati, where 7.2.10 ekāca upadeśe . . . negates introduction of augment iT and 1.2.9 iko jhal negates guna, because saN is here treated as marked with K as an it. The long ī, of pra-h(i → ī) + sa, is gotten, via application of 6.4.16 ajjhanagamam sani. Other operations, i.e., replacement in s (satwa), doubling (dvītva) and abhyāsa 'reduplicated syllable', remain similar to many examples discussed. Our next example, i.e., (pra-hi + yaN) + LAT, has the short of hi replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadātā. The reduplicated syllable (abhyāsa) receives a guna-replacement by 7.4.82 guna yañālukoh. The vṛddhi and ay-replacements in (pra-hi + yaN) = prajīghāya + (LIT → tiP → NaL) is conditioned by NaL, a replacement of LIT (3.4.82 parasmaipaḍāṇām . . .).
2. Why do we state the condition of acani 'when an affix other than CaN follows', when this rule will not apply, anyway. That is, given (pra-hi + NiC + CaN + LIT), hi can be termed an anga before NiC, followed by CaN which conditions the abhyāsa. The condition of acani is stated here to indicate that, elsewhere, in contexts other than those of CaN, kutva 'replacement in a consonant of k-series' applies to a form of hi, inclusive of NiC. Consider (pra-hi + NiC → prahāyi + saN) + LIT) = prajīghāyasyati 'wishes to have someone killed' where kutva applies after doubling, etc. If the condition of acani is not stated, prahāyi would be treated as the anga, and kutva of hi would be blocked.

7.3.57 सन्लितोऽः:

sanliṭor jeh
/san-liṭoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); jeh 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ku #52 abhyāsā#55)

sani liṭ ca prataye jeraṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasmād uttarasya kavargādeśo bhavati

A replacement in kU comes in place of j of ji 'to win' when occurring after the abhyāsa of an anga, provided affixes saN and LIT followed.

Examples:

jīgīsatī 'active derivate of (ji + saN) = jīgīsa + (LIT → tiP)'
jīgāya 'a derivate of ji + NiC with (LIT → tiP → NaL)'

1. This rule allows a replacement in ku after the abhyāsa of an anga constituted by ji. Of course, when saN and LIT follow. Thus, consider jetum icchati = (ji + saN → jīg(i → i) sa + (LIT → tiP)) = jīgī(s → s) ati = jīgīsatī, where j after the abhyāsa is replaced with g before saN. A similar application is also seen in the NiC-derivate of ji when LIT → tiP → NaL follows. Thus, (ji + NiC) = j(i → ai → āy) i + (LIT → NaL) → jīgāya.

Why do we have the condition of sanliṭoh? Consider jeṇyate where yaN follows. Also, consider jyā + (LIT → tas → atus) → jījyatuḥ and ji + (LIT → jhi → us) = jījyuḥ, where verbal root jyā yields the form jī after the application of samprāsāraṇa (6.1.16 grahijāvayi . . .). But since this form results through application of rules (lāksanika), as against given as original, this rule does not apply. We still get jyā + (LIT → atus) = jījyatuḥ and jyā + (LIT → us) = jījyuḥ, where a replacement in yaN is accomplished by 6.4.82 er anekāco samyogapūrvasya.

7.3.58 विभाषा चे:

vibhāsā ceh
/vibhāṣā 1/1 ceh 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ku #52 abhyāsā#55 sanliṭoh #57)
cinoter aṅgasya sanliṭor abhyāsād uttarasya vibhāṣā kavargādeśo bhavati
A replacement in kU comes, optionally, in place of c of verbal root aṅN 'to gather, heap' when occurring after the abhyāsa of an aṅga, provided affixes saN and LIṬ follow.

Examples:

cīḍati 'derivate of (ci + saN) + LAṬ'
cīḷati 'derivate of the preceding with no kU'
cīkāya 'derivate of (ci + (LIṬ→tiP+NaL))'
cīcāya 'derivate of the preceding with no kU-replacement'

1. A provision of kU-replacement, made for aṅN by the preceding rule, is here made optional in case of an aṅga constituted by verbal root ci 'to gather, heap'. A replacement in k for c of aṅN is made because this rule carries the anuvṛtti of cajoh 'in place of c and j' (7.3.52 cajoh ku . . .). Consider cīḷati/cīḍati; and cīcāya/cīkāya, optional forms of LAṬ (with saN) and LIṬ (with NaL), respectively.

This optional replacement in k (kutva) is not allowed in ceciyate 'heaps over and over again', a derivate of LAṬ, where ci occurs before affix yaN.

7.3.59 न क्रादे:

na kvādeḥ
/na ṣ kvādeḥ 6/1 = kuḥ ādir yasya (bu.), tasya/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoh ku#52)
kavargāder dhātōś cajoh kavargādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in kU does not come in place of c and j of a verbal root termed aṅga, when the same begins with kU.

Examples:

kūjāḥ 'nominative singular of (kūj + GHaN) = kūja + sU'
kharjāḥ 'nominative singular of (kharj + GHaN) = kharja + sU'
garjāḥ 'nominative singular of (garj + GHaN) = garja + sU'
kūjyaṃ 'nominative singular of (kūj + NyaT) = kūjya + sU'
khārjyaṃ 'nominative singular of (kūj + NyaT) = khārjya + sU'
garjyaṃ 'nominative singular of (garj + NyaT) = garjya + sU'

1. This rule blocks a replacement denoted by kU (kutva) in case of an aṅga which consists of a verbal root beginning with a kU 'a consonant of k-series'. This negation is offered in view of the positive provision made by 7.3.52 cajoh ku . . . Thus, consider kūj + GHaN (3.3.121 haḷaś ca) = kūja and kūj + NyaT (3.1.124 ṛḥalor . . .) = kūjya, etc.

Incidentally, kūj, khārjA and garjA are used with the meanings of 'indistinct sound', 'be pained' and 'roar', respectively.
7.3.60 अजिव्राज्योष्ठच
ajivrajaś ca
\( aji-vraja-\hat{oh} 6/2 \) (itar. dv.); ca φ/
\( (\text{aṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{cajoh kuḥ} \#52 \text{na} \#59) \)
‘aji, vraji’ ity etayoś ca kavargādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in \( kU \) also does not come in place of \( c \) and \( j \) of an aṅga, namely verbal roots \( ajI \) ‘movement, wander’ and \( vrajI \) ‘to go’.

Examples:

- samājah ‘derivate of (sam-aj + GHaṅ) = samāja + sU’
- udājah ‘derivate of (ud-aj + GHaṅ) = udāja + sU’
- parivrājāh ‘derivate of (pari-vraj + GHaṅ) + sU’
- parivrājayam ‘derivate of (pari-vraj + NyaT) + sU’

1. This rule blocks kutu in case of an aṅga constituted by verbal roots \( ajI \) ‘wander’ and \( vrajI \) ‘go’. Thus, \( \text{sam-aj} + \text{GHaṅ} = \text{samāja} \) and \( \text{ud} + \text{aj} + \text{GHaṅ} = \text{udāja} \) (3.3.69 samudor . . . ). Here again, this negation is made against the positive provision of 7.3.52 cajo kу . . .

Now consider parivrājāh ‘wandering ascetic’ and parivrājyāh ‘to be wandered about’ where, because of a replacement in \( vi \) (3.2.56 ajer vy aghaṅnapoh), we do not get a replacement in \( kU \) before affix NyaT.

7.3.61 भुजन्युब्रजः पान्युपतापयोऽ
bhujanyubjau pānyupatatāpayoh
\( / \text{bhuj-a-nyubjau} 1/2 \) (itar. dv.), pāny-upatāpayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
\( (\text{aṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{cajoh kuḥ} \#52 \text{na} \#59) \)
‘bhuj, nyubja’ ity etau śabdau nipātyete pāṇau upatāpe ca
bhuj and nyubja are derived, via nipātana, when the signification is pāṇi ‘hand, arm’ and upatāpa ‘heat, affliction’, respectively.

Examples:

- bhujah = pāṇih ‘hand’
- nyubjah = nyubjitaḥ (adhomukhāḥ) śerate’ sminn iti ‘that in which they recline face down; an affliction’

1. Consider bhuja (3.3.121 halaś ca), a derivate of bhujyate’ nena = bhuj + GHaṅ ‘that by which is consumed’, where replacement in a consonant of the \( k \)-series (\( kU \); kutu) is blocked, via nipātana. This same is also witnessed in nyubjanty asmin = ni-ubj + GHaṅ. Elsewhere, we will get bhogaḥ ‘that which is consumed; food, pleasure’, and samudgah ‘leaf-bowl, box’ with different denotata.

7.3.62 प्रयाजानुयायतः यजःऽ
\( \text{praya}jānuyājau yajñāṅge \)
/prayājānuyājau 1/2 (itar. dv.) yajñāṅge 7/1 = yajnasya aṅgam (saś. tat.),
tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoh kuh #52 na #59)
prayāja, anuyāja' ity etau nipātyete yajñāṅge
prayāja and anuyāja are derived, via nipātana, when their signification
relates to part of a sacrifice (yajñāṅga).

EXAMPLES:

paṅca prayājāh 'the five sacrificial rituals performed prior to the main
ritual sacrifice'

paṅcānuyājāh 'the five sacrificial rituals performed subsequent to the
main ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that affix GHaN, in prayaj + GHaN and anuyaj + GHaN, is intro-
duced by 3.3.19 akartari ca. . . . An absence of replacement in kU (kutva)
is again accomplished here, via nipātana.

Is this rule formulated only for two derivates, i.e., prayāja and anuyāja?
No. These two are offered by way of illustration (pradarśanārtham). This block-
ing of replacement in kutva, via nipātana, indeed applies, elsewhere, in
derivates such as ekādāṣopayājāh, upāṃśuyājam and patnīsanyājāh, etc.

It is important that the meaning condition, i.e., yajñāṅga 'part of a ritual
sacrifice', must be satisfied. For, elsewhere, we find prayāgah 'name of a
sacrifice' and anuyāgah 'ibidem' with application of kutva.

7.3.63 वान्चरते

vaṅcer gatau
/vaṅche 6/1 gatau 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoh kuh #52 na #59)
vaṅcer angasya gatau vartamānasya kavargādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in kU does not come in place of an aṅga, namely verbal
root vaṅcl, when its signification is gati 'movement'.

EXAMPLES:

vaṅcyam vaṅcanti vaṇijah 'traders go where they should'

1. This rule blocks kutva when an aṅga, particularly vaṅcl 'be crooked,
deceitful', is used with the signification of gati 'movement'. Consider vaṅc +
NyTa = vaṅcyaa. A derivate of GHaN with the signification of a crooked piece
of wood (kuṭilam kāṣtham). This, in turn, will have kutva to yield vaṅkam
'crooked'; and vaṅcyaa + GHaN = vaṅcyaa of vaṅcyam vaṅcayanti vaṇijah 'trader
go to their destinations'.

7.3.64 ओक उच्चः के

oka ucaḥ ke
/okaḥ 1/1 ucaḥ 6/1 ke 7/1 /
(cajōḥ kuḥ #52)
ucer dhātoḥ ke ṭratyaye ‘okaḥ’ iti nipātyate
oka is derived, via nipātana, when affix ka follows verbal root uca ‘be in cohesion’.

Examples:

nyokaḥ śakuntāḥ ‘nyoka is a bird’
nyoko grham ‘nyoka is a house’

1. What is accomplished here, via nipātana? It is replacement in k (kutva) and guna. Thus, nyucanty asmin lokāḥ = ny-u(c→k) + ka = ny(u→o) + ka = nyoka ‘that in which people live’, where 3.1.135 igupadhajnā . . . introduces affix ka.

2. Why do we not derive ni + oka = nyoka with GHaṉ? So that we do not get an initial udātta accent (6.1.197 ōnitiyādir nityam). Remember that oka is desired to be marked with udātta at the end (antodātta).

3. Note that this nipātana is also seen in deriving divaukasa ‘god’ and jalaukasa ‘a leech’ with the Unādi affix asUN, especially in view of 3.3.1 unādayo bahulam).

7.3.65 प्य आव्यक्ते

nya āvaśyake
/nye 7/1 āvaśyake 7/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajōḥ kuḥ #52 na #59)
nye parataḥ āvaśyakeṛ the kavargo na bhavati
A replacement in kU does not come in place of c and j of an aṅga with the signification of āvaśyaka ‘urgent, necessary’ when affix NyaT follows.

Examples:

avaśyapācyam ‘must be cooked’
avaśyavācyam ‘must be said’
avaśyaretcyam ‘must be cleared’

1. This rule blocks c→k and j→g of an aṅga, used with the signification of āvaśyaka ‘necessary’, when affix NyaT follows. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.71 mayuravy amplifyaksādayaś ca. Affix NyaT is introduced in view of 3.1.124 ṭhalor nyat with the signification of āvaśyaka (3.3.171 kṛtyaś ca). The m of āvaśyam ‘definitely’ is deleted in consonance with a desideratum (iṣṭi) of the Mahābhāṣya (ad lumped avasāyah kṛtya tumkāmamanasor api; ad 6.1.144 aparāsparāḥ . . .).

Remember that this replacement in k (kutva) cannot be blocked where the meaning is not āvaśyaka. Thus, consider pākyam ‘to be cooked’ and vākyam ‘to be said; a sentence’.
7.3.66 यज्ञावरुच्चप्रवचर्च्च

yajayācaruca/pravacarcaś ca
/yaja-yāca-ruca-pravaca-ṛcaḥ 6/1 (sam. dv.), tasya; ca ṣa/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoḥ kuḥ #52 na #59 nye #65)
'yaja, yāca, ruca, pravaca, ṛca' ity eteśām nye parataḥ kavargādēśo bhavati
A replacement in kU does not come in place of c and j of an ṣanga, namely verbal roots yajA 'to sacrifice', yācA 'to beg', ruca 'to like, be agreeable', pravacA 'to proclaim' and ṛcA 'to praise, adore', when affix NyaT follows.

EXAMPLES:

yājyaṁ 'to be sacrificed'
yācyaṁ 'to be begged'
rocyam 'to be liked'
pravacyaṁ 'to be proclaimed'
aroxyam 'to be praised, worshiped'

1. This rule further widens the scope of non-application of replacement in kU (kutva). A specification of vac, used with the preverb pra, is made to restrict the derivate to the meaning of a text with particular recitation (pravacigranānam sabdasamjñārtham). For, this negation of kutva could be available to vac from 7.3.67 vaco śabdasamjñāyām. Some do not accept this reference to a particular text. They, however, insist that pra-vac is specified to restrict the derivate to the usage of vac with pra, alone. Thus, consider avivācyam where kutva applies since no pra is used. But this happens only when a special meaning, i.e., use on the tenth ritual of the tenth night, is denoted in addition. Thus, we also get avivācyam where no special meaning is intended.

Note also that affix NyaT could be introduced after a verbal root with ṛ in its upadha 'penultimate position', at the strength of this very rule. That is, ḋyaP of 3.1.110 ṛd upadhaḥ. . . . is not accepted.

2. A proposal is also made to include tyaj 'to abandon' in this list of negation of kutva before NyaT. Thus, consider tyājyaṁ 'to be abandoned'.

7.3.67 वचोवाच्चप्रवचर्च्च

vaco śabdasamjñāyām
/vacah 6/1 aśabdasamjñāyām 7/1 = śabdasya samjñā (ṣaṣ. tat.), na śabdasamjñā ((nañ. tat. with int. ṣaṣ. tat.), tasyāṁ)
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoḥ kuḥ #52 na #59 nye #65)
vaco śabdasamjñāyāṁ nyati parataḥ kavargā na bhavati
A replacement in kU does not come in place of c and j of an ṣanga, namely verbal root vac 'to speak', when affix NyaT follows, provided sabdasamjñā 'assignment of name to a linguistic item' is not involved.
Examples:

\( \text{vācyam āha} \) ‘he said what should be said’
\( \text{avācyam āha} \) ‘he said what should not be said’

1. Consider \( \text{vākyam} \) ‘a sentence’ which, in turn, is name of this utterance (\( \text{śabdasamjñā} \)). This kutva of \( \text{c} \), of \( \text{vac} \) before \( \text{NyaT} \), cannot be blocked because \( \text{vākya} \) is a name. Thus, we also get \( \text{avaghuśītām vākyam āha} \) ‘spoke very loudly’. Elsewhere, outside the meaning of \( \text{śabdasamjñā} \), we get \( \text{vācyā} \) ‘worth saying’ with no replacement in \( \text{kU} \) (kutva).

7.3.68 प्रयोग्यनियोज्याः राशियाः

\( \text{prayojaniyojyau sakyārthe} \)
\( \text{prayojya-niyojyau 1/2 (itar. dv.), tāu, sakyārthe 7/1 = sakyō \text{ rthāḥ (karma. tāt.), tasmin/} \)
\( \text{(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoh kuh #52 na #59 nye #65)} \)
\( \text{‘prayojya, niyojya’ ity etau śabdau sakyārthe nipātyete} \)
\( \text{prayojya and niyojya are derived, via nipātana, when sakyā ‘possible’ is the signification.} \)

Examples:

\( \text{prayojyah = sakyah prayoktum ‘fit to be used’} \)
\( \text{niyojyah = sakyō niyoktum ‘fit to be appointed’} \)

1. Note that \( \text{NyaT (3.3.124 rhalor nyat)} \) is used here with the signification of \( \text{sakyam ‘possible’}, \text{in view of 3.3.172 saki tiṇ ca}. \text{We will get prayogyah ‘deserving of usage’ and niyogyah ‘deserving of appointment’, outside the meaning of sakyam ‘possible’}. \)

7.3.69 भोज्य भक्ष्ये

\( \text{bhoyam bhaksye} \)
\( / \text{bhoyam 1/1 bhaksye 7/1/} \)
\( \text{(aṅgasya #6.4.1 cajoh kuh #52 na #59 nye #65)} \)
\( \text{bhoyam nipātyate bhaksye’ bhidheye} \)
\( \text{A form such as bhoya is derived, via nipātana, when the signification is bhaksya ‘edible’}. \)

Examples:

\( \text{bhoya odanah ‘rice for eating’} \)
\( \text{bhoyā yavāgūh ‘barley-gruel for eating’} \)

1. The word \( \text{bhaksya} \) is used here only in the sense of \( \text{abhyavahārya} \) ‘that which is fit for eating; edible’. Thus, we will get \( \text{bhogyah kambalah ‘a blanket to be enjoyed’}, \text{outside the meaning of bhoyam}. \)
7.3.70 घोरलोपो लेटि वा

ghor lopo leti vā
gho[h 6/1 lopah 1/1 leti 7/1 vā ō/ (āṅgasya #6.4.1)
ghusamijñakānām leti parato vā lopo bhavati

A deletion by means of LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga termed ghu (1.1.20 dādhā ghu adāp) when LET follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadhād ratnāni dāsūśe 'let him give jewels to the donor'
somō dadad gandharvāyā 'let Soma offer (her) to Gandharva'

1. Consider (dadhā + (ŚaP→ŚLU) + (LET→tiP)) = dadhā + ti, where ŚaP, after ḍūdān 'to give', gets replaced with ŚLU and doubling is accomplished in view of 6.1.10 ślaū. Introduction of aT (3.4.94 lto’ dāṭau), deletion of ā (by this rule), and i of ti (by 3.4.100 itaś ca), produces dadh(a→φ) + a + t(i→φ) = dadhat. We similarly get dadat from dā + LET. Note that an introduction of augment āT will still produce dadhāt and dadāt. The vā ‘option(al)’ of this rule makes it clear.

7.3.71 ओत: र्यनि

otah śyani
/otah 6/1 śyani 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 lopah #70)
okārantasyāṅgasya śyani parato lopo bhavati

A deletion by means of LOPA comes in place of the final o (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) of an āṅga ending in oT, when ŚyaN follows.

EXAMPLES:

niṣyati ‘... sharpens’
avacchyati ‘... cuts’
avadyati ‘... divides’
avasyati ‘... terminates’

1. This rule deletes the final o of an āṅga before ŚyaN (3.1.69 divādibhyah śyan). Thus, consider ni-ś(o→φ) + ŚyaN + (LOT→tiP) = niṣyati. Similar derivational details can be offered for other examples. Incidentally, taparakaraṇa ‘making t to follow’ (1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) in ot, of otah, is used for ease of articulation (mukhasukhārtham).

7.3.72 कसास्याचि

ksasya āci
/ksasya 6/1 āci 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 lopaḥ #70)
ksasyājādau prataye lopo bhavati
A deletion by means of LOPA comes in place of Kṣa of an aṅga when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Examples:

adhukṣātām ‘third person dual middle form of duḥ ‘to milk’ in LUN; . . . those two milked’
adhuksāthām ‘second person dual middle form of duḥ in LUN’
adhuksi ‘first person singular middle . . .’

1. Refer to derivational details of adhukṣat (appendix, III:719). Examples of this rule can be derived with third person dual middle ending ātām and second person dual middle ending āthām, following similar rule applications. The third example adhukṣi is derived with the first person singular middle ending iṭ. Note that Kṣa is a replacement of CLI before LUN (3.1.45 śala igupadhād . . .).

2. Why do we have the condition of ači ‘when an affix beginning with a vowel follows’? Consider adhukṣat where Kṣa cannot be deleted because tīp follows beginning with a consonant.

Why is a specification with sa made preceded by K? So that this deletion does not apply in utsa + au → utsaun and utsa + jas = uṭsāh ‘springs of water’; vatsa + au = vatsau ‘two calves’ and vatsa + jas = vatsāh ‘calves’. These derivatives have affixes which begin with a vowel, but they do not have the sa of Kṣa.

7.3.73 लुक दुहदिहलिहुगिहामात्मनेपे दन्त्ये
lug vā duhadihalihauguham ātmanepade dantye
/lu/ 1/1 vā duha-diha-liha-guham 6/3 (itar. dv.) ātmanepade 7/1 dantye
7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ksasya #72)
‘duha, diha, liha, guha’ ity eteśām aṅgānām ātmanepade dantyādau parataḥ
ksasya vā lug bhavati
A deletion by means of LUK comes, optionally, in place of kṣa of an aṅga, namely duḥa ‘to milk’, diḥa ‘to smear’, liḥa ‘to lick’ and guḥ ‘to hide’, when an ātmanepada affix beginning with a dental sound segment follows.

Examples:

adugdha ‘third person singular middle LUN-derivate of duḥ’
adhuksat ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’
adugadhā ‘second person singular middle LUN-derivate of duḥ’
adhuksathāh ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’
adugdhvam ‘second person plural middle LUN-derivate of duḥ’
adhukṣadvaham 'ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa'
aduḥvähi ‘first person singular middle LUṆ-derivate of duḥ'
adhukṣāvahī ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’
adigdha ‘third person singular middle LUṆ-derivate of diḥ'
adhukṣatā ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’
alādhā ‘third person singular middle . . . of liḥ'
alikṣatā ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’
nyagūḍha ‘third person singular middle . . . of ni-gūḥ'
nyadhukṣatā ‘ibidem; with no deletion of Kṣa’

1. Refer to derivational details of \((aT + (d→dh) u(h→gh) + (CLi→Kṣa) + (LUṆ→ta) \rightarrow adugdha)\), in the appendix (III:724). We will get adugkṣata if this optional deletion of Kṣa is not accepted. Similar forms with thāṣ ‘second person dual middle’ and dhvam ‘second person plural middle’ can be derived with optional deletion of Kṣa. Thus, adugdhāḥ / adugkṣathāḥ; adugdhvam adhukṣadvaham. We get a long replacement (7.3.101 ato dirgho yaṇi) in the first person dual middle with vahi, when Kṣa is optionally not deleted. Thus, aduḥvähi and adhukṣāvahī. Incidentally, v, a labio-dental, is accepted as dental for purposes of this rule (dantyoṣṭhyo’ pi vakāro dantya iti grhyate). Forms of diḥ, liḥ and guḥ follow similar derivational patterns. Note, however, that, given aT + liḥ + (CLi→Kṣa→ϕ) + ta, we get ali(h→dh) + (t→dh→dh) a = aliḍh + dha. That is, h and t are replaced with dh (8.2.31 ho dhāḥ); and t (8.2.40 jhaṣastathor . . .). The t of ta is first replaced with dh and then replaced with dh, via dh, through śutva (8.4.41 śunā śtuḥ). The first dh is deleted by 8.3.13 dho ḍhe lopaḥ. The i of li(dh→ϕ) + dha is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.11 dhralohe pūrvasya. . .

2. Our rule uses LUK, as against LOPA, to indicate that deletion applies to the form, in toto (sarvaśeṣa). That is, especially in connection with vahi (Kāś: lope iti vartamāne luggrahaṇaṃ, tac ca vahyartham). Elsewhere, after deletion of the final a, s can be deleted by 8.2.26 jhalo jhalī. One cannot here invoke the sthāṇivadbhāva ‘treating the replacement as what it replaced’ of deleted a. For, sthāṇivadbhāva does not apply in this context of suspension (asiddhatva) by 8.2.1 pūrvatṛsiddham (Kāś: lope iti vartamāne luggrahaṇaṃ sarvādeśārtham, tac ca vahyartham; anyatra tv antyasyaiva lope kyte ‘jhalo jhalī’ iti sakāralopena siddhyati; sthāṇivadbhāvo’ pi akāralopasya nāsti- pūrvatṛsiddhe na sthāṇivad iti).

7.3.74 शास्त्रास्त्रानां दीर्घ: श्यनि

śāmāṃ aṣṭānāṃ dirghāḥ śyāni
/śāmāṃ 6/3 aṣṭānāṃ 6/3 dirghāḥ 1/1 śyāni 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
śāmadīnāṃ aṣṭānāṃ dirgho bhavati śyāni parataḥ

A long vowel comes in place of the short of an aṅga, namely of those
eight enumerated in the list headed by śam ‘be tranquil’, when affix ŚyaN follows.

EXAMPLES:
śāmyati
tāmyati
dāmyati
śrāmyati
bhrāmyati
kṣāmyati
klāmyati
mādyati

1. A specification with plural of śamām aṣṭāṇām ‘of eight enumerated beginning with śam, etc.’ gives us the sense of śamādi ‘beginning with śam’. Thus, we get ś(a→ā)m + ŚyaN + ti = śāmyati, etc. The eight roots enumerated here are: śamU‘to be tranquil’; tamU‘to be weary’; damU‘to subdue’; śramU ‘to be fatigued’; bhramU‘to wander, be mistaken’; kṣamU‘to endure’; klamU ‘be tired’; madī ‘to be glad’.

2. Why just eight (aṣṭāṇām)? Consider asyati where as ‘to throw’ cannot qualify for this long replacement because it is not included within the enumerated eight. The bhram of bhramati can also not qualify for lengthening since there is no ŚyaN to follow. Note, however, that ŚyaN is here made optional by 3.1.70 vā bhṛṣaśabhlāśbhramu.

7.3.75 विभुक्ति-क्लङ्खर शिखति
śṭhivuklāmyācāmāṃ śiti
/śṭhiv-klamv-ācām 6/3 (itar. dv.); śiti 7/1 = śakāra it yasya (bv.),
tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 dīṛghaḥ #74)
śṭhivu, klamu, ācam’ ity eśāṃ dīṛgho bhavati śiti parataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of the short of an āṅga, namely ŚṭhivU ‘spit out’, klamU‘to be tired’, and ācam ‘to sip’, when an affix marked with S as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:
śṭhivati ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of thīv’
klāmati ‘… of klam’
ācāmati ‘… of a-cam’

1. The long replacement of the earlier rule is extended to contexts where an affix marked with S as an it follows. Verbal root klam is here included so that a long replacement can be availed before ŚaP. For, it is already made available before ŚyaN by the preceding rule. Verbal root cam must be used
with the preverb āN (ā-cam) to qualify for this replacement. Elsewhere, we will still get camati and vicamati.

7.3.76 क्रम: परस्मैपदेशु

kramah parasmaipadesu
/kramah 6/1 parasmaipadesu 7/3/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 dīrghaḥ #74)
kramah parasmaipadapare siti parato dīrgho bhavati
A long vowel comes in place of the short of an aṅga, namely kram, when a parasmaipada affix marked with Ś as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

krāmataḥ ‘... of kram + (LAṬ→tas)’
krāmati ‘derivate of kram + (LAṬ→tiP)’
krāmati ‘... of kram + (LAṬ→jhi)’

1. Note that these three are all third personal active ŚaP derivates of kram with LAṬ. We can also get three optional derivates with ŚyaN. For, ŚyaN is offered as an option to ŚaP (3.1.70 vā bhṛāśbhlaśabhramukramu ...).

2. Why do we have the condition of parasmaipade when an active ending follows? Because this lengthening will be blocked when a middle (ātmanepada) ending follows. Consider ākramate ādityah ‘the sun is moving upward’ where ā-kram qualifies for an ātmanepada replacement of LAṬ, in view of the meaning condition of udgamana ‘moving upward’ (1.3.40 āṅ udgamane).

It is stated that this lengthening cannot be blocked in deriving the second person singular present indicative middle forms uktṛ(a→ā) m + ŚaP + (LAṬ→si→hi→ϕ) = uktṛama and samkrāma. For, the term aṅga is assigned relative to ŚaP, and not relative to hi which goes through deletion (6.4.105 ātō heṭ).

7.3.77 इषुगमियमा छः:

iṣugamiyamāṁ chaḥ
/iṣu-gami-yamām 6/3 (itar. dv.), chaḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sitī #75)
‘iṣu, gamī, yama’ ity etesāṁ sitī parataḥ chakārādeśo bhavati
A ch comes in place of an aṅga, namely iṣU ‘to desire’, gamI ‘to go’ and yamaA ‘to strive’, when an affix marked with Ś as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

icchatī ‘third singular active LAṬ-derivate of iṣ’
gacchatī ‘... of gam’
yacchatī ‘... of yam’

1. This replacement comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga
in consonance with 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya. Note that is should be accepted here as marked with U as an it (udi), a root listed in the class headed by tud (tudādi). Thus, we do not get this replacement in isyat and isnāti (a root of the divādi or kṛyādi class) where is is not accepted as marked with U as an it.

Those who do not read isU as marked with U as an it, carry aci, via anuvṛtti from 7.3.72 ksasyāci. They qualify aci with śiti to avail an interpretation as follows: 'an affix which is marked with Ś as an it (Śiti) and is constituted by a vowel'. The final sound of the aṅga before such an affix is then replaced with ch. This interpretation does not allow tadādividhi 'interpreting a specified x as also referring to that which begins with that'. Consider ŚānaC which is marked with Ś as an it and begins with a vowel. It is because of non-acceptance of tadādividhi that we get (is + (Śnā → ŚānaC) + (siP → hi)) = is + āna + hi = iṣāna + sU = iṣānah. That is, we get Śnā (3.1.81 kṛyādibhyah śnā) replaced with ŚānaC (3.1.83 halah śnā ...). The second person singular active ending siP is, of course, replaced with hi (3.4.87 ser hy ...). Rule 6.4.105 ato heḥ subsequently applies LUK-deletion on hi to produce iṣāna, with an additional application of replacement in ṇ for n. Notice that we do not get ch as a replacement for the final of the aṅga when an affix marked with Ś, and beginning with a vowel, follows. That is, the replacement is blocked because an affix constituted by a vowel and marked with Ś as an it does not follow. It makes clear that tadādividhi is not possible with aci as a qualified principal.

Refer to gacchanti of vyatigacchanti (under 1.3.15 na gati ...) for derivational details.

7.3.78 पापाध्यायाक्तान्तर्मम् शर्तनात्सर्वप्राप्तिः सदां प्यक्षिप्रधानप्रतिनिधिकृताप्रभावप्रभाववृध्धिशील:

pāghṛādhmāsthāmnādṛṣyarttisarttisadasadāṃ pibajighradhamaṭiṣṭha-
manayachapasyarchadhauṣūyasidāḥ
tesām, piba-jighra-dham-a-tiṣṭha-mana-yaccha-paśya-rccha-dhau-śīya-sidāḥ 1/
3 (itar. dv.), te/
'pā, ghrā, dhmā, sthā, mnā, dān, dṛṣi, arttī, śada, sada' ity eteśām 'piba,
jighra, dhama, tiṣṭha, mana, yaccha, paśya, rccha, dhau, śīya, sida' ity ete
ādeśā bhavanti śiti paratah
sida, come in place of an aṅga, namely pā 'to drink', ghrā 'to smell',
dhmā 'to blow', sthā 'to stand, remain', mnā 'to think, meditate', dān
'to give', dṛṣi 'to see', arttI (ṛ) 'to go', sṛ 'to go', sādA 'to sharpen' and
sādA 'to break in pieces', in this order of enumeration, when an affix
marked with Ś as an it follows.

Examples:
pibati
jighrati
1. The examples, except for the middle siyate, are all third person singular active LAT-derivates of respective verbs.

2. This rule offers eleven replacements to an equal number of specified roots when an affix marked with Ś as an it follows. Thus, pā gets replaced with pib, etc., following the order of enumeration in the two sets. Verbal root sadA here refers to sadLR of both the bhvādi and tudādi classes. Note also that pib may qualify for penultimate guna (laghūpadhaguna). But since its specification is made with pibA, and not pebA, this guna is not accomplished. Verbal root śr is desired to be replaced with dhāvA when the specification happens to be: vediśayām gatau ‘moving with speed’. Elsewhere, we will not get this replacement.

Notice that only one atmanepada example is offered here. This is needed in case of śad, as per the obligatory requirement of 1.3.60 sadeḥ sitah.

7.3.79 ज्ञानोजिः

/jñājanor jā /
/ jñā-janoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; jā 1/1 (deleted) /
(aṃgasya #6.4.1 śīti #75)
‘jñā, jana’ ity etayor jādeśo bhavati śīti parataḥ

A replacement in jā comes in place of an aṅga, namely jñā ‘to know’ and jana ‘to be born’, when an affix marked with Ś as an it follows.

Examples:

jānati ‘. . . knows’
jāyate ‘. . . comes into existence’

1. Note that jan is here interpreted as the divādi root janī prādurbhāve ‘to come into being’. Thus, (jñā→jā) + Śnā + (LAT→tiP) = jānāti and (jan→jā) + Śyan + (LAT→(ta→te))) = jāyate.

7.3.80 प्रादीनां हस्यः:

प्रदीनिमह्रसवह
/pv-ādinām 6/3 = pūh ādir yesām (bv.). teśām; hrasvah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sīti #75)
‘pū’ ity evamāदिनां hrasvo bhavati
A replacement in short (hrsva) comes in place of an aṅga, namely that which is listed beginning with pū to cleanse’, when an affix marked with Š as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

puṇāti ‘. . . cleanses’
lunāti ‘. . . cuts’
strṇāti ‘. . . covers’

1. The puṇāti ‘pū, Š and others’ are listed as part of the kṛṣṭi class. Some consider this puṇāti listing to include roots enumerated through the end of this class. But this will then include jan which, with its specification with jā, will come into conflict with short replacement here. It is stated that the long ā of jā will prevail on the basis of this express mention of Pāṇini. Or else, jan will also have this replacement in short which, subsequently, will become long with the application of 7.3.101 ato dīrgho yaṅī. This can still derive (jan→ ja→ jāyate).

7.3.81 मीनतेनिंगाये

mīnāter nigame
/mināteh 6/1 nigame 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sīti #75 hrasvaḥ #80)
mīnāter aṅgasya hrasvo bhavati nigamaviṣaye
A replacement in short comes in place of an aṅga, namely mīṅ ‘to injure, destroy’, when an affix marked with Š as an it follows and the usage is part of nigama ‘Vedic utterance’.

EXAMPLES:

pramīṇānti vratāni

1. This rule allows shortening in the nigama (Vedic) usage when verbal root mīṅ ‘to injure’ occurs with a following affix marked with Š as an it. Consider pramīṇānti from (pra-mī + (Lāṭ→jhi→anti) →pra-mī + Śnā + anti), where this rule causes the shortening of root-final long ā. Incidentally, the ā of Śnā is deleted by 6.4.112 śnābhyaṣṭayor ātah. A replacement in n (nātva) is then accomplished for the n of Śnā by 8.4.15 hinumēnā. We will get pramīṇānti, with no shortening, outside the usage of the nigama.

2. The word nigama is explained as ‘that which makes the meaning of a mantra manifest’. It is thus used in the sense of Vedas in general and a Vedic utterance in particular.

7.3.82 मिदेरगुन:}

mider guṇah
/mideh 6/1 gunãh 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sīti #75)
mider aṅgasyeko guñô bhavati sīti pratyahe paratah

A replacement in guña comes in place of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK of an aṅga, namely mid ‘to be oily, affectionate’, when an affix marked with Ś as an it follows.

Examples:

medyati ‘third singular active LAṬ-derivate of mid’
medyataḥ ‘third dual active . . .’
medyanti ‘third plural active . . .’
midyate ‘third singular middle LAṬ-derivate with yaK’

1. Refer to derivational details of derivates with guña under the appendix of 1.1.3 iko gunavṛddhi (1.1.3 iko gunavṛddha). Note that mid is here interpreted as a divādi root. That is, it is not the miN of the bhvādi. For, the bhvādi root will get ŚaP and will avail the penultimate guña of 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca. The mid of the divādi group cannot qualify for guña because of its ŚyaN treated as marked with N (1.2.4 sārvadhatukam apit; 1.1.5 kniti ca). This rule makes it possible for the divādi root to avail guña. This guña is blocked due mainly to yaK when the signification is bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karman ‘object’. Thus, m(ī→e)d + ŚyaN + tiP = medyati, medyataḥ and medyati; and mid + yaK + te = midyate.

2. Why was this specification not made as miñah? It was made as a stylistic variation (vaicityārtham), instead.

7.3.83 jūsi ca

/jusí 7/1 ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 guñah #82)
justi ca pratyahe parata igantasyāṅgasya guño bhavati

A replacement in guña comes also in place of an iK-final aṅga when affix jus follows.

Examples:

ajuhanuh ‘third person plural active LAÑ-derivate of hu ‘to call’’
abhbhayuh ‘third person plural active LAÑ-derivate of bhṛN ‘to fear’’
abhbharuḥ ‘third person plural active LAN-derivate of bhṛN ‘to support, hold ’’

1. This provision of guña is made against negation of 1.1.5 kniti ca, based on N as an it (Nīt) status of jus (1.2.4 sārvadhatukam apit). Note that jus (3.4.108 jher jus) here refers to a replacement of jhi (3.4.109 sīj abhyastavidibhyaś ca). Refer to derivational details of abbhayuh, etc., under the appendix (III:785-86) of 3.4.109 sīj abhyastavidibhyaś ca.
2. How come this guna does not apply in ci + (LUṆ→jhi→Jus) = ci + Śnu + yāsUṬ + us = cinu + yās + us and su + nu + yās + us? Note that there are two Nīt statuses involved. One with reference to the sārvadhatukā affix us and the other with reference to yāsUṬ. The Nītva conditioned by the sārvadhatukā affix will apply everywhere to block guna. The guna provision, expressly made by this rule under the condition of us, will then only block negation of guna conditioned by the sārvadhatukā affix marked with Naś an it. It cannot block negation of guna conditioned by yāsUṬ. For, such a guna is conditioned by prāpti ‘availability’ and ‘non-availability’ (aprāpti), as in cinuyuh and ajuhavuh, respectively. A negation conditioned by Nītva of yāsUṬ is, thus, not blocked. Consequently, there is no guna (Kāś. latra nāprāpte sārvadhatukāśrayaṇītvanīmitte pratiśedhe jusi guna āraḥhyamānas tam eva bādhate. yāsūḍāḥṣrayaṇītvanīmitam tu tatra na bādhate tatra hi prāpte cāprāpte cāraḥhyata iti).

Incidentally, the s of yāsUṬ (3.4.103 yāsūṭ parasmaipade . . . ) is deleted by 7.2.79 līnāḥ salopah. . . . The ā of cinu + yā(s→φ) + us = cinu + y(ā + u→u) s, goes through a single replacement in u (6.1.96 usy apadāntāi). Thus, cinuyu (s→r→h) = cinuyuh and sunuyuh.

Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for details on how carrying aci from 7.3.78 ksasyāci accounts for no guna in cinuyuh and sunuyuh.

7.3.84 सार्वधातुकार्थाधातुकयोः:

sārvadhatukārdhadhatukayoh
/sārvadhatukārdhadhatukayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(angasya #6.4.1 gunaḥ #82)
sārvadhatuke ārdhadhatuke ca pratyayē parata igantasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati
A replacement in guṇa comes in place of the iK vowel of an aṅga when an affix termed sārvadhatuka (3.4.113 tiṃśita . . . ), or ārdhadhatuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhatukam . . . ), follows.

Examples:

tarati ‘. . . floats’
nayati ‘. . . leads’
bhavati ‘. . . becomes’
kartā ‘doer’
cetā ‘he who heaps’
stotā ‘he who praises’

1. An aṅga which ends in a sound denoted by iK receives a replacement in guṇa when an affix termed sārvadhatuka (3.4.113 tiṃśita sārvadhatukam) and ārdhadhatuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhatukam śesah) follows. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (II:327-30) of rule 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇaḥ.

2. Why is this specification made expressly with sārvadhatukārdhadhatukayoh? Because guna would have applied also in agnitvam and agnikāmyati
if this specification was made, for example, with \textit{pratyaye} 'when an affix follows' and \textit{sani} 'when an affix denoted by \textit{saN} follows'. That is, when affixes \textit{tva} and \textit{kama} followed. Incidentally, \textit{saN} of \textit{sani} is an abbreviatory term referring to affixes enumerated beginning with \textit{saN} (3.1.5 \textit{guptjikidbyah} \ldots) through \textit{mahiN} (3.4.78 \textit{tiptsjhi} \ldots \textit{mahiN}).

7.3.85 \textbf{Jāyopāyātvichāraṇālīkātsu}

\textit{jāgro}’ \textit{viciñNaṁnītsu}  
\[ /jāgraḥ 6/1 \text{ a}viciñNaṁnītsu 7/3 = \text{ni} \text{t} \text{yasya} \text{sa} = \text{ni} \text{t} (\text{bv.}); \text{vi} \text{s} \text{ca} \text{ci} \text{n} \text{ca} \text{na} \text{l} \text{ca} \text{ni} \text{t} \text{ca} (\text{ita} \text{r.} \text{dv.}); \text{na} \text{viciñNaṁnītāh} (\text{na}ñ. \text{ta}t.), \text{te}ṣu/ \]
\[ (\text{āngasa} \#6.4.1 \text{go}\text{n}uNah \#82 \text{sārvadhātukār dhadhātukayoḥ} \#84) \]
\[ ‘jāgr \text{etasyāṅgasya} \text{guna bhava}ūt \text{a}viciñNaṁnītsu \text{parataḥ} \]
\ A replacement in \textit{guna} comes in place of the \textit{iK} of an \textit{ānga}, namely \textit{jāgr} ‘to remain awake’, when an affix termed \textit{sārvadhātuka} and \textit{ārdadhātuka}, with the exception of \textit{vi} (\textit{Unādi}), \textit{CiN} (3.1.66 \textit{cin bha}v{	extit{aka}r}maṇayoḥ), \textit{NaL} (3.4.82 \textit{paras}maipadānām \ldots), or one marked with \textit{N} as an \textit{it}, follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{jāgarayatī} ‘causal third person singular \textit{LA}T-derivate of \textit{jāgr}’
  \item \textit{jāgarayataḥ} ‘causal third person dual \ldots’
  \item \textit{jāgarakaḥ} ‘nominative singular \textit{Nv}uL-derivate of causative \textit{jāgr}’
  \item \textit{sādhujāgari} ‘\textit{upapada} compound with \textit{sādhuv} + \textit{Ninl} + \textit{jāgr}’
  \item \textit{jāgaramjāgaram} ‘\textit{jāgr} + \textit{Namul} (with doubling)’
  \item \textit{jāgaro} (\textit{vartate}) ‘(\textit{jāgr} + \textit{GH}aN) + \textit{sU})’
  \item \textit{jāgaritaḥ} ‘(\textit{jāgr} + \textit{K}i\text{a}) + \textit{sU}’
  \item \textit{jāgaritavān} ‘\textit{jāgr} + \textit{Kt}u\text{t}aU’
\end{itemize}

1. Note that this \textit{guna} applies in \textit{jāgr} + \textit{NiC} + \textit{LA}T = \textit{jāgarayati} ‘wakes someone up’, \textit{jāgr} + \textit{Nv}uL = \textit{jāgaraka} ‘he who wakes’ and \textit{sādhuv} + \textit{jāgr} + \textit{Ninl} = \textit{sādhujāgari} ‘beautiful wake’ before affixes shown. A similar \textit{guna} applies in \textit{jāgr} + \textit{Namul} = \textit{jāgaramjāgaram}, with doubling (\textit{dv}itva), and \textit{jāgr} + \textit{GH}aN = \textit{jāgara} ‘waking up’. These are all instances of \textit{guna} against \textit{vṛddhi}. An application of this \textit{guna} is made possible in \textit{jāgr} + \textit{Kta} = \textit{jāgarita} ‘awake’ and \textit{jāgr} + \textit{Kt}u\text{t}aU = \textit{jāgaritavat}, with augment \textit{iT}, against negation of \textit{guna} due mainly to affixal status of \textit{K} as an \textit{it} (\textit{Ki}t; 1.1.5 \textit{kn}i\text{ti ca}).

Note that this \textit{guna} of \textit{jāgris} proposed so that it could remain valid, specific to its scope of negation (\textit{nisedha}) and possible \textit{vṛddhi}. Thus, \textit{guna} is negated by this rule before \textit{CiN} (3.1.66 \textit{cin bha}v{	extit{aka}r}maṇayoḥ) and \textit{NaL} (3.4.82 \textit{paras}maipadānām \ldots). If the \textit{vṛddhi} of 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhāy}āh is applied then \textit{guna} and its accompanying negation would not make any sense. This also, in turn, shows why \textit{vṛddhi} should not be applied after \textit{guna} has applied.

2. Why do we have the condition of negation of \textit{guna} before \textit{vi}, \textit{CiN}, \textit{NaL},
and an affix marked with ā as an iṅ. Consider jāgrvīḥ, ajāgrī, jajāgāra, and jajgraṭhā / jajgraṭhā, where guṇa is negated before vi (viN; Unādi(503): vṛddīṣṭhaḥ vai, Cinand NaL, and Nī (1.2.4 sārvadhatukam api), respectively. Dharmakīrti (Rūpāvatārah (II:165) quotes the following kārikā-verse and explains:

\[
\text{gūṇo vṛddhir gūṇo vṛddhiḥ pratisedho vikalpanam/}
\text{punar vṛddhir niśedho' to yanṭūrvāḥ prāptayo nava/}
\]

(yāvatā jāgro' vicīṇālīnīṣu iti jāgarter gūṇo vṛddher apavādo vidhiyate, sā ca aco' ūṇīti yathā vṛddhim bādhate tathā sici vṛddhim api bādhisyate. gūṇe kṛte ato brāntasya iti yā vṛddhiḥ prāptoti sā pratiṣedhyatām. atha gūṇaviddhāna-}

sāmarthyaad uttarakālabhāviny api vṛddhir bādhisyate . . . ).

'as the gūṇa of jāgr (7.3.85 jāgro' vicīṇālīnīṣu) is offered to block the vṛddhi of 7.2.115 aco' ūṇīti, it will also block the vṛddhi of 7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ . . . ; the vṛddhi (of 7.2.2 ato brāntasya) which may become applicable should also be negated; a vṛddhi which may subsequently become applicable should be blocked at the strength of provision made for gūṇa.'

Some accept that i in vi is used for articulation. Consequently, gūṇa does not apply when a v-initial KuasU follows, for example, in deriving jajāgrvāṇ. Why is gūṇa not negated in ajāgrarāḥ and aham jajāgara? The gūṇa is not negated since avicīṇālīnīṣu is interpreted as a paryudāsa type of negation. A prasājya interpretation would negate the gūṇa. This would also end up blocking gūṇa in LĀN, and derives with jhi and NaL. Accepting the negation as paryudāsa would make the application of gūṇa possible in contexts other than these. Consequently, gūṇa will apply in the context of jus and NaL. That is, if a rule becomes applicable.

Or else, one must accept that an operation, or related negation, applies to what is most immediate (PŚ 62: anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratisedho vā). That is, the negation of 7.3.85 jāgrāḥ . . . applies only when vicīṇālīnī follows. This will thus not negate the gūṇa of 7.3.83 jusi ca and 7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdhādhatukayoh.

7.3.86 पुगन्तलयोक्षयगचा च

\[
\text{pugantalagūṇpadhasya ca}
\]

/ pugantalagūṇpadhasya 6/1 = puki antaḥ = pugantarḥ (sapt. tat); laghu cāsāv upadhr ca = laghūpadhra (kar. tat); pugantarḥ ca laghūpadhr ca = pugantalagūṇpadham (sam. du.), taśyā; ca ṣa/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 gūṇaḥ #82 sārvadhatukārdhādhatukayoh #84)

\[
\text{pugantasyāṅgasya laghūpadhasya ca sārvadhatukārdhādhatukayor guṇo bhavati}
\]

A replacement in gūṇa comes in place of the iṅK of an aṅga which ends in augment ṣUK, or contains a vowel termed laghu ‘light, short’ as
next to its last (laghūpadha) sound, when an affix termed sārvadhāṭuka
and ārthadhāṭuka follows.

EXAMPLES:

vlepayati 'causal third singular LAT-derivate of vī'
hrēpayati 'causal third singular LAT-derivate of hṛī'
knōpayati 'causal third singular active LAT-derivate of knūyī'
bhedanam 'derivate of bhid with LyuT'
chedanam 'derivate of chid with LyuT'
bhettā 'ṛG-derivate of bhid'
chettā 'ṛG-derivate of chid'

1. Consider vlepayati, hrepayati and knopayati which are third singular
causal (NiC) LAT-derivates of vi 'crush, press', hṛī 'to be shy' and knūyī to be wet'.
These roots receive augment pUK (7.3.36 arthūvinī . . . ) at the end (1.1.46
ādyaṅtav takita) before NiC. We thus get guṇa in (vi + pUK + NiC + LAT) =
vlepayati, (hṛī + pUK + NiC + LAT) = hrepayati and (knūyī + pUK + NiC +
LAT) = knopayati. These roots have a long vowel in their penultimate
(upadhā) position. Now consider derivates of bhid and chid, bhedanam/
chedanam, with LyuT (3.3.115 byuṭ ca); and bhettā/chettā with ṛG (3.1.133
nyūṭcau), where a laghu (1.4.10 hrasvam laghu) i, in upadhā, goes through a
replacement in guna. Refer to derivational details of bhettā and chettā in the
appendix (II:499). The yu of LyuT yields ana as a replacement (7.1.1 yuvor
anākau).

2. Kāśikā cites three kārikā-verses of the Mahābhāṣya to illustrate difficul-
ties and their resolutions in deriving forms under conditions of puganta 'that
which ends in pUK' and laghūpadha 'that which has a light vowel (laghu;
1.4.10 hrasvaṃ laghu) in its penultimate position (upadhā; 1.1.65 alo' nyāt
pūrva upadhā):

samyoge gurusamēṇyāṃ guno bhettur na siddhyati/
vidhyapekṣam laghoś cāsau katham kunḍir na duṣyati//1//
dhātor numah katham raṅjeḥ syandīśrānthyar nipātamanāt/
anallopāśidirghatve vidhyapekṣe na sidhyataḥ//2//
abhystasya yaḍāhāci laṅarthām tatṛtṛaṃ bhavet/
knusanaṃ yatṛtṛam kitvam ānāpakaṃ syāl laghor guṇe//3//

It is argued that a short penultimate vowel of an aṅga is accepted as laghu
for purposes of this operation even when it occurs before a samyoga 'conjunct'
formed with the final consonant of the aṅga and the initial consonant of the
following affix. If Pāṇini did not accept this he would not have marked Ka
(3.2.140 trasigraṇhīṛṣikṣipeḥ knuḥ) with K as an it, and would not have ex-
tended this same status to affix saN (1.2.10 halantāc ca), for purposes of
blocking guna. Not accepting i, of bhid, as laghu before a conjunct, i.e., it
formed with d of bhid and t of ṛG, will turn i into a guru (1.4.11 samyoge guru).
Consequently, this rule cannot be applied to produce guna in bhettā. It becomes clear that i is still treated as laghu, and guna applies.

Further objection is raised with reference to \((ku + nUM + d) + \text{trC} + sU)) \, = \, kundita.\) How come this guiding principle does not apply to the u of kundī? It is stated that an express mention of dhātoḥ, in 7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ, requires introduction of nUM to kuḍ, right at the outset. Any subsequent introduction of an affix thus finds no u occurring in the penultimate position of the aṅga. To accept this raises further questions. How is the vṛddhi of penultimate a in raṇj accomplished? Remember that it is only after deletion of n in raṇj (6.4.26 raṇjē ca) that a becomes an upadha ‘penultimate sound’ to qualify for vṛddhi. This vṛddhi is made possible at the strength of negation of vṛddhi in syandī and śrāntī (6.4.28 syado jave, 6.4.29 avodādhoma . . .), via nīpātana. A negative provision cannot be made without anticipating a positive provision. The vṛddhi for such a root is thus anticipated, and hence, is carried out.

An objection is raised against accepting such operational anticipations (vidhyāpekaśa) as universally valid. For, the a of an of rājan, a stem termed bha, is deleted. We thus get rājñāh. But this same cannot be accepted in case of the a of anāN (7.1.75 asthidadhi . . .), for example, in deriving dadhnā and saktnā. Additionally, we will get penultimate long for the a of sāman before Śī (nominative plural), but not for a of kundāni, mainly because this n has a different source (7.1.72 napuṃsakasya . . .). If operational anticipation is not accepted as universal, we cannot get guna of i of bhid in deriving bhete. But this guna is carried out by implication under the condition of a following consonant-initial affix. Refer to the next rule where guna is negated before a vowel-initial affix. Actually, aci of the following rule (7.3.87 nābhayastasyāci) negates guna of an aṅga which has a short vowel in its upadha, and is followed by a vowel-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with P as an it. This, in turn, makes known that, in niṅ + ti = nenekti, etc., we do not negate guna before a consonant-initial affix. Thus, this jñāpaka is to be accepted.

But this jñāpaka should not be accepted since the vowel-initial condition for negation of guna is imposed for the abhyāsta-derivates of LāN, for example, anenek. There is no question of ajādi ‘vowel-initial’ or halādi ‘consonant-initial’. The affix remains halādi, via pratya yalakaśa (1.1.62 pratya yalope . . .). The negation of guna is thus retained. This jñāpaka should thus not be accepted. But still, the kitva ‘marked with K’ of Knu and saN (discussed at the beginning of this note) can serve as a jñāpaka ‘indicator’ in connection with guna of a short penultimate vowel (laghūpadha-guna).

3. The upadha is here interpreted as constituted by iK. This is why bhinatti, etc., cannot avail guna. Others interpret: puki antaḥ = pugantah ‘a final before pUK’; laghvī upadhā = laghvī upadhā ‘an upadha with a vowel termed laghu’; pugantāś ca laghvīpadhā ca = pugantalaghvīpadham ‘that which ends in pUK and is also an upadha with a vowel termed laghu’. This interpretation will rule out availability of guna in bhinatti.
4. A problem is raised in connection with the assignment of the term samyoga (1.4.11 samyoge guru) in bhid + trC + Ńas where the final consonant of verbal root bhid forms a conjunct with the immediately following consonant of affix trC. A rather clever interpretation of this rule is offered to resolve this problem:

The guṇa of the iK of an aṅga is accomplished before a sārvadhātuka, or an ārdhadhātuka, affix when such an affix is introduced relative to an aṅga with a short vowel in its penultimate position. But how do we get the sense of, ‘introduced relative to an aṅga’. The word laghūpadha is given in the genitive, and not in the ablative (pañcamī). It is argued that since genitive (saṣṭhi) is introduced after a qualifier, we will interpret sārvadhātukārdhā- dhātukayoh as a qualified of laghūpadha. We will thus get the sense of laghūpadhasya ‘of that which has a short in its penultimate position’, or laghūpadhasambandhi ‘that which is relative to that which has a short in its penultimate position’. Since the ārdhadhātuka affix trC is introduced relative to bhid with a short in its penultimate position, we will get the guṇa of i. But this solution is not free of problems either. This interpretation should then allow guṇa of u of kudI + nUM + trC in deriving kuṇḍitā. The phrase dhātoh numah (cf. the kārikā verses above) offers a resolution to this problem. It is stated that, in deriving kuṇḍitā, augment nUM is introduced after the verbal root right at the outset, when its initial citation (upadesa) is made. As a result, trC will be introduced after kund, and not after kud with a penultimate short. The problem of replacement in guna should thus not be raised in connection with derivation of kuṇḍitā.

 Granted that the problem of guṇa in kuṇḍitā is resolved. But deriving rāgaḥ will be problematic, especially in accomplishing penultimate vṛddhi. The form may still be ∗rāgaḥ. That is, if the interpretation of ‘relative to that which has a short in its penultimate position’ is, similar to laghūpadhasya, also accepted in the interpretation of 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ. The problem is: GHaN after raṇj ‘to color’ will then not be considered gotten from that which has a in its penultimate position. This will block vṛddhi, and the resultant form will be ∗rāgaḥ. A solution with reference to rule 6.4.29 avodaidhodma praśrathahimaśrathāḥ is offered in the form of nipātana similarly to verbal roots other than syandI and śranthI. Since a nipātana is not offered for a single purpose, this nipātana will account for both n-deletion and vṛddhi. This recourse to nipātana shows that the earlier stated interpretation of rule 7.3.86 pugantalahgūpadhasya ca should not be accepted for interpreting 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ. I omit additional details of this point.

If the genitive in 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ is interpreted to give the sense of, ‘an affix which is marked with Ń and Ń as an it and is introduced after that which has a in its penultimate position (upadhā), then deletion of a of an, and long replacement before Śī, cannot be accomplished. There will be deletion of a of rājñaḥ, but a deletion in asthnā and dadhnā will be blocked.
For, the genitive of anah of 6.4.134 allopo' nah will be interpreted to give the sense of: a of an will go through deletion when a vowel-initial affix is introduced after that which ends in an. This deletion, of course, will require the assignment of the term bha. The vowel-initial affix ṭā, in asthāṇa and dadhāṇā, is introduced after asthi and dadhi ending in a vowel denoted by iṅ. These words end in n only after introduction of anāṅ. Consequently, in the absence of a vowel-initial affix introduced after the base ending in an, application of 6.4.134 allopo' nah will be blocked. But it will apply in case of rājñāṇ. This same will be witnessed in sāmāṇi, etc., where sāmaṇ is introduced with the neuter nominal endings fās and śas, and 7.1.20 jaśsaśoḥ śiṅ applies to introduce Śi. We will get the long replacement of the penultimate with application of 6.4.8 sarvanāmāsthāṇe cāsambuddhau. But contexts where nūm happens to be introduced by 7.1.72 naśaṇakasya jhalacaḥ, or 7.1.73 iṅk'o' cī vibhaktau, we will not get the long replacement of 6.4.8 sarvanāmāsthāṇe cāsambuddhau. Thus, given kunḍan + (fās→Śi), we cannot get the long replacement of 7.1.72 sarvanāmāsthāṇe cāsambuddhau. For, this long replacement cannot apply in view of the given rule interpretation of, ‘let there be a long replacement for the penultimate of that which ends in n when an affix introduced after that which ends in n follows’. Obviously, these faults arise under the interpretation of a genitive used as qualifier to affixes introduced to serve as right condition. If this view is abandoned, these problems will be resolved. But abandoning this interpretive view will block the guṇa in bhid + tṛC. For, by not abandoning this view, tṛC will follow bhid with a short vowel in its upadha. The guṇa will be blocked if one tries to apply it under the following condition of a sārvadhātuka or ārdhadhātuka affix. For, there will not be an anāṅa termed lāgūpadha ‘with a short vowel in its penultimate position’. The i of bhid, given the string bhid + tṛC, will be termed guru by 1.4.11 samyoga guru. The condition of lāgūpadha will thus be impaired.

A second resolution is offered in connection with guṇa in (bhid + tṛC) + sU = bhettā. It is stated that aC in 7.3.87 nābhyaṇaśyā’ ci . . . becomes vacuous and thus indicates that the negation of guṇa does not apply, for example in nenekti, before a consonant-initial affix marked with P as an iṅ. If aci was not stated, negation of guṇa could have also applied to a consonant-initial affix marked with P as an iṅ, as in nenījati ← nīj-nīj-ti. Given nenekti, derived from ne-nīj-ti, a conjunct of j with t will bring assignment of the term samyoga and the condition of lāgūpadha will be removed. The guṇa will thus not be available. It does not seem appropriate to resurrect this absence of application of guṇa on the basis of specification with aci of 7.3.87 nābhyaṇaśyāci. . . A specification with aci will still be vacuous, and thus will indicate that guṇa of a short vowel will apply even when the term guru is assigned to it before a conjunct. The guṇa of bhid + tṛC will thus apply. But this indicative purpose (jñāpaka) of aci is still not appropriate. The function of aci is recognized as facilitating LĀN (abhyaṇaśyā yad āhāci laṉartham tat kṛtam bhavet). The use of
aci will thus not be vacuous, and cannot serve as a jñāpaka. For, we can derive anenek with deletion of i by 3.4.100 itaś ca. Thus, nij + (LAN → tìP → nij + (ŚaP → ŚL)) + ti = ni-nij + ti (6.1.10 ślav); aT + ninij + ti = aninij + t(i→ϕ) = an(i→e) nij + t (7.4.75 niिām trayāṇām . . . ). Rule 6.1.68 halinīabbhyyo dārghāt . . . will now delete t. The i of anenij will also be replaced with its guṇa counterpart e. We will finally get anenek with a k-replacement of j. Recall here that aci is used so that, after prayaya-lakṣaṇa (1.1.62 prayayalope . . . ) revival of operations relative to tìP, negation of guṇa is blocked, even under the condition of a consonant initial affix marked with P as an it. But since prayaya-lakṣaṇa will not bring back t in the string, we cannot get the assignment of the term samyoga. The condition of laghūpadha will thus not be impaired.

But the preceding simply explains that aci is used for facilitating guṇa in derivates of LAN. The question of guṇa of (bhid + trC) + sU still remains. Here is the final solution: knusaror yat kṛtaṃ kitvaṃ jñāpakaṃ syāl laghor guṇe 'let the status of Kas an it of Knu and saN serve as an indicator (jñāpaka) for the guṇa of a short'. Affix Knu is introduced by 3.2.140 tasīgradhīdhyāksipeh knuḥ. A saN which begins with a sound denoted by jhaL and occurs after a consonant (haL), used in close proximity after iK, is treated as marked with K as an it by 1.2.100 halantāc ca. This status of K as an it of saN introduced after verbal roots ending in a consonant, and having a vowel denoted by iK in their upadhā, indicates guṇa under the danger of becoming vacuous. How does it become vacuous? Consider grdh + Knu→ grdh + nu, where K goes through i-teletion. Recall that the purpose of assigning status as marked with K as an it is to block guṇa. We get bhitsati after introducing saN after bhid. There, too, we find the purpose of K as an it in blocking guṇa of the penultimate short. This status as Kas an it will facilitate guṇa in bhettā. How? It will establish the availability (prāpti) of guṇa. Haradatta (PM) does not recognize it as a jñāpaka. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa) accepts it as a jñāpaka.

7.3.87 नाभ्यास्तस्याचि पिति सारवधातुके

nābhyaṣṭasyāci pitī sarvadhātute
/ na φ abhyastaya 6/1 aci 7/1 pitī 7/1 sarvadhātute 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 guṇāḥ #82 laghūpadhasya #87)
abhyaṣṭasamjñakasyāṅgasya laghūpadhasyājādau pitī sarvadhātute guṇo na
bhavati

A guṇa vowel does not come in place of next to the last iK-vowel termed laghu of an aṅga termed abhyasta ‘reduplicated syllable’, when a sarvadhātuka affix which begins with a vowel and is marked with P as an it follows.

Examples:

nenijāni ‘second singular active LOT-derivate of nijIR ‘to cleanse, nourish’
vevijāni ‘second singular active LOT-derivate of vijIR ‘to be separated’
parivevisāni ‘second singular active LOT-derivate of visU ‘to pervade’
anenijam ‘second singular active LAN-derivate of nijIR
avevijām ‘second singular active . . . of vijIR
paryavevisām ‘second singular active . . . of visU’

1. This negation is offered against positive provision of the earlier rule. Consider \(\eta \to n\) ijjIR + (LOT \to miP) = nij + (mi \to ni), where \(\eta\) of nijIR is replaced with \(n\) (6.1.65 no nah) and miP-replacement of LOT (3.4.78 tiitasjī . . .) yields ni (3.4.89 merniḥ). Augment āT (3.4.92 āḍ uttamasya . . .), ŚLU (2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah . . .) of ŚaP (3.1.68 kartari šap), doubling (dvita; 6.1.10 šlau) and operations relative to abhyasta produce: ni + nij + āT + ni = ninij + āni. We get (ni \to e) + nij + āni = nenijāni, through guna of the abhyāsa (7.4.75 nijām trayānām . . .; 6.4.14 puśvṛ bhūsah). Note that guna of the penultimate i of nij before āni, a replacement of the sārvadhātuka affix marked with \(P\) as an \(i\), is thus negated by our present rule. Similar applications are involved in deriving visU + LOT = vevijāni and vijIR + LOT = vevijāni. Derivates of LAN, i.e., anenijam, etc., can be similarly derived with augment āT. Recall that miP in anenijam is replaced with am (3.4.101 tāsthasthamipăm . . .). The penultimate guna is here negated.

2. Why do we have to state the condition of abhyasta? Consider vid + (LOT \to miP) = ν(i \to e) d + āni = vedāni, where, because of no assignment of the term abhyasta, guna of the upadāhā cannot be stopped. Incidentally, ŚaP is deleted by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah . . .

Why when a vowel-initial affix (aai) follows? Consider nij + (LAT \to tiP) = nenekti, where penultimate guna cannot be blocked before a consonant-initial affix. Incidentally, a replacement in k (kutva) for j is accomplished by 8.2.30 coh kuh.

Why do we have the condition of sārvadhātuka? So that this negation does not apply before an ārdhadhātuka affix, for example, in nineja (3.4.115 liṭ ca).

Why does this negation apply only to a penultimate laghu vowel? Consider second person singular LOT and LAN-forms of hū, i.e., juhāvāni and ajuhavam, where, given juhū + ā + ni and juhū + a + am, replacement in guna applies to the final iK. This guna cannot be blocked because of the condition of laghūpadha.

Why do we have to specify pit ‘\(P\) as an \(i\)’ when 1.1.5 kūṭī ca can negate guna at the strength of N as an \(i\) of a non-pit affix termed sārvadhātuka (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit). This pit is used here for subsequent rule(s).

3. This provision should be stated to apply in the Vedic, variously (bahulan). Thus, it applies in juoṣat, a third singular LET form of juṣī, where parasmaipada is used contrarily (vyatāyena). The tuḍādi marker Śa (3.1.77 tuḍādbhyah šah) is deleted with ŚLU and operations relative to doubling are performed before penultimate guna. Also consider paspaśāte, cākaśiti and vāvāṣati where, in the
Vedic usage, penultimate shortening should be accepted before a vowel-initial affix, subsequent upon LUK-deletion. The shortening in case of paspaśāte applies to what is termed an abhyāsa.

7.3.88 भुसुवोऽसिद्धे

bhūsuvos tiṇi
/bhū-suvoḥ 6/2 (itar. du.), tayoḥ; tiṇi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 guṇaḥ #82 na piti sārvadhātuke #87)
‘bhū, sū’ ity etayos tiṇi sārvadhātuke guṇo na bhavati
A guṇa vowel does not come in place of an iK termed laghu of an āṅga, namely bhū ‘to be, become’ and sū ‘to give birth to’ when a sārvadhātuka affix classed as tiN and marked with P as an it follows.

Examples:

abhūt ‘third singular active LUN-derivate of bhū’
abhūh ‘second singular active LUN-derivate . . .’
abhūvam ‘first singular active LUN-derivate . . .’
suvai ‘first person singular middle LOT-derivate of sū’
suvāvahai ‘first person dual middle LOT-derivate . . .’
suvāmahañ ‘first person plural middle LOT-derivate . . .’

1. This rule denies guṇa when bhū and sū are followed by a sārvadhātuka affix denoted by tiN. Consider abhūt, abhūh and abhūvam, where sIC-replacement of CLI, i.e., (aT + bhū + (CLI→sIC)) + (LUN→(tiP) / (si)P / (miP)), goes through LUK-deletion (3.1.44 cleh sic, 2.4.77 gātisthā . . .). This rule blocks a guṇa which becomes applicable after deletion of sIC. For, a tiN affix marked with P as an it follows. Recall that 6.4.88 bhūvo vāguṇālītoḥ offers augment vUK in abhūvam, where miP is also replaced with am.

Verbal root sū here refers to the adādi root after which ŠaP is deleted. It does not refer to its tudādi or divādi counterparts where augments Ša and ŠyaN are introduced. There is no need to negate the guṇa of these roots since these augment will intervene between the root and the following tiN affix. The locative of tiṇi requires that this negation of guṇa applies when the root is directly followed by a tiN affix. Moreover, absence of guṇa in their context will be easily accomplished in view of the Nīt status of Ša and ŠyaN (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apis; Kāśikā: sīyayor vikaraṇena tiṇo vyavadhānaṃ. vikaraṇasyaiva nītāva guṇābhāva siddhah). Deriving suvai, i.e., the first singular middle derivate of LOT, from (s→si) u + ŠaP + (LOT→i) will require the eta of ti (3.4.79 tiṭ aṁmanepadāṇām . . .). This e, su + ŠaP + (i→e), will then be replaced with ai (3.4.93 eta ai). The ŠaP, of course, will be deleted on account of the root being adādi (adāditvāt; 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah . . .). Augment uvAN will then be introduced to su to produce s(u→uvAN) + (ŠaP→∅) + (i=e→ai)) = suvai. Similar processes are also involved in deriving the dual and plural.
first personal forms *suvāvahai* and *suvāmahai* with *vahi* and *mahiÑ*, respectively.

2. Note that this negation of *guna* applies only when a *sārvadhātuka* affix follows. It cannot be applicable when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix followed. Thus, consider *vyatibhavīṣṭa*, a third singular middle derivate of benedictive *LIN* (*āśiśi*), where *ātmānapadā* is introduced under the signification of reciprocal action (1.3.14 kartari karmaṇyātihāre). The term *ārdhadhātuka* is here assigned by 3.4.116 *līnāśiśi*.

Why is *guna* of *bhū* not negated in *bobbhūti* after *LUK*-deletion of *yaN*? Recall that the *abhyaśa* of this derivate goes through *guna* (7.4.82 guno *yañlukah*). The negation of *guna* in *bobbhūtu* (7.4.65 dādhartidardhārtti . . .), after *LUK*-deletion of *yaN*, indicates it. That is, if the negation of *guna* also applied in the context of *LUK*-deletion of *yaN* resorting to *nipātana* for indicating that absence of *guna* was not needed. But since this resort has been taken we understand that this negation does not apply when *LUK*-deletion of *yaN* takes place (Nyāsa ad Kāś: *yadi yanūlky api pratisedhaḥ syāt gunābhāvārtham nipātanaḥ na kuryāt, kṛtaṁ ca tasmād eva jñāpayati-yanūlky ayaṁ pratisedho na bhavatīti*).

7.3.89 उत्तो वृद्धिर तु वृद्धिः

**Examples:**

*yauti* 'third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of *yu*

*yauṣi* 'second person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*yauṃi* 'first person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*nauti* 'third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of *nu*

*nauṣi* 'second person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*nauṃi* 'first person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*staauti* 'third person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*stausṣi* 'second person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

*stausmi* 'first person singular active *LAT*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule, subsequent upon *LUK*-deletion, introduces *vṛddhi* to an *aṅga* which ends in *u*, provided when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows. Our example derivates represent the third, second, and first singular forms of *yu* ‘to mix, combine’, *nu* ‘to praise’ and *stu* ‘to
praise’. Note that this \textit{vṛddhi} applies after \textit{LUK}-deletion of ŚaP (2.4.72 \textit{adīprabhṛtibhyāḥ} . . .). Consider (stu + (ŚaP→LUK) + ti) = st(u→au) + ti = stauṭi. Other forms, except for the dual involving satva (s→s), are similarly derived.

2. Why do we have this specification made with a short \textit{u} (\textit{utaḥ})? Consider \textit{eti}, \textit{esi} and \textit{emi}, corresponding first, second and third personal singular \textit{LĀT}-derivatives of \textit{i ‘to go’}, where \textit{vṛddhi} does not apply because of no short \textit{u}. This \textit{vṛddhi} is also blocked in sunoti, sunoṣi and sunomi where Śnū, and no \textit{LUK}-deletion, is involved. Finally, we find the absence of this \textit{vṛddhi} in yavāṇi and ravaṇi, the first singular \textit{LOṬ}-derivatives of \textit{yu ‘to mix, combine’} and \textit{ru ‘to sound’} where \textit{mi} gets replaced with \textit{ni} (3.4.89 mer niḥ). Augment \textit{āṭ} (3.4.92 āḍ uttamasya \textit{piṣ ca}), additionally marked with \textit{P} as an \textit{i}, then makes the affix \textit{ajāḍi ‘vowel-initial’}. Refer to \textit{yu} + (\textit{LĀT}→\textit{tas}) = \textit{yutah} and \textit{ru} + (\textit{LĀT}→\textit{tas}) = \textit{rutah}, where \textit{vṛddhi} is not allowed because \textit{tas} is not marked with \textit{P} as an \textit{it}. This shows why the condition of \textit{piti} is important. Also consider \textit{stuvā}, of \textit{api stuvād rājānam}, where \textit{piti} status of \textit{ti}P is canceled by \textit{Nīk} status of \textit{yāsUṬ} (3.4.103 yāṣuṭ . . . \textit{nic ca}). Consequently, this \textit{vṛddhi} is blocked.

3. Commentators indicate that nābhyyastasya is also carried to this rule. That is, the \textit{vṛddhi} of an \textit{abhyāsta} (6.1.5 \textit{ubhe abhyāstam}) is also blocked. Thus, consider \textit{yoyoti} and \textit{roroti} where \textit{LUK}-deletion of \textit{yaN} has applied. We get \textit{guṇa}, instead.

7.3.90 उण्णितेिवभाषा

\textit{uṇṭāṭer vibhāśā}
/\textit{uṇṭāṭeh} 6/1 vibhāśā 1/1/ (aṅgasya #6.4.1 piti sārvadhātuke #87 \textit{vṛddhiḥ hali #89})
\textit{uṇṭāṭer vibhāśā vṛddhir bhavati halādau piti sārvadhātuke}

A \textit{vṛddhi} vowel, optionally, comes in place of an aṅga, namely \textit{uṇuN ‘to cover’}, when a consonant-initial \textit{sarvadhātuka} affix marked with \textit{P} as an \textit{it} follows.

Examples:

\textit{prṛṇauti ‘third person singular active \textit{LĀT}-derivative of \textit{pra-uṇuN’}}
\textit{prṛṇoti ‘ibidem; with no \textit{vṛddhi’}}
\textit{prṛṇauṣi ‘second person singular active \textit{LĀT}-derivative of \textit{uṇuN’}}
\textit{prṛṇoṣi ‘ibidem; with no \textit{vṛddhi’}}
\textit{prṛṇauṃi ‘first person singular active \textit{LĀT}-derivative of \textit{pra-uṇuN’}}
\textit{prṛṇomi ‘ibidem; with no \textit{vṛddhi’}}

1. This rule makes the obligatory \textit{vṛddhi} of the preceding rule optional, in favor of \textit{guṇa}. Thus, \textit{pra + ūṇu + (ŚaP→LUK) + (LĀT→tiP)} = \textit{pra + uvṛṇ(ū → o)} + ti = \textit{prṛṇoti}. Incidentally, the \textit{a} of \textit{pra} and the \textit{ū} of \textit{uṇu}, are replaced with a single replacement in \textit{guṇa} (6.1.87 āḍ \textit{guṇah}).
This optional vrddhi, however, applies only before a consonant-initial affix. Consider the first person singular LOT-derivate prornavani where, because of augment a\(\tilde{T}\), anī becomes vowel-initial. This, or the preceding rule, can then no longer apply.

7.3.91 गुणोपप्रेरके

guno' apkte
/gunah 1/1 apkte 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 piti sārvadhātuke #87 vrddhiḥ hali #89 ūrnāṭeḥ #90)
ūrnāṭer dhātor apkte hali piti sārvadhātuke guno bhavati

A guna vowel comes in place of an anīga, namely ūrnūṆ‘to cover’, when a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed apkta marked with \(P\) as an \(it\) follows.

**Examples:**

prornot ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of pra-urnuṆ’
prornoh ‘second person singular active LAT-derivate . . . ’

1. The optional vrddhi of the preceding rule is here blocked in favor of an obligatory (nīṭya) replacement in guna. Consider (pra-urnu + (SaP→LUK) + (LAN→tiP)) = pra-urnu + \(\tilde{a}\tilde{T}\) + \(\tilde{t}\) where, after the introduction of \(\tilde{a}\tilde{T}\) (6.4.72 ātaś ca) and deletion of \(i\) of \(\tilde{t}\) (3.4.100 ātaś ca), \(\tilde{t}\) is termed an apkta (1.2.41 apkta ekāl pratyayah). We get \(pr(a+u→au)\) ūnu + \(t\) = praurnu + \(t\), through single replacement in vrddhi (6.1.90 ātaś ca). The guna of this rule then gives us praurn(u→o) + \(t\) = praurnot. We similarly get the second person singular form with sīP: praurno(s→r→h) = praurnoh. The first person singular form aurnavam, where miP gets replaced with am, the final \(u\) of urnu does not get the guna in \(o\) from this rule. For, eventhough am is marked with \(P\) as an \(it\) (piti), it does not begin with a consonant and is not termed apkta. The guna in \(o\) is accomplished by the general rule under the condition of sārvadhātuke (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh).

2. Why do we have to specify this operational provision with apkte when hali ‘. . . a consonant follows’ is already made available. After all, these affixes begin with a consonant. This specification with apkte is made to indicate as follows:

‘an operation specified by a following sound segment (\(aL\)) obtains when what begins with that sound segment follows (yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahane)’

That is, such operations obtain when ‘that which begins with a sound denoted by \(aL\) (any sound) follows’. The word apkta is thus used to go beyond the condition of halādi ‘beginning with a consonant’. Note that \(i\) and \(s\) of tiP and siP alone qualify as sārvadhātuka affixes which are (\(i\)) termed
apṛkta, (ii) begin with a consonant (halādi) and (iii) are marked with P as an it.

7.3.92 तुणह इम्

tṛṇaha im
/ tṛṇahā h 6/1 im 1/1 /
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 piti sārvadhātuke #87 hali #89)
‘tṛṇaha’ ity etasyāṅgasya im āgamo bhavati hali piti sārvadhātuke
Augment iM is introduced to an aṅga, namely tṛṇahA, when a consonant-
initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with P as an it follows.

Examples:

tṛṇedhī ‘third person singular active LAT-derivative of trh ‘crush, bruise’’
tṛṇekṣī ‘second person singular active LAT-derivative . . .’
tṛṇehmī ‘first person singular active LAT-derivative . . .’
atṛṇet ‘third person singular active imperfect LAN-derivative . . .’

1. Note that tṛṇaha, with its final a used for articulation, is a form of verbal root trh ‘to crush, bruise’ with ŚnaM (3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam). Why is this specification made with ŚnaM? So that iM could be introduced only after ŚnaM has been introduced. An introduction of iM, prior to the introduction of ŚnaM, may create confusion. That is, iM may be accepted as an exception to ŚnaM, or else, a wrong form may result. Since iM is marked with M as an it, it is introduced after the final vowel of tṛṇaha. Thus, given tr + ŚnaM + h + ti = tṛṇah + ti, we get tṛṇah + iM + ti. Rule 6.1.87 ād gūnah then applies to yield tṛṇ(a+i→e) h + ti = tṛṇeh + ti. The h then goes through a replacement in dh (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho dhaḥ). The t of ti similarly goes through a replacement in dh (8.4.41 stūnā stūh), via dh (8.2.40 jhasāstathoth rdo . . .). We thus get tṛṇe(h→dh) + dhi. The first dh is now deleted by 8.3.13 dho dhe lopah. A vārttika proposal (ad 6.4.84 rvarṇan nasya navatam vācyam) then offers a replacement in n for n. Thus, tr(n→n) e(dh→φ) + (i→dh→dh) i = tṛṇedhī. We get tṛṇekṣī with second person singular active ending siP, where h turned dh of tṛṇe(h→dh) + si is replaced with k (8.2.41 saṭhoḥ kah si). The s of tṛṇek + si then goes through a replacement in s (satva; 8.3.59 ādesaḥpratayayoh) to pro-
duce tṛṇek(s→s) i = tṛṇekṣī. The first person singular form tṛṇehmī is similarly derived with no dhatva of h before the first personal active verbal ending miP.

The derivation of third person singular LAN form, i.e., atṛṇet, begins with atṛṇah + t(i→φ), subsequent to deletion of i (3.4.100 itaś ca). The initial a is that of augment aT. The final t of this string is deleted under the assignment of the term apṛkta (1.2.41 apṛkta ekāl . . .; 6.1.68 halṅyābbhYo . . .).

Introduction of iM is here accomplished through pratayya-lakṣaṇa (1.1.63 pratayyalop. . .). It is for this reason that Kāśikā states: varṇāśraye ṣṭy atra
pratyayalaksanam īsyate ‘operations relative to the (following) affix is desired to be performed even when operational specification is made relative to a sound segment’. The h of ātṛneh then goes through a replacement in ā (8.2.39 jhalām jaśatānte), via dh (8.2.31 ḫō ḫāh). The ā then goes through an optional replacement in t (cartva; 8.4.55 vā’ vasāne). We thus also get ātṛned.

2. Note that since the condition of ḫali is still valid and also since introduction of āT, before miP ‘second person active singular ending’ in the imperative (LOT), has turned the affix into one beginning with a vowel, introduction of augment iM in trṇahāṇi is blocked.

The condition of piti requires a following affix also to be marked with P as an it. Thus, in the absence of such a following affix, we do not get iM in the third person dual (tas) form trṇdhaḥ in LAT.

7.3.93 ब्रुव ईद्र

brūva it
/brūvah 5/1 īt 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 piti sārvadhātuke #87 ḫali #89)
‘brū’ ity etasmād uttarasya haladeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya īḍā gamo bhavati
Augment iT is introduced to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix which occurs after an anga, namely brū ‘to speak’, and is marked with P as an it.

EXAMPLES:

bravīti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of brū’
bravīṣi ‘second person singular active LAT-derivate . . .’
bravīmi ‘first person singular active LAT-derivate . . .’
abravīt ‘third person singular imperfect LAN-derivate of brū’

1. Augment iT is introduced here optionally to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with P as an it. Of course, when such an affix follows brū. Thus, brū + (LAT→tiP) = brū + (ŚaP→LUK) + ti = brū + iT + ti. Recall that 2.4.72 adīpṛabhṛṭibhyah . . . causes LUK-deletion of ŚaP. Augment iT, since it is marked with T as an it, is introduced as initial of the sārvadhātuka affix ti. We thus get br(ū→o→av) + iT + ti = bravīti, through application of guṇa (7.3.84 sārvadhātukāndaḥ . . .) and subsequent av (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah). Note that a dual ending does not have P as an it. Consequently, iT, and for that matter guṇa, does not take place. Recall here that 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit assigns such affixes the status of āt. This, in turn, blocks guṇa (1.1.5 kniti ca). We similarly get the second and first personal singular forms bravīṣi (with satva) and bravīmi. Deriving the third singular LAN-derivate abravīt from aT + brū + (ŚaP→φ) + tiP → a + br(ū→o→av) + iT + t(φ) = abravīt, additionally involves augment aT and i-deletion of ti (3.4.100 itas ca).

2. Note that the condition of ḫali still applies. Thus, we do not get iT in
bravāṇi, first person singular imperative (LOT) with augment āTI and ni-replacement of mi. We also do not get iTI in brūtah where affix tas is not marked with P as an it.

7.3.94 यानो वा

yaṇo vā
/yaṇah 5/1 vā φ/

(angasya #6.4.1 piti sārvadhātuke #87 hali #89 id #93)
yāṇa uttarasya halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya id āgamo bhavati vā

Augment iTI is introduced, only optionally, to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix which occurs after yaN and is marked with P as an it.

EXAMPLES:

śākuniko lālapīti ‘the bird chirps again and again’
dundubhir vāvadīti ‘the drum beats again and again’
tridhā baddho vrṣabho roraviṭi ‘the three-way tied bull cries again and again’

1. This rule offers iTI, optionally, to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with P as an it, provided it follows an anga which ends in affix yaN. Consider punah punah atiśayena vā lāpita/vadati/rauti = lālapīti/vāvadīti/rauti ‘chirps/speaks/cries, over and over again’ from (lap + yaN) + LAT, (vad + yaN) + LAT and (ra + yaN) + LAT. Affix yaN is here introduced by 3.1.22 dhātora ekāca. . . . Rule 2.4.74 yaṇo ‘ci ca subsequently deletes it. All examples are offered here with deleted yaN (yaṇuṇanta). Refer to derivational details of lohuvaḥ/ popuvaḥ (appendix, II:334) and lālapīti / pāpaṭhitī (appendix, III:706) for relevant derivational details. Note, however, that theguna of abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaṣaḥ) in roraviṭi is accomplished by 7.4.82 guṇo yaṇukoh. Examples such as (vip + (yaN→ϕ) + tiP = varyāti and (vip + (yaN→ϕ) + tiP = carkati illustrate optional absence of iTI. Application of 7.4.66 ur at, and operations relative to abhyāsa, are applied as usual. The first r of these derives has its source in augment rUK (7.4.92 ṛtaś ca).

2. Why do we not get examples where yaN goes through deletion by LUK? Why could we not have examples where an anga terminates in affix yaN? Since a derived root which ends in yaN receives an ātmanepada termination (1.3.12 anudattāṇita . . . ), it is not possible to find a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix marked with P as an it to follow. That is, we do not get tiP, siP and miP in ātmanepada ‘middle’. Thus, a selection of derivate with LUK-deletion of yaN is made (Kāś: halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya yaṇantād abhāva iti yaṇuṅgantasvadāharaṇam). Incidentally, carkarita is a term used by earlier grammarians for yaṇuṅganta ‘that which ends in yaN deleted by LUK (Nyāsa ad Kāś: carkaritam iti yaṇuṅgantasya pūrvācāryasamjña)’.
7.3.95 तुरुस्तुरायम्यम: सार्वधातुके

turustuśamyamah sārvadhātuke
/ tu-ru-stu-śamy-amaḥ 5/1 = tuś ca ruś ca stuś ca śamiś ca am ca (sam. dv.),
tasmāt; sārvadhātuke 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hali #89 iṅ #93 vā #94)
‘tu’ iti sauro’ yam dhātuḥ, ‘ru śabde, ṣṭuṅ stutau’, śama upaśame, ama
gatādiṣu’ ity etebhyah parasya sārvadhātukasya halāder vā iṅ āgamo bhavati
Augment iṅT is, optionally, introduced to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka
affix which is marked with P as an it and occurs after an aṅg, namely
tu ‘to move, harm’, ru ‘to cry’, ṣṭuṅ ‘to praise’, śamI ‘to be calm, contain’
and am ‘to go’.

Examples:

uttauti ‘derivate of ut-tu + (LAT → tiP)
uttavīti ‘ibidem; with no iṅT’
uparauti ‘derivate of upa-ru + (LAT → tiP)
uparavīti ‘ibidem; with no iṅT’
upastauti ‘derivate of upa-ṣṭuṅ + (LAT → tiP)
upastavīti ‘ibidem; with no iṅT’
śāmyadhvam ‘derivate of śam + (LAT → tiP)
śamīdhvam ‘ibidem; with no iṅT’
abhyamati ‘derivate of abhi-am + (LAT → tiP)
abhyamiti ‘ibidem; with no iṅT’

1. Why do we explicitly state sārvadhātuke here when the same is available
from anuvṛtti. The sārvadhātuke of the anuvṛtti is also associated with piti
(7.3.87 nābhastasyācī piti sārvadhātuke). If one (piti) is carried, via anuvṛtti,
the other (sārvadhātuke) must also be carried. It is to cancel the anuvṛtti of
piti that sārvadhātuke is used here explicitly. That is, sārvadhātuke is explicitly
used here to allow optional iṅT before sārvadhātuka affixes, irrespective of
whether they are marked with P as an it. This facilitates iṅT in deriving stuvīta
and śamīdhwam.

2. Note that verbal root tu ‘to grow, move, harm’ is available only in the
śūtra literature (sautra). Consider (ut-tu + (LAT → tiP) where an application
of iṅT (optional), guna (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha . . .) and its subsequent
replacement in av (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah) produces ut-t(u → o) + iṅT + iṅ
= ut-t(o → av) + i + iṅ = uttavīti. Not accepting the option of iṅT will produce
utt-t(u → o) + (LAT → tiP) = uttāuti, through application of vrddhi (7.3.89 uto
vrddhir luki hali). The SaP of these derivate goes through deletion by LUK
(2.4.73 bahulam chandasi). This same derivational procedure is followed for
derivates of ru and stu. The second person middle plural optional derivate
of śamI with (LOT → dhvam) are śamīdhvam (with iṅT) and śāmyadhwam (with
no iṅT). Note that ātmanepada, i.e., dhvam, and SaP are used here, via vyatyaya
‘transposition, violation’. Affix ŠaPis again deleted by 2.4.73 chandasi bahulaṃ. This vyayaya of ŠaP, or for that matter the inhered sense of NiC in the root, does not apply in case of a non-iTi derivative. We will thus get sāmyadhvam with ŠyaN since samI is a root of the divādi class. The lengthening of a of sam in sāmyadhvam will then be accomplished by 7.3.74 samām aṣṭāṇām. . . Deriving abhi-am + (LA介→tiP) = abhyam + iT + tiP = abhyamiti and abhyamati, with optional iT, and no deletion of ŠaP in the non-iT form, is not difficult.

3. Note that sam and am are roots of the divādi and bhvādi group, respectively. Since a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix is not possible to find immediately after sam and am, mostly due to their intervening vikaraṇas, i.e., ŠyaN and ŠaP, we must delete them. Such a LUK-deletion can be made possible by accepting these usages as Vedic (2.4.73 bahulaṃ chandasi).

7.3.96 अर्थातसिहोपपुरके
astisico' ṭṛkte
/ astisícāḥ 5/1 = asti ca sit ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; ṭṛkte 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hāli #89 iṛ #93 sārvadhātuke #95)
aster aṅgāti sijantāc ca parasyāṛṛktasya (halaḥ) sārvadhātukasya iḍ āgamā bhavati

Augment iT is introduced to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix which is termed ṭṛkta and occurs after an aṅga, either constituted by asti (as ‘to be’) or terminating in sIc.

Examples:

āṣūit ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of as’
āṣūih ‘second person singular active LUN-derivate of as’
akāṛṣūit ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of kṛ ‘to do’’
alāvūit ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of lūN ‘to cut’’
apāvūit ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of pū ‘to cleanse’’

1. Refer to derivational details of akāṛṣūit and alāvūit in the appendix (II: 332-36). They illustrate an aṅga which ends in sIc. Examples of as are offered as āṣūit and āṣūih. The first is derived with LAN→tiP where augment āT (6.4.72 āḍ aṣṭāṇām) is introduced. Thus, we get: āT + as + ŠaP + tiP. This ŠaP, however, goes through LUK-deletion of 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtiḥbhyaḥ. . . . The ā of āT and the a of as is also replaced with a single vṛddhi vowel ā (6.1.90 aṭaś ca). Thus, (ā+a→ā)s + ((ŠaP→φ) + tī)) = ās + tī. The i of ti is also deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca. An introduction of iT by this rule will produce: ās + iT + ti(→φ) = āṣūit. We similarly get the second person singular form: as + (LUN→siP) = (ā+as→ās) + t + s(i→φ)) = āṣūi(s→ṛ→kā) = āṣūih.

2. Why do we need the condition of ṭṛkte? Consider asti and akāṛṣam where ti and am are constituted by two sound segments. Thus, we do not have iT.
3. A vārttika proposal (vī: āhibhuvor ītī pratiśedhaḥ) is made to negate sthāniavadbhāva ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’ in connection with īT of āha and bhū. That is, we do not get īT in ātha and abhūt. Recall that, given brū + (LAT → NaL), rule 3.4.84 brūvah... replaces brū with āh. Our present rule may offer īT by treating āh as brū, via sthāniavadbhāva. Similar situation will arise by treating as as bhū in its LUN-derivate ātha. A proposed negation of sthāniavadbhāva blocks īT.

4. The wording of this rule has generated considerable debate in the literature. Kāśikā begins its paraphrase as follows:

aster aṅgāt sijantāc ca parasya apṛktasya sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati ‘augment īT’ becomes part of the consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed apṛkta which occurs after an aṅga constituted by astī, and also after a form ending in affix sīC’

Kāśikā arrives at this paraphrase with the understanding that the locative of apṛkte hali, in view of the ablative of astisicaḥ, should be changed into genitive. For, a specification made with ablative is considered more powerful than one made with the locative (ubhayanirdese pānicśinirdese baliyaḥ). This changed genitive must then denote part (avayava) of a whole (avayaviva). This is how īT, marked with T as an it (ādyantau ṭakitau), is made initial to the sārvadhātuka affix termed apṛkta. Kāśikā further interprets the nominal stem in astisicaḥ as a samāhāra-dvandva compound where astī is interpreted as verbal root as ‘to be’.

This interpretation, however, is problematic. Kātyāyana proposes a vārttika which negates īT by negating sthāniavadbhāva ‘treating the replacement as what it replaced’ of bhū as as (vī: āhibhuvor ītī pratiśedhaḥ). This is how īT is stopped in abhūt ‘third singular past imperfect active of as’. But this negation of sthāniavadbhāva creates problems elsewhere. Consider 2.4.77 gati-sthā-ghu-pā-bhūbhyāh sicaḥ parasmaipadesu, whereby deletion of sīC, in the context of a select list of verbal roots, is accomplished. Now a question: why can we not attach īT in the context of these verbal roots by reviving LUK-deletion of sīC, either by pratyayalakṣana (1.1.62 pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam) or by sthāniavadbhāva? We know that introducing īT will create problems in deriving LUN-derivates abhūt (of bhū), aṅgāt (of gam), asthāt (of sthā), etc.

Note that negation of īT by the vārttika, based on sthāniavadbhāva proposal concerning bhū, can account for negation of īT in abhūt. Haradatta thinks that introduction of īT can also be blocked in aṅgāt, apāt and asthāt, etc., by extension at the strength of the vārttika itself. But there is no proposal for stopping īT obtaining at the strength of pratyayalakṣana (PM: sthāniavadbhāvapraṭiśedhaḥ astyāśrayatuḥād in na bhavati/ sījāśrayo’ pi na bhavati sthāniavadbhāvapraṭiśedhasāmartyaḥ). Nāgėsha, based on the Mahābhāṣya statement of dvisakāraṇo nirdeśaḥ ‘this specification is made with two s sounds’ (Mbh on 1.1.70 taparas taṭkālasya), accepts the wording of astisico apṛkte with
two s sounds: *astissico* ṕṛkte. This additional (‘placed-in-the-middle’) s sound, like a lamp at the doorstep, illuminates both sides, in and out. Consequently, we get iṅ attached to ṛpta occurring after as and sīC, both ending in s. This resolves all difficulties. This interpretation will block iṅ in all instances where as is replaced with bhū, and sīC goes through deletion. The question of sthānivadbhāva, or its negation by the vārttika and pratyaśa-laksana, will then not arise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita comes out with his own interpretation. He accepts asti as an imitation of verbal form asti, used as an indeclinable (avyaya) in the sense of vidyamāṇa ‘present’. He interprets astīsicas as a karmadhāraya compound paraphrased as: astī (vidyamānaṁ) ca tat sīcaḥ. Bhaṭṭoji deletes the ablative after astīsicas, via LUK, on the basis of rule-formation (sastratvāt). He thus gets the meaning: ‘after a sīC and as which is present . . .’. The question of replacement of as with bhū, and also of LUK-deletion of sīC, arises here. This interpretation takes care of all problems. It does not have to accept the vārttika of Kātyāyana, or its extensional application. It does not have to accept the Mahābhāṣya-statement of dvisakārako nirdeśaḥ in this context. Finally, it does not have to wrestle with application, or non-application, of pratyaśa-laksana and sthānivadbhāva. Varadarāja, in his Laghusiddhāntakaumudi accepts Bhaṭṭoji’s interpretation. Here is his vṛtti: vidyamānēt sīcaḥ astē ca pratyaśapṛktasya hala id āgamaḥ ‘augment iṅ is attached to a consonantal pṛkt to which occurs after a non-deleted sīC and asti’.

The interpretation of the old school of grammar (prācīna-vyākaraṇa) is flawed because it has to take recourse to vārttika and sthānivadbhāva, and has to wrestle with pratyaśa-laksana. Interpreters of the new school of grammar (Nāgēsa; navya-vyākaraṇa) take recourse to Patañjalian ingenuity of dvisakārako-nirdeśaḥ. Bhaṭṭoji takes recourse to asti as an indeclinable. His interpretation appears more interesting, and is widely accepted. But his formation of the compound astīsicas with internal samahāra-dvandva, non-application of sandhi (kutva and jaśita), and deletion of ablative after astīsicas, makes his reader rather weary of intellectual maneuvers. His interpretation thus suffers from jñāna-gaurava ‘proximity of knowledge’.

7.3.97 बहुले छन्दसि

*bahulaṁ chandasi*

/bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hali #89 iṅ #93 sārvadhātuke #95 astisico' ṕṛkte #96)

astisicor pṛktasya sārvadhātukasya id āgamo bhavati bahulaṁ chandasi

Augment iṅ is variously introduced, in the Vedic, to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed pṛkt, when this affix occurs after an ānga, namely asti, or one which terminates in sīC.

**Examples:**

*sālīlāṁ sarvāmā īdam*
áhgravává tárhyásинн̄ā rātriḥ
gobhirakṣāh
pratyācāmatsāh

1. Consider āḥ of ṣa evaśaṁ salīvam sarvam āḥ which replaces āsīt, the third singular active LAṆ-derivative of as. We get ās after deletion of i (3.4.100 itaś ca) and i (6.1.68 halīyābhyo . . .). The ā results through vṛddhi-replacement of ā+a of ṛṛī and as (6.1.90 ātas ca). We finally get ās(s→r→h) = āḥ, through rutoa-visarga. We get āsīt in ahar eva āsīt. . . Similar applications produce aksāh and atsāh, the two derivates of kṣar and tsar in LUN. Note that these forms have augment aṬ, and the a of kṣar and tsar goes through vṛddhi (7.2.2 aτo ṛāṇtasya). These illustrate examples of sIc. An absence of iṬ is dictated by the Vedic usage (chāndas). The s after r is here deleted by 8.2.24 rāṇasarv. The r then goes through rutoa-visarga. Incidentally, these forms are parallel to aksarīt and atsari of the classical usage.

7.3.98 रुद्रक पञ्चभ्यः:

rudāś ca paṇcābhyah
\( /\text{rudāh} \ 5 \ 1\ \text{ca} \ \phi \ \text{paṇcābhyah} \ 5 \ 3 / \)

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hali #89 it #93 sārvadhātuke #95 apṛkte #96)
rudādibhyah parasya sārvadhātukasya halāde aprtasya it āgamo bhavati
Augment iṬ is introduced to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed aprkta when the same occurs after an aṅga, namely one of the five enumerated in the list headed by rud ‘to cry’.

Examples:

aroḍīt ‘. . . third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of rud ‘to cry’’
aroḍiḥ ‘second person singular active LAṆ-derivate . . .’
asvaṃḥ ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of svāp ‘to recline, sleep’’
asvaṃḥ ‘second person singular active LAṆ-derivate . . .’
asvaṃiḥ ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of śvās ‘to breathe’’
asvaṃiḥ ‘second person singular active LAṆ-derivate . . .’
prānīt ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of an ‘to breathe’’
prāṇiḥ ‘second person singular active LAṆ-derivate . . .’
aṇjakṣīt ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of jāks ‘to laugh’’
aṇjakṣiḥ ‘second person singular active LAṆ-derivate . . .’

1. Consider aṬ + rud + (ŚaP→ϕ) + iṬ + (LAṆ→t(ϕ→i) P) = ar(u→o) d + it = arodiṭ, where penultimate guṇa of u is accomplished. All derivates involve deletion of ŚaP by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah. . . . The n of pra-an goes through nātva of 8.4.10 anītṛ anītṛ. The example derivates are offered before the third and second singular active endings tiP and siP.

Why after five only? Consider ajāgar of ajāgar bhavān where jāgr, because
of not being one of five, does not allow īT. The condition of aprkta is still valid. Thus, we do not get īT in roditi, because īt consists of two sound segments.

2. The singular in rudaḥ is used for plural. It denotes the plural meaning when read with paṅcabhyāḥ 'after the five . . .'.

7.3.99 अद्व गार्ग्यगालववयो:

adro gārgya-gālavayoh
/aḍ 1/1 gārgya-gālavayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hali #89 sārvadhātuke #95 aprkta #96 rudaḥ paṅcabhyāḥ #98)

rudādibhyāḥ paṅcabhyāḥ parasya aprktasya sārvadhātukasyād āgamo bhavati gārgya-gālavayor matena

Augment aT, instead, is introduced, in the opinion of Gārgya and Gālava, to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed aprkta when the same occurs after an aṅga, namely one of the five enumerated in the list headed by ruda.

Examples:

aro dat
aro dah
asvapat
asvapah
asvasat
asvasah
prāṇat
prānah
ajaksat
ajakṣah

1. This rule introduces aT, instead, to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed aprkta. Thus, we get aT + rud + aT + t → ar(u→o)d + a + t = arodat. Derivational details of these examples are similar to those given under the preceding rule.

2. Note that mention of Gārgya and Gālava is made for showing respect (pujārtham). We do not need this specification for option. For, introduction of aT and īT, both marked with īt as an īt, cannot be made concurrently. The option is thus clear.

7.3.100 अद्व: सर्वेशाम्

adah sarvesām
/adah 6/1 sarvesām 6/3/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hali #89 sārvadhātuke #95 aprkta #96 aT #99)
‘ada bhakṣane’ asmād uttarsayāprktaśya sārvadhātukasyād āgamo bhavati sarvesām ācāryānām matena

Augment aṬ, in the opinion of everyone (sarvesām), is introduced to a consonant-initial sārvadhātuka affix termed aprkta when the same occurs after an aṅga constituted by ad ‘to consume’.

Examples:

ādat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate’
ādaḥ ‘second person singular active LUN-derivate’

1. Note that sarvesām is used here for making the provision of this rule obligatory (nitya). There may be some confusion about its optional status, especially in the context of gārgyagālavyoh. That is, if sarvesām was not used. Thus, aṬ + ad + tiP = ādat, through deletion of ŠaP, i-deletion (of tiP) and a single uṛddhi-replacement for the sequence ā+a. Deriving the siP-derivate ādaḥ offers nothing new.

Remember that the condition of aprkta still applies. Thus, we do not get this aṬ in the context of LAT-derivates ad + ti = aṭi and ad + si = aṭsi. The affixes here consist of more than one sound segment.

7.3.101 अतो दीर्घो यणि

ato dirgho yaṇi
/atāh 6/1 dirghah 1/1 yaṇि’7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sārvadhātuke #95)
akōrantasyāṅgasya dirgho bhavati yaṅādau sārvadhātuke parataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of the final a of an aṅga when a sārvadhātuka affix beginning with sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term yaṇ follows.

Examples:

pacāmi ‘I cook’
pacāvah ‘we (two) cook’
pacāmah ‘we (all) cook’
paksyāmi ‘I will cook’
paksyāvah ‘we (two) will cook’
paksyāmah ‘we (all) will cook’

1. This rule offers a corresponding long replacement to an aṅga which ends in aṬ. That is, when the aṅga is followed by a sārvadhātuka affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaṇ (Śś. 5-8). Consider pac + ŠaP + miP = pacāmi, pac + ŠaP + vas = pacāvah and pac + ŠaP + mas = pacāmah, where the sārvadhātuka affixes begin with m and v. We similarly get the first singular, dual and plural LRT-derivates paksyāmi, paksyāvah and
paksyāmah, where c is replaced with k (8.2.30 coh kuh). Augment iT is here negated by 7.2.10 ekāca upadēse. . .

2. Why do we have the condition of atah 'in place of a'? Consider cinvah and cinumah where u, because it is not a, cannot be allowed this long replacement. The condition of yaṇi similarly blocks this lengthening of a in pac + a + las = pacatah and pac + a + thas = pacathah. Obviously, i and th are not included within the denotatum of yaNa. Finally, this long replacement must also be accomplished before a sārvadātuka affix. For, we do not get it in deriving aṅganā 'wife, woman' and keśava 'Krṣṇa' with affixes ta and va introduced after aṅga and keśa 'hair'.

Some read tini 'when an affix denoted by tini follows', via anuvṛtti, from rule 7.3.88 bhūṣuvs tini. This explains why, according to them, there is no lengthening at the end in bhava of bhavavān, a derive where KvasU, and no tini, replaces LIT. Thus, bhū + (LIT→KvasU) → bhū + SaP + vas → bh(ū→→av) + a + va(nUM)s → bhavav(a→ā)ns → bhavavān (s→ϕ) = bhavavān. Recall that KvasU is assigned the term sārvadātuka under the 'either way' (ubhayathā) option of 3.4.117 chandasya ubhyathā. Since the form is Vedic, others explain bhavavān as a Vedic anomaly.

7.3.102 सूपि च

supi ca
/supi/ 7/1 ca ϕ/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 aṭo dīrgho yaṇi #101)

supi ca yaṇādau parato' kārantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati
A long vowel comes in place of the final a of an aṅga, also when an affix termed sUP beginning with sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term yaNaN follows.

Examples:

vrksāya
vrksābhyām
plakṣāya
plakṣābhyām

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short of an aṅga when a sUP affix beginning with a sound denoted by yaNaN follows. Thus, we get vrksā + (Ya → ya) = vrks(a → ā)ya = vrksāya, and (plakṣa + Ya) = plakṣāya. Note that Ya is replaced with ya by 7.1.33 ier yah. Refer to derivational details of vrksāya and plakṣāya in the appendix (II:365). Deriving vrksābhyām and plakṣābhyām with lengthening of a before bhāyām is easy.

2. This lengthening does not apply when the aṅga does not end in a (atah). Thus, consider aṅnibhyām where aṅni ends in i. The condition of yaṇi must also be met. Thus, we cannot get a long replacement in vrksa + Nas →
vṛkṣa + sya = vṛkṣasya and ṭhaktasya. Recall that s of sya is not included within
the denotata of yaN.

3. Note that yaNi, carried over from the preceding rule, is a qualifier to
supi. But yaNii also denotes aL ‘sound segments’. Consequently, in view of
tadādividhi ‘treating a specification made with x as also denoting that which
begins with x’, will yield the interpretation: yayaNau supi ‘when a sUP begin-
ning with a sound denoted by yaN follows’. The word ataN is a qualifier to
aṅgasya. Hence, in view of tadantavidhi ‘treating a specification made with x
as that which ends in x’, we get the interpretation: adantasya aṅgasya ‘an
aṅga which ends in a’.

7.3.103 बहुवचने झल्येत्

bahuvacane jhaly et
/bahuvacane 7/1 jhali 7/1 et 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ataN #101 supi #102)
bahuvacane jhalādau supi parato kārāntasyaṅgasya ekārādeṣo bhavati
An e, instead, comes in place of the final a of an aṅga when an affix
termed sUP beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term
jhalL follows with the signification of plural.

EXAMPLES:

vṛksēbhyaḥ
plakṣēbhyaḥ
vṛksēṣu
plakṣēṣu

1. This rule allows a replacement in e (etva) to the final a of an aṅga, when
the same is followed by a plural sUP affix beginning with a sound denoted by
the abbreviatory term jhal (Ś. 8-14). Thus, we get vṛks(a→e) + bhya =
vṛksēbhya(s→r→h) = vṛksēbhyaḥ and plakṣēbhyaḥ. We similarly get the locative
plural forms vṛksēṣu and plakṣēṣu. Given vṛks(a→e) + su = vṛkṣe + su, the s of su
is replaced with s (8.3.59 ādeṣapratyayayoḥ).

Why do we have the condition of bahuvacane ‘when ‘many’ is the denota-
tion’. Consider vṛksābhyaṃ and plaksābhyaṃ, where e cannot replace a since
bhyaṃ denotes two (dual). The condition of jhalādi ‘beginning with a sound
denoted by jhal’ similarly blocks e in vṛksānāṃ and plaksānāṃ, where the
genitive plural ām, or nāṃ with augment nUT, does not begin with a jhal.
Finally, the jhal-initial suffix must also be a sUP. Thus, we cannot get this
replacement in e (etva) in yaj + a + dhvam = yajadhvam and pacadhvam, where
dhvam is an affix denoted by tiN.

7.3.104 औसिच

osi ca
An e, also, comes in place of the final a of an aṅga when os 'genitive-locative dual' follows.

Examples:

vrkṣayoh
plakṣayoh
vrkṣayoh
plakṣayoh

1. This rule allows e as a replacement for the final a of an aṅga when genitive and locative dual ending os follows. Thus, vrkṣa + os = vrkṣayoh, as in vrkṣayoh svam and vrkṣayor nīdhehi. Similarly, plakṣayoh svam and plakṣayor nīdhehi. Note that the e which replaces a is further replaced with ay (6.1.78 ecō yavāyāvah). The final s of os then goes through a replacement in h, via rU (rūtvā-visarga; 8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjanīyāh).

7.3.105 आझिकाप:  

āni cāpah
/āni 7/1 ca ṣāpah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 et #103 osī #104)
‘āni iti pūrva-cārtyanirdesena trīyākavacanam gṛhyate, tasminn āni parataś
cakārād osī ca ābantaśāṅgasyaikārādėśo bhavati  
An e comes in place of the final āP of an aṅga when āN ‘instrumental singular’, and os as well, follows.

Examples:

khaṭvayā ‘instrumental singular of khaṭvā ‘cot’
mālayā ‘instrumental singular of mālā ‘garland’
khaṭayoh ‘genitive/locative dual of khaṭvā’
mālayoh ‘genitive/locative dual of mālā’
bahurājaya ‘instrumental singular of bahurājā ‘a place with many kings’
kārīṣagandhyayā ‘instrumental singular of Kārīṣagandhyā’
bahurājayaoh ‘genitive/locative dual of bahurājā’
kārīṣagandhyayoh ‘genitive/locative dual of Kārīṣagandhyā’

1. This rule allows e as a replacement for the final ā of an aṅga which ends in a feminine affix marked with āP, provided the aṅga is followed by āN, and os as well. Note that āN is a term used by earlier grammarians for Tā ‘instrumental singular’. Thus, khaṭvā + Tā → khaṭv(ā→e→ay) = khaṭvay + ā = khaṭvayā and khaṭv(ā→e→ay) + os = khaṭvayo(s→r→h) = khaṭvayoh, etc. As usual, the final ā will be replaced with e.
2. Why is āP used with P as an ī? Consider kilālam ṭībati ‘he who drinks liquor’ = kilālapā + ṭā, where the root-final ā gets deleted (6.4.140 āto dhātōh). This ā cannot be replaced with e since it is not marked with P as an īt. Incidentally, kilālapā is a derivate of affix viC introduced after pā and introduced in construction with a cooccurring pada, namely kilāla + am (3.4.74 āto manin . . .). This same happens also when os follows kilālapā.

Why do we not get this e in atikhaṭṭa + ṭā = atikhaṭṭena? Because, the ā of khaṭvā gets replaced with its short counterpart after compound-formation. A Mahābhāṣya statement does not allow a specification with ṇī and āP to also include references to their counterparts gone through shortening (Nyāsa ad Kāś. nyābhrahaṇe dirghagrahaṇam ity etad vacanam kartavyam, tena hrasvatē kṛte na bhavati). Thus, ā cannot be brought back, via sthāṇīvadbhāva, for application of this rule. Recall that khaṭvā is an upasarjana ‘secondary constituent’ (1.2.48 gostiryor upasarjanasya).

7.3.106 सम्बुध्दौ च

sambuddhau ca
/sambuddhau 7/1 ca ḫ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 et #103 āpah #105)
sambuddhau ca parata ṛbantaśyająngasya etvam bhavati
An e comes in place of the final āP of an āṅga, also when an affix termed sambuddhi follows.

EXAMPLES:

he khaṭve ‘O, Khaṭvā’
he bahurāje ‘O, Bahurājā’
he kāriṣṭagandhye ‘O, Kāriṣṭagandhyā’

1. Note that sambuddhi is defined as an address (sambodhana) form in the (nominative) singular (ekavacanam; 2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ). The sU, nominative singular, after khaṭvā, etc., is deleted by 6.1.69 en hrasvāt sambuddheḥ.

7.3.107 अम्बर्थनद्योर हरसवः

ambārthanaṇyoḥ hrasvah
/ambārtha-nadyoh 6/2 = ambā artho yasya (bv.); ambāraḥṣ ca nadi ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; hrasvah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sambuddhau #106)
ambārthānām angānāṁ nadyantānāṁ hrasvo bhavati sambuddhau parataḥ
A replacement in short (hrasvah) comes in place of the final sound of an āṅga, used with the signification of ambā ‘mother’, or ending in an item termed nadi ‘river’, when an affix termed sambuddhi follows.
Examples:

he amba 'O, Ambā'
he akka 'O, Akkā'
he alla 'O, Allā'
he kūmarī 'O, Kumārī'
he sārṅgaravi 'O, Śārṅgaravi'
he brahmabandhu 'O, brahmabandhu'
he vīrabandhu 'O, vīrabandhu'

1. Note that kūmarī, etc., are termed nadi by 1.4.3 yūstrākhyau nadi. The sU after these bases is deleted by 6.1.69 eṇi hrasvāt. . . . This rule is an exception to the preceding.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to exclude forms which are termed nadi and which terminate in ḍa, la and ka. That is, ambādā, ambālā and ambikā, all used with the signification of mother, receive a replacement in e (etwa; 7.3.106 sambuddha ca) at the end. Thus, he ambāde, he ambāle and he ambike.

A proposal is also made to make this shortening optional to e, in the Vedic (chandasi vā). Thus, he ambāda / he ambāde, etc.

Yet another proposal makes this shortening optional, also when Ni 'locative singular' and sambuddha follow a feminine anga, ending in affix taL. Thus, devatā + Ni = devat(ā→a) + i = devate; and devatāyām. Similarly, devatā + sU = devata and devate. This option, however, is again restricted to the Vedic.

A proposal is also made to replace mātṛ 'mother' with mātaC, provided māṭṛ occurs before a nominal ending termed sambuddha and the derivate denotes a son deserving to be named after his illustrious mother. Thus, he gārgimāta 'O, you, whose mother is Gārgī'. This replacement proposal of mātaC is made as an exception to affix kaP (5.4.153 nadyṛtaś ca). The C of mātaC makes the compound marked udātta at the end (6.1.163 citah).

7.3.108 हस्तस्य गुणः:

hrasvasya guṇah
/ hrasvasya 6/1 guṇah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sambuddhau #106)
hravāntasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati sambuddhau parataḥ
A replacement in guṇa comes in place of the final sound segment of an anga which ends in hrasva 'short (vowel)' when an affix termed sambuddhi follows.

Examples:

he agne 'O, Agni'
he vāyo 'O, Vāyu'
he paṭo 'O, Paṭu'
1. This rule offers a replacement in guna to the final vowel of an aṅga which ends in a short vowel, provided what follows is a sambuddhi. Thus, \( \text{agn}(i \rightarrow e) + (sU \rightarrow \phi) = \text{agne} \), \( \text{vāy}(u \rightarrow o) + (sU \rightarrow \phi) = \text{vāyo} \) and \( \text{paṭ}(u \rightarrow o) + (sU \rightarrow \phi) = \text{paṭo} \). The sU gets deleted as usual.

Why does this guna not apply to \( i \) and \( u \) of kumāri \( + sU \) and brahmabandhū \( + sU \) after application of shortening by 7.3.107 ambārthanadyor hrasvah? To offer shortening and then to offer guna will be a lengthy derivational procedure (prakriyā-gaurava). Besides, if Pāṇini wanted this guna to apply, he would have formulated 7.3.107 as ambārthāṇāṁ hrasvah. He would then have formulated this present rule as nadihrasvayor gunah. But since Pāṇini did not formulate these rules as suggested, we conclude that guna does not apply after shortening (hrasva) has applied.

7.3.109 जसि च

\[ /jasi\ 7/1\ ca\ \phi/\]

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 hrasvasya gunah #108)

jasi paraṭo hrasvāntasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati

A replacement in guna comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga which ends in a hrasva, also when Jas ‘nominative plural’ follows.

EXAM P L S:

agnayah ‘nominative plural of agni’
dhenavah ‘.. of dhenu’

paṭavah ‘.. of paṭu’
buddhayah ‘.. of buddhi’

1. Consider agn(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + (j) as \rightarrow agnaya(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = agnayah, and vāy(u \rightarrow o \rightarrow av) + fas \rightarrow vāyava(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = vāyavah, etc. Similarly, paṭavah and dhenavah, etc.

2. A vārttika proposal makes these operations, i.e., hrasva ‘replacement in short’, etva ‘replacement in e’ and guna, optional in the Vedic when affixes f as, etc., follow. I omit any further discussion on this vārttika since its scope is confusing.

7.3.110 र्तो निसर्वामास्तान्यायोः

\[ /ṛtaḥ 6/1\ ni-sarvanāmastiḥānayoh 7/2 = ni ca sarvanāmastiḥanaṁ ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/\]

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 gunah #108)

ṛkāntasyāṅgasya ṇau paraṭaḥ sarvanāmastiṁe ca guṇo bhavati

A replacement in guna comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga which ends in \( ṛ \), when \( Ī \), and an affix termed sarvanāmastiṁa (1.1.42 si sarvanāmastiṁam . . . ), follows.
EXAMPLES:

mātari ‘locative singular of mātṛ ‘mother’
pitari ‘locative singular of pitṛ ‘father’
bhrātari ‘locative singular of bhrāṭṛ ‘brother’
kartari ‘locative singular of kartr ‘doer’
kartārau ‘nominative dual of kartṛ’
kartāraḥ ‘nominative plural of kartṛ’
mātarau ‘nominative dual of mātṛ’
pitarau ‘nominative dual of pitṛ’
bhrātarau ‘nominative dual of bhrāṭṛ’

1. Consider māt(r→ar) + Nī = mātari, pitṛ + Nī = pitari, bhrāṭṛ + Nī = bhrātari and kartṛ + Nī = kartari. Example derivates for sarvanāmasthāna (1.4.43 sud anapuṃsakasya) are: māt(r→ar) + au = mātarau, pitarau and bhrātarau. Note that the a of kart(a→ā) r + au and kart(a→ā) r + (j) as, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.11 apiṃtṛc . . .). Thus, we get kartārau and kartāraḥ, etc.

2. The t of r in rtaḥ is used for ease of articulation (Kāś: taparakaṇanam mukhasukhārtham). Besides, it is impossible to find a form ending in a long r used before Nī, or an affix termed sarvanāmasthāna.

7.3.111 चहिद्वि

/ gher niti
/ gheḥ 6/1 niti 7/1 = ṇakāra it yasya (bu.), tasmin/
(angasya #6.4.1 guṇaḥ #108 supi #102)
ghyantaṣyāṅgasya niti pratyaye parato guṇo bhavati
A replacement in guṇa comes in place of the final sound segment of an anīgwa which ends in a ghi (1.4.7 šeso ghy asakhī), provided when a sUP affix marked with Nī follows.

EXAMPLES:

agnaye ‘dative singular of agni’
vāyave ‘dative singular of vāyu’
agneh (āgacchati) ‘ . . . comes from Agni; ablative singular of agni’
vāyor (āgacchati) ‘ . . . comes from; ablative singular of vāyu’
agneh svam ‘Agni’s own; genitive singular’
vāyoh svam ‘Vāyu’s own; genitive singular’

1. Recall that 1.4.7 šeso ghy asakhī assigns the term ghi. The nominal endings which are marked with N as an it are: Nē ‘dative singular’, Nāṣ ‘ablative singular’, Nās ‘genitive singular’ and Nī ‘locative singular’. Refer to derivational details of agneh and vāyor under 6.1.108 enaḥ padāntād . . . The dative singular form agn(i→e→ay) + (N) e = agnaye is gotten through guṇa and ay-
replacement. These examples illustrate guṇa with pūrvarūpa 'single replacement similar to the preceding of a vocalic sequence (6.1.108)', or guṇa with replacement in ay.

2. Why do we have the condition of ghi? Consider sakhi + Ńe and pati + Ńe where guṇa is blocked because sakhi 'friend' is excluded from receiving the term ghi (asakhi; 1.4.7 āśe ghy asakhi). The word pati is assigned this term only when used in a compound (1.4.8 patiḥ samāsa eva).

Why do we have the condition of nīti ‘when an affix marked with Ń as an it follows’? Consider agnibhyām where bhīyām is not marked with Ń as an it. Consequently, there is no guṇa for i of agni.

Why do we have the condition of supī ‘when a sup follows’? Consider paṭu + niṣṭa and kuru + tas where guṇa of the final u of paṭu and kuru will be blocked since niṣṭa and tas are affixes not denoted by sup.

7.3.112 आपनयाः:

āṅ nadyāḥ
/āṅ 1/1 nadyāḥ 6/1/
(āṅgaśya #6.4.1 nīti #111)

nadyantād āṅgād uttarasya niṭṭhaḥ pratyayasyād āgamo bhavati
Augment āṭ is introduced to an affix marked with Ń when it occurs after an āṅga termed nadā.

Examples:

kumārīyai ‘dative singular of kumārī’
brahmabandhavai ‘dative singular of brahmabandhū’
kumāryāḥ ‘genitive singular of kumārī’
brahmabandhavāḥ ‘genitive singular of brahmabandhū’

1. This rule introduces augment āṭ to the beginning of an affix (1.1.46 ādyantau ūkītāu) which is marked with Ń as an it and occurs after an āṅga terminating in a form termed nadā. Thus, kumārī + Ńe → kumārī + (āṭ + Ńe) → kumārī + (ā+e→ai) → kumārī(ī→y) + ai, where 6.1.90 ātāś ca offers a single vrddhi replacement for the sequence ā+ī. Refer to derivational details of feminine forms under rules governed by 4.1.3 striyām.

7.3.113 यातापः:

yād āpaḥ
/yāṭ 1/1 āpaḥ 5/1/
(aṅgaśya #6.4.1 nīti #111)

ābantād āṅgād uttarasya niṭṭhaḥ pratyayasya yād āgamo bhavati
Augment yāṭ is introduced to an affix which is marked with Ń as an it and occurs after an āṅga terminating in āP.
EXAMPLES:

khaṭvāyai ‘dative singular of khaṭvā’
bahurājāyai ‘dative singular of bahurājā’
kārīṣagandhyāyai ‘dative singular of kārīṣagandhyā’
khāṭvāyāḥ ‘genitive singular of khaṭvā’
kārīṣagandhyāyāḥ ‘genitive singular of kārīṣagandhyā’
bahurājāyāḥ ‘genitive singular of bahurājā’

1. This rule introduces augment yāT to an affix marked with _DOM as an _it_, when the same follows an _āṅga_ ending in the feminine affix _āP_. This _āP_ refers to the _āP_ of _TāP_ (khaṭvā), _CāP_ (kārīṣagandhyā), and _ḌāP_ (bahurājā). Thus, khaṭvā +  DOM → khaṭvā + yāT +  DOM → khaṭvā + y(a+e→ai) = khāṭvāyai. A single _vṛddhi_-replacement for the sequence _ā+e_ is here offered by 6.1.88 _vṛddhī_ _eci_. Note that khaṭvā + yāT +  DOM → khaṭvā + yā + as produces khaṭvāy(ā+a→ā) s = khaṭvāyā(ā→r→h) = khāṭvāyāḥ, through _savarnadīrgha_ (6.1.100 _akāh savarne_ . . .) ‘homogeneous long vowel replacement’ and _s→r→h_ ( _rutu-visarga_ ).

2. A question is raised as to why, given _atikhaṭvā_ + ( _Ā_ )_e_ where _ā_ of _khaṭvā_ has gone through shortening (2.1.24 _gostriyor upasjanasaya_), we cannot get yāT by treating _atikhaṭvā_ as ending in _āP_, via _stānivadbhāva_? This yāT is blocked on grounds that ‘a non-long is not accepted when the specification is made with _Ā_ and _āP_ ( _nībgraḥane_ _dīrghagraḥanam_; also note (2) under 7.3.105 _āni cāpaḥ_). Why can we still not introduce yāT to _ya_ (7.1.13 _ner yaḥ_) of _atikhaṭvā_ + _ya_, after the final _a_ of _atikhaṭvā_ has been replaced with its long counterpart (7.3.102 _svaṭi ca_)? Because this _ā_ results out of a rule-application ( _lākṣanika_). Recall that a specification made by enumeration of individual forms ( _pratipadokta_), alone, is accepted when a conflict arises in connection with forms derived via rule applications (_PŚ_ 114: _lākṣaṇapratiṭpadoktauḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam_). Augment yāT thus cannot be introduced here.

7.3.114 सर्वनामः स्वाभिस्वस्वच

sarvanāmānḥ syāḍḍ hrasvaś ca
/sarvanāmānḥ 5/1 syāt 1/1 hrasvaḥ 1/1 ca φ/
(āngasya #6.4.1 _nīti_ #111 _āpaḥ_ #113)
sarvanāmānā abhantād anāgād uttarasya nītāḥ pratyayasya syāḍ āgamo hrasvaś ca bhavati

Augment syāT is introduced to an affix which is marked with _Ā_ and occurs after an _āṅga_ termed _sarvanāman_ ending in _āP_, with an additional provision that a _hrasva_ ‘short vowel’ replace the final of the _āṅga_.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaśyai ‘dative singular of sarvā’
vīśvasyai ‘dative singular of vīśvā’
yasyai ‘dative singular of yā’
tasyai ‘dative singular of sā’
kasyai ‘dative singular of kā’
anyasyai ‘dative singular of anyā’
sarvasyāḥ ‘genitive singular of sarvā’
viśasyāḥ ‘genitive singular of viśvā’
yasyāḥ ‘genitive singular of yā’
kasyāḥ ‘genitive singular of kā’
anyasyāḥ ‘genitive singular of kā’

1. This rule introduces augment syāT to an affix marked with N as an it, when the same follows an āṅga ending in āP. The long final of the āṅga is additionally replaced with its short counterpart. Thus, sarvā + ṇe → sarv(ā→a) + (syāT + e) → sarva + sy(ā+e→ai) = sarvasyai, with the application of 6.1.85 vṛddhir eci. Similar applications are witnessed in other derivates. We get the application of savarnadīrgha (6.1.100 acaḥ savarne dīrghah) and rutva-visarga in sarvā + ṇas → sarv(ā→a) + syā(T) + as = sarvasyās(ā+ā→ā)s → sarvasyā (s→r→h) = sarvasyāh.

2. Note that this rule applies only when the āṅga ends in āP. Thus, it does not apply, for example, in bhavat + ṇi = bhavati ‘locative singular of bhavati’ and bhavat + ṇe = bhavate ‘dative singular of bhavat’. This same also applies to bhavati + ṇe = bhavayai ‘dative singular of bhavati’ and bhavati + ṇas = bhavatyāḥ ‘genitive singular of bhavati’.

7.3.115 विभाषा द्वितीयाःतीयाध्यायः

vibhāṣā dvitiyāःतत्तात्याध्ययः
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 dvitiyā-तत्तात्याध्ययः 5/2 (itar. dv.)/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 niśi #111 syād hrasvaś ca #114)
‘dvitiyā, tṛīyā’ ity etābhāyd uttarasya nītaḥ pratyayasya vibhāṣā syād āgamō bhavati dvitiyāःतत्तात्याधयोś ca hrasva bhavati

Augment syāT is optionally introduced to an affix which is marked with N and occurs after an āṅga, namely dvitiyā ‘second, other’ and tṛīyā ‘third, other’, with an additional provision that a hrasva ‘short vowel’ replace the final of the āṅga.

EXAMPLES:

dvitiyāṣayai ‘dative singular of dvitiyā ‘second, other’
dvitiyāṣayai ‘ibidem; with no syāT’
trīyāṣayai ‘dative singular of trīyā ‘third’’
trīyāṣayai ‘ibidem; with no syāT’

1. This provision of optional shortening, and syāT, was not available to dvitiyā and trīyā. Obviously, because they are not pronominal (sarvanāman). This rule makes this non-available option (aprāpta) possible (prāpta). Short-
enning will thus apply when the option of syāṭi is availed. There will not be any shortening when syāṭi is not introduced. Refer to uttaraśūrvasayai 'dative singular of uttaraśūrvaśi north-east' and uttaraśūrvasayai (appendix, II:363-65) for derivational details.

7.3.116 देराम् नद्याम्भेयः:

ner ām nadyāmnibhyāḥ
/nēḥ 6/1 ām 1/1 nadyāmnibhyāḥ 5/3 = nadi ca āp ca niś ca = nadyāmnaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

nadyantād ābantān nity etasmāc cottarasya nēr ām ity ayam ādeso bhavati

A replacement in ām comes in place of affix Ni when the same occurs after an anāga termed nadi (1.43 yūstrākhyau nadi), or after an anāga terminating in āP, or else, after an anāga terminating in ni.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryāṁ ‘locative singular of kumāri’
gauryāṁ ‘locative singular of gaurī’
brahmabandhvāṁ ‘locative singular of brahmabandhū’
dhīmbandhvāṁ ‘locative singular of dhīmbandhū’
khāṭvāyāṁ ‘locative singular of khāṭvā’
bhūrājāyāṁ ‘locative singular of bhūrājā’
kārṣagandhyāyāṁ ‘locative singular of kārṣagandhyā’
rājanyāṁ ‘locative singular of rājani’
seṇānyāṁ ‘locative singular of seṇāni’

1. Refer to 4.1.2 svaujasmau... etc., for derivational details (appendix, IV:764-67). Note that rājani and seṇāni are derivates of KuIP, for which see the appendix (III:730-40) under 3.2.61 satsūdiṣa... The term nadi is assigned by 1.4.3 yūstrākhyau nadi.

7.3.117 इदुद्ध्भयाम्

idudbhyaṁ
/id-ud-bhyaṁ 5/1 (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ/
(aṅgasya #6.1.1 nadyāḥ, nēr ām #116/

ikārokarābhyaṁ nadāsamjñakābhyaṁ uttarasya nēr ām ādeso bhavati

A replacement in ām comes in place of affix Ni when the same occurs after an anāga termed nadi terminating in i and u.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyāṁ ‘locative singular of kṛti’
dhenvāṁ ‘locative singular of dhenu’
1. This rule applies to an an̄ga which ends in i and u and is termed nadi (1.4.6 niti hrasvaś ca). Thus, kṛti + (Ni→ām) = kṛti(i→y) + ām = kṛtyām and dhenu + (Ni→ām) = dhenu(u→v) + ām = dhenvām. A question is raised against formulating this rule, especially since our earlier rule can account for its derivates. The word nadi is thus carried here to qualify i and u to get: nadiśajñakau yāu idudau ‘forms which are termed nadi and end in iT and uT’. Obviously, this rule is useless. But it is not. The au of the next rule will block ām on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent in order of enumeration’. If this rule is formulated, ām alone will be introduced. This rule could not have been formulated as idudbhyaṁ aut. For, kṛti and dhenu could then have received au on the basis of paratva. Note that ām, characterized with the term nadi, could have found its independent scope in kumāryām. The au could have found its independent scope in patyau and sakhyau. They both could have been available to kṛti when termed nadi. The au could have won on the basis of paratva.

Note that, in the absence of the term nadi, we get the assignment of the term ghi (1.4.7 sēso ghy asahē). Rule 7.3.119 ac ca gheḥ then applies to produce kṛti(i→a) + (i→au) = kṛti(a + au → au) = kṛtau and dhenau.

7.3.118 औत्

aut

/a aut 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neh ām #116 idudbhyaṁ #117)

idudbhyaṁ uttarasya nṛ aukārādeso bhavati

A replacement in au comes in place of Ni when the same occurs after an an̄ga which terminates in i and u, but is not a nadi, or ghi.

Examples:

sakhyau ‘locative singular of sakhi’
patyau ‘locative singular of pati’

1. This rule applies to an an̄ga which ends in i and u, but is not a nadi, or ghi (1.4.7 sēso ghy asahē). Thus, we get sakhi + (Ni → au) = sakhi(i→y) + au = sakhyau and pati + Ni → patyau.

2. Note that this is a general rule. Rule 7.3.118 acca gheḥ is its exception. There is no example of u available. It is here used for facilitating derivates of the following rule (uttarārtham). Incidentally, t in aut is not an it. It is here used for taparakaraṇa ‘making t follow’ (1.1.70 taparas tathālasya).

7.3.119 अच् ये:

ac ca gheḥ

/at 1/1 ca gheḥ 6/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neh #116 aut #118)
ghisaṃjñaṅkād uttarasya āner aukārādeśo bhavati tasya ca gher akārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in au comes in place of affix Ni when the same occurs after i and u of an aṅga termed ghi, with an additional provision that a(T) comes in place of the final of an aṅga termed ghi.

Examples:

agnau ‘locative singular of agni’
vāyau ‘locative singular of vāyu’
krītau ‘locative singular of krīti’
dhenau ‘locative singular of dhenu’
pātau ‘locative singular of dhenu’

1. The Mahābhāṣya lists this and the preceding rule as one: aud ac ca gheḥ. It then resorts to a split interpretation (yogaviḥāgha) as follows:

(i) au (with iḍuḍhyām read via anuvṛtti): ‘auT comes in place of Ni occurring after an aṅga ending in i and u’;

(ii) ac ca gheḥ (read with au): ‘auT comes in place of Ni occurring after an aṅga termed ghi; additionally, the final of the aṅga termed ghi is replaced with a’. Kāśikā reads these two split-rules separately. A joint listing of these two creates problem. That is, au(tva) and a(tva), since they are both offered concurrently (sanniyogaśīṭa), will also apply concurrently. That is, we will find au(tva) where a(tva) will apply. A single formulation, for resolving problems of application, will treat the a-replacement (atva) of an aṅga termed ghi (which ends in i and u) as anuvācaya-śiṣṭa ‘secondarily taught’. Thus, it will only apply where possible. It is similar to the application of deletion of s (salopa) in 3.1.11 kartuḥ kyaṁ salopaḥ ca. Recall that KyaN is a primary provision there. The deletion of s is taught secondarily.

2. The tof at (taṇaparakaṇa) is used to block introduction of the feminine affix TāP (Kāś: ad iti taṇaparakaṇaṁ striyāṁ tāpo nivṛtyartham). That is, TāP cannot be introduced after a base which has received a replacement in a.

7.3.120 आँध्र नात्संख्यायां

āno rā’ striyāṁ
/āṇah 6/1 nā 1/1 astriyāṁ 7/1 = na stri (nañ. tat.), tasyāṁ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 gheḥ #119)
gher uttarasyāno nābhāvo bhavati

A replacement in nā comes in place of affix Tā, when the same occurs after an aṅga termed ghi, provided the scope is other than feminine (astiṃyām).
EXEMPLARY:

agninā ‘instrumental singular of agni’

vāyunā ‘instrumental singular of vāyu’

pāṭunā ‘instrumental singular of pāṭu’

1. Note that the term ghi will be assigned by 1.4.7 śeso ghy asakhi. Its derivates must be restricted to masculine and neuter. Why was the specification not made with pumṣi ‘with the scope of masculine’. Consider amunā ‘instrumental singular of idam’ of amunā brāhmaṇakulena ‘by this clan of the brāhmaṇas’ where nā in the neuter derivates could have been blocked. Other neuter forms could be derived with no problem under the specification of pumṣi ‘masculine’. How? By introducing nUM of 7.1.73 iko’ ci vibhatau. Thus, we can derive trapunā ‘instrumental singular of trapu’ and jatunā ‘instrumental singular of jatu’. But amunā will still create problems. It is for this reason that astriyāṃ ‘other than feminine’ is employed to specify the exclusion.

2. Why do we state this exclusion of astriyāṃ? Consider krī + Tā → krtyā ‘instrumental singular of krī’ and dhenu + Tā → dhenvā ‘instrumental singular of dhenvi’ where, because of the feminine scope of the derivate, we do not get nā.

PĀDA FOUR

7.4.1 नौ चढ़युपाध्याय हृस्व:  

nau caṇī upadhayāḥ hrasvah
/nau 7/1 caṇī 7/1 upadhayāḥ 6/1 hrasvah 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

caṇpāre nau yad aṅgam tasyopadhayāḥ hrasvo bhavati
A short vowel comes in place of the penultimate (upadhā) long of an aṅga when CaN, occurring in construction after NiC, follows.

EXEMPLARY:

ačikarat ‘he had it made by someone’
aṇīharat ‘he had it carried by someone’
aḷīlavit ‘he had it cut by someone’
apīpavat ‘he had it drunk by someone’

1. Note that a specification with saptamī ‘locative’ of nau ‘when NiC follows’ and caṇī ‘when CaN follows’ facilitates this interpretation: caṇpāre nau yad aṅgam ‘the aṅga which, when followed by NiC is followed by CaN’. The penultimate long of such an aṅga is replaced with its short counterpart. Refer to the appendix (II:507-9) for derivational details of ačikarat and aṇīharat. These derivates of κārī + LUN and hārī + LUN include κārī and hārī which, in turn, derive from kṛ + NiC and hṛ + NiC (3.1.26 hetumati ca). Given κārī +
(LUŅ→t(i→ϕ)) → kār + CaN + t, the penultimate ā of kār is replaced with its short counterpart. The anāga, i.e., kār, which occurs followed by NiC is followed by CaN (3.1.48 niśtrūrubhyāh . . .). Affix NiC is then deleted by 6.4.51 ner anūti. Reduplication (dvitva), and operations relative to abhyāsa, then apply to aT + kar + a + t to produce the final derivate.

Refer to derivational details of apiṣpathat (notes, 6.1.11 caṇi), for deriving (lūN + NiC→ lāvi→ lāvi + (LUŅ→tiP)) = aṭilavat. Note that we get replacement in i (itva) of 7.4.80 oh pūyanjy apare after shortening of ā of lāvi ‘to have someone cut’. Similar applications are also involved in deriving (pū + NiC→ pānī) + (LUŅ→tiP) = apiṣpavat.

2. Commentators note that dvitva ‘reduplication’ and upadhāhrasva ‘shortening of the penultimate’ both become applicable concurrently on kār + i + a + t. The shortening of the penultimate vowel wins this applicational conflict on the basis of paratva ‘subsequent in order of enumeration’. Application of reduplication (dvitva) follows after shortening. Now consider the derivation of apiṣtat (appendix, (II:416-17)) where, given āt + i + a + t, this rule applies to yield (ā→a) t + i + a + t, through penultimate shortening. Recall that reduplication of 6.1.2 ajāder dvityasya is obligatory (nitya), because it will apply irrespective of whether it applies before or after penultimate shortening. If this obligatory reduplication is applied, we will get āt + ī + a + t. But this will no longer enable ā to qualify as upadhā ‘penultimate’. Consequently, shortening will be blocked.

It is stated that the rdit-status of rT as an it’ of verbal roots, for example the bhvādi root onR ‘to remove’, will become useless if reduplication applies prior to shortening. That is, given on(R) + i + a + t, reduplication will yield oni + ni + a + t. The question of penultimate shortening (upadhāhrasva) will thus not arise. For, o will no longer be an upadhā. Why then negate (7.4.2 nāgāpi . . .) it by making on characterized as rdit? This, in turn, indicates that obligatory reduplication applies even after shortening has applied. The rdit-status of on is justified only when shortening is applied prior to reduplication (Kāś. atra dvirvacanopadhāhrasvavoyoh prāptayoh paratvād upadhāhrasvatvam, tatra kṛte dvirvacanam . . . oner rātkaranaṃ jñāpakam: nityam api dvirvacanam upadhāhrasvatvam bādhyaṃ).

3. Why do we have the condition of nau ‘when ni follows’? Why not formulate this rule with caṇy upadhāyā hrasvah ‘short of the penultimate when CaN follows’. Such a formulation will create problems in deriving aṭilavat. Thus, given lū + NiC + CaN + t = lū + i + a + t, this shortening will block internally conditioned (antarānga) vṛddhi (lū→au) and replacement in āv (au→āv). Note that vṛddhi and āv are internally conditioned by NiC. The short replacement is externally conditioned by CaN. The internally conditioned vṛddhi and āv, therefore, must precede shortening. A formulation such as caṇy upadhāyā hrasvah, without nau, would also create problems in deriving adidapat from aT + dā + NiC + CaN + t. If shortening is applied first,
we cannot get augment ṣUK (7.3.36 artiḥrī . . .). For, dā will then not end in ā. The shortening will also be blocked in apiḍacat if nā is not stated along with caṇī. For, we get ā in the upadhā before Ni.

Why do we have the condition of caṇī? Consider kāri + a + ti = kārayuti and hāri + a + ti = hārayati where, in the absence of CaN, there is no shortening of the penultimate.

Why do we have the condition of upadhāyāḥ ‘in place of the penultimate’? Consider acakāṅksat and avavāṅchat where, after deletion of i of kāṅṣi and vāṅchi, nūM (7.1.58 iditoḥ num dhātoḥ) is introduced. We get the forms kāṅks and vāṅch, through anusvāra and parasavarma ‘single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence’, where ā is not in the upadhā ‘next to the last’. One may be tempted to apply shortening because of provision of this rule (sūtrārambha-sāmarthya). This shortening is blocked because of specification made with upadhā. Note that this specification with upadhā is also needed in subsequent rules.

4. A vārttika proposal is also made to state upadhā-ḥrasva ‘shortening of the penultimate’ when NiC, followed by Ni, follows (vt. upadhāḥrasvatve ner nicy upasampkhyaṇam). Thus, consider avivadad vīnām parivādakena, where we get (vad + NiC) = (vādi + NiC + LUN) = vāditavantam prayojitavān = avivadat vīnām parivādakena ‘the accompanist inspired him being inspired to play (the lute)’. Note that the first NiC is deleted by 6.4.51 ner anitī. The anīga then does not go through a replacement in short (ḥrasva) because of sthāniuvadhāva ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’ of NiC-deletion, and also deletion of aK (aglopa). It is debatable whether this vārttika is needed at all. The Bhāṣya does not accept this vārttika. Patañjali considers the two NiC affixes as one and the same. He accepts their specification made as jāti ‘general class; universal’. This way upadhāḥrasva becomes possible. The vārttika, however, is not accepted.

7.4.2 नागलोपिश्वुद्विदत्तम्

naḍglopiśāsvudvatām
/ na ph aglopiśāsvudvatām = ako lopah (ṣaṣ. tat.); aglopa asyāstiti = aglopi (affix inI with the signification of matUP); ṛt it yasya (bv.); aglopi ca sāṣuś ca ṛd it ca (ītar. dv.), teṣām/

(angasya #6.4.1 nau caṇy upadhāyāḥ ḍrasvāḥ #1)
aglopinām anāṅām śaser ṛditāṃ ca nā caṇy upadhāyāḥ ḍrasvo na bhavati
A short vowel does not come as a replacement for the penultimate (upadhā) vowel of an anīga which goes through deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aK (Śs. 1-2), or an anīga constituted by verbal root sās ‘to instruct’, or else, an anīga constituted by a root marked with ṛ as an it, provided when CaN, occurring in construction after NiC, follows.
Examples:

amamālat = mālām ākhyaṭ ‘named (described) the garland’
amamāṭarāt = mātaram ākhyaṭ ‘said ‘mother’
ātyarājaḥ = rājānam atikrāntavān ‘exceeded the king’
anvalulomāt = lomāṇy anumṛṣṭavān ‘cleansed the pores’
asāṣāsat ‘... instructed’
ababādhat ‘... has become agitated’
āyaycat ‘... has begged’
adudhaukat ‘... has reached, presented’

1. This rule disallows penultimate shortening of three types of āṅgas: (i) an āṅga which goes through deletion of one of its sounds denoted by aK (a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ); (ii) an āṅga constituted by sās ‘to instruct’ and (iii) an āṅga constituted by roots, for example bādhR ‘to agitate, churn’, dhaukR ‘to reach, present’, etc., which are marked with R as an it. Consider mālām ākhyaṭ = amamālat, a third singular active derivate of LUN introduced after māl. This root is causal where affix NīC is introduced after mālān in view of a gaṇasutra proposal (under curāḥ listings: tathavōt tad ācāste ‘does that, says that’). Also refer to paṭayati (appendix, II:400-401). Given mālā + (N)i(G) → mālā + i, ā will go through ti-deletion (6.4.155 ṭeh; also iṣṭhavadbhāva (vt: nāv iṣṭhavat prādiṣṭākaṣya ...). Since mālā has gone through deletion of its ā, a sound denoted by aK, māl becomes an āṅga characterized as aglopīn ‘that which has gone through its deletion of aK). Note that mālī + LUN will subsequently produce aT + māl + CaN + t where ī will get deleted and CaN (similar to many LUN-derivates already discussed) will be introduced. This rule will block shortening of the penultimate ā of māl. Reduplication and operations relative to abhyāṣa, etc., will finally produce amamālat. We get mātaram ākhyaṭ = amamāṭarāt and rājānam atikrāntavān = atyarājaḥ ‘exelled the king’. These derivates involve causal forms mātr + NīC and aṭrājan + NīC which produce māt(ṛ → ṭ) + ī and aṭrājan (an → ṭ) + ī, through ti-deletion. Once again, a penultimate shortening will not be allowed in case of these āṅga-elements when CaN, occurring after NīC, follows. Thus, we also get anvalulomāt from anulomi + LUN, where NīC is introduced after anuloman (3.1.25 satyāpapāṣa ...).

Needless to say, we get ti-deletion of an of anuloman before NīC. Examples of sās and roots marked with ṛ as an it are: aśāsāsat, third singular active LUN- derivate of sās ‘to instruct, govern’; and third singular active LUN-derivates of bādhR: ababādhat; of yācR: ayaycat; and of dhaukR: adudhaukat.

It is stated that question of shortening does not arise where aglopā ‘deletion of aK’ has taken effect. For, sthānivadbhāva (1.1.57 sthānivad ādēso ... ) of deletion can automatically block shortening. But in instances (such as rājan) where a sequence of consonant and vowel goes through ti-deletion, negation of shortening cannot be established automatically. We thus need this rule.
7.4.3 भ्राजभासभाषदीपिकेश्वरमल्लिपीडामन्यतरस्याम्

bhṛajabhāsabhāṣadīpaṁjīvakālaṁbhāṣadīpaṁ anyatarasyām
/ bhṛajabhāṣa-bhāṣa-dīpa-jīva-mīla-pīḍāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.); anyatarasyām
7/1/

(anāgya #6.4.1 nāu caṇy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ #1)
‘bhṛaj, bhāsa, bhāsa, dīpa, jīva, mīla, pīḍā’ ity eteṣām anāgyaṁ nāu caṇy
upadhāyā hrasvaḥ bhavaty anyatarasyām

A short vowel, optionally, comes as a replacement for the penultimate
(upadhā) vowel of an anāga, namely one constituted by bhṛaj ‘to glow’,
bhāsa ‘to shine’, bhāsa ‘to speak’, dīpa ‘to glow’, jīva ‘to live’, mīla ‘to
shut eyes’ and pīḍa ‘to torment’, provided when CaN, occurring in
construction after NiC, follows.

EXAMPLES:

abibhrājat ‘. . . had (it) glowed’
ababhṛājat ‘ibidem’
abibhāṣat ‘. . . had (it) shined’
ababhāṣat ‘had (it) spoken’
adīdpat ‘had (it) glowed’
adīdpat ‘ibidem’
ajījvat ‘had (it) lived’
ajījvat ‘ibidem’
amimilat ‘had (someone) sleep’
amimilat ‘ibidem’
apipidat ‘had someone harmed’
apipidat ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional penultimate vowel-shortening (upadhāhrasva),
to a select list of roots termed anāga. Consider (bhṛaj + NiC) + (LIUN→tiP) =
bhṛaj + i + (CL→CaN) + t = aT + bhṛaj + CaN + t where deletion of NiC,
reduplication (dvitva) and operations relative to abhyāsa will take place. Given
a + (bh→ba) + bhraj + a + t = a + ba + bhraj + a + t, rule 7.4.93 sanval laghuni
canipare . . . applies to offer sanvadbhāva ‘operations similar to when san follows’. The a of the abhyāsa ‘reduplicated syllable’, i.e., ba, is thus replaced
with i to yield: a + b(a→i) + bhraj + a + t = abibhrājat. Note that this sanvadbhāva
(II:214) and its related replacement in i (itva) will be blocked if the option
of upadhāhrasva is not accepted. Thus, not accepting upadhāhrasva will give
us a + ba+ bhraj + a + t → ababhṛajat, with no sanvadbhāva and replacement in
i (itva). We similarly get abibhāṣat and ababhāṣat, where the long i of abibhāṣat
is a replacement of its short counterpart (7.4.94 dīṛgho laghoḥ). Similar
derivational details can be offered for abibhāṣat and ababhāṣat; adīdpat and
adīdpat; ajījvat and ajījvat; amimilat and amimilat; and apipidat and apipidat.

Incidentally, the practice of marking bhṛaj and bhāsa with r as an it (rT) is
un-Pāṇinian (Kāś: bhṛajbhāsor rditkaraṇam apānīnyam).
2. A vaRTtika proposal is made for an optional shortening of the penultimate, especially when kani is an anga. Thus, kani + LUN → acakanat and acikanat.

7.4.4 लोप: चिब्यस्यास्य

lopaḥ pibater ič cābhyaśasya
/lopaḥ 1/1 pibateḥ 6/1 it 1/1 ca φ abhyāśasya 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 nau caṇya upadhāyāḥ #1)
pibater aṅgasya nau caṇya upadhāyā lopo bhavati abhyāsasyekārūdēso bhavati
LOPA replaces the penultimate vowel of an anga, namely verbal root pib (pā ‘to drink’), with the additional provision that final sound segment of abhyāsa be replaced with i, provided when CaN, used in construction after NiC, follows.

Examples:

apiṣyati ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of causal pā ‘to drink’’
apiṣyatām ‘third person dual active LUN-derivate . . .’
apiṣyāni ‘third person plural active LUN-derivate . . .’

1. This rule allows two operations concurrently: (i) penultimate deletion (upadhālopa) and (ii) long i as a replacement for the final vowel of the abhyāsa. These operations are both given in the context of an anga, namely pib. Consider the third person singular, dual, and plural active forms of LUN where deletion of the penultimate vowel is offered against shortening provision of 7.4.1 nau caṇy. . . Thus, we get pā + NiC → pā + yUK + NiC = pā + y + i, where yUK is introduced by 7.3.37 śācāḥśāhvā . . . An introduction of LUN, and its replacements with the third singular active verbal ending tiP, dual tas→tām and plural (jhi→anti) i = anti, precedes CLI→CaN, deletion, reduplication, etc., to produce: aT + pāy + (NiC→φ) + a + t → a + p(ā→φ)y + a + t → a + pāy + py + a + t → a + pā + py + a + t. Note here that pāy is reduplicated in view of extension of form (rūpātīdesa) of 1.1.58 dvirvacane ‘ci. Thus, we get pāy + py as a result of reduplication (dvitva). A subsequent application of 7.4.60 halāḍi šesah gives us pā(y→φ) + py. The ā of pā in a + pā + py + a + t is replaced with it to produce: a + p(ā→i) + py + a + t = apiṣyati. The dual and plural forms, apiṣyatām and apiṣyāni, are not very different in derivational details.

2. A question is raised against applying dvirvacane ‘reduplication’ after penultimate vowel-deletion (upadhālopa). Thus, given pāy + i + a + t, deletion of ā leaves py, a unit formed with no vowel (anacka). This will make reduplication impossible, especially in view of ekācaḥ prathamah (6.1.1 ekāco dve prathamasya). Commentators state that upadhālopa ‘deletion of the penultimate’ applies first because it is not only subsequent in order but it is also obligatory (paratvān nityatvāc ca). But this deletion before NiC is accepted as not having applied (via sthānivadyāvaya), as far as reduplication is concerned.
A LOPA before निच is treated as not having taken effect, via स्थाणिवाद्भावा 'treating a substitute as what it replaced'. We know it from the application of 7.4.80 ओऽ पुयान्य अपरेः. Thus, we can still get पाः, via स्थाणिवाद्भावा, for purposes of reduplication.

Commentators explain that the genitive singular अभ्यासया is used so that LOPA and replacement in र (सत्वा) do not become applicable to the उपद्धा 'penultimate vowel', in turn (पर्यया).

7.4.5 तिष्ठतेरित्

tisthater it
/tisthateh 6/1 it 1/1/
(ांगसया #6.4.1 नाइ उपद्धयाय #1)
tisthater अंगसया नाइ उपद्धयाय इकारादेसो भावती
A short i comes in place of the penultimate sound segment of an अंगa constructed by verbal root स्थात 'to stay, stand' when CaN, used in construction after निच, follows.

Examples:

atistihipat 'third person singular active LUÑ-derivate of श्वपि 'to have someone stay, stand, establish'
atistihipatām 'third person dual active LUÑ-derivate . . .'
atistihipan 'third person plural active LUÑ-derivate . . .'

1. This rule is also an exception to the penultimate shortening of 7.4.1 नाइ उपद्धयाय ह्रसवाह. Consider atistihipat, atistihipatām and atistihipan, the active third person singular, dual and plural derivates of श्वाठ 'to stay, stand' used with निच, i.e. श्वापि, in LUÑ. Thus, we get श्वाठ + पUK = निच = श्वापि + LUÑ, where पUK is introduced by 7.3.36 arthārthīvā. . . Given aT + श्वापि + i + CaN + t(h→t), निच gets deleted and our present rule introduces i as a replacement for the penultimate a of श्वाप. We thus get: a + श्वि + a + t. Reduplication and operations relative to अह्यास, especially with the application of 7.4.61 शर्पुरवह क्यायात, yield a + thi + श्वि + a + t. An application of 8.4.53 अह्यासे कर ca produces a + (th→t)i + श्वि + a + t. The s of श्वि then goes through replacement in s (सत्वा). A following th-replacement (स्तुतो; 8.4.41 स्तुन स्तुह) of th produces: a + ti + (s→s) (th→th) ip + a + t = atistihipat. Note that the dual form has tas replaced with tāम. The plural (aṇtī), after jh is replaced with ant, loses i and t both. Thus, we get atistihipatām and atistihipan.

7.4.6 जिभ्रतेरित्

jighrater vā
/jighrateh 6/1 vā $\phi$/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 नाइ उपद्धयाय #1 it #5)
jighrateर अंगसया नाइ कानि उपद्धयाय इकारादेसो वाभावति
A short \( i \), optionally, comes in place of the penultimate sound segment of an \( āṅga \) constituted by \( ghrā \) 'to smell', when \( CαN \), used in construction after \( NīC \), follows.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
ajīghripat & \text{ 'third person singular active } LŪN\text{-derivate of causal } ghrā' \\
ajīghrapat & \text{ 'ibidem; with no } i' \\
ajīghripatām & \text{ 'third person dual active } LŪN\text{-derivate } \ldots' \\
ajīghrapatām & \text{ 'ibidem; with no } i' \\
ajīghripaṇ & \text{ 'third person plural active } LŪN\text{-derivate } \ldots' \\
ajīghrapaṇ & \text{ 'ibidem; with no } i'
\end{align*}
\]

1. Follow the derivational pattern of \( atīthipat \) of the earlier rule, where option of short \( i \) is accepted. Our derivates will go through \( upadhāhṛyasva \) 'penultimate shortening' (7.4.1 \( nāu cānī \ldots \)), \( sanvadbhāva \) 'treatment similar to when \( sāN \) follows', and replacement in \( i \) (\( itva \); 7.4.79 \( sāny atah \)) of the \( abhyāsa \) (6.1.4 \( pūruśo bhyāsah \)), if short \( i \) provision is not accepted. Recall here that reduplication of \( ghrā \) 'to smell', subsequent to \( pUK\) and shortening, or a replacement in \( i \), will produce \( jīghra \) through a replacement in \( j \) for \( gh \), through \( jh \) (7.4.62 \( kuhoś cuh; 8.4.53 abhyāse car ca \)).

7.4.7 उपास्ति

\[
\text{ur } \text{ Execution marker} \]
\[
/\text{uh} \ 6/1 \ \text{ rt } 1/1/
\]
\[
(\text{āṅgasya } #6.4.1 \ nāu cānī upadhāyāh #1 vā #6)\]
\[
\text{ nāu cānī upadhāyā } \text{ raṣmasya sthāne vā } \text{ ṍkārādeśo bhavati}
\]
A short \( r \), optionally, comes in place of the penultimate \( r \) of an \( āṅga \) when affix \( CαN \), used in construction after \( NīC \), follows.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
acikṛttat & \text{ 'third person singular active } LŪN\text{-derivate of causal } kṛti \text{ 'to have someone chant'}' \\
acikṛtta & \text{ 'ibidem'} \\
avavarttat & \text{ 'third person singular active } LŪN\text{-derivate of causal } vṛti \text{ 'to have someone conduct, turn'}' \\
avavitatt & \text{ 'ibidem'} \\
amamāṝjaṭ & \text{ 'third person plural active } LŪN\text{-derivate of causal } mṛji \text{ 'to have cleansed, wiped'}' \\
amimṝjaṭ & \text{ 'ibidem'}
\end{align*}
\]

1. This rule offers short \( r \) (\( rT \)) as a replacement for the penultimate \( r \) of an \( āṅga \) when \( Nī \), followed by \( CαN \), follows. A replacement in short \( r \) for \( r? \) Not exactly. This optional provision is made against \( itva \) 'replacement in \( i \) (7.1.101 \( upadhāyāś ca \))', \( guṇa \) (\( ar, 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca \)) and \( vṛddhi \)
(ār, 7.1.116 ata upadhāyāḥ) provisions of r, read with 1.1.51 ur an raparaha. The taparakarana's specification with a following τ' (1.1.70 taparas talkālasya) of rT is intended for replacing even the long r with its short counterpart (Kāś. taparakaranaṃ dirghē' pi sthānini hrasva eva yathā syā). Recall that, in the absence of taparakarana, a long vowel must be replaced with a long in view of close similarity (āntaratamya) requirement of substitutes (ādēśa) and their corresponding substituenda (sthāni). This replacement provision does not involve bringing about anything (bhāvyamāna) new. It is made here for canceling any other replacement (Kāś. na cāyam bhāvyamānah kim tu ādesāntaraniṁtyartham svarūpam evaitad abhyanujñāyate). Kāśikā calls this replacement in rT an exception to ir, ar and ār (Kāś. irvarām apavādah).

Consider ačkṛtat which derives from (kṛt + NiC) + LUнная kṛt + i + (LUнная \( \rightarrow \) t(\(\rightarrow\)ϕ)) = aT + k(\(\rightarrow\)r) t + i + CaN + t \(\rightarrow\) a + kṛt + (i\(\rightarrow\)ϕ) + a + t \(\rightarrow\) a + kṛt + a + t. Note that an option to replace \(\tilde{r}\) with rT is accepted. Reduplication (dvitva), and operations relative to reduplicated syllable (abhyaśa-kāra), which also includes application of 7.4.66 ur at, will yield: a + ka + kṛt + a + t. Rule 7.4.79 sany ata then applies (via sanvadbhāva) to yield: a + k(a\(\rightarrow\)i) + kṛt + a + t. This i is then replaced with its long counterpart of 7.4.94 dirgho lagho. Thus, we get a + k(i\(\rightarrow\)i) + kṛt + a + t. An application of 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca (cartva) will then replace k with c; a + (k\(\rightarrow\)c) i + kṛt + a + t = ačkṛtat.

Not replacing \(\tilde{r}\) with r (rT) will mean to accept application of 7.1.101 upadhāyāṣ ca. This will offer us ir (rapara; 2.1.51 ur an raparaha) as a replacement for the penultimate \(\tilde{r}\) = a + k(\(\rightarrow\)ir) t + a + t. Application of reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa will produce a + ki + kīr + t + a + t. The short i of the penultimate will be replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.78 upadhāyāṃ ca) and k of the abhyāsa will, of course, go through a replacement in c (cartva). This gives us: a + (k\(\rightarrow\)c) i + kīr + a + t = ačkṛtat. Also, optionally, a + c(a\(\rightarrow\)i) + kṛt + a + t = ačkṛtat. Similar options and derivational details can be offered for avāṣitat, avavartat; and amīṃjat, amamājat. These derivatives of vrt 'to turn' and mf 'to cleanse' are offered to illustrate this replacement in rT as an exception to ar (guna; 7.3.86 pugantalaguhupadhāsya ca) and ār (vṛddhī; 7.2.114 mṛjer vṛddhī), respectively. Note that we do not get sanvadbhāva (II:214) in the context of ār since there is no laghu 'light, short' vowel in the root to follow.

7.4.8 नित्यं छन्दसिः

nityam chhandasi

/ nityam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/

(āṅgaśya #6.4.1 nau caṇy upadhāyāḥ #1 ur rī #7)
chandasi viśaye nau caṇy upadhāyā rvarṇasya sthāne ṛkārādeśo bhavati nityam
A short r, in the Vedic, comes obligatorily in place of penultimate r of an āṅga when CaN, used in construction after NiC, follows.
Examples:

avīṛdhāt ‘third person singular active LUN-derivative of vṛdh ‘to grow’
avīṛdhātām ‘third person dual active LUN-derivative . . .
avīṛdhāhan ‘third person plural active LUN-derivative . . .

1. This rule makes the preceding provision of rT obligatory in the context of Vedic usage (chandasi). Thus, we get avīṛdhāt, etc., similarly to acikrtat (7.4.7 uh r).  
2. Incidentally, nityam ‘obligatorily’ indicates that the anuvrtti of vā ‘optionally’ is valid in the preceding rule. For, this obligatory provision must be made against that optional.

7.4.9 दयतेरदिगी लिति

dayater digi liți
/dayateh 6/1 digi 1/1 (deleted) liți 7/1 /
(angasya #6.4.1)
dayater anangasya liți parato digi ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in digi comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga constituted by verbal root deN ‘to protect, guard’ when affix LIT follows.

Examples:

avadigye ‘third person singular middle LIT-derivative of deN ‘to protect’
avadigyeśe ‘third person dual middle LIT-derivative . . .’
avadigyeśe ‘third person plural LIT-derivative . . .’

1. This rule offers digi as a replacement for an aṅga constituted by deN, provided when LIT follows. Note that daya of this rule does not refer to verbal root dayA ‘to give’. For, that root is already offered ām before LIT (3.1.37 dayāyāsāś ca).

Commentators explain that digi is offered as a replacement with a desire to block reduplication (6.1.8 liți dhator . . .; Kaś: digyādesena dvirvacanasya bādhanam isyate). For, reduplication is obligatorily available for application (avasyakartka-prāpti). Thus, consider ava-deN + (LIT→ta) → ava(deN→digi) + ta → ava-digi + (ta→eS) = avadigi + e, where ta (3.4.78 tiptaṣṭhi . . .) is replaced with eS (3.4.81 liṭastajhāyor . . .). We will get avadig (i→γ) + e = avadigye. The dual and plural forms will have a replacement in āt and ireC (3.4.81 liṭastajhāyor . . .), respectively.

7.4.10 ऋतुस्त संयोगादेशम्:

ṛtaś ca śaṁyogaḍer guṇah
/ṛtah 6/1 ca φ śaṁyogaḍeh 6/1 = śaṁyoga ādir yasya (bv.), tasya; guṇah 1/1/
A guṇa vowel comes in place, also, of the final sound segment of an aṅga which ends in a r and begins with a conjunct (samyoga), when affix LIṬ follows.

**Examples:**

sasvaratuh ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of sur ‘to sound, be pained’
sasvaruh ‘third person plural active LIṬ-derivate . . . ’
dadḥvaratuh ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of dhur ‘to injure’
dadḥvaruh ‘third person plural active LIṬ-derivate . . . ’
sasmaratuh ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of smṛ ‘to remember’
sasmaruh ‘third person plural active LIṬ-derivate . . . ’

1. Consider sasmaratuh and sasmaruḥ, where the parasmaipada ‘active’ dual and plural third personal replacements of LIṬ are further replaced with atus and us (3.4.82 parasmaipadānām . . . ). This rule causes the aṅga-final r to be replaced with its guṇa counterpart a, followed by r (rapara; 1.1.51 ur an raparah). This same also happens in case of derivates of sur and dhur.

Now consider some LIṬ-derivates of hvr. jahvāra / jahvaratuh / jahvaruh, again third person singular, dual and plural active forms. Given hvr + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL) → hvr + a, reduplication applies first in view of 1.1.59 dvivracane’ ci.

2. Why do we have the condition of rT ‘ending in r’? Consider cikṣiyituh and cikṣiyuh, the corresponding derivatives of cikṣi, where guṇa is blocked in favor of iyAṉ. Obviously, kṣi ‘to decay’ begins with a conjunct but does not end in r. The condition of samyogādi ‘beginning with a conjunct’ similarly blocks guṇa in cakrataḥ and cakruḥ, where kr ends in r but does not begin with a conjunct.

3. This rule is formulated so that guṇa can be accomplished even where it is negated due to K as an it (kit; 1.1.5 kniti ca) status of a LIṬ, not marked with P as an it (1.2.4 sārvadhatukam aπīt). The negation of this guṇa is, of course, desired on the basis of pūrvavipratīṣedha ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’ when the context is ṝṛḍhi. Thus, consider the derivates of smṛ and sur with NaL and ṝṛḍhi, i.e., sasmāra and sasvāra. Note, however, that the guṇa applies only when LIṬ follows. Consequently, there is no guṇa in smṛṭah and smṛṭavān.

4. A vārttiKA proposal recommends interpreting samyogādi ‘that (an aṅga) which has a conjunct at its beginning’ as samyogopadha ‘that (an aṅga) which has a conjunct in its penultimate position’. Consider saṅcaskaratuh and saṅcaskaruḥ which derive from sam-kr + (LIṬ→atus/us). Commentators note that a preverb (upasarga), i.e., here sam, is combined with kr after reduplica-
tion is accomplished. This facilitates introduction of augment $	ext{ṣ}U	ext{T}$ (6.1.136?  $\text{ad abhīṣavaṇyāve}$ ‘pi). Note here that because an externally conditioned $\text{ṣ}U	ext{T}$ becomes $\text{asiddha}$ ‘suspended’ in $\text{samskṛśīṣā}$ and $\text{upaskṛśīṣā}$ ($\text{kṛśīṣā}$; II:437-38), augment $\text{īT}$ (7.2.43 $\text{ṛtaś ca samyogādeḥ}$) is not introduced.

There are two positions on when and how a verbal root is combined with an $\text{upasarga}$: (i) $\text{dhātuḥ pṛuvaṃ upasargena yujyate}$ ‘a verbal root is combined with the preverb first’ and (ii) $\text{pṛuvaṃ dhātuḥ sādhanaṇaḥ yujyate}$ ‘a verbal root is joined first with the means ($\text{sādhana, karta, etc.}$)’. The second view is followed in the context of our present rule. This facilitates $\text{guna}$ of the $\text{samyogopadha}$ in $\text{saṇcaskaratuḥ}$, etc. This view also makes augment $\text{ṣ}U	ext{T}$ externally conditioned ($\text{bahirānga}$). That is why, $\text{ṣ}U	ext{T}$ gets suspended in the context of an $\text{īT}$ which is yet to be accomplished ($\text{Kāś. atra hi pṛuvaṃ dhātuḥ sādhanaṇaḥ yujyate paścād upasargena}$ ity atra hi dārśane, $\text{ṛti kṛte tadāśraye ca dvirvacane paścād upasargayoge saṭi ad abhīṣavaṇyāve}$ ‘pi’ iti $\text{sūtra}$ yujyate, evam ca $\text{kṛtvā}$ $\text{samskṛśīṣa, upaskṛśīṣa}$ ity atra suṭaḥ bāhīrangalakṣaṇasyāsidhatvād $\text{ṛtaś ca samyogādeḥ}$ iti id āgamo na bhavati).

### 7.4.11 ऋचतयत्

\[
\text{ṛchatyṛt̄ām} \quad /\text{ṛchatyṛt̄ām} \ 6/\ 3 = \text{ṛchatiś ca ṛ ca ṛt ca} \ (\text{itar. dv.), teśām/}
\]

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ṛtī #9 gunaḥ #10)

\[
\text{ṛchater aṅgasya, ṛ ity etasya, ṛkārāntānāṃ ca ṛtī parato guṇo bhavati}
\]

A $\text{guna}$ vowel comes in place of the final sound of an $\text{aṅga}$, particularly one constituted by $\text{ṛch}$ and $\text{ṛ'}$ to go’, or those which end in $\text{ṛT}$, provided when $\text{īT}$ follows.

**Examples:**

- $\text{ānaračha}$ ‘third person singular active $\text{īT}$-derivate of $\text{ṛch}$
- $\text{ānaračatuḥ}$ ‘third person dual active $\text{īT}$-derivate . . .
- $\text{ānaračchuḥ}$ ‘third person plural active $\text{īT}$-derivate . . .
- $\text{āratuḥ}$ ‘third person dual active $\text{īT}$-derivate of $\text{ṛ}$
- $\text{āruḥ}$ ‘third person plural active $\text{īT}$-derivate of $\text{ṛ}$
- $\text{nicaṇaratuḥ}$ ‘third person dual active $\text{īT}$-derivate of $\text{ni-kṛ}$
- $\text{nicaṇaruḥ}$ ‘third person plural active $\text{īT}$-derivate . . .
- $\text{nijaṇaratuḥ}$ ‘third person dual active $\text{īT}$-derivate of $\text{ni-jāgṛ}$
- $\text{nijaṇaruḥ}$ ‘third person plural active $\text{īT}$-derivate . . .

1. This rule allows $\text{guna}$ to $\text{ṛch}$ which is not available to it because of the condition of $\text{laghūpadha}$ ‘penultimate short’ (7.3.86 $\text{pugantalahgūpadasya ca}$). That is, it does not have a $\text{laghu}$ ‘short’ vowel in its $\text{upadhā}$. Recall that $\text{ṛ}$ is termed $\text{guna}$ before its $\text{cch}$, the conjunct (1.4.11 $\text{samyojena}$ $\text{guna}$). This rule also allows $\text{guna}$ of $\text{ṛ'}$ ‘to go’ and also of those which end in a long $\text{ṛ}$ ($\text{īT}$). For, these roots are denied $\text{guna}$ because of the $\text{kit}$-status of a select list of
replacements of LIṬ marked with P as an it (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit). Our present rule allows it.

2. Consider ānarccha, ānarcchatuh and ānarcchuh, where the root is rech. We get the form rech by introducing augment tUK of 6.1.73 che ca, via t→c (cutuva). Given rech + LIṬ, we get archha + arccha + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL) → a + rech + a, after reduplication and guna of the abhyāsa (7.4.66 ur ar), and application of halādisēsa 'retention of a unit formed with consonant' (7.4.60 halādi šeṣāḥ). An application of rule 6.1.94 ato guṇe is blocked here by 7.4.70 ata ādeḥ. The a of the abhyāsa is replaced with its long counterpart. We now have ā + rech + a, where r of the root goes through a replacement in guna to yield ā + (r→ar) ɛch + a = ā + arcch + a. Augment nUṬ is then introduced (7.4.71 tasmān nuḍ dviḥalāḥ) to an ānga which contains two consonants occurring after the ā of its abhyāsa. Thus, ā + n(UṬ) + arcch + a = anarccha. A question is raised here against application of nUṬ. It is stated that rule 7.4.71 tasmān nuḍ dviḥalāḥ requires two consonants. What we have here are three consonants. This problem is resolved by interpreting dvi as denoting more than one, by implication (upalaksāṇa). Similar rule application is also available to other derivatives. Deriving āratoḥ from r + LIṬ, when tas gets replaced with atus, also involves application of savarna-dīrga ‘homogeneous long vowel’ (6.1.100 akaḥ savarne dīrgaḥ). Thus, ā + ar + atus → āratoḥ(s→r→h) = āratoḥ. Similar applications are also seen in derivatives of kṛ- ni-cakaratuḥ and ni-cakaruḥ.

Recall, though, that an application of guna against vṛddhi (before NaL) is blocked, via pūrauṁpratisēda ‘conflict between two rules of equal strength where the preceding prevails’. Thus, an independent scope of guna can be established in deriving ni-cakaratuḥ and ni-cakaruḥ. A similar independent scope of vṛddhi can be established in deriving kārakah and hārakah, both derivatives of affix NvuoL. But we find both guna and vṛddhi applicable in ni-cakāra and ni-jagāra, where vṛddhi alone is desired.

7.4.12 शुद्धम् ह्रस्वो वा
śuddhprām hrasvo vā
śi-dṛprām 6/3 = śi ca dṛ ca pṛ ca (itart. dv.), teśām; hrasvaḥ 1/1 vā ṣ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 liṭi #9)
śi, dṛ, pṛ ity eteśām aṅgānāṁ liṭi parato vā hrasvo bhavati
A short vowel, optionally, comes in place of the final sound segment of an ānga constituted by verbal roots śi ‘to harm’, dṛ ‘to tear apart’, and pṛ ‘to nourish, protect’ when affix LIṬ follows.

Examples:

viṣāśraturuḥ ‘third person dual active LIṬ-derivative of vi-śi’
viṣāśaratuḥ ‘ibidem’
viṣāśrnuḥ ‘third person plural active LIṬ-derivative . . .’
viṣaṣaruh ‘ibidem’
vidadratuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of vi-dṛ’
vidadaratuḥ ‘ibidem’
vidadruḥ ‘third person plural active LIT-derivate of vi-dṛ’
vidadaruh ‘ibidem’
nipapratuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of ni-pr̥’
nipaparatuh ‘ibidem’
nipapruḥ ‘third person plural active LIT-derivate . . .’
nipaparuh ‘ibidem’

1. Note that, since these roots end in a long ō, the preceding rule will offer guṇa, obligatorily (niṭya). Our present rule offers optional shortening against the obligatory guṇa. Consider viṣas̄ī + atus which we get after reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. An optional shortening, followed by yaN-replacement of r and rutva-visarga, will offer viṣas̄ī(ṉ→ ṛ→ṛ) + atus → viṣas̄ī + atus(s→ṛ→ḥ) = viṣaṣrattuḥ. We will similarly get viṣaṣaratuḥ. A guṇa-replacement, with its following r, will yield viṣaṣaratuḥ and viṣaṣaruh. Similar applications will produce vidadratuḥ, vidadruḥ and vidadaruh, vadadaruh, etc.

2. This provision of shortening is necessary for blocking replacements in i (itva; 7.1.100 ṛa id dhātoḥ) and u (utva; 7.1.102 ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya). That is, if shortening was not stated along with vā, replacements in i (itva) and u (utva) will apply, optionally, against the guṇa of the preceding rule. It is to cancel replacements in i (itva) and u (utva) that hrasvaḥ ‘short’ is stated in this rule. These replacements do not apply when hrasva is applied (Kāś: hrasvavacanan itvottavaniṭyartham).

3. Some scholars refute this rule claiming that śṛ, dṛ and pr̥ are here specified to refer to roots having similar significations. They thus accept specified roots as śrā ‘to cook’, drā ‘to censure’ and prā ‘to fill’. They further claim that viṣaṣratuḥ, etc., can be easily derived by deleting ā (6.4.64 āto lopa iṭi ca). That is, they can get viṣaṣravā + atus after reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. The ā of viṣaṣravā can then be deleted. But this refutation is problematic. For, given viṣaṣravā + KvasU, we cannot get viṣaṣrvas. An application of guṇa, in the absence of hrasva, will produce a wrong form *viṣaṣarvas.

7.4.13 केङ्खः:

ke’ naḥ
/ ke 7/1 anāḥ 6/1/
(aṅgaśya #6.4.1 hrasvāḥ #12)
ke prataye parato’ no hrasvo bhavati
A short vowel comes in place of sounds denoted by aN of an aṅga when affix ka follows.
7.4.14  Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Four

Examples:

jñakā 'she who knows little'
kumārikā 'a little girl'
kiśorīkā 'an adolescent girl'

1. This rule offers shortening to a long vowel denoted by aN, provided affix ka follows. Consider jānātī jñah 'he who knows', where verbal root jñā 'to know' receives affix Ka (3.1.135 igupadajñā . . .) to produce jñā. Affix TāP is then introduced to derive jñā. If we now introduce affix ka (5.3.70 prāg ivāt kah), with the signification of alpa 'little', etc., we will get jñ(ā→ϕ) + ka → jñaka. A reintroduction of TāP will then produce jñakā. Similar applications of shortening are also involved in derivates such as kumārikā and kiśorīkā.

Why do we have the restriction of aN? Consider gokā and naukā where, because of o and au of go 'cow' and nau 'boat', this rule cannot apply. Obviously, because o and au are not included within the denotata of aN.

Why is this shortening not applied in rākā 'night of the full-moon day' and dvākah 'support, receptacle, food'? It is because of the provision of bahulam 'variously' (3.3.1 uṇādaya bahulam). Besides, negation of 7.4.14 na kapi also applies to kaN. That is, our next rule negates shortening also when ka with N as an it follows.

7.4.14 न कपि

na kapi
/na φ kapi 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hravṣā #12 anā #13)
kapi pratyaye parato' no hravṣo na bhavati
A short vowel does not come in place of the final aN of an aṅga when affix kAP follows.

Examples:

bahuḥkumārīkāḥ 'he who has many young daughters'
bahuḥvadhūkāḥ 'he who has many wives'
bahuḥlakṣmīkāḥ 'he who has plentiful wealth'

1. A sound denoted by aN is not replaced with its short counterpart when affix kaP follows an aṅga. This negation goes against the positive provision of shortening made before affix ka of the preceding rule. Recall that a taddhita affix, here kAP, is introduced after a bahuvrīhi compound which either ends in a constituent termed nadi, or in r (5.4.153 nadyoṛ ca). Our derivate bahukumārī ends in a constituent termed nadi (1.4.3 yūstrāyākhyau nadi). This rule negates shortening of i of kumārī before affix kAP of bahukumārīka. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.
2. Commentators note that shortening of an upasarsana ‘secondary constituent’ (1.2.48 gostriyor upasarsanasya) also does not apply when kaP follows. It is argued that a compound base, i.e., bahukumārī, is not a nominal stem, especially since it ends in a feminine affix (1.4.14 arthavad-adhātur-apratayyah prātipadikām). Recall that 1.2.48 gostriyor upasarsanasya carries the anvṛtti of prātipadikāsya ‘of a nominal stem’. A form which ends in a feminine affix does not qualify for assignment of the term prātipadika ‘a nominal stem’. Since affix kaP becomes part of the nominal compound, it can no longer condition shortening. That is, it cannot facilitate shortening of the final vowel of bahukumārī. For, this compound should be formed with the constituency of bahu + Jas and kumārī + Jas, where kaP (5.3.153 nadyṛtaś ca) should be introduced after the final constituent kumārī, prior to compound-formation (Kāś: gostriyor upasarsanasya ity ayam api hrasvaḥ na bhavati. samāsārthe hy uttarapade kaP kṛte paścāt kabantena sāha samāsena bhavitavyam iti stripratya- yāntasamāsaprātipadikām na bhavati). That is, the compound should be formed with a constituent ending in affix kaP. Since a form ending in a feminine affix is not termed nominal stem, we do not get shortening of i of kumārī in bahukumārī before affix kaP. It thus becomes clear that a form which ends in a feminine affix is termed nominal stem only after formation of a compound. What precedes kaP in bahukumārīka is neither a compound nor a nominal stem.

7.4.15 आपोन्यातस्ययाम्

āpo’ nyatarasyām
/āpah 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 hrasvaḥ #12 guṇah #13 na kaP #14)

ābantasyāṅgasya kaP hrasvo na bhavaty anyatarasyām

A short vowel does not, optionally, come in place of the final sound segment of an ange ending in the feminine affix āP, when affix kaP follows.

Examples:

bahukhaṭṭvākah ‘he who has many cots’
bahukhaṭṭvākah ‘ibidem’
bahumālākah ‘he who has plentiful garlands’
bahumālākah ‘ibidem’

1. Note that affix kaP of these examples is introduced by 5.4.154 ṣeṣād vibhāṣā. A non-introduction of kaP facilitates shortening. Thus, we get bahukhaṭṭvākah and bahumālākah. Affix kaP is here introduced after compound-formation of bahuvrīhi. Elsewhere, we will get bahukhaṭṭvākah and bahumālākah.

7.4.16 त्रदौंशोक्तिन्यून:;

ṛdrāso ni guṇah
/ṛ-drśah 6/1 (sam. dv.), tasya; ani 7/1 guṇaḥ 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1)
ṛvarṇāntānāṃ dṛśes ca ani parato guṇo bhavati
A replacement in guṇa comes in place of the final vowel of an aṅga, namely one which ends in ē, or that which is constituted by dṛśIR 'to see', provided when affix aṅ follows.

Examples:

akarat 'third person singular active past imperfect (LUṅ) derivate of kr'
akaram 'first person singular active past imperfect . . .'
asarat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of sr'
ārat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of ē'
jarā 'old age; (jī(peare) + a(N)) + TāP'
adarsat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of drś'
adarśatām 'third person dual active past imperfect . . .'
adarśan 'first person singular active past imperfect . . .'

1. Note that aṅ (3.1.56 sarttiśāṣṭyartī . . .) is an affixal replacement of CLI, marked with N as an it. A guṇa replacement thus gets negated by 1.1.5 kniti ca. Our present rule makes this guṇa possible. Consider akarat and akaram, the third, and first, singular LUṅ-derivates, respectively, of kr, where aṅ is introduced as a replacement of CLI (3.1.59 kṛmrdrṛruhi . . .). Refer to derivational details of akarat and akaram, under the appendix (III:776) of rule 3.4.6 chandasi luṇlaṅliṭaḥ. The aṅ in asarat is introduced by 3.1.56 sarttiśāṣṭyartiibhyaṣ ca. Refer to the appendix under this rule (III:723) for derivational details. Our next example jara, a feminine derivate ending in TāP (4.1.41 śid gaurādibhyāṣ ca), has affix aṅ (3.3.104 śibhidādibhyoś) introduced after verbal root jī 'to be old, decay'. Derivational details of adarsat are offered under the appendix (III:720) of 3.1.47 na drśah. The aṅ, in place of CLI in adarsat, is introduced by 3.1.57 iti vā.

7.4.17 अस्यतेस्त्वुष्कः

asyates thuk
/ASYATEH 6/1 thuk 1/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 ani #15)
asyater angasya thug āgamo bhavaty ani paratāḥ
Augment thUK is introduced to an aṅga constituted by verbal root as when affix aṅ follows.

Examples:

āsthāt 'third person singular active LUṅ-derivate of as'
āsthātām 'third person dual active LUṅ-derivate . . .'
āsthāhan 'third person plural active LUṅ-derivate . . .'
1. This rule introduces augment *thUK* to an *aṅga* constituted by *asU* ‘to hurl’ when *aŅ* follows. Refer to the appendix under rule 3.1.52 *asyativakti* . . . where *CLI* is replaced with *aŅ* after *asU* in deriving *āsthath* of *pary-āsthath*.

7.4.18 र्वयतेरः:

śvayater *aḥ*

/svayateḥ 6/1 *aḥ* 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 aṇi #16)

śvayater aṅgasyaḥkārādeśo bhavaty aṇi parataḥ

An *a* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *TUOśvī* ‘to move, grow’ when affix *aT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*aśvat* ‘third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *TUOśvī*’

*aśvatām* ‘third person dual active *LUN*-derivate of *TUOśvī*’

*aśvan* ‘third person plural active *LUN*-derivate . . .’

1. This rule replaces the *aṅga*-final *i* of *TUOśvī* ‘to grow, go’ with *a*. Refer to derivational details of *aśvat* under the appendix of 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dhēṣṭvyoh* (III:720-21), whereby *CLI* after *śvī* is replaced with *aŅ*. Other examples are similarly derived.

7.4.19 पतः: पुम्

*pataḥ pum*

/pataḥ 6/1 *pum* 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 aṇi #16)

*pater aṅgasya pum āgamo bhavaty aṇi parataḥ*

Augment *pUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *pat* ‘to fall’ when affix *aŅ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*apaptaṭ* ‘third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *pat* ‘to move, fall’’

*apaptaṭām* ‘third person dual active *LUN*-derivate . . .’

*apaptaṭan* ‘third person plural active *LUN*-derivate . . .’

1. This rule introduces augment *pUM* to an *aṅga* constituted by *pat* when *aŅ* follows. Recall that *aŅ* replaces *CLI* under the condition of *pat* being marked with *I* as an *it* (3.1.55 *pūṣādīdyutādi* . . .). This rule introduces *pUM* after the last vowel of *pat* (1.1.46 mid aco’ nyāt parah). Thus, we get *aT + pa + (pa + PUM + t) + a + t = apaptaṭ, etc.*, through reduplication and operations relative to the *abhyaśa*. Refer to derivational details of similar derivate under the appendix of 3.1.55 *pūṣādīdyutādi* . . ., etc.
7.4.20 वच उम्

vaca um
/vacaḥ 6/1 um 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 āni #16)
vacar aṅgasya āni parata um āgamo bhavati
Augment um is introduced to an aṅga constituted by verbal root vac
‘to speak’ when affix aT follows.

EXAMPLES:

avocat ‘third person singular active LUṈ-derivate of vac’
avocatām ‘third person dual active LUṈ-derivate . . .’
avocan ‘third person plural active LUṈ-derivate . . .’

1. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.52 asyativakti . . . (III:722) for derivational details of avocat, etc.

7.4.21 शीङ्: सार्वधातुके गुणः:

śīṅh sārvadhātuke guṇah
/śīṅh 6/1 sārvadhātuke 7/1 guṇah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1)
śīṅo aṅgasya sārvadhātuke parato guṇo bhavati
A guṇa vowel comes in place of the final vowel of an aṅga constituted by verbal root śīṅ ‘to recline, lie down’ when an affix termed sārvadhātuka follows.

EXAMPLES:

śete ‘third person singular middle LAṈ-derivate of śīṅ’
śayāte ‘third person dual middle LAṈ-derivate . . .’
śerate ‘third person plural middle LUṈ-derivate . . .’

1. Recall that guṇa before a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tinśit sārvadhātukam) affix marked with P as an it is already made available (7.3.84 sārvadhātukār-dhadhātukayoḥ). But this guṇa is blocked by 1.1.5 knīti ca, read with 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam api. The guṇa of this rule cannot be blocked since it is a special provision. Refer to derivational details of śerate under 7.1.6 śīno ruṭ.

2. Why do we have the condition of sārvadhātuke ‘when an affix termed sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tinśit sārvadhātukam) follows’? Consider śīṣye where a tin replacement of LIṬ is uniquely termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhā-tukam śeyah). Consequently, guṇa of this rule is blocked before an affix other than sārvadhātuka.

7.4.22 अय्या यि क्रियि

ayaṁ yi knīti
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

7.4.23

/a/aṇi 1/1 yi 7/1 kniṭi 7/1 = kaś ca naś ca kaṇau (itar. dv.); tau itau yasya (bu.)/
(angasya #6.4.1 niṇ #21)
yakārādau kniṭi pratyaye parataḥ niṇa’ ngasya ‘aṇi’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in aṇi comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga constituted by niṇ ‘to recline’ when a y-initial affix marked with K and N as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

śayate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of niṇ with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’
śāśayate ‘third person dual middle LAT-derivate of niṇ ending in affix yaN...
prāśayya ‘absolute derivate of (upa-śiN) + Ktva→Lyap’
upaśayya ‘derivate of (upa-śiN) + Ktva→Lyap’

1. This rule introduces ayaN to the final vowel of niṇ, provided, of course, when an affix, beginning with y and marked with K and N as an it, follows. Consider śayate which derives from śi + (LAT→te) → śi + yaK + te, where yaK (3.1.67 sārvadhatuke yak) is introduced before te with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’. We get ś(i→ayaN) + yaK + te → śayate, where ayaN replaces i in view of 1.1.53 nic ca. Note that śāśayate derives from (śi + yaN) + (LAT→te), with reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. Since ayaN is subsequent (para), and obligatory (nītā), it applies first to śi + yaN. Doubling and retention of the unit formed with initial consonant (7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ) follow. The a of the abhyāsa, namely the sa of śa + śayya + ta, then goes through a replacement in long (7.4.83 dirgho’ kitāh). The Ktva of pra + śi + Ktvā and upa + śi + Ktvā goes through a replacement in Lyap (7.1.37 samās...; 2.2.22 ktvā ca). Of course, in addition to introduction of ayaN to i of śi.

2. Why do we have the condition of y-initial (yakārādi)? Consider śi + (LIT→ta→te) = śiye where, after reduplication, i before e goes through a replacement in y (yaN). Consider śey (of śeyam) which derives from śi + yaT as a counter-example for the condition of kniṭi. Obviously, we get a replacement in guṇa because yaT is not marked with K and N as an it.

7.4.23 उपसार्गदाहसु ऊहत: शु</textarea>
7.4.24  Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Four

EXAMPLES:

samuhyate 'derivate of sam-ūh + yaK + (LAT→te)'

samuhya 'derivate of sam-ūh + (Ktvā→Lyap)'

abhuyhate 'derivate of abhi-ūh + yaK + (LAT→te)'

abhuyhya 'derivate of abhi-ūh + yaK + (LAT→te)'

1. This rule offers a short vowel as a replacement for the long of ūhA, when used as an aṅga in construction after a preverb. Of course, when a y-initial affix marked with Kand N as an it follows. Thus, we get sam-(ū→u) h + yaK + (LAT→te) = samuhya and sam-(ū→u) h + (Ktvā→Lyap) = samuhya. Similar applications are also involved in deriving abhyuhate and abhyuhya.

2. Note that an aṅga constituted by verbal root uh alone does not qualify for this shortening. Thus, we cannot derive (ū→u) h + yaK + te = *uhyte. The correct form must be ūhyate. This explains why we have the condition of upasargāt 'after a preverb'. Consider samūhitam where we cannot get this shortening because Kta begins with a consonant other than y. Recall that anah is carried over to this rule, via anuvṛtti, from 7.4.13 ke' nah. Consequently, this shortening must apply to a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aN. We do not get shortening of o in sam + ā + ūhyate → sam (ā+ū→o) hyate = samohya.

7.4.24 एतेर्लिनि

eter liṇi
/ etē̄ 6/1 liṇi 7/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yi kniti #22 upasargad hrusvaḥ #23)
eter aṅgasyopasargad uttarasya liṇi yakārādau kniti parato hrasvo bhavati
A short comes in place of the long final vowel of an aṅga constituted by verbal root iN 'to go', used in construction after a preverb, when a y-initial affix marked with K and N as an it, follows.

EXAMPLES:

udiyāt 'derivate of ud-iN + (LIN→ta)'

samiyāt 'derivate of sam-iN + (LIN→ta)'

anviyāt 'derivate of anu-iN + (LIN→ta)'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the long of an aṅga, namely iN 'to go', when the aṅga is used after a preverb and when a y-initial replacement of LIN 'benedictive' marked with K and N as an it follows. This shortening applies to the long vowel resulting out of application of 7.4.25 akṛt-sārvaadhātukayoḥ (Kāś. āśiṣi liṇi 'akṛtārvaadhātukayoḥ' iti dirghatve kṛte hrusvo' nena bhavati). Recall that a parasmaipada replacement (by way of an augment) of LIN, namely yāsuṭ, is treated as marked with N and K (3.4.103 yāsuṭ parasmaipadesu . . . ; 3.4.104 kidāśiṣi) as an it. Thus, ud + i + (LIN→t(i→ϕ) →
ud + i + yā(ś → φ) + t = udi + yāt, where s of yāsUT, and sUT as well, gets deleted by 8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor ante ca. The i of the string is replaced with its long counterpart by rule 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhātukayō dīrgahāḥ. Thus, we get ud + (i → n) + yāt = udiyāt. Our present rule then replaces the long vowel with its short (hrasvah) counterpart. Thus, udi(i → i)yāt = udiyāt. A similar example will be abhi + (i → i)yāt → abhi + iyāt. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa) and Haradatta (PM) both clearly state that a long replacement for i of iN is not possible when a sārvadhātuka replacement of LIN follows. This rule cannot apply there. This shortening applies to a long which results through the application of 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhātukayō. It is argued that, given abhi + iyāt and prati + iyāt, we can get abhiyāt, pratiyāt and parīyāt and pratiyāt through homogeneous long vowel replacement (savarṇa-dīrgaḥ; 6.1.100 akāh savarṇe dīrgaḥ). But still this shortening cannot apply, as it has been explained by the Mahābhāṣya with ā + iyāt and ā + ṣuyate, via antādivadbhāva ‘treatment of the final as initial of what follows’. I choose not to discuss it any further.

The short replacement, however, will apply only when the aṅga is used after a preverb (upasargād eva). Elsewhere, we will get iyāt with long i. Additionally, this shortening applies only to a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aN. Thus, we do not get shortening of e in ā + iyāt = eyāt and sam + ā + iyāt = sameyāt.

7.4.25 अकृतसार्वद्वातुकयो दैर्घ्य:  

akṛtsārvadhātukayō dīrgaḥ  
/akṛt-sārvadhātukayō 7/2 = kṛc ca sārvadhātukaṇ ca (itar. dv.); na krśārvadhātuke (nañ. tāt.), tayoh, dīrgaḥ 1/1/  
(angasya #6.4.1 yi kniti #25)  
akṛṣṭyakāre asārvadhātukayakāre ca kniti parato’ jantasyāṅgasya dīrgaḥ bhavati  

A short comes in place of the final vowel of an aṅga when a non-Kṛt and non-sārvadhātuka affix beginning with y, and marked with Kand N as an ṅ, follows.

Examples:

bhrṣāyate ‘derivate of bhṛṣa + Kyaṅ + ŚaP + ta’  
sukhāyate ‘derivate of sukha + Kyaṅ + ŚaP + ta’  
duḥkhāyate ‘derivate of duḥkha + Kyaṅ + ŚaP + ta’  
cīyate ‘derivate of cī + yaK + ta’  
ceedyate ‘derivate of cī + yaN + ta’  
stūyate ‘derivate of stu + yaK + ta’  
toṣṭīyate ‘derivate of stu + yaṅ + ta’  
cīyāt ‘third person singular LIN-derivate of cī’  
stūyāt . . . of stu’
1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short vowel of an anāga when a non-kt (akrt; 3.1.93 kṛd atītī) and non-sārvadātuka affix (asārvadātuka; 3.4.114 tinśit sārvadātukam) beginning with y, and marked with K and N as an it, follows. Recall here that, in view of 1.2.28 acaś ca, only a vowel denoted by the abbreviative term aC gets replaced with it short (hrasva), long (dīrgha) and extra-long (pluta) counterpart. Consider bhṛṣāyat, sukhaśay and duḥkhāyate where the short final vowel of bhṛṣa, sukha and duḥkha gets replaced with its long counterpart under the condition of a following KyaN (3.1.12 bhṛṣādibhyo ...; 3.1.18 sukhādibhyo ...). Recall that ciyate and stūyate are middle (ātmaneṣaṇa) derivates of ciN ‘to heap’ and stuN ‘to praise’ where yaK is introduced with the signification of karman ‘object’ (3.1.67 sārvadātuka yak). Derivates of yaN (3.1.22 dhātor ekāco ...), for example toṣṭyate (stu + yaN + LAt) and ceceiyate (ciN + yaN + LAt), involve dūtvā ‘reduplication’ (6.1.1 ekāco dvya prathamasya). Rule 7.4.61 saraṇpūrvāh khayaḥ requires that only a sound denoted by the abbreviative term khaY, when used in an abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaśaḥ) after a sound denoted by the abbreviative term sāR, is retained. This applies to the abhyāsa of toṣṭyate. Derivates such as ciyāt and stūyāt illustrate how, in the benedictive (aśīrīni), ci and stu get a long replacement for their final short i before yāsUṬ.

Notice that all y-initial affixes which condition the long replacement of this rule are non-kt and non-sārvadātuka. Consider prakṛtya and prahaṛtya, as counter-examples, where Ktvā → LyaP is an affix marked with K as an it. But since this affix is a kṛt, we do not get a long replacement. Recall that a long replacement is here ordered for an anāga which ends in a vowel (ajanta). Such a long replacement will be automatically blocked in derivates such as prakṛtya and prahaṛtya, because of introduction of tUK (6.1.71 hrasvasya pithikṛti ...) causing impairment of the vowel-final status (ajantata) of an anāga. Why make a specific provision by specifying akrt to block long replacement? Commentators state that if akrt is not specified, long replacement of this rule will block augment tUK on the basis of being subsequent (paratva; Nyāsa ad Kāś: asaty akṛdgrahane paratvād dīrghatvena tug bādhyeta). Incidentally, tUK finds its independent scope of application in agnicit and somasut. The long replacement has its own independent scope of application in ciyate. It is prakṛtya and prahaṛtya where tUK and dīrgha, both, become applicable simultaneously. We must have akrt so that tUK is not blocked by dīrgha on the basis of paratva.

A specification with asārvadātukē is also needed so that this long replacement does not apply in deriving cinuyāt and sunuyāt where verbal endings of the potential (uḫilī) are termed sārvadātuka (3.4.113 tinśit sārvadātukam). A specification with kniti is also required so that urugā and dhṛṣṇuyā do not get this long replacement. Recall that Tā of uru + Tā and dhṛṣṇu + Tā is replaced with yā by 7.1.39 supāṇ suluk ... . This long replacement is blocked because yā is not marked with K or N as an it.
7.4.26 चौ च

\[\text{cvau ca}\]
\[/\text{cvau 7/1 ca $\phi$/}\]
\(\text{aṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{dīṛghaḥ} \#25\)
\(\text{cUripratya}yate \text{ pa}\text{rato} \text{ jantasyāngasya dīṛgho bhavati}\)

A short comes in place of the long final vowel of an aṅga also when
affix CUI follows.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\(\text{śucikaroti} \text{ ‘that which was not pure becomes pure’}\)
\(\text{śucisyāt} \text{ ‘ibidem’}\)
\(\text{paṭūkaroti} \text{ ‘he who was not clever becomes clever’}\)
\(\text{paṭūbhavati} \text{ ‘ibidem’}\)
\(\text{paṭūsyāt} \text{ ‘ibidem’}\)

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowel of an aṅga
when affix CUI follows. Recall that CUI goes through total deletion, and is
introduced with the signification of \(\text{abhūtatadbhāva} \text{ ‘x becoming y which it}
previously was not’ (5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve . . .). Thus, \(\text{śucikaroti, śucibhavati}\)
and \(\text{śucisyāt}, \text{ etc., where this rule offers a long replacement for the final}
vowel of the aṅga.\)

7.4.27 रिनः रिनः:  

\[\text{rīn $tah$}\]
\[/\text{rīn 1/1 $tah$ 6/1/}\]
\(\text{aṅgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{ yi} \#22 \text{akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ} \#25 \text{ cui} \#26\)
\(\text{ṛkārṇatsānyāngasya akṛtyakāre sārvadhātuken Yakāre cvau ca parataḥ ‘rīn’ ity}
ayam ādēso bhavati\)

A replacement in rīn comes in place of the final r of an aṅga when a y-
initial non-\(\text{Kṛt}\) and non-sārvadhātuka affix, and also CUI, follows.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\(\text{mātrīyati} \text{ ‘wishes a mother for himself’}\)
\(\text{mātrīyate} \text{ ‘ibidem’}\)
\(\text{pītrīyati} \text{ ‘wishes a father for himself’}\)
\(\text{pītrīyate} \text{ ‘ibidem’}\)
\(\text{cekriyati} \text{ ‘wishes to do over and over again’}\)
\(\text{mātrībhūtah} \text{ ‘a mother which she was not’}\)
\(\text{pītrāyam} \text{ ‘that which came from father’}\)

1. This rule allows a replacement in rīN for the final short r (ṛT) of an
aṅga when a y-initial non-\(\text{Kṛt}\) and non-sārvadhātuka affix, or affix CUI, follows.
Consider mātrīyati/mātrīyate, pītrīyati / pītrīyate, cekriyate and mātrībhūtah. We
can get ātmanah mātaram icchatī = mātrīyati ‘wishes a mother for himself’ by introducing LAT after mātrīya, a root derived with KyaC (3.1.8 supa ātmanah kyac). Recall that KyaC will be introduced after mātr + am, under the condition of a conjoined word with the denotatum of object (karman). We will get mātr(ṛ→rin) + (K)ya(C) = mātrīya, a root (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ). The sUP, i.e., am, will be deleted by 2.4.71 supo dhātuprātipadikayoh. An introduction of KyaN (3.1.11 kartuh kyan salopaś ca) for deriving mātrīya will require ātmanepada (1.3.12 anudāttanīta ātmanepadam) endings. Thus, we will get mātrīyate, parallel to mātā iva ācārati ‘acts like mother’. We will similarly get other examples. Note that cekiṭyate, a derivate of (kṛ + yaN) + LAT), involves doubling and the guna (7.4.82 guṇo yaṅtukoh) of the unit termed abhyāsa. Of course, it also involves a replacement in rIN for the final r of the aṅga. Our example mātrībhūtah is derived with CUI and is used parallel to amatā mātā bhūtah ‘she who was not a mother became one’. Affix yaT is used in deriving pītryam ‘that which came from father’ (4.3.79 pītur yac ca). The ī of rIN in pītryam is deleted by 6.4.148 yasatī ca. Incidentally, 1.1.52 nic ca would require that rIN replaces the final sound segment of the aṅga. The requirement of affixes marked with K and N is dropped here. That is why, we get pītuh āgatam = pītryam. The taparakaṇaṇa of rT is required so that this replacement does not apply to kṛ and gṛ of, for example, cekiṭyate and nijegilyate. Obviously because they end in a long ī.

7.4.28 रिन सायग्रिंक्षु

rin śayaglinkṣu
/rin 1/1 śayaglinkṣu 7/3 = śaś ca yak ca liṅ ca (itar. dv.), teṣu/
(angasya #6.4.1 yi #22 asārvadhātukayoh #25 rtah #27)
yāhantasyāṅgyasaśa, yak ity etayor liṅi ca yakārādāv asārvadhātuke paratah
‘rin’ ity ayam ādēso bhavati
A replacement in rIN comes in place of the final r of an aṅga when affixes Śa and yaK, or a non-sārvadhātuka replacement of LIIN beginning with y and marked with K and N as an it, follow.

Examples:

āḍriyate ‘... is respected’
āḍhriyate ‘... is supported, held’
kriyate ‘... is made, done’
hriyate ‘... is carried’
kriyāt ‘let him do’
hriyāt ‘let him carry’

1. Note that rin is introduced here so that a long replacement (dirgha) could be canceled (Kāś: rinvacanam dirghāntaryartham). Kāśikā offers āḍriyate and āḍhriyate as examples for replacement in rin. Thus, (āN + dṛN) + LAT))
\[
\rightarrow (\text{ādṛ} + (Ś)a) + (\text{LAT→ta})) \rightarrow \text{ād}(r→\text{ri}(N)) + a + ta,
\]
where 3.1.77 \text{tudādibhyāḥ} śaḥ introduces \text{Śa} and the i of ri is replaced with \text{yA}N (6.4.77 \text{a}c\text{i śmudhātubhrvaḥ}). Thus, \text{ādṛ}(i→i) + a + ta = \text{ādriyate}, through replacement in e (etva, 3.4.79 \text{ti} atmanepadānāṃ ēr e) of a of ta. Similar rules apply in deriving \text{ādhrīyate}. Derivatives such as \text{kriyate} and \text{hriyate} do not pose any problem. They derive with yaK introduced with the signification of bhāva 'root-sense' and \text{karma} 'object'. The benedictive \text{kriyāt} and \text{hriyāt} are derived with riN and yāsUT. Refer to stūyāt under 7.4.25 akrtsārvadhātukayor . . . for additional details.

2. Note that the condition of \text{asārvadhātuke} is still valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in \text{bibhriyāt} of \text{bhṛN} 'to provide for'. This form is potential (vidhilin). This replacement also has the right condition of \text{y}-initiality (yakārādi). Thus, we do not get it in \text{kṛṣṭa} and \text{kṛṣṭa} for a lack of \text{y}-initial right condition. Refer to the appendix (II:437-38) for derivational details.

7.4.29 गुनोर्त्तिसंशोधयोऽः:

गुनों रत्तिसंयोगायोऽः
//गुनाः 1/1 रत्तिसंयोगायोऽः 6/2 = सम्योग अदिर येसां ते (bv.); रत्तिस का संयोगादिस का (ितर. दु.), तयोः/
(अṅगस्या #6.4.1 यि #22 असारवधातुकयोऽह #25 रतः #27 यक्ष लिनि #28)
गुनो भवयति रत्तिस संयोगादिनाम रकारान्नान्म यक्ष रतो लिनि का यक्षारादाव सारवधातुके

A \text{gūna} vowel comes in place of the final of an \text{aṅga} which is either constituted by verbal root \text{r 'to go'}, or by a conjunct-initial root terminating in \text{r}, provided when \text{yaK}, or a \text{y}-initial \text{LIN} affix other than \text{sārvadhātuka}, follows.

Examples:

- \text{aryate}
- \text{aryāt}
- \text{smaryate}
- \text{smaryāt}

1. Note that \text{Śa} is introduced after the roots of the \text{tudādī} class. Since this class does not have any roots specified here, no purpose can be served by carrying \text{Śa} to this rule (Kaś: 'śa' ity atrāsambhavān niṣṭaṃ).

The example derivates involve yaK and \text{LIN} which are marked with K and \text{N} as an \text{it}. This would have blocked \text{gūna} (1.1.5 \text{kniti ca}) which our present rule allows. This \text{gūna} constitutes an exception to the riN of the preceding rule. Consider \text{aryate}/\text{aryāt}; and \text{smaryate}/\text{smaryāt}, from \text{r + ya}K + ta/\text{r + yāsUT} + (\text{LIN→tiP}), where \text{r} goes through \text{gūna}, followed by \text{r} (\text{rapara}; 1.1.51 \text{ur an rāpah}). This same also happens in case of \text{smaryate} and \text{smaryāt}.

2. Why do we not get this \text{gūna} in \text{samskriyate} and \text{samskriyāt}? Because skṛ,
which appears to be a root beginning with a conjunct, is actually a combination of sUT with kr. The guña is internally conditioned (antarāṅga), as against augment sUT which is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga). The sUT is thus considered ‘suspended’ (āsiddha) in view of the guña application. This application of guña is blocked since the aṅga no longer contains a conjunct (samyoga) in its initial position. Recall here that 6.1.135 suṭ kāṭpurvah introduces sUT before k. A question is raised against making this specification since sUT is introduced before k, anyway. That is, why state the obvious. It is then made clear that kāṭpurvah is used to indicate that sUT does not become part of the root. That is, kr does not become a conjunct-initial root skr. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya ad 6.1.135 suṭ kāṭpurvah for additional details. Also refer to details of 7.4.10 rta ca samyogāder guṇah where, with reference to saṅcaskaratuḥ, etc., kr is treated as a conjunct-initial root. Note, however, that sUT is still considered externally conditioned (bahirāṅga) for purposes of introducing augment īT.

The condition of y-initial (yakārādi) is still valid. Thus, we do not get guṇa in the benedictive svṛśīṭa and dhūṛśīṭa. The condition of aśārvadhātuke is also valid. Consequently, we do not get guṇa in potential (vidhi-liṅ) forms such as īṭṛyāt, etc.

7.4.30 यङ्क्ष

yani ca
/yani 7/1 ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 ṛtah #27 guṇo’ rṣitaṃṣyogādyoh #29)
yani ca parataḥ arteḥ saṃyogādeer ca ṛtṛ guṇo bhavati
A guṇa vowel comes in place of the final of an aṅga constituted by verbal root ṛ, or by a conjunct-initial root terminating in ṛ, also when suffix yaN follows.

EXAMPLES:

arāryate
sāṣuvrityate
dādhvrathe
sāṃsmaryate

1. Here again a guṇa, which was negated before an affix marked with Na as an it, is allowed to apply before yaN. Consider arāryate which derives from (ṛ + yaN + ŁAṬ). A guṇa of ṛ, followed by ṛ, produces ar + ya. Rule 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiasya then applies to reduplicate ṛya. Note here that 6.1.3 na ṛdhrāḥ Ṛṣyogādayah should not permit this reduplication. Patañjalı, since he does not consider ṛ followed by y covered by the negation of 6.1.3, allows reduplication of ṛya. The result then is: aryarya. The first y of aryarya is then deleted (7.4.60 halāḍi śeṣāḥ). Rule 7.4.83 dīṅgho’ kīṭaḥ then applies on aryarya to produce
ar(a→ā) rya → arārya. Our final derivate arāryate derives from arārya + LAT, through the ātmanepada replacement ta→te. Refer to derivational details of ātatyate under 6.1.9 sanyānoḥ. Incidentally, affix yaṇīs is introduced with reference to a vārāṭikā proposal (ad 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco . . . sūcīvūtrimūtryayartya-śurmutīnām).

2. A vārāṭikā proposal, as discussed earlier, is made to disallow negation of ya in reduplication (cf. 6.1.3 na nārāḥ samyogādayah; Kāś: dvirvacanapraśiṣedho yakārasya nesayate).

An additional proposal is made for han, when meaning hiṃsā ‘to harm’, to be replaced with ghñī, provided yaṇī followed. Thus, we will get jehnīyate. We will get jahaghanyate with no ghñī, outside the meaning of hiṃsā.

7.4.31 इ ग्राहयो:

i ghrādhmoḥ
/i 1/1 (deleted) ghrādhmoḥ 6/2 (itar. du.), tayoh/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 yaṇī #30)
‘ghṛā, dhmā ity etayor yaṇī parata ikārādeo bhavati
A long i comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga which is constituted by verbal roots ghrā ‘to smell’ and dhmā ‘to beat’, provided when affix yaṇī follows.

EXAMPELS:

jehnīyate ‘a derivate of (ghṛā + yaṇī) + (LAT→ta)’

dedhmīyate ‘a derivate of (dhmā + yaṇī) + (LAT→ta)’

1. Note that this i-replacement is applied to the final sound segment of an āṅga (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya). Our derivatevs, where final ā before yaṇī gets replaced with i, go through reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. The way is thus made clear for application of guna of 7.4.82 guṇo yaṇlukoḥ. Haradatta suggests that specifying a short replacement in i could also have served the purpose. An application of 7.4.26 akṛtsārdhātuḥkayor ārdghā (PM ad Kāś: ikārvidhāv api ‘akṛtsārdhātuḥkayor ārdghā’) could then have applied to replace short i with its long counterpart. This, however, will not be economical.

7.4.32 अस्य च्चो

asya cvau
/asya 6/1 cvau 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 i #31)
avarṇāntasyaṅgasya cvau parata ikārādeo bhavati
A long i comes in place of the final a of an āṅga when affix CvI follows.
EXEMPLARY:

śukībhavati
śukīsyāt
khaṭṭivkaroti
khaṭṭivāsyāt

1. Note that this rule is an exception to a long replacement of the short aṅga-final vowel (7.4.25 cauv ca). Recall also that Cvi (5.4.50 abhutadbhāve . . .) is introduced with the signification of abhūtadbhāva ‘the sense of x becoming y which it previously was not’. Affix Cvi, of course, goes through total deletion. Thus, what would have become khaṭṭivāsyāt now becomes khaṭṭivkaroti ‘that which was not a khaṭṭivā’ cot’ is now made into a cot’ with a replacement in long ī. Similar replacements are also involved in deriving other derivates.

7.4.33 क्यचि च

kyaci ca
/kgaci 7/1 ca φ/
(angasya #6.4.1 ī #31 asya #32)

kyaci parato’ varnāntasyāṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati
A long ī comes in place of the final a of an aṅga also when affix KyaC follows.

EXEMPLARY:

putrīyati ‘wishes a son for himself’
ghaṭīyati ‘wishes a pitcher for himself’
khaṭṭīyati ‘wishes a cot for himself’
māliyati ‘wishes a garland for himself’

1. This rule is an exception to the long (dīrgha) vowel-replacement of 7.4.25 akṛtsāravadhātukayor dīrghaḥ. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding one? A separate formulation of this rule is needed for the following rule. The anuvṛtti of KyaC alone is required there (Kāś: prthagyogakaraṇam uttarārtham). A joint formulation would have also required the anuvṛtti of cauv ‘when cvi follows’. Deriving examples such as putrīyati ‘wishes a son for himself’ is easy.

7.4.34 अशनायोदनयधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्धेः

aśanāyodayadhanāyā bubhukṣā-pi-pāsā-gardheṣu
/āśanāyodaya-dhanāyāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.) bubhukṣā-pi-pāsā-gardheṣu 7/3
(itar. dv.), teṣu/  
(angasya #6.4.1 kyaci #33)
‘aśanāya, udanya, dhanāya’ ity etāni nipātyante ’bubhukṣā, pi-pāsā, gardha’
ity eteṣu artheṣu
Forms such as asanāya, udanyā and dhanāya are derived, via nipātana, when KyaC follows and the signification is bubhukṣā 'desire to eat; hunger', pipāsā 'desire to drink; thirst' and gardha 'to wish for much more; greed', respectively.

**Examples:**

asānāyati 'hungry, he wants to eat'  
udānyati 'thirsty, he wants a drink of water'  
dhanāyati 'rich, but he still wants money'

1. This provision of nipātana produces āsan(a→ā) + am + KyaC = asanāya + LAT = asanāyati, parallel to bubhukṣamāno śanam icchāti '... is hungry so he wants to eat'. A long ā comes as a replacement for the final of āsana, via nipātana. This same also happens in case of dhanāyati, parallel to satī eva dhanem bhūyo pi dhanam icchāti = dhanāyati 'he has money but still wants much more'. The word udaka 'water' is similarly replaced with udan, via nipātana, to produce udanyā. We thus get udanyati, parallel to pipāsito yam pānārtham udakam icchāti 'he is thirsty so he wishes to drink water', where udaka is replaced with udan, again via nipātana. Elsewhere, when the meaning is not bubhukṣā 'hunger', pipāsā 'thirst' or gardha 'greed', we get asanyati, udakīyati and dhanīyati, with no changes, via nipātana.

7.4.35 न च छन्दस्यपुज्ञस्य

na chandasya aputraasya  
/ na φ chandasi 7/1 aputraasya 7/1 = na putraḥ (nañ. tat.), tasya/  
(āngasya #6.4.1, asya #32 kyaci #33)  
chandasi viṣaye putravarjitaśāyaśāyāntasyāṅgasya kvacid yad uktām tan na bhavati

That which is stated here for an āṅga, terminating in a and occurring before KyaC, does not apply on Vedic usage, except when the āṅga is constituted by putra 'son'.

**Examples:**

mitrāyuh 'seeker of friendship'  
samsvedayuh 'perspiring'  
devāṇjīgāti sumnayuh 'devotee praising the divinity'

1. What is stated here for an āṅga which terminates in a is: replacement in a long vowel in general (7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhātukayor dirghaḥ), or a replacement in i (7.4.33 kyaci ca), in particular. These replacements do not apply to the Vedic usage, except when the āṅga is constituted by putra 'son'. We derive mitra + am + KyaC → mitraya, where 3.2.170 kyāc chandasi introduces affix u, after mitraya, to produce mitrayu. Our final form mitrayuh can then be derived from mitrayu + s(U) through s→r→h (rutva-visarga). A replace-
ment in ā, or in ī, which may be available to the final a of mitraya is here negated. Similar derivational details could be offered for deriving sam + svid + KyaC = (samsvedaya + u) + sU)) = samsvedayuh ‘perspiring’ and sumnayu + sU → sumnayuh ‘favoring’.

2. Why do we have to state aputrasya? So that we could account for a long replacement in ī for the final a of putra. That is, putra alone should be allowed to go through this replacement. We thus get putriyantah sudānavah.

A vārttika states that this exclusion should not be stated just as aputrasya. It should instead be stated as aputrādinām ‘... does not apply to those which are other than putra and its likes’. This will enable us to get ātmanāḥ janam (janīm = vadhum) icchanti = janīyanti ‘wish for a man (or a bride) ...’ as in janīyanto’ nāvagravah.

7.4.36 दुरस्युद्रविनसुरुषण्यति रिषणयति

durasyurdraśinasyuvṛṣṇanyati riṣanyati
/durasyuh 1/1 dravinasuḥ 1/1 vṛṣṇanyati (verbal pada) riṣanyati (verbal pada)/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 kyaci #33 chandasi #35)
niršyuh, dravinasuḥ, vṛṣṇanyati, riṣanyati’ ity etāni chandasi nipaṭyante
Forms such as durasyuh / dravinasuḥ and vṛṣṇanyati / riṣanyati are derived, via nipaṭana, when the usage is Vedic and affix KyaC follows.

Examples:

avīyona durasyuh
dravinasurūṣaṇayā
vṛṣṇanyati
riṣanyati

1. This rule allows duṣṭa ‘corrupt, wicked’, draśīna ‘wealth’, vṛṣa ‘bull’ and riṣṭa ‘wounded’ to be replaced in the Vedic, via nipaṭana, with durasyuh, dravinas, vṛṣan, and riṣan, respectively. Note that affix u (3.2.170 kyāc chandasi) is introduced in deriving durasyuh ‘wicked’ and dravinasuḥ ‘wealthy’. These nipaṭana provisions are made in view of available usage (dṛṣṭānvidhi). Elsewhere, we will get a replacement in ī, as in duṣṭiyan, draśīnyān, vṛṣiya, and riṣṭiya.

7.4.37 अश्वग्नस्यायत्

aśvāghasyāt
/asvāghasya 6/1 = aśva ca aghaṁ ca = aśvāgham (sam. dv.), tasya; āt 1/1/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 kyaci #33 chandasi #35)
‘aśva, agha’ ity etayoḥ kyaci parataṁ chandasi visaye akāraḍeśo bhavati
A long ā comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga, namely āśva and āgha, when affix KyaC follows and the usage is Vedic.

**Examples:**

āśvāyanto maghavan
mā tvā vyākā āghāvayo vidan

1. This ā is an exception to ā-replacement of the āṅga-final a of āśva ‘horse’ and āgha ‘sin, impurity’, in the Vedic. Of course, when affix KyaC follows. Affix KyaC, for example in āśvāyantaḥ, is used in the sense of āśvam icchāti ‘... wish for a horse’. This replacement in ā also indicates that other words do not go through this replacement in the Vedic.

**7.4.38 देवसुप्रविषयज्ञिष्ठ काठके**

devasummayor yajenis kāthake
/devasummayoḥ 6/2 (śār. dv.), tayoh; yajuṣi 7/1 kāthake 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 kyaci #33 chandasi #35 āt #36)
‘deva, summa’ īty etatyoḥ kyaci parata ākarādeśo bhavati kāthake yajuṣi
A long ā comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga, namely deva and summa, when affix KyaC follows and the usage relates to the kāthaka branch of the yajurveda.

**Examples:**

devāyanto yajamānāya
sumnāyantā havāmahe

1. This ā is an exception to the ā-replacement (ītva), especially in relation to deya and summa used in the Kāthaka-saṃhitā of the Yajurveda. Elsewhere, we will get sumnuyoh, as is witnessed by the (non-Yajurvedic) katha and taittirīya usage.

**7.4.39 कव्यध्वनितस्थवर्चित लोपः**

kavyadhvaraprtanasyarci lopaḥ
/kavyadhvaraprtanasya 6/1 = kaviś ca adhvaraś ca prṭanā ca = kavyadhvaraprtanam (sam. dv.), tasya; rci 7/1 lopaḥ 1/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 kyaci #33 chandasi #35)
‘kavi, adhvara, prṭanā’ īty eteśāṃ anāgāṃ kyaci parato lopaḥ bhavati rci viśaye
Deletion by LOPA comes in place of the final of an āṅga, namely kāvi ‘(becoming) wise’, adhvara ‘sacrifice’ and prṭanā ‘army’, when affix KyaC follows and the usage is a quartered hymn.

**Examples:**

kavyantaḥ sumanasaḥ
adhvaryaṇaṁ
pratyantaṁastiṣṭhaṁ

1. This deletion will also apply to the final sound segment (1.1.52 alo'ntyasya) of an aṅga. All example derivates are plural present active participial (Śatṛ) forms. Thus, \((kavya + ŚaP + satṛ) + Jas \rightarrow (kavya(a → φ) + (a + a → a) nt) + as)) \rightarrow kavyant + as = kavyaṇaṁ. A single replacement for a+a is ruled here by 6.1.94 ato guṇe. Similarly, adhvaryaṇaṁ and pṛtanyantaṁ, where the aṅga of the second, i.e., pṛtanā, goes through deletion of its final ā before KyaC.

7.4.40 द्वितीयतिमाप्यात्मिनिकितिः

dyatisyatimāṣthāṁ itti kitī
dyati-syati-mā-ṣṭhāṁ 6/3 (iṭar. du.), eteṣāṁ;
itīti ti 7/1 kitī 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1)
‘dyati, syati, mā, sthā’ ity eteṣāṁ añgānāṁ ikārādeśo bhavati takārādau kitī
pratyaye parataḥ
A short i comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga, namely do ‘to cut’, so ‘to end, terminate’, mā ‘to measure’ and sthā ‘to stay, remain’, when a t-initial affix marked with K as an it follows.

Examples:

\[ \text{nirditaṁ ‘a derivate of (nir-do + Kta) + sU’} \]
\[ \text{nirditavān ‘a derivate of (nir-do + KtavatU) + sU’} \]
\[ \text{avasitaṁ ‘a derivate of ava-so + Kta’} \]
\[ \text{avasitavān ‘a derivate of ava-so + KtavatU’} \]
\[ \text{mitaṁ ‘a derivate of (mā + Kta) + sU’} \]
\[ \text{mitavān ‘a derivate of (mā + KtavatU) + sU’} \]
\[ \text{sthitaṁ ‘a derivate of (sthā + Kta) + sU’} \]
\[ \text{sthitavān ‘a derivate of (sthā + KtavatU) + sU’} \]

1. This rule allows a replacement in i for the final vowel of an aṅga constituted by dyati, i.e., do ‘to split, break’, syati, i.e., so ‘to end, terminate’, mā ‘to measure’ and sthā ‘to stay, stand’, provided when a t-initial suffix marked with K as an it follows. Thus, consider nir-do + Kta = nirdita, where o of do gets replaced with i. We similarly get nirditavān, a derivate with KtavatU. Other examples, i.e., avasita, avasitavat, etc., are similarly derived.

2. Why do we have the condition of takārādi ‘t-initial’? Consider avadāya where we do not get the final vowel replaced with i. For, what follows is LyāP, a suffix not beginning with t. A similar counter-example for the condition of kit ‘K as an it’ is offered as avadāta, where the nominal base is a derivate of ava-dā + tṛC.
7.4.41 शाल्चोर्वन्तरस्यायम्

śācchor anyatarasyām
/ śāc-choḥ 6/2 = śac ca chāś ca = śacchau (itar. dv.), tayoh; anyatarasyām
7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 it ti kiti #40)
śa, chā ity etayor anyatarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti
A short i comes in place of the final sound segment of an aṅga constituted by śa 'sharpen, whet, hone' and chā 'cut', only optionally, when a i-initial affix marked with K as an it follows.

Examples:

niśitam 'a derivate of (ni-śā + Kta) + sU'
niśātam
niśitavān 'a derivate of (ni-śā + KtavatU) + sU'
niśātavān
avacchitam 'a derivate of (ava-chā + Kta) + sU'
avacchātām
avacchitavān 'a derivate of (ava-chā + KtavatU) + sU'
avacchātavān

1. This rule makes an optional provision against what the preceding rule makes as obligatory. Thus, we get ni-ś(o→i) + Kta = niśita. Note that the o of śo 'to plane, shape' and cho 'to pierce' goes through a replacement in ā (ātva; 6.1.71 ādeca upadeśe . . .) before i replaces the final sound segment, i.e., ā. Since this provision is optional, we also end up retaining the form with ā. Thus, ni-ś(o→ā) + Kta = niśāta. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. A vārttikā proposal makes i-replacement obligatory (nityam) when vrata 'vow' is denoted. Thus, we get sam-ś(ā→i) + Kta = samśita of samśitavrataḥ = yatnena samyak pratipāditam vrataṃ yasya yena va 'he (whose) or (by whom a) vow was diligently pursued'. This vārttikā proposal, however, is not needed. This example can be covered by interpreting anyatarasyām 'optionally' of this rule as vyavasthitā-vibhāṣā 'fixed option'. That is, the option is made obligatorily in some cases and is not made in others, at all. The Mahābhāṣya states that derivatives of ŚataR and ŚanaC, and gavāksa and samśitavrata as well, are not optional to each others. They are obligatory in view of their specific context of usage. Thus, the Mahābhāṣya:

devatrāto galo grāha itiyoge ca sadvidhiḥ /
mithas te na vibhāsyante gavāksaḥ samśitavrataḥ //

7.4.42 दधातेहि:

dadhāte hiḥ
hadhāteḥ 6/1 hiḥ 6/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 ti kiti #40)
dadhāter aṅgasya ‘hi’ ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti pratyaye parataḥ
hi comes in place of an aṅga constituted by verbal root ḪuhāN ‘to bear, support’ when a t-initial affix marked with K as an it follows.

**Examples:**

hitah
hitavān
hitvā

7.4.43 जहातेच्छ कित्व

jahāteṣ ca ktvi
/jahāteḥ 6/1 ca φ ktvi 7/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 hiḥ #42)
jahāter aṅgasya ‘hi’ tiy ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati ktvā pratyaye parataḥ
hi comes also in place of an aṅga constituted by verbal root OhāK ‘to abandon’ when affix Ktvā follows.

**Examples:**

hitvā rājyaṁ vanam gataḥ
‘abandoning the kingdom he went to the forest’

hitvā gacchati ‘abandoning he goes’

1. Note that since this rule makes its specification by jahāteḥ it cannot include any reference to jihāteḥ. That is, this replacement will not be applicable to a derivate of OhāN ‘to go, move’. Thus, we will only get hātvā. A derivate such as hitvā can only refer to verbal root OhāK ‘to abandon’.

7.4.44 विभाषा छन्दसिस

vibhāṣā chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
hī, in the Vedic, comes optionally in place of an aṅga constituted by verbal root OhāK ‘to abandon’ when affix Ktvā follows.

**Examples:**

hitvā śāriṛaṁ yātavyam

hātvā

1. The provision of earlier rule is here made optional in case of Vedic usage. Thus, (hitvā / hātvā) śāriṛaṁ yātavyam ‘one should go having abandoned the body (by means of yoga)’.
7.4.45 सूभितवसूभितनेमधितधिवधिवियोऽच

sudhitavasudhitanemadhitadhisvadhishiya ca
/sudhita-vasudhita-nemadhita-dhiśva-dhiśiya 1/3 (deleted)/
(angasya #6.4.1 chandasi #44)
‘sudhita, vasudhita, nemadhita, dhiśva, dhiśiya’ ity etāni chandasi viśaye
nīpātyante

Forms such as sudhita, vasudhita, nemadhita, dhiśva and dhiśiya are
derived, in the Vedic, via nīpātana.

Examples:

sudhitam ‘well placed’
vasudhitam ‘possessing wealth’
nemadhitam ‘half-supported’
dhiśva ‘bear!’
dhiśiya ‘may I place!’

1. Note that nīpātana accounts for augment iT before Kta when dhā ‘to
place’ is used in combination after su, vasu and nema. That is, i of iT replaces
the ā of dhā. If we try to derive sudhita, etc., by introducing iT, then, given
sudhā + iT + Kta, 6.4.64 āto lopa īṭ ca will delete the final ā of dhā. The
compound bases of sudhitam ‘well placed’, vasudhitam ‘wealthy’ and
nemadhitam ‘half supported’ are formed by 2.2.18 kugatīrādayah, 2.1.56
viśesāṇam viśesya bhūtaka and 2.1.26 sāmi, respectively. The īṭa ‘replacement
in ī’ of dhā in dhiśva ‘second singular imperative (LOT) of dhā’ is ac-
complished, via nīpātana, before thās (3.4.77 tīptaśjhi . . .) with augment iT
introduced to the affix. This, and blocking of reduplication (6.1.10 śīau) as
well, is accomplished via nīpātana. A replacement in se for thās (3.4.80 thāsaḥ
se), and in va for se (3.4.91 savābhīyāṃ vāmau), does not come within the
scope of this nīpātana provision of dhiśva. Now consider dhiśiya, first person
singular benedictive (āśrīnī) middle derivate of dhā, where īreplacement of
dhā and introduction of augment iT to the affix are both accomplished via
nīpātana.

Recall that these derivates can follow two routes: (i) introduction of ī as a
replacement for ā of dhā; or (ii) introduction of augment iT to the affix, in
which case, deletion of ā of dhā is accomplished. Incidentally, dhiśiya is a
benedictive middle first person singular. We would have dhāśiya in the classical
language, against this nīpātana provision of the Vedic.

7.4.46 दो दद यो:

dad ghoḥ
/daḥ 6/1 dad 1/1 ghoḥ 6/1/
(angasya #6.4.1 ti kiti #40)
'dā' ity etasya ghusamjñakasya 'dad' ity ayam ādeso bhavati takārādau kitī prayaye paratah

A replacement in dād comes in place of an aṅga constituted by verbal root dā termed ghu, when a t-initial affix marked with K as an it follows.

**Examples:**

dattah 'a derivate of dā + Kta'
dattavān 'a derivate of dā + Kta'
dattih 'a derivate of dā + KitiN'

1. This rule offers dād as a replacement of an aṅga constituted by dā, termed ghu (1.1.20 dādhāghv adāp), when a t-initial affix marked with k as an it follows. Thus, we get (dā → dād) + Kta = da(d → t) + ta = datta, via d → t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca).

2. A specification with daḥ is made so that we do not get this replacement in dhātah and dhātavān where the root is dhēT 'to drink, suck'. A condition with ghoḥ is specified so that derivatives of dāP 'to cut' and daiP 'to cleanse', i.e., dāta of dālam barhiḥ 'the Kuśa grass is cut' and avadāta of avadātam mukham 'beautiful face', could not avail this replacement in dād.

3. What is the exact form of this replacement? For, given the use of dād before gh of ghoḥ, especially in view of possible sandhī changes, one may think of its form as (i) dat, ending in t (tānta); (ii) dadh, ending in dh (dhānta); and (iii) dath, ending in th (thānta). The Mahābhāṣya suggests that accepting the replacement as ending in th (thānta; dath) is free of problems. Accepting it as ending in t (tānta; dat) will create problems due to application of 6.3.124 dasti ca. This rule will demand that the final vowel of su of sudattam be replaced with its long counterpart when dat is to be the replacement. We will end up with a wrong form *sūdattam. If the replacement is accepted as dānta (dad), we will get a wrong form *dannam, against the correct form dattam. For, 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto naḥ would require the t of the niṣṭhā (1.1.28 ktaṭavatū niṣṭhā) suffix to be replaced with n. If we accept the replacement as ending in dh (dhānta; dadh) then, given (dā → dadh) + ta), rule 8.2.40 jhasas tathordhoh would require t to be replaced with dh. Thus, the Mahābhāṣya accepts the form of replacement as dath (thānta):

\[
tānte doṣo dīṛghatvam syād dānte doṣo niṣṭhānatvam/
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dhānte doṣo dhātvaprāptis thānte doṣas tāsthāmāntam} \\
\end{array}
\]

In this view, datta can be derived from (dā → dād) + ta → da(th→t) + ta = datta, via cartva (8.4.55 khari ca). Note, however, that commentators also find dat (tānta) as a problem-free replacement. But it will make the derivational process prolix, especially because of reliance on the sannipāta-paribhāṣā (PŚ 86). I omit these details for fear of expatiation.

I, however, must mention that avadatta, vidatta, pradatta, sudatta, anudatta and nidatta are desired (iṣṭa) forms, especially when Kta is introduced with
the signification of ādikaran ‘onset of action’. It is required that dā should not be replaced with dad. Rule 7.4.47 aca upasargāt taḥ should then replace ā of dā with t.

avadattam vidattam ca pradattam cādikaranāṁ/
sudattam anudattam ca nidattam iti cēyate/

### 7.4.47 अच उपसर्गातः:

aca upasargāt taḥ
/acaḥ 5/1 upasargāt 5/1 taḥ 1/1/
(arasya #6.4.1 ti kiti #40 daḥ ghoh #46)
ajantād upasargād uttarasya ‘dā’ ity etasya ghusamsyākasya ‘ta’ ity ayaṁ ādēso bhavati takārādau kiti
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an arīga constituted by dā termed ghu, when used in construction after a vowel-final preverb, provided a t-initial affix marked with K as an it follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

prattam ‘a derivate of pra-dā + Kta’
avattam ‘a derivate of ava + dā + Kta’
nittam ‘a derivate of ni-dā + Kta’
parittam ‘a derivate of pari-dā + Kta’

1. This rule allows a replacement in t for the ā of dā termed ghu (1.1.20 dādhā ghu adāp). This is an exception to replacement in dad. Thus, pra + d(a→t) + (K) ta = pratta, avattam, nittam and parittam. A long-replacement for the short i of pari is obtained from application of 6.3.124 dasti.

Note that, given (pra-d(a→t) + Kta)) + (sU→am))) = pra + t + ta + am, rule 8.4.54 khari ca will apply to yield pra(d→t) + t + ta + am = prat + t + ta + am. Rule 8.4.46 anaci ca will then apply to yield prat + (t→t) + ta + am = prat + tt + ta + am. We now have four t sound segments. The two medial tsegments will then have to be deleted by 8.4.64 jharo jhari savarme to yield prat (t+t→ϕ) + ta + am = pratta. An application of 6.1.107 ami pūrvah will then produce prat(a+a→a)m = prattam.

2. A specification by upasargāt ‘after a preverb’ in the ablatival (pañcamī) requires that, in accord with 1.1.54 ādeh parasya, t should replace d of dā. For this, commentators require that acaḥ should be read twice in this rule, via repetition (āvytti). One acaḥ will be interpreted as an adjective to upasargāt to yield the meaning: ajantād upasargāt ‘after a preverb ending in a vowel’. The second acaḥ will then be interpreted as the genitive (sāṣṭhi) with the meaning ‘in place of’. This is what would specify the item to be replaced (sthānī). This is how we can get t as a replacement for ā of dā. One can otherwise also interpret this replacement as consisting of two t-segments. This way, because of consisting of more than one sound segment (anekāḥ), it
can replace dā, in toto. This process is economical because it would not require using acah twice.

The acah which carries from here on to the next rule is interpreted as ending in the ablative. This way, ‘t replaces p which occurs immediately after aC’ (1.1.67 tasmäd ity uttarasya).

3. A proposal is also made to replace o (aC) of do (dyati) with t. A replacement in i is to be blocked in favor of t on the basis of being subsequent (paratva). Thus, we will get avattam and prattam. See the Mahābhāṣya for further details.

7.4.48 अपो भि

apy bhī
/apāh 6/1 bhī 7/1/
(āṅgasya #.6.4.1 taḥ #47)
‘apy ity etasyāṅgasya bhakārādau prayaye paratāh ‘ta’ ity ayam ādeo bhavati
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga, namely ap,
when a bh-initial affix follows.

Examples:

adbbhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of ap ‘water’’
adbhyaḥ ‘dative-ablative plural of ap’

1. Note that t will replace the final sound segment of ap ‘water’. The a of tA is used for ease of articulation (mukhasukhārtham). Thus, we get ap + bhis → at + bhis = adbbhiḥ, where t is replaced with d (jaśvā; 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhasi) and s goes through s→r→ḥ (rutva-visarga; 8.2.66 sasajusō ruḥ; 8.3.15 kharavasānayor . . .).

2. Why do we state the condition of bhī ‘when a bh-initial suffix follows’? Consider ap + su = apsu, where p cannot be replaced with t because su ‘locative plural ending’ begins with s.

3. A proposal informs us that this replacement in t is desired in svavas, svatavas, māsa and usas when the usage is Vedic. Thus, we should get svavadbbhiḥ, stavadbbhiḥ, mādbbbhiḥ and samuṣadbbbhiḥ.

7.4.49 स: स्वार्थातुके

sah sy ārdhadhātuke
/sah 6/1 si 7/1 ārdhadhātuke 7/1/
(āṅgasya #.6.4.1 taḥ #47)
sakārāntasyāṅgasya sakārādāv ārdhadhātuke paratas takārādeśo bhavati
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an āṅga which ends in s, when a s-initial affix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ), follows.
EXAMPLES:

vatsyati 'third person singular \( LRT \) derivate of vas'
avatsyat 'third person singular \( LRN \) derivate of vas'
vivatsati 'a derivate of \( (vas + saN) + LAT' \)
jighatsati 'a derivate of \( (ad \rightarrow ghas + saN) + LAT' \)

1. This rule replaces an an\(\text{\i}\)a-final \( s \) with \( t \) when a \( s \)-initial affix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukaṃ \( \tilde{\text{s}} \text{\i} \text{\a} \text{\i} \text{\a} \) follows. Thus, we get \( vas + sya + ti \rightarrow vat + sya + ti = vatsyati \) and \( avas + sya + (LRT \rightarrow t) \rightarrow avat + sya + t = avatsyat \), the two derivates of \( LRT \rightarrow tP \) and \( LRN \rightarrow tP \), respectively. An example with affix \( saN \) is offered in vivatsati. Refer to the appendix (III:697) of 2.4.37 ī\(\text{n}\)sānor gha\(\tilde{s}\) for derivational details of jighatsati.

2. Why is the an\(\text{\i}\)a-final \( s \) alone replaced with \( t \)? Consider \( vac + sya + (LRT \rightarrow t) = vaksyati \), where \( vac \) is the an\(\text{\i}\)a, and replacing \( c \) with \( t \) would produce wrong results.

Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with \( s \)? Consider gha\(\tilde{s} \) + G\(\text{\a} \text{\i} \text{\a} \text{\n} \), where we get vr\(\text{\ddh} \) of the penultimate (\( \text{\u} \text{\p} \text{\d} \text{\h} \text{\a} \text{\d} \)). The \( s \) of the an\(\text{\i}\)a cannot be replaced with \( t \) since there is no suffix beginning with \( s \) to follow.

Why do we have the condition of ārdhadhātuka? Consider \( a + (LAT \rightarrow thā \rightarrow se) = \tilde{\text{\a}} \text{\se} \)) and \( vas + (LAT \rightarrow thā \rightarrow se) = \text{vasse} \)), where a replacement in \( t \) is not possible because what follows is a sārvadhātuka suffix.

7.4.50 तासस्त्व्योऽः:

tāsastyor lopāḥ
\( /tāsastyo\)ḥ 6/2 = tasaś caastiś ca = tāsastī (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; lopāḥ 1/1/
(āngasya #6.4.1 saḥ si #49)
tāser astēś ca sakārasyā sakārādau pratyaye parataḥ lopo bhavatī
tāser astēś ca sakārasyā sakārādau pratyaye parataḥ lopo bhavatī
A deletion by \( LOPA \) comes in place of \( s \) of tās and as ‘to be’ when an affix beginning with \( s \) follows.

EXAMPLES:

karttāśi ‘a derivate of \( kr + (LUT \rightarrow siP) \)’
karttāśe ‘a derivate of \( kr + (LUT \rightarrow thā) \)’
tvam asi ‘you are’
vyatise

1. This rule allows deletion of the an\(\text{\i}\)a-final \( s \) of tās (3.1.33 syatāśi ẖ\(\text{\i} \text{\u} \text{\t} \text{\o} \text{\h} \text{\a} \text{\o} \)) and as when an affix beginning with \( s \) follows. Thus, we get \( kr + (LUT \rightarrow siP) \rightarrow kr + tās + siP = (kr \rightarrow kar) + tās + siP = karttāśi \), where \( s \) of tās will be deleted before \( s \) of the second person active verbal ending siP. Note that augment i\(\text{\i} \text{\T} \) is here negated by 7.2.10 ekāc upadēse . . . , and reduplication of \( t \) is accomplished by 8.4.54 aco rāhāhyyām dve. We similarly get \( kar + tās + (thā \rightarrow se) = kartā(s \rightarrow \phi) + se = karttāse \), where the second person singular middle ending
thās (3.4.78 tīptasjhī . . .) is replaced with se (3.4.80 thāsah se). Now consider asi derived from (as + (LAT→siP))→(as + (SaP→ϕ)) + si))→(as→ϕ) + si)) = asi, where a of the root alone is retained. We can get a complete deletion of as in vi-ati-as + (LAT→thās) → vyā-as + (SaP→ϕ) + (thās→se))) = vyati-ϕ + se → vyati-(a→ϕ) + se = vyatise. The a of as is deleted by 6.4.111 śnāsor al lopah. Note that the second person singular middle (ātmanepada) ending is here introduced under the condition of karmavyatithāra ‘reciprocal action’ (1.3.14 kartari karmavyatithāre). The s of vyatise is not replaced with its retroflex counterpart by 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh. . . For, the root has gone through total deletion and what is left is merely the affix.

7.4.51 रिच

ri ca
/ri 7/1 ca ϕ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sah #49 tāsastyor lopah #50)
rephādav ca pratyaya parataḥ tāsastyoḥ sakārasya lopo bhavati
A deletion by LOPA comes in place of the final s of tās and as ‘to be’ when a r-initial affix follows.

Examples:

kartārau
kartāraḥ
adhyaetārau
adhyaetāraḥ
vyatire

1. Refer to derivational details under 2.4.85 lūṭah prathamasya . . . We get kartārau and kartāraḥ from (kṛ → kara) + tās + (LUT → rau)) and (kṛ → kara) + tās + (LUT → ras)), respectively. Note that adhyetārau and adhyetāraḥ involve a replacement in rau and ras for the ātmanepada suffixes ātām and jha. Examples of as before r-initial suffixes are not possible to find (PM ad Kāś: aste rephādipratyayo na sambhavaṣṭi nāṣṭya udāharam). Nyāsa ad Kāśikā offers a Vedic example, namely vyati + as + (LIT→ire→re) = vyati + as + re → (vyati + (a→ϕ) (s→ϕ))) = vyatire. Recall here that eS and ireC are replacements of the ātmanepada affixes ta and jha which replace LIT (3.4.81 līṭas tajhayor . . .).

7.4.52 हप्ति

ha eti
/haḥ 1/1 eti 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 sah #49 tāsastyor lopah #50)
tāsastyoḥ sakārasya hakārādeṣo bhavati eti parataḥ
A replacement in h comes in place of the final s of tās, and as as well, when e follows.
EXAMPLES:

\( \text{kartihe} \) 'a derivate of \( kr + tas + (\text{LUT} \rightarrow iT) \)'
\( \text{vyatihe} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{vy-at} \text{-a} + \text{as} + (\text{LUT} \rightarrow iT) \)'

1. This rule allows \( h \) as a replacement for \( s \) of \( t\text{as} \) and \( as \) when \( e \) follows. Consider \( kr + tas + iT \), where \( iT \) is the first person singular middle (\( \text{atmanepada} \)) ending replaced with \( e \) (\text{etva}; 3.4.79 \( \text{ti atmanepadâna} \) ... ). We thus get \( \text{kartihe} \) from \( k(r \rightarrow ar) + t\text{as} + e \), where \( s \) of \( t\text{as} \) gets replaced with \( h \). Now consider \( \text{vyatihe} \), an example of \( as \) derived from \( vi-at \text{-a} + (iT \rightarrow e) \). This string not only goes through replacement in \( e \) (\text{etva}), and replacement in \( h \) for \( s \) of \( as \), it also goes through deletion of \( a \) of \( as \) (6.4.111 \( \text{sinas} \text{a} \text{r} \text{lopa} \text{h} \)).

7.4.53 वीवर्णयोद्धीवेच्यो:

\( \text{yivarnayor} \text{dihivevyoh} \)
\( \text{/yivarnayoh} 6/2 = yi ca ivarãs ca = yivarnau (\text{itar. dv.}), tayoh; dihi-

\( \text{vevyoh} = \text{dihis} ca vevã ca = dihi\text{vevyau} (\text{itar. dv.}), tayoh/ \)
\( \text{(aŋgasya} \#6.4.1 \text{lopa} \text{h} \#50) \)
\( \text{yakarãdãv ivarãdau ca parato dihi\text{vevyor} lopa bhavati} \)

A deletion by \( \text{LOPA} \) comes in place of the final sound segment of an \( \text{a} \text{nga} \) constituted by verbal roots \( \text{dihin} \) 'to shine' and \( \text{vevi} \text{n} \) 'to move, go' when an affix beginning with \( y \), or simply an \( i \), follows.

EXAMPLES:

\( \text{adidhya} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{dih} + (\text{Ktv} \rightarrow \text{Lyap}) \)
\( \text{avvy} \text{-a} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{vevi} + (\text{Ktv} \rightarrow \text{Lyap}) \)
\( \text{adidhyate} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{dih} + \text{ya} \text{k} + \text{te} \)
\( \text{avvyate} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{dih} + \text{ya} \text{k} + \text{te} \)
\( \text{adidhit} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{dih} + \text{it} + \text{tr} \text{c} \)
\( \text{avvita} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{vevi} + \text{it} + \text{tr} \text{c} \)
\( \text{adidhit} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{dih} + \text{siyUT} + \text{ta} \)
\( \text{avvita} \) 'a derivate of \( \text{a} \text{n} + \text{vevi} + \text{siyUT} + \text{ta} \)

1. Note that the \( i \) of \( yi \) (in \( \text{yivarnayoh} \)) is used for ease of articulation. Thus, we interpret \( y \) as \( yakarãdi \) 'that which begins with \( y \). This deletion applies to final sound segment \( i \) of \( \text{dihin} \) and \( \text{vevi} \text{n} \) (1.1.52 \( \text{alo} \) ntyasa). Consider \( \text{adidhi} + (\text{Ktv} \rightarrow \text{Lyap}) = \text{adidi} + \text{ya} \), and similarly \( \text{avvy} + \text{ya} \), where the root-final \( i \) is deleted to yield \( \text{adidhya} \) and \( \text{avvy} \).

Our next two examples derive from \( \text{adidhi} + \text{ya} \text{k} + (\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{te}) \) and \( \text{a} \text{-vevi} + \text{ya} \text{k} + \text{te} \), where \( \text{ya} \text{k} \) (3.1.67 \( \text{sârâvadhartuke} \text{ya} \)\text{k}) is introduced with the signification of \( \text{karman} \) 'object'. We get \( \text{adidhyate} \) and \( \text{avvyate} \), through deletion of \( i \). Our next two examples, i.e., \( \text{adidhit} \) and \( \text{avvita} \), are derivate of \( \text{tr} \text{c} \). Thus, \( (\text{adidh}(i \rightarrow \phi) + \text{it} + \text{tr} \text{c}) + \text{sU} = \text{adidhit} \), with deletion of \( i \). Similar rules apply in deriving \( \text{avvita} \). Now consider \( \text{adidhit} \) and \( \text{avvita} \), both derivates
of LĪN, derived from: ā-dīdhī + ṢaP + (LĪN–ta) → ādīdhī + (ṢaP–∅) + sīyUT + sUT + ta and ā-vevī + (ṢaP–∅) + sīyUT + sUT + ta, respectively. Deletion of ṢaP (2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah śapah) and those of two s-sounds (7.2.79 līnāḥ salopo ... ) and i, produces: ādīdhī + iy + ta and āvev + iy + ta. We get ādīdhīta and āvevīta subsequent to deletion of iy by 6.1.64 lopo vyor vati.

2. Why is this replacement constrained by conditions of yiwarṇayoh ‘when followed by yi-initial and i? Consider ādīdhyanam and āvevyanam which are both derivatives of (LyUT–ana). It is because of condition of yi-initial, and i, that we do not get deletion of i. Instead, we get it replaced with y.

7.4.54 सनि मीमासुरभलभगिकपदपदाधार इस्

sani mīmāghurabhalabhasakapadapadām aca is
/sani 7/1 mī-mā-ghu-rahba-labhā-saka-pata-padām 6/3 acaḥ 6/1 is 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 si #46)
sani pṛatayo sakārādau parato ‘mī, mā, ghu, rabha, labha, śaka, pata, pada’
ity etesām anānām acaḥ sthāne is ity ayam ādesa bhavati
A replacement in is comes in place of the aC of an anīga constituted by mī, mā, a verbal root termed ghu (1.1.20 dādāgh adāp), and rabhA ‘to seize, grasp’, DūlabhaS ‘to obtain, gain’, ṣaṅk ‘to be able to’, pat ‘to fall’, and pada ‘to go’ as well, when affix saN, beginning with s, follows.

Examples:

mitsati ‘a derivate of mā + saN→ mitsa +( LAT–te)’
pramitsati ‘a derivate of pra-mā + saN→ pramitsa +( LAT–te)’
mitsate ‘a derivate of mī + saN→ mitsa +( LAT–te)’
apamitsate ‘a derivate of apa-mī + saN→ apamitsa + (LAT–te)’
ditsati ‘a derivate of (dā + saN) + LAT–tiP)’
dhitsati ‘a derivate of (dhā + saN) + LAT–tiP)’
āripsate ‘a derivate of (ā-rabh + saN) + LAT–te)’
ālipsate ‘a derivate of (ā-labh + saN) + LAT–te)’
śiksati ‘a derivate of (ā-sakah + saN) + LAT–te)’
pitsati ‘a derivate of (pat + saN) + LAT–te)’
prapitsate ‘a derivate of (pra-pat + san) + LAT–te)’

1. Why specify saN beginning with s when saN begins with s? It is stated so that this rule does not apply where augment iṬ is introduced to saN. For, affix saN will then be beginning with iṬ. Verbal root mī refers here to both mīN ‘to harm’ and DūmiN ‘to hurl’. Verbal root mā, similarly, refers to three roots: mā, māN ‘to measure’ and meN ‘barter, exchange’. This rule introduces is as a replacement for the aC ‘vowel’ of a specified anīga before affix saN, beginning with s. Thus, consider mitsati which derives from (mī + saN) + (LAT–tiP). We get m(i–iṣ) + sa(N) = mis + sa, where 7.4.49 sya sārvadhātuke applies to yield: mī(s→i) + sa = mit + sa. Reduplication and operations relative
to it will subsequently produce \( mi(t \rightarrow \Phi) + mit + sa = mimit + sa \). We get mitsati through deletion of abhyāsa (7.4.58 atra lopo’ bhyāsasya), namely mi. This gives us mitsa which, after the introduction of \( \text{LAT} \) and other relevant operations, produces mitsati. Similar operational steps are to be followed in deriving mitsate / apamitsate, and ditsati / dhitsati. Recall in this connection that \( mn \) goes through a replacement in \( \tilde{a} \) (ávtva; 6.1.44 ádeca upādāse . . .). We get \( \tilde{a} \rightarrow h + sa \rightarrow \tilde{a} \rightarrow (a \rightarrow ris) bh + sa = \tilde{a} \rightarrow ris + bh + sa \), through replacement in is. The bh then goes through a replacement in \( \phi \) (caitrva; 8.4.54 khari ca). The s of is is then deleted by 8.2.29 skh samyogādyoh to produce āripsate. We similarly get ālipsate from (ā-labh + saN) + \( \text{LAT} \). Other derivates follow similar patterns. Deletion of the bhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo’ bhyāsah), as usual, applies in all these examples.

2. Note that this replacement in is applies only when a saN is used beginning with s. Thus, we do not get it in pipitiṣati ‘. . . wishes to fall’, a saN-derivate of pat, where augment \( iT \) is introduced to saN. That is, saN begins with i. Recall here that the augment \( iT \), in connection with pat, is made optional by a vártika proposal (vt: tanipatidaridrānām upasamkhyānām).

Yet another vártika proposal is made to introduce is as a replacement when rādh is used with the signification of himsā ‘harm’ and saN follows. Thus, we get pratiratsati. A derivate of rādh, when not used with the signification of himsā, will be ārrātsati. The sense of rādh in this counter-example is gati ‘movement, etc.’

### 7.4.55 आङ्ग्यवधारे

\[ \text{āp} \text{jñāpyrdhām it} \]
\[ / \text{āp} \text{-jñāpy-rdhām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśām; it 1/1/} \]
\[ (\text{āṅgasya #6.4.1 sah #49 acaḥ sani #54}) \]
‘\( \text{āp}, \text{jñāpi, r} \rightarrow \text{di} \) ity eteśām aṅgānām aca ikārādeśo bhavati sani sakārādau paraṭāḥ

A long \( i \) comes in place of \( aC \) of an anga constituted by verbal roots āp ‘to pervade’, jñāpi ‘(causative) to know’ and rdha ‘to thrive, prosper’ when a saN affix beginning with s follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

- **śipsati** ‘a derivate of (āp + saN) + \( \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{tiP} \)
- **jñipsati** ‘a derivate of (jñāpi + saN) + \( \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{tiP} \)
- **śrtsati** ‘a derivate of (rdha + saN) + \( \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{tiP} \)

1. This rule allows \( i \) to replace the vowel of an anga, namely āp ‘to pervade’, jñāpi ‘to inform, report’ and rdha ‘to grow’ when a saN affix beginning with s follows. We will get \( \text{āp} + \text{saN} → (\tilde{a} \rightarrow \phi) p + sa = \text{ipsa} \), through this replacement in i. Deriving śipsati, from īpsa + (\( \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{tiP} \)), is easy. Note, however, that deriving īpsa involves avitva ‘reduplication’ and deletion of abhyāsa, as explained
in earlier rules. This deletion, and deletion of \(NiC\) as well, applies also to \(jñapi + sa\). This deletion of \(NiC\) is accomplished by 6.4.51 \(ner aniti\), prior to replacement of \(a\) with \(i\). Thus, \(ñap(i→ϕ) + sa \rightarrow n(a→i)p + sa = niśpa\). Introduction of \(LAT→tiP\) and reduplication and deletion of \(abhyaśa\) then follows to yield \(niśpa\). We similarly get \(iṣati\) which is a non-causal desiderative of \(ṛdha\). Given \(ṛdh + sa(N) = (r→ir) + dh + sa = ōrdh\), where replacement in \(i\) for \(r\) is made with a following \(r\) (\(rapara; 1.1.51 ur a raparaḥ\), \(dh\) goes through a replacement in \(t\) (\(cartva; 8.4.55 khan ca\)). We get \(iṣati\) through introduction of \(LAT→tiP\), \(dvitva ‘reduplication’ and deletion of \(abhyaśa\).

2. It is explained that \(jñapi\) has two vowels. The \(i\) of \(NiC\) is deleted on the basis of \(pūrva-vipratisedha\), conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins its application. The other vowel is, of course, replaced with \(i\) (\(Kāś. jñaper dvāv acau; tatra neḥ pūrvavipratisedhena lopaḥ; itarasya tv ītvam\)).

3. That this replacement applies only when a \(saN\) follows is made clear by the counter-example \(prāpysati\) where no \(saN\) follows. Counter-examples for condition of a \(saN\) beginning with \(s\) are offered by \(jñapayisati\) and \(ardhitṛasi\), where both \(jñapi\) and \(ṛdha\) are used with an optional \(iṬ\) (7.2.49 \(sanivantardha . . .\)).

7.4.56 दम्भ इच्च

dambha ic ca
/dambhaḥ 6/1 it 1/1 ca ϕ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 saḥ #49 acaḥ sani #54 it #56)
dambher aca ikārādēśo bhavati cakārād ic ca sani sakārādu parataḥ
A short \(i\), and a long as well, occurs in place of the \(aC\) of an \(aṅga\) constituted by verbal root \(dambhi\), when a \(saN\) affix beginning with \(s\) follows.

Examples:

dhipsati ‘a derivate of dambh + saN’
dhipsati

1. Note that this rule applies where optional introduction of augment \(iṬ\) (7.2.49 \(sanivantardha . . .\)) is not availed by \(dambh + saN\). The \(m\), since \(saN\) can be interpreted as marked with \(k\) (\(kit; 1.2.10 halantāc ea\)), is then deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hal. . . . Reduplication and deletion of \(abhyaśa\) (7.4.58 \(atra lopo . . .\)) will then yield (\(di→ϕ\) + \(dibh + sa = \= dibh + sa\). The \(d\) of \(dibh\) will then be replaced with \(dh\) (8.2.37 \(ekāco baśo . . .\)). The final bh will also be replaced with \(p\) (\(cartva; 8.4.55 kharci ca\)). This will give us \(dhipsati\), where \(LAT\) is replaced with \(tiP\). A long replacement in \(i\) will offer us \(dhipsati\).

Here again, we do not find these replacements in \(i\) or \(i\) when a \(saN\) affix beginning with \(s\) does not follow. Thus consider \(didimbhisati\) where \(saN\) is introduced with augment \(iṬ\). Refer to examples under 7.2.49 \(sanivantardha . . .\) for additional derivational details.
7.4.57 गुणोऽकर्मकस्य गुणोऽ वा

\textit{muco' karmakasya guṇo vā}
\textit{/mucah 6/1 akarmakasya 6/1 gunah 1/1 vā φ/}
\textit{(āṅgasya #6.4.1 sah #49 sani #54)}
\textit{muco' karmakasya guṇo vā bhavati sani sakārādau parataḥ}

A \textit{guṇa} vowel comes in place of the \textit{iK} vowel of an \textit{āṅga} constituted by verbal root \textit{mucLR} 'to release' when a \textit{saN} affix beginning with \textit{s} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{mokṣate vatsaḥ svayam eva} 'the calf gets freed from his fetters by himself'

\textit{mumukṣate vatsaḥ svayam eva} 'the calf wishes to be free from his fetters by himself'

1. Note that this optional \textit{guṇa} applies to verbal root \textit{muc} 'to be free, released', used intransitively. An object becomes an \textit{agent} when it becomes conducive toward accomplishing the action (\textit{karmakārtā}). The calf of our example sentences is a \textit{karmakārtṛ} 'object turned agent'. Verbal root \textit{muc} is, under the circumstances, intransitive (\textit{akarma}).

2. Note that 1.2.10 \textit{halantāc ca} extends the status of \textit{kit} 'marked with \textit{K} as an \textit{it}' to \textit{saN} since it begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \textit{jhal}. (Śs 8-14). This, in turn, blocks \textit{guna} made available by 7.3.86 \textit{puganta-laghūpadhasya ca}. Our present rule makes that negation of \textit{guna} optional. Thus, \textit{(muc + sa)} \textit{→ (m(u→o)c) + sa)} \textit{→ (mo(c→h)) + sa)} \textit{→ mok + (s→ś) a = mokṣa}, through \textit{c→h} (kutva; 8.2.30 \textit{coḥ kuḥ}) and \textit{s→ś} (ṣatva; 8.3.57 \textit{im koh}). Note here that reduplication (\textit{dvitva}) will produce \textit{mu + muc + sa} where \textit{mu}, the \textit{abhyāsa}, will be deleted (7.4.58 \textit{atra lopo' bhyaśasya}). Thus, \textit{mokṣa + (LAT→te)} \textit{→ mokṣate}. We will get \textit{mumukṣate} when the option of \textit{guna} is not accepted. The \textit{abhyāsa} in that case will not be deleted.

2. Note that \textit{muc} must here be interpreted as an intransitive (\textit{akarma}). For, we will get \textit{mumukṣati vatsam devadattaḥ} 'Devadatta wishes the calf to be free'.

\textbf{7.4.58 अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य}

\textit{atra lopo' bhyaśasya}
\textit{/atra φ lopah 1/1 abhyāsasya 6/1/}
\textit{(āṅgasya #6.4.1)}
\textit{yad etat prakrāntam 'sani, mīmā' ityādi 'muco' karmakasya' iti yāvat}
\textit{atṛabhyaśalopo bhavati}

A deletion by \textit{LOPA}, in place of the \textit{abhyaśa} of an \textit{āṅga}, applies here in this context when \textit{saN} follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

Look under preceding rules.
1. The abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvō bhyāsah), here in the context (atra) of rules 7.4.54 sani mīmādhrura . . . through 7.4.57 muco' karmakasya, gets deleted. Refer to preceding rules for examples.

2. Why state atra 'here' when the context of san is already given? Why not just state lopō bhyāsasya. Some state that atra is here used so that deletion of abhyāsa could be accomplished only in this context. Elsewhere, eventhough sanvadbhāva 'operation similarly to when san follows' may suggest, this deletion cannot be allowed. The word atra is, thus, used for restricting the deletion of an abhyāsa.

Others claim that atra is used to indicate total deletion of abhyāsa. That is, deletion does not apply just to the final sound segment of the abhyāsa. It is for this reason that traL is interpreted here as introduced after a genitive, as against a locative, to derive atra. That is, atra is used in the sense of asya so that we can get the meaning: asya abhyāsasya lopaḥ 'deletion of this abhyāsa'. Yet others think that since the word abhyāsa is meaningful only when taken as a whole, its deletion should also be understood as total.

7.4.59 ह्रस्वहः:

hrasvah
/hrasvah 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58)
hrasvō bhavaty abhyāsasya

A short comes in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga.

EXAMPLES:

дуधाहुकितसंत 'a derivate of (duhawk + san) + (LAT→te)'
tutraukisate 'a derivate of (trauk + san) + (LAT→te)'

дуधाहुक 'a derivate of duhawk + LIT→ta→eŚi'
tutrauk 'a derivate of trau + LIT→ta→eŚi'
aduḥhaukat 'a derivate of duhawk + (LUT→tiP)'
atutraukat 'a derivate of trauk + (LUT→tiP)'

1. This rule requires the final vowel of an abhyāsa to be replaced with its short counterpart. Thus, consider duhawk + san and trauk + san where 6.1.9 sany aṅoḥ applies for dvitva 'reduplication'. The au of duhawk of duhawk + duhawk + sa is then replaced with its short counterpart o. We thus get dhu + duhawk + sa. We similarly get tu + trauk + sa. An application of replacement in ḍ for ḍh (jaṅtva 8.4.53 jalām jas jhai) of ḍh + duhawk + sa produces (dh→ḍ) u + duhawk + sa. Introduction of augment iT and replacement in s (satva) of s of san then produces duḥhaukṣa. We similarly get tutraukṣa. We get duḥhaukṣate and tutraukisate with third person singular middle (ātmanepada; 1.3.62 pūrvavat sanah) affix ta, as a replacement for LAT, introduced after duḥhaukṣa and tutraukṣa. A derivate of LIT, with ātmanepada replacement in ta, will be


\textit{du}dhauke and \textit{tu}trauke, where, in addition to reduplication and shortening of \textit{abhyäsa}, \textit{ta} will be replaced with \textit{eS} (3.4.81 \textit{li}tas \textit{tajhayor} . . .).

We similarly get \textit{a}du\textit{d}hauk\textit{a}t and \textit{at}trauk\textit{a}t, third person singular active forms of \textit{LUN}, where \textit{CLI}, \textit{CaN}, reduplication (\textit{dvitva}) and shortening of \textit{abhyäsa} apply.

2. A proposal is made in the \textit{Mahabh\textit{a}sy\textit{a}} to restrict operations relative to an \textit{abhyäsa} to contexts where a vowel does not follow (\textit{abhyäsasyänaci}). Thus, consider \textit{caracarah}, \textit{calacala}, \textit{patapatah} and \textit{vadavadah} where, because a consonant follows, the \textit{abhyäsa} does not get deleted. The \textit{abhyäsa} of these examples receives augment \textit{āK} (\textit{ut} vā \textit{caricalipatadvatän}m acy \textit{abhyäsasya}).

\textbf{7.4.60 हलादि:} श्रेष्ठ:

\textit{haladhi} \textit{še}ṣ\textit{ah}  \\
\textit{haladhi} 1/1 = \textit{hal ca}ṣ\textit{au ādiś ca} (karm. tat.); \textit{še}ṣ\textit{ah} 1/1/  \\
(\textit{āngasya} #6.4.1 \textit{abhyäsasya} #58)  \\
\textit{abhyäsasya} \textit{haladhi} \textit{śisyate} \textit{anädir} \textit{lupyate}  \\
That which is constituted by initial consonant of an \textit{abhyäsa}, alone, is retained.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{jaglau} 'third person singular active \textit{LIT}-derivate of glai'
  \item \textit{mamlau} 'third person singular active \textit{LIT}-derivate of mlai'
  \item \textit{papāca} 'third person singular active \textit{LIT}-derivate of pac'
  \item \textit{papāṭha} 'third person singular active \textit{LIT}-derivate of paṭhi'
  \item \textit{āṭa} 'third person singular active \textit{LIT}-derivate of at'
  \item \textit{āṭatuh} 'third person dual active \textit{LIT}-derivate of at'
  \item \textit{āṭuh} 'third person plural active \textit{LIT}-derivate of at'
\end{itemize}

1. Note that \textit{še}ṣ\textit{a} means 'residual, remainder'. The word \textit{haladhi} is generally interpreted as a \textit{karmadhāraya}, paraphrased as \textit{halas ca}ṣ\textit{āv ādiś ca} 'that which is a consonant and is also initial'. A genitive \textit{tatpuruša} interpretation, parallel to \textit{halänam ādiś} 'initial among consonants' may create problems. Consider \textit{ānaksatuh} and \textit{ānaksuḥ}, third personal dual and plural active \textit{LIT}-derivates of \textit{aks} 'to pervade'. Notice that the verb begins with a vowel. That is, reduplication of such roots applies with reference to their second syllable (6.1.2 \textit{ajāder dvitiyasya}). But since there is no second vowel, the unit formed by the first goes through reduplication to produce: \textit{ak} + \textit{aksi}. The \textit{k} of \textit{ak} cannot be accepted as forming initial (\textit{abhyäsādi}) of the \textit{abhyäsa}. That is, in the \textit{karmadhāraya} interpretation. However, it can be accepted as \textit{haladhi} in view of genitive \textit{tatpuruša} interpretation of the compound \textit{haladhi}. Retaining this \textit{k} will then create derivational difficulties. It is to remove such difficulties that \textit{haladhi} is here interpreted as a \textit{karmadhāraya}. The \textit{k} of \textit{ak}, in this view, cannot be accepted as initial of the \textit{abhyäsa}.  

2. Note that this deletion of non-initial has retention of the initial as its purpose (Kāś.: ādiśeṣanimitto’ yam anāder lopo vidhyate). That is, the initial (or first) consonant of an abhyāsa, whether it is at the beginning, or somewhere else in the middle, of abhyāsa causes deletion of non-initial consonantal units. The focus of this rule is thus not on retention of the initial consonant but on deletion of what is other than initial. It thus becomes a restrictive provision. Others accept the deletion (nivṛtti) as principal. For, it is part of the predicate (vidheya). The rule is thus interpreted as: ‘non-initial consonant of an abhyāsa is deleted’. This interpretation will not permit retention of initial consonant to become part of predication. Consequently, if there is any initial consonant of the abhyāsa it is retained. The non-initial consonantal units are deleted. The kand s of aks, since they are not initial, are both deleted. The Mahābhaiṣṭya also discusses yet another proposal, via split-interpretation (yoga-vibhāga) of this rule. I omit that discussion here.

3. Refer to derivational details of papa (notes, 7.1.34 āta au alaḥ). Deriving jagla from (gl(ai→ā) + (LIT→tiP→NaL→au)) = glā + a, involves ātva ‘replacement in ā’, in addition to au as a replacement for NaL. Reduplication will produce glā + glā + au which, after the non-initial deletion of this rule, will produce gā + glā + au. We will get gā + gl(ā+au→au) = gāglau and g(ā→a) + glau = gāglau, through a single vṛddhi replacement (76.1.88 vṛddhir eci) and shortening (7.4.59 hrasvaḥ). Rule 7.4.62 kuhōs cuḥ will then replace g (of ga, the abhyāsa) with j (cutva) to produce jagla. Similar rules apply in deriving mamlau from mlai + LIT. The third singular LIT-derivatives of pac and path follow similar rules. The a of pac and path, i.e., of pa + pac + a and pa + path + a, goes through penultimate vṛddhi (uṇdhe-vṛddhi; 7.2.116 ata uṇadhāyāḥ). Deriving āt/a / ātatuḥ / ātuḥ from at + LIT, where LIT is subsequently replaced with NaL / atus / us (parasmapiṇḍanām . . .), also involves reduplication and retention of initial consonant. Given a(t→φ) + at + a → a + at + a, we will get the short a of the abhyāsa replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 ata ādeḥ). An application of savarṇa-dirga ‘homogeneous long vowel-replacement’ (6.1.100 akāḥ savarṇe dīrghah) will then produce (ā+a→ā) t + a = ātta. We will similarly get ātatuḥ and ātuḥ.

7.4.61 सार्पुर्वव: खयः:

सार्पुर्वव कहयः
/सार्पुर्वव 1/3 = सर पूर्व येसम (bu), te, khayah 1/3/
(angasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 śeṣah #60)
abhyāsasya sarpuruvah kahayah siṣyante anye halo luptyante
That consonant of the abhyāsa which is denoted by the abbreviatory term khaY, and which occurs preceded by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term saR, alone, is retained.
Examples:

cuṣcyotisati ‘sanN-derivate in (LAT→tiP) of verbal root ścyutIR ‘to drip’
tiṣṭhāsati ‘sanN-derivate in (LAT→tiP) of verbal root sthā ‘to stand’
pispandisate ‘sanN-derivate in (LAT→tiP) of verbal root spadI ‘to move a little’

1. This rule allows retention of only that consonant of an abhyāsa which is denoted by the abbreviatory term khaY (Śs:11-12) and which occurs preceded by a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term saR. All other consonants of the abhyāsa go through deletion. This rule is an exception to the preceding. Consider ścyutIR ‘to drip’ which, when used before sanN, will yield ścyut + ścyut + sanN, via reduplication (dvītva; 6.1.9 sanyāṇoh). The cu alone of the abhyāsa, i.e., ścyut, will be retained under the provision of this rule. Thus, (cyut→cu) + ścyut + sanN = cu + ścyut + sa. An introduction of augment it and replacement in s (satva) will produce cuṣcyutiṣa. This, with LAT→tiP and subsequent operations, will produce cuṣcy(u→o)tiṣa + ŠaP + (LAT→tiP) → cuṣcyotisati. Similar rules also apply in deriving tiṣṭhāsati from sthā + sanN → sthā + sthā + sanN → (s→ϕ)thā + sthā + sanN → th(ā→i) + sthā + sanN → (th→t)i + sthā + sanN → ti + (s→s)thā + sanN → ti + s(th→th)ā + sanN → tiṣṭhāsā which, with the introduction of LAT and related operations, produces tiṣṭhāsati. Notice how sthā is able to retain only thā with the application of 7.4.61 sarpūrvā khayaḥ. The ā of sthā then goes through a replacement in i (itva; 7.4.79 sany atah). Rule 8.4.54 abhyāsa car ca then replaces th of thī with t. The s of sthā is then replaced with s (8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh). This, in turn, causes the following th to be replaced with th (8.4.41 śṭunā śtuḥ). Similar steps can be taken to derive third person singular present middle form pispandisate from pispandisa + (LAT→te). Note that pispandisa is derived from spand + sanN, obviously with the introduction of augment nUM to spadI.

2. Why do we have the condition of a preceding consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term saR? Consider pāpāca ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of pac’ where there is no preceding saR involved. What is the significance of retaining only a sound denoted by khaY? Consider sasnau, derived from (snā + (LAT→tiP→NaL→au)), where the initial consonant s alone is retained (7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ). Obviously, snā ‘to bath’ does not have a sound denoted by khaY.

3. A vārttika suggests that the rule should state: kharpūrvā khayaḥ ‘khaY preceded by khaR’. It is stated that, in deriving uccīṣa of uaccīṣati from uch + iT + sanN, reduplication (dvītva) and augment itUK both become applicable. Augment itUK is introduced first since it happens to be internally conditioned (antarāṅga). We then get reduplication (dvītva) and replacement in a palatal (cuṭva; 8.4.40 stōs ścuṇā ścuḥ). The cuṭva of 8.4.40 applies since it is internally conditioned. But this cuṭva becomes suspended (asiddha; 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsiddham) in view of application of reduplication (dvītva). Reduplica-
tion will then apply to \( ut + \text{chīṣ} \). The initial \( t \) will then be retained and \( ch \) will be deleted because there is no sound denoted by \( saR \) to precede. If one accepts the \( vārttika \), \( ch \) will be replaced with \( c \).

Commentators add that this \( vārttika \) becomes necessary when one does not accept the suspension proposal (\( asiddhatva \)) of 8.2.1 \( pūrvarāIDDham \), applying outside the context of reduplication. Otherwise, one can get initial \( c \) in the \( abhyāsa \) subsequent to \( cutva \) in \( ucchīṣ \).

### 7.4.62 कृहोरचुः

\[
\text{kahoś cuḥ} \\
kū hoḥ 6/2 = kuś ca ha ca (stā. dv.), tayoh; cuḥ 1/1/ \\
(āṅgaśa #6.4.1 abhyāsasa #58) \\
ābhyāsasa kavargahākārayoś cavargādeśo bhavati
\]

A consonant of the \( k \)-series (\( kU \)), and a \( h \), when forming part of an \( abhyāsa \), is replaced with a consonant of the \( e \)-series (\( eU \)).

### Examples:

- \( cakāra \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( DUkṛṇ \) ‘to do’
- \( cakhaṇa \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( khan \) ‘to dig’
- \( jagāma \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( gam \)
- \( jaghāna \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( han \)
- \( jahara \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( hṛ \) ‘to fetch, carry’
- \( jihirṣati \) ‘third person singular active \( saṇ \)-derivate in \( LAT \) of verbal root \( hṛ \)
- \( jahau \) ‘third person singular active \( LIT \)-derivate of \( OhāK \) ‘to abandon’

1. This rule allows \( kU \) ‘a consonant of the \( k \)-series’, and also \( h \), of an \( abhyāsa \) to be replaced with \( eU \) ‘a consonant of the \( e \)-series’. Notice that there are six sounds which are offered here to be replaced with five. Since the number of items in two sets are not equal, we cannot decide equivalency in view of the order of enumeration (\( yathāśaṃkhyā \)). We must decide equivalency in view of close similarity between sounds (1.1.50 \( sthāne \, ntaratamah \)). There is no problem in deciding equivalency between consonants of the \( k \) and \( e \)-series. The problem is basically between \( h \), and a consonant of the \( e \)-series. It is argued that \( jh \) comes closest to \( h \) as a replacement from among consonants of the \( e \)-series (palatal).

2. Consider \( cakāra \) ‘... made’ and \( cakhaṇa \) ‘... dug’, both third singular perfect derivates where, subsequent to reduplication and operations relative to \( abhyāsa \), we get \( kr + (LIT \rightarrow \text{tiP} \rightarrow \text{NaL}) \rightarrow ca + kr + a \) and \( ca + khan + a \). We get \( c \) from \( kh \), via \( ch \) (8.4.53 \( abhyāse \, ca \, ca \)). An application of penultimate (\( upadāḥ \) \( vṛddhi \) produces \( cakara \) and \( cakhana \). We similarly get \( jaghāsa \) from \( ad + LIT \) for which refer to the appendix (III:698) of 2.4.40 \( līty anyatatrasāyām \).

The \( gh \) of \( ghas \), which is a replacement for \( ad \) ‘to eat’, is here replaced with \( j \).
(jaśtva), again via jh, in deriving jahāra from hr + LIṬ. Refer to the appendix (III:750) of 3.2.115 parokṣe liṭ for derivational details of jahāra. Derivational details of jihīrṣati are similar to those of cikīrṣati (II:435), under the appendix of 1.2.9 iko jhal. Also refer to jihīrṣakah (II:407) under the appendix of 1.1.58 na padānta. . . . Note, however, that the NaL-replacement of tiP, in jahau, is replaced with au (7.1.34 āt au nalaḥ).

7.4.63 न कवातेर्षि

na kavater yaṇi
/na ṣ kavateḥ 6/1 yaṇi 7/1/
(abhyāṣasya #6.4.1 abhyāṣasya #58 cuḥ #62)
kavater abhyāṣasya yaṇi parataś cur na bhavati
A sound denoted by cU does not come in place of the abhyāṣa of an aṅga constituted by verbal root kuN when affix yaN follows.

Examples:

kokūyate uṣṭrah 'the camel cries in pain'
kokūyale khararā 'the donkey cries in pain'

1. This rule blocks a palatal replacement for the abhyāṣa of kuN ‘noise’ when affix yaN follows. Thus, given ku + yaN, we get ku + ku + yaN through reduplication. The u of ku + ku + yaN then goes through a replacement in long (dirgha; 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ . . .). The u of the abhyāṣa also goes through a replacement in guṇa (7.4.82 guṇo yaṇlukoḥ). Note that a specification of verbal root kuN ‘noise’ of the bhvadī group is here made in kavateḥ with the use of Śṭp, i.e., class-marker ŚaP and tiP. A reference to the adādi verbal root ku, or one to the curāḍi verbal root kuN, is thus ruled out. They both cannot escape a replacement in c (cutva). Thus, we will get cokūyate.

7.4.64 कृषेः चन्दसि

kṛṣeḥ chandasi
/kṛṣeḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1/
(abhyāṣasya #6.4.1 abhyāṣasya #58 cuḥ #62 na yaṇi #63)
kṛṣeḥ chandasi viṣaye yaṇi parato' bhāṣasya cur na bhavati
A sound denoted by cU does not come, in the Vedic, in place of the abhyāṣa of an aṅga constituted by verbal root kṛṣa ‘to draw, drag’, when affix yaN follows.

Examples:

karikṛṣyate yaṇṇakunapah
‘ritual corpse is drawn over and over again’

1. What was made available by the preceding rule is here denied in the
context of the Vedic usage. Thus, $kṛṣ + yaN \rightarrow kṛ + kṛṣ + yaN \rightarrow k(ṛ→a) + riK + kṛṣ + yaN = karikṛṣ + ya. Note that riK is an augment introduced to the abhyāśa (7.4.90 ṛigṛdpadhasya ca). Deriving karikṛṣyate, from (karikṛṣa + ŚaP + (LAṬ→te)) = karikṛṣyate, should pose no problem. Remember that we will get a replacement in $e$ (cutva) in the classical usage. Thus, carikṛṣyate kṛṣivalah ‘the farmer is ploughing over and over again’.

7.4.65 dādharitidardhartidardharsi-bobhūtutetikte larṣyāpaniπhaṇatsaṃsanisyaṭat-karikratkanikradadbharibhraddavidhvatabodavidyutattaritrataḥsarīṣpatamva-
riṣvanmarmryāganīganti ca
/dādharti-dardharti-dardharsi-bobhūtu-tetikte-alarsi-āpaniπhaṇat-saṃ-
sanisyaṭat-karikrat-kanikradai-bharibhrat-davidhvataḥ-davidyutat-taritrata-
ḥ-sarīṣpatam-varīvrjat-marmrya-āganīganti (separately specified padas);
ca \(\phi\)/
(angasya #6.4.1 abhyāśasya #58 chandasi #64)
‘dādharti, dardharti, dardharsi, bobhūtu, tetikte, alarsi, āpaniπhaṇat,
saṃsanisyaṭat, karikrat, kanikradat, bharibhrat, davidhvataḥ, davidyutat,
taritrataḥ, sarīṣpatam, varīvrjat, marmrya, āganīganti’ ity etāni aṣṭādaśa chandasi viṣaye nipātyante
Forms such as dādharti, dardharti, dardharsi, bobhūtu, tetikte, alarsi, āpaniπhaṇat, saṃsanisyaṭat, karikrat, kanikradat, bharibhrat, davidhvataḥ, davidyutat, taritrataḥ, sarīṣpatam, varīvrjat, marmrya, and āganīganti are derived, via nipātana, when the usage is Vedic.

**Examples:**

dādharti
dardharti
dardharsi
bobhūtu
tetikte
alarsi
āpaniπhaṇat
saṃsanisyaṭat
karikrat
kanikradat
bharibhrat
davidhvataḥ
davidyutat
taritrataḥ
sarīṣpatam
varīvrjat
1. Note that these eighteen forms are to be treated as derived, irrespective of details concerning rules and respective stages of their application. Whatever details are offered by commentators are to be accepted as purely pedagogical. Thus, dādharṭti can be explained as derived, either via deletion of ŚLU, or via LUK-deletion of yaN, after the causal form of dhṛN 'to hold'. The ŚLU-deletion of (dhṛN + NiC + SāP + tiP) will be accomplished by 2.4.76 bahulaṁ chandasi. Lengthening of the abhyāsa, and deletion of NiC, will then be accomplished via nīpātana. Deriving dādharṭti with dhṛN, used with the signification of avasthāna 'staying', will involve lengthening of the abhyāsa and parasāmipada 'active ending', again via nīpātana, under the condition of a following ŚLU-deletion. If one accepts dhṛN as a root of the tudādi class, augment Sā must be replaced with SāP, via transposition (vṛtyayaya). We can then proceed with ŚLU.

Accepting the derivation of dādharṭti with LUK-deletion of yaN, introduced after the causal dhāri, will entail facilitating yaN. Recall that yaN may not be available to dhāri, a causal root, for reasons of being anekāc 'consisting of more than one vowel'. The yaN after dhāri will have to be brought via nīpātana. The shortening of the upadhā 'penultimate' will then also have to be realized via nīpātana. Note that, in this view, deletion of NiC (6.4.51 ॥ er anīṣī) and lengthening of the abhyāsa (7.4.83 dīrgho kitaḥ) will then be accomplished via regular rules. That is, recourse to nīpātana need not be taken here for these two operations. The derivation of dardharṭti, in addition to ŚLU and deletion of NiC, involves augment rUK, all via nīpātana. The option of LUK-deletion of yaN will imply non-lengthening of abhyāsa and, for that matter non-availability of yaN due to dhāri consisting of more than one vowel, again via nīpātana. Augment rUK in dardharṭti is, of course, available from 7.4.92 ytaś ca. Derivational details of dardharṣi, with siP as against tiP, are similar to dardharṭti. The idea behind all these derivations is: yal lakṣaṇenānupapannam tat sarvam nīpātanāt siddham 'all that which could not be accomplished by specific rule application is accomplished by nīpātana'. Refer to Nyāsa and Padamaṇḍarī for further such details.

2. Now consider bobhūtu, third singular active imperative of bhū 'to be, become', which involves yaN and its subsequent deletion by LUK. Doubling in this derive is accomplished at the strength of 1.1.62 pratiyayalope pratayalakṣaṇam. Notice that, given the string bobhū + ti, the ū of bhū does not go through a replacement in guna, again via nīpātana. This, however, should not be treated as the purpose of making a nīpātana provision. For, guna can be readily blocked by 7.3.88 bhūsuvos tiinī. This recourse to blocking guna, via nīpātana, then becomes an indicator (jāpaka). That is, elsewhere in intensives where yaN goes through deletion via LUK, we do not find any negation of guna. Consider, thus, bobhoti and bobhaviti. Incidentally, the first...
of these two forms does not accept the option of augment iṭ (7.3.94 yaño vā).

3. The derivation of tetikte also involves LUK-deletion of yaN, where we get
tetij + te after LAT→ta→te, via nipātana, reduplication and operations relative
to abhyāsa. An application of kutva finally produces teti(j→g→k) + te = tetikte
(8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ; 8.2.55 kharī ca). Why do we have to take recourse to nipātana
for middle (ātmanepada) endings? Why can we not get the middle ending at
the strength of N as an it (Ndi) status of yaN (1.3.12 anudāttanita ātmane-
padam)? This nipātana then indicates that, elsewhere, we get ātmanepada
after that which ends in yaN, but not after that which yaN has gone through
deletion by LUK.

4. Deriving alarsi, from r → (LAT→siP) → r → (ŚaP→ŚLU) → si = r + ŚLU + si,
involves reduplication (āvitra; 6.1.10 ślau), and application of 7.4.66 ur at,
to produce ar + r + si. The r will then also go through kunā to, thereby, yield:
ar + ar + si. Our present rule, mostly as an exception to 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ,
will replace r of the abhyāsa with l. Thus, we will get al + ar + si = alarsi which,
after r-replacement of s, will produce alarsi. Note that a specification by siP
of alarsi does not mean that we do not get examples, for instance, with tiP.
Thus, consider alarti, where nipātana is supposed to accomplish a lack of i-
replacement (śiva) applicable to the abhyāsa (cf. artipiṣṭapyaś ca).

5. Kāśikā offers āpanīphānat as an example where augment niK is intro-
duced to the abhyāsa of verbal root phaṇ ‘to move’, used with the preverb
āN. Note here that affix yaN has gone through deletion by LUK and the
present active participial suffix ŚatR follows the ānīga which, in turn, has
gone through operations relative to reduplication. We thus get āpha +
(yaN→LUK) → āpha + phaṇ → ā(ph→p) a + phaṇ + (LAT→ŚatR) = āpha + phaṇ
+ at. Augment niK can now be introduced to produce āpha + phaṇ + at → āpha
+nī + phaṇ + at = āpanīphānat.

6. Note that sasaniṣyadat derives similarly to āpanīphānat, from verbal root
syanda ‘to drip, flow, ooze’, used with the preverb sam. Operations similar to
introduction and deletion of yaN, via LUK, and reduplication, follow. We
similarly get the introduction of affix ŚatR. The augment which will here be
introduced, via nipātana, is niK. Thus, we get sam + sa + syand + at → sam + sa
+nī + syand + at. The n of syand is deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hal. . . . Of
course, we get the s of syad replaced with s (satva), via nipātana. Here again,
it is not necessary that the example be limited to syand, used with the preverb
sam. We also get āsanīsyadat, with āN.

7. A similar example with deletion of yaN by LUK is offered in karikrata.
A palatal replacement (cutva) corresponding with the velar k of the abhyāsa is
here blocked via nipātana. This same nipātana is also responsible for intro-
ducing augment niK. Thus, kr + (yaN→LUK) → k(r→ar) + kr → ka(r→ph) + kr
+ Śat = ka + k(r→r) + at → ka + riK + kr + at = karikrata.

8. Now consider kanikrataid which derives from krand + (LUÑ→tīP) →
krand + ti. An introduction of CLI, with its subsequent replacement with an, produces krand + a + ti. This string, after reduplication and operation relative to abhyāsa, produces ka + krand + a + ti. Augment niKi is then introduced with the understanding that, similar to the preceding example, no palatal will replace the velar but n of krand will go through deletion, similar to our earlier example. Note that an absence of augment an at the beginning of kanikradat, is again due to nipātana. We find akrandin in the classical language.

9. Note that bharibhrat derives from bhrN + (yaN→LUK) → bha + bhr + ŠatR. The abhyāsa is here, not allowed a replacement in i (ituca; 7.4.76 bhrñām it). The b-replacement (jaśvā; 8.4.53 abhyāse car ca) of bh of the abhyāsa is also blocked via nipātana. The introduction of augment niK is also made via nipātana. Thus, we get bha + bhr + at → bha + bh(r→r) + at → bha + niK + bhr + at = bharibhrat.

10. A similar example with LUK-deletion of yaN, and a following ŠatR, is given as davidhyutatah. Of course, this form of the base ending in ŠatR is used with the nominative plural ending jas. Note that the r of dhr + (yaN→LUK) + at is deleted via nipātana. This same nipātana is also responsible for introduction of augment viK. Rule 7.1.78 nābyastāc chatuḥ blocks the introduction of nUM made available by 7.1.70 ugid aćām. . . .

11. One can also consider davidhyutat, yet another form with ŠatR, where yaN has gone through deletion via LUK. The abhyāsa of verbal root dyut, in the string du + dyut + at, does not go through samprasārana. It, instead, goes through a replacement in a (atua), subsequent to which augment viK is introduced. All this is accomplished, via nipātana. Thus, d(u→a) + dyut + at → da + viK + dyut + at = davidhyutat.

12. Deriving taritratah, from (tī + (ŠaP→ŠLU) + ŠatR)), entails operations similar to earlier examples. Augment riK is here introduced to the abhyāsa. Thus, tī + tī + ŠatR yields ta + tī + at, via application of 7.4.66 ur at, etc. Augment riK is then introduced to produce ta + riK + tī + at. An application of yaN will finally produce tarī(r→r) + at = taritratah. Recall that taritratah is the genitive singular form of this base ending in ŠatR.

13. Recall that the purpose of replacing ŠaP with ŠLU is to accomplish reduplication. Forms ending in ŠatR then facilitate introduction of augments to the abhyāsa. Thus, consider the introduction of riK to the abhyāsa, of srl of ‘to move, crawl’, in sarśrpatam, the accusative singular form of a base ending in ŠatR. We similarly get vartvajat of verbal root mṛt to abandon, exclude’.

14. The abhyāsa of verbal root mṛt ‘to cleanse’, used in LIJT where its tiP replaced with NaL, is introduced with augment rUK. The root itself is introduced with augment yUK. Thus, we get ma + mṛt + a after reduplication and ma + rUK + mṛt + yUK + NaL = marmṛyya, at the end of derivation. The r of mṛt, because of introduction of yUK, becomes guru ‘long, heavy’ before the conjunct jy. That is, it no longer contains a short vowel in its upadāh ‘penultimate position’. This blocks the vṛddhi of r (7.2.114 mṛjer vṛddhiḥ).
15. Deriving āgaṇīgantī from gām + (ŚaP→ŚLU) + tiP with reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa will produce gāgam + ti. We will get the introduction of augment niK to the abhyāsa, though the cutva of 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ will be blocked. This will produce: ganīga(m→n→n) ti = ganīgantī, with anusvāra (m→m) and parasavarna (m→n) ‘single homogeneous replacement similar to the following’.

7.4.66 उत्तर

ur at
/uh 6/1 at 1/1/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58)
ruṇāntasyābhyaśasyākārādēśo bhavati
The r of an abhyāsa is replaced with aT.

Examples:

narsnartī ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of nṛt ‘to dance’ with yaN-deletion and augment rUK’
narinarti ‘... with yaN-deletion and augment niK’
narinarti ‘... with yaN-deletion and augment niK’

1. This rule offers a short a (at) as a replacement for the final r of an abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyāsah). Thus, consider vaṅṛte, vaṅṛdhe and ṣaṅṛdhe, the third singular middle LIT forms of vṛt ‘to turn’, vṛdh ‘to grow’ and ṣṛdh ‘to reproach, rebuke’, respectively. The third person singular present middle ending ta is replaced with eS (3.4.81 litas tajhayor esirec). The r of the abhyāsa, of course, after reduplication (dvitva), is replaced with r followed by r (raparā; 1.1.51 ur an rparaḥ). This r, however, goes through deletion of 7.4.60 halādiśeṣah. We get narsnarti, narinarti and narinarti, as forms of nṛt ‘to dance’ where yaN goes through deletion by LUK. We then get augments rUK, riK and niK (7.4.91 rugrikau ca luki), introduced to the abhyāsa to derive narsnarti, narinarti and narinarti.

2. A question is raised about introducing a as a replacement of r of the abhyāsa in these examples. That is, given nṛ + nṛt + ti, rules 7.4.90 rīg rd upadhasya ca and 7.4.91 rugrikau ca luki will introduce augments rUK, riK and niK, instead, on the basis of being subsequent (paratva). Once the augments are introduced, the abhyāsa can no longer be ending in r. Consequently, the question of replacing the final r of the abhyāsa with a does not arise. Commentators state that replacement in a (atva) is applied first since, in contexts where an abhyāsa goes through a modification (as we find here), a general rule cannot be blocked by its related exceptions (Kāś: abhyāsavikāreshu apavādo notsargān vīdhin bādhate). Our present rule must apply before introduction of augments.
7.4.67 दृष्टिस्वाययोः समप्रसारणाम्

dyutisvāpyoh samprasāraṇaṃ
/ dyuti-svāpyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; samprasāraṇaṃ 1/1 /
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58)
\*‘dyuti, svāpi’ ity etayor abhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati

A vowel termed samprasāraṇa comes in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by verbal roots dyutA ‘to shine, glow’ and svāpi ‘to have someone sleep’, the causal form of svap ‘to sleep’.

**Examples:**

vididyute ‘third person singular middle LIṬ-derivate of dyut used with the preverb vi’
vyadidyutat ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of dyut used with the preverb vi’
vididyotiṣate ‘third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of dyut used with the preverb vi and affix saN’
videdyutyate ‘third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root dyut used with the preverb vi and affix yaN’
susvaṇpayiṣati ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of the causal verbal root svāpi used with affix saN’

1. This rule offers a replacement in samprasāraṇa denoted by the abbreviatory term iK for the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by dyut ‘to shine, glow’ and svāpi ‘causative of svap (to sleep)’. We thus get vididyute, from vidyut + LIṬ, where LIṬ is replaced with eS, via third person singular middle ending ta (3.4.81 liṭas tajhayor . . .). An application of reduplication dyut + dyut + e, samprasāraṇa of y, in d(y → i) ut + dyut + te = diut + dyut + e, followed by pūrva-rūpa ‘single replacement similar to the preceding’ of 6.1.108 samprasāraṇac ca (d(i+u → i) t + dyut + e) and 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣah (di(t → ṣ)) + dyut + e) produces vi + didyut + e = vididyute. We similarly get vididyotiṣate, from vidyut + saN, after reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. Since saN is treated as marked with K as an it (kit), only optionally (1.2.26 ralo vyupadhād halādeḥ . . .), we will also get a form without guṇa, i.e., vididyotiṣate. Refer to many CaN-derivatives (cf. notes, 7.4.101 naṃ caṇy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ) for derivational details of vyadidyutat, from vi-dyut + LAṆ. Note here that CaṆ serves as a condition for abhyāsa (caṇi) but does not follow the abhyāsa immediately. That is, it is intervened by NiC. This intervening NiC, however, does not block samprasāraṇa which is desired (isyate). Deriving videddyutyate, a derivate with yaN, from (vi-dyut + yaN) + LAṬ) should pose no difficulty.

2. Verbal root svap ‘to sleep’ is here specified with the causal suffix NiC. That is, (Niśvap + NiC) → svāpi, with replacement in s for s and penultimate (upadhā) vrddhi. This serves as an aṅga before the affix which, in turn, con-
ditions the *abhyāsa*. Thus, consider *svāpi + iT + saN* which produces *svap + svāpi + i + sa*, through reduplication (*dvirvacana*). The *samprasāraṇa* of *v* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *svap*, subsequently yields *u*, via *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇa ca*) of *āu* of *s(v→u) ap → s(u+a→u)p*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* will produce *su(p→f) + svāpi + i + sa → su + svāpi + i + sa*. An application of *guna*, followed by *ay* before *i*, will, after the *s→s* of 8.3.59 *ādeśaprayāyayoh*, produce *suvāp(i→e→ay) + i + (s→s) a = susuvāpayīṣa*. The *s* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.61 *stautinyo*. . . . We will finally derive *suvāpayīṣati* from *suvāpayīṣa + śaP + (LAT→tiP)*.

Note that verbal root *svāpi* is here accepted as ending in affix *NiC* (*nyanta*). An application of *samprasāraṇa* is desired in its context only when an affix conditioning its *abhyāsa* follows in close proximity. The *samprasāraṇa* of the preceding example will thus not be available to the *abhyāsa* of *sasvāpaka*, a derivate of *svāpi* with *Nūl*, in deriving *sīsvāpakīyāṣati* from (*svāpi + Nūl* + *KyāC*) = *svāpakiya* and (*svāpikiya + saN* + *LAT→tiP = svāpikiyāṣati*). The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* of *sasvāpakiya* is blocked because *saN* does not follow the *abhyāsa*. There is an intervention of *Nūl* and *KyāC*. Consequently, after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*, the *a* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *i* (7.4.79 *sany atah*) to produce *S(a→i) svāpakiyāṣa*.

### 7.4.68 व्ययो लिति

*vyatho liṭi*

/ *vyathah* 6/1 *liṭi* 7/1/  
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 samprasāraṇam #67)  
*vyather liṭi parato* bhyāsasya samprasāraṇam bhavati

A vowel termed *samprasāraṇa* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an aṅga constituted by verbal root *vyatha* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

#### Examples:

- *vivyathe* ‘third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath* ‘to fear, move, tremble’
- *vivyathāte* ‘third person dual middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath*’
- *vivyathīre* ‘third person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath*’

1. This rule allows *samprasāraṇa* to the *abhyāsa* of verbal root *vyath* ‘to fear, move’ when *LIṬ* follows. Thus, *vyath + (LIṬ→ta→eŚ) = vivyath + e*, through reduplication (*dvitva; vyath + vyath + e*), *samprasāraṇa* (*v(y→i) ath + vyath + e*), *pūrvarūpa* (*v(i+a→i) th + vyath + e = vith + vyath + e*, 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇa ca* and 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣa* (*vi(th→f) + vyath + e*). Note that the *y* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *vyath*, of *vyath + vyath + e*, would have gone through deletion because of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). This rule, instead, offers *samprasāraṇa* which was not made available by an earlier rule (*Kāś. halādiśeṣena yakārasya nīvṛttau prāptāyāṁ samprasāraṇam kriyate, yakārasya ‘na samprasāraṇe*
samprasāraṇam (6.1.37) iti pratisidhyate). This rule blocks negation of 6.1.37
na samprasārane samprasāraṇam.

But this can happen only when LIṬ follows. For, consider vāvyathyate, a
derivate of (vyath + yaN) + LAT, where halādiśeṣa (7.4.60) reduces the abhyāsa
to va (via deletion of y) and the a of the abhyāsa goes through a replacement
in long (dīrgha). Thus, vā + vyath + ya + te = vāvyathyate.

7.4.69 दीर्घ इण: किति

dīrgha iṇah kiti
/ dīrgah 1/1 iṇah 6/1 kiti 7/1/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68)
ino' ngasya yo' bhyāsas tasya dīrgho bhavati kiti liṭi parataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of the abhyāsa of an āṅga constituted by
verbal root iN 'to go' when a LIṬ affix marked with K as an it follows.

EXAMPLES:

iyatuh 'third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of iN'
iyuh 'third person plural active LIṬ-derivate . . .'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short of an abhyāsa when
verbal root iN 'to go' constitutes an āṅga and a LIṬ affix marked with K as an
it follows. Thus, consider iN + (LIṬ→ tas→ atus) and i + (LIṬ→ jhi→ us), where
rule 6.4.81 ino yan applies to replace the i with y. We get reduplication in
(i→y) + atus and i + (i→y) + us = iy + us = iyus, via extension of form (rūpātidesa)
of i which y replaced. That is, through sthānivaddhāva 'treating the substitute
as what it replaced'. The problem is: 6.4.31 ino yan is subsequent (para) in
order and hence applies prior to long replacement in i. Once the i is replaced
with y it becomes anacka 'without any vowel'. This, in turn, blocks reduplication
(dvitiya). This is the reason why recourse to sthānivaddhāva is taken. The
abhyāsa is then replaced with its long counterpart of this rule. Thus, (i→y) +
atus → (i + y) + atus → (i→i) + y + atus = iyatu(s→r→h) = iyatuḥ and (i→y) +
us → (i + y) + us → (i→i) + y + us → yu(s→r→h) = iyuh.

2. Why do we have the condition of kit a LIṬ affix marked with K as an
it'? Consider iyāya and iyayitha which derive from i + (LIṬ→ tiP→ NaL) = i + a
and i + tha. Affix LIṬ is here replaced with the third person singular active
ending NaL, via tiP, and second person singular active ending thaL, via stP,
respectively. The i of i + a and i + tha goes through a replacement in vṛddhi
and guna, respectively. Thus, ai + a and e + tha which, through reduplication,
via sthānivaddhāva, produce i + ai + a and i + e + tha. Rule 6.4.78 abhyāsasaya-
savarte then introduces iyAN to the abhyāsa. We thus get (i→iyAN) + ai + a =
iy + ai + a and (i→iyAN) + e + tha = iy + e + tha. The abhyāsa of these examples
is not replaced with its long counterpart because the replacement of LIṬ
which follows is not marked with K as an it.
7.4.71 Adhyāya Seven: Pāda Four

7.4.70 अत आदेः:
ata ādeḥ
\( / \text{atah} \ 6/1 \ \text{ādeḥ} \ 6/1 / \)
(āṅgasya #6.1.4 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68 dīrghaḥ #69)
abhyāsasyādeḥ akārasya dīrgho bhavati liṭi ṭarataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of aT of the abhyāsa of an āṅga when affix LIṬ follows.

Examples:
āṭa 'third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of aṭ 'to move, wander’’
āṭatuh 'third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of...'
āṭuḥ 'third person plural active LIṬ-derivate of...’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the initial short a of an abhyāsa when LIṬ follows. This rule, thus, is an exception to ‘single gūṇa-replacement similar to the following’ (pararūpa; 6.1.97 ato guṇe). Thus, we get aṭ + (LIṬ→tīP) → aṭ + (tīP→NaL) → a + aṭ + (N) a(L) → (a→ā) + aṭ + a = (ā+a →ā) t + a = āṭa; aṭ + atus → a + aṭ + atus → (a→ā) + aṭ + atus → (ā+a→ā) ṭatuḥ = āṭatuḥ and simialrly, aṭ + uḥ → āṭuḥ.

2. Why do we have the condition of a at the beginning? Consider paṇāca and paṇātha which derive from paṇa + (LIṬ→tīP→NaL) → paṇa + a and paṇa + a, respectively. The a of the abhyāsa of paṇa + a and paṇa + a, for reasons of not being initial (ādi), cannot receive a replacement in long.

7.4.71 तस्मानु द्विhaḷaḥ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tasmān nuḍ dvihaḷaḥ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ tasmāt 5/1 nuṭ 1/1 dvihaḷaḥ 6/1 = dvau halau yasya (bv.), tasya/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68)
tasmād ato bhūyāśād dīrghihēṭuṭaḥ uttārasya dvihaḷo āṅgayya nuḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment nUT is introduced to the form of an āṅga which consists of two consonants and occurs after a short turned-long vowel of the abhyāsa, when a LIṬ affix follows.

Examples:
āṇaṅga 'third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of aģ 'to move’’
āṇaṅgatuḥ 'third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of...'
āṇaṅguḥ 'third person plural LIṬ-derivate of...’
āṇaṅja 'third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of aṇj 'move, anoint’’
āṇaṅjatuḥ 'third person dual active LIṬ-derivate of...'
āṇaṅjuḥ 'third person plural active LIṬ-derivate of...’

1. This rule introduces augment nUT to an āṅga which contains two consonants and occurs after the abhyāsa which just went through a long (dīrgha)
replacement. Thus, consider ānaṅga, ānaṅgatuh and ānaṅgū, which are derivate of LIṬ introduced after verbal root aṅg ‘to move’. We get aṅg after I is deleted (1.3.2 upadeśe j amunāśīka it, 1.3.8 tasya lopaha) and augment nUṂ (7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ) is introduced. We get a + aṅg + a, through reduplication and halādiśeṣa (7.4.60). An application of 7.4.70 aṭa ādeḥ, followed by nUṂ of this rule, produces (a→ā) + aṅg + a → ā + nUṬ + aṅg + a = ānaṅga. Similar rules apply in deriving dual and plural forms. Deriving ānaṅja, the third person singular active LIṬ-derivate from aṅj + (LIṬ→tıP→NaL), offers nothing new.

2. Note that a specification by hal ‘consonant’ also includes a references to r as part of r. Augment nUṂ is thus also introduced in āṅṛdhhatuh and āṅṛdhuh with reference to an aṅg containing two consonants. Consider rdh + rdh + atus → where r of the abhyāsa goes through a replacement in a followed by r (rapara). An application of halādiśeṣa (7.4.60), followed by long replacement of the abhyāsa along with introduction of augment nUṬ, yields a(r→ā) + rdh + atus → (a→ā) + rdh + atus → ā + nUṬ + rdh + atu(s→r→h) = āṅṛḥhatuh.

7.4.72 अष्टोनतेर्श

asnoteś ca

/aṣnoteh 6/1 ca φ/

(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68 tasmān nuṭ #71)
asnoteś ca dāṛghībhūtād abhyāṣād uttarasya nuḍ āgamō bhavati

Augment nUṬ is also introduced to the form of an aṅg which occurs after a short-turned-long vowel of the abhyāṣa of verbal root aṣU ‘to pervade’, provided when a LIṬ affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

vyāṇaše ‘third person singular middle LIṬ-derivate of aṣŪ’
vyāṇaśāte ‘third person singular middle LIṬ-derivate of aṣŪ’
vyāṇaśāre ‘third person plural middle LIṬ-derivate of aṣŪ’

1. This rule introduces augment nUṬ to what occurs after the long vowel of the abhyāṣa of verbal root aṣŪ ‘to reach, attain, pervade’. A specification with augment nu of aṣnoteḥ is made to indicate that the root belongs to the class of verbal roots called svādī. For, aṣ of aṣnoti is used with the class-marker (vikarana) nu. Note that aṣ cannot refer to verbal root aṣ of aṣnāt, the one which is used with Śnā as its class-marker, and is classed as kṛyādi with the signification of bhojana ‘to eat, consume’. Consider vyānaše, vyāṇaśāte and vyāṇaśāre where the root is used with the preverb vi. The third personal singualr and plural replacements of LIṬ, i.e., ta and jha, are replaced with eŚ and ireC (3.4.81 liṭas tajhayor . . . ), respectively. Thus, aṣ + (LIṬ→ta→eŚ) → a + aṣ + e → (a→ā) + aṣ + e → ā + nUṬ + aṣ + e → āṅaše, v(i→y) +āṅaśe = vyānaše. Similarly, vyāṇaśāte and vyāṇaśāre.
The forms of as ‘to eat’ will be āsa, āsatuḥ and āsuḥ, all active third person singular, dual and plural of LIT replaced with Naḷ, anus and us (3.4.82 parasmaiṇādānām . . .), via tiP, tas and jhi, respectively.

7.4.73 भवतेरः:

bhavater aḥ
t/havateḥ 6/1 aḥ 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68)
bhavater abhyāsasyākārādesa bhavati liṭi pariṇah
An a comes in place of the final sound segment of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by verbal root bhū ‘to be, become’, provided when affix LIT follows.

Examples:

babhūva ‘third person singular active LIT-derivate of bhū ‘to be, become’
babhūvatuḥ ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of . . .’
babhūvuh ‘third person plural active LIT-derivate of . . .’
anubabhūve kambalo devadatena ‘the blanket was liked by Devadatta’

1. This rule offers a as a replacement for the abhyāsa of verbal root bhū when LIT follows. Refer to derivational details of babhūva under the appendix (II:429-30) of 1.2.6 indhibhavatibhyām ca. Deriving babhūvatuḥ and babhūvuh should then not pose any problem. Since this specification of verbal root bhū, in bhavateḥ, is made with the indication of its class-marker SaP, and verbal ending tiP (śtipā), we get this replacement also in anubabhūve, the third singular middle passive (āṭmanepada; 1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ) form of bhū, used with the preverb anu. Of course, the third singular middle ending ta which replaces affix LIT is further replaced with eŚ.

2. Note that this replacement is limited only to derivates of LIT introduced after verbal root bhū. That is, we do not get it, for example, when affixes saN and yaN are introduced after verbal root bhū. Thus, we get babhūṣati (with saN) and babhūyatE (with yaN).

7.4.74 सप्तब्देति निगमे:

sasūveti nigame
/sasūva (verbal pada); iti ṣ nigame 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 liṭi #68 aḥ #73)
‘sasūva’ iti nipāṭyate nigame
A form such as sasūva is derived in the Vedic, via nipāṭana.

Examples:

sasūva sthaviram vipaścitām
‘. . . inspired by old wisdom’
1. This is a Vedic usage. The parasmaipada ‘active’ replacement for \( LIṬ \) after the middle verbal root \( sūN \) ‘to give birth’ is accomplished by nipātana. This same is also responsible for augment \( vUK \), and the \( a \)-replacement for \( u \) (atva) of the abhyāsa. Thus, \( sū + (LIṬ \rightarrow NaL) \rightarrow sū + vUK + a \rightarrow sū + v + sū + v + a = sū + sūv + a \rightarrow s(ū \rightarrow a) + sūv + a = sasūvā. \) Incidentally, the \( s \) of verbal root \( sūN \) is replaced with \( s \) (6.1.62 dhātvādeḥ śaḥ saḥ).

7.4.75 गणिता स्त्रयाणा गुण: स्त्री

\[ nījām \text{ trayānām gunah ślau} \]
\[ /nījām 6/3 \text{ trayānām 6/3 gunah 1/1 ślau 7/1/} \]
\[ (āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58) \]
\[ nījādīnām \text{ trayānām abhyāsasya guno bhavati ślau sati} \]

A guṇa vowel comes in place of the abhyāsa of an āṅga constituted by three roots enumerated beginning with nījIR ‘to cleanse, nourish’, provided when a deletion by ŠLU follows.

**Examples:**

- nenektī ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of nījIR with ŠLU-deletion’
- vevektī ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of vijIR with ŠLU-deletion’
- vveveṣtī ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of viṣ with ŠLU-deletion’

1. Note that a sense of ādi ‘beginning with, et cetera’ is gotten from the specification of nījām ‘of those enumerated beginning with nīj’ in the genitive plural. Refer to derivational details of nenektī under the appendix of 2.4.75 juhōtyādibhyāḥ śtuḥ (III:707). Other examples follow similar rule applications.

2. Note that these three roots, specified beginning with nījIR (along with vijIR and viṣ) come at the end of a section in the juhōtyādi listing of roots. Since nījām is given in the plural (not singular or dual), a specification with nījām alone should be enough. This should give the sense of nījIR and the rest. Why then state trayānām ‘of three’? It is intended for use in subsequent rules (uttarārtham).

Why do we have to use ślau ‘when ŠLU follows’? Observe nineja, the third person singular active LAṬ form of nījIR, where, since there is no ŠLU-deletion, there is no replacement in \( e \) for \( i \) of nī.

7.4.76 भृतामि

\[ bhṛṇām it \]
\[ /bhṛṇām 6/3 it 1/1/ \]
\[ (āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 trayānām ślau #75) \]
bhṛṅādīṇāṃ trayāṇāṁ abhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati ślau sati
An iTy comes in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by three roots enumerated beginning with bhṛṬN ‘to nourish, preserve’, provided when a deletion by ŚLU follows.

Examples:

bibharti ‘third person singular active LIT-derivate of bhṛṬN with ŚLU-deletion’
mimīte ‘third person singular middle LIT-derivate of māN ‘to measure’ with ŚLU-deletion’
jiḥīte ‘third person singular middle LIT-derivate of OhāN with ŚLU-deletion’

1. This rule allows a short i to replace the final sound segment (1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya) of the abhyāsa of three verbal roots beginning with bhṛṬN ‘to support, nurture’. This, of course, happens when a deletion via ŚLU follows. The specification with bhṛṅāṃ in the plural gives us the meaning of ādi ‘etc.’. The three roots covered by this specification are: bhṛṬN, māN ‘to measure’ and OhāN ‘to move, go, abandon’.

2. Refer to derivational details of bibharti under the appendix of 2.4.76 juhotyāādibhyah śtuḥ (III:707). The third singular middle present mimīte is derived from māN + (LAT→ta). The SaP of mā + ŚaP + ta then goes through deletion, via ŚLU. Reduplication (6.1.10 ślau) and operations relative to abhyāsa produce ma + mā + ta. The i as a replacement for final vowel of ma, the abhyāsa, produces: m(a→i) + mā + ta. The a of mā is then replaced with i (iṭau; 6.4.113 i haly aghoḥ): mi + m(a→i) + ta = mimī + t(a→e) = mimīte. Our third derivate, i.e., jiḥīte, follows similar applications. Note that forms of OhāN, i.e., jiḥīte, etc., will go through cutva (h→jḥ; 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ) and cartva (jḥ→j; 8.4.54 abhyāse ca ca).

3. The condition of trayāṇām ‘of the three’ is still valid. That is why, it does not apply to OhāK where we get jahāti ‘abandons’. Additionally, this replacement applies only when ŚLU follows. Thus, we do not get it in babhāra, the third singular active LIT-form of bhṛṬN ‘to fetch, carry’.

7.4.77 अतिपिपत्योऽः

artīpīpartyaś ca
/ arti-pipartyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 ślau #75 it #76)
‘arti, piparti’ ity etayor abhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati ślau
An iT also comes in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by verbal roots r and pr, provided a deletion by ŚLU follows.
EXEMPLARY:

*iyarti* ‘third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of ṛ ‘to go’ with ŠLU-deletion and reduplication

*pijarti* ‘third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of *pṛ*’

1. This rule allows *i* as a replacement to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *arti* (ṛ ‘to go’) and *pijarti* (pṛ ‘to nurture, fill’), when ŠLU finds its scope. Refer to derivational details of *iyarti* under notes of 6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavartane*. Other derivates follow similar patterns.

7.4.78 बहुलम छन्दसिः

*bahulaṃ chandasi*

/ *bhaulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1/*

(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 ślau #75 it #76*)

chandasi viṣaye bhāṣasyā ślau bahulaṃ ikārādeśo bhavati

An *iT* comes variously in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when a deletion by ŠLU follows.

EXEMPLARY:

*pūrṇāṁ vivāṣṭi*

janimā vivakti

vatsam na mānā siṣākṣṭi

jīgharṭi somam

1. This rule offers a replacement in *i* for an usage of the Vedic, variously (bahulaṃ). Refer to derivational details of *vivāṣṭi* and *vivakti* under the appendix of 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi* (III:707-8). We can similarly get *siṣākṣṭi* from *sic* ‘to sprinkle’ and *jīgharṭi* from *gṛhā* ‘to smell’. Note that these examples will have the option of replacement in *i* (*itva*). An absence of *itva* will yield forms such as (*jan + (LAN → mīP)* = jajanam and (*dhan + (LAN → mīP)* = dadhanam. Notice how we do not get *aT* (cf. 6.4.75 bahulaṃ chandasya amāṇyogae *pi*) and a replacement in *i* (*itva*), relative to the *abhyāsa*. Reduplication (*dvitva*) will, of course, be accomplished by 6.1.10 ślau. The first singular active ending *mīP*, for example in jajanam, will be replaced with *am* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām ...*).

7.4.79 सन्यतः

*sany ataḥ*

/sani 7/1 ataḥ 6/1/

(*āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 it #76*)

sani parato bhyāsasyekārādeśa bhavati

An *i* comes in place of the *a-final* *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when affix *saN* follows.
Examples:

*pipaksati* 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *pac* 'to cook' ending in *san*'

*yiyyaksati* 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *yaj* 'to sacrifice' ending in *san*'

*tiṣṭhāsati* 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *sthā* 'to stay, stand' ending in *san*'

*pipāsati* 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *pā* 'to drink' ending in *san*'

1. This rule allows an *abhyāsa* which ends in *a* to receive a replacement in *i*. Of course, this replacement applies to the final *a* of an *abhyāsa* (1.1.52 *alo* nītasya) and when the *āṅga* is followed by affix *san*. Follow derivational details of many *san*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that verbal roots *pac* and *yaj* do not allow *i* (ṣani). A derivate such as *pipaksati* will have its *c* replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *cōh kuh*). The *j* of *yaj*, in *yiyaksati*, will be replaced with *s* (8.2.36 *vraścāhārasjasṛja* . . . ). The *k*, of course, comes from the application of 8.2.41 *saḍhōḥ kuh*. The roots in derivates such as *tiṣṭhāsati* and *pipāsati* derive from *sthā + san* → *ta + sthā + san* and *pā + san* → *pa + pā + san*, respectively.

7.4.80 ओऽ: पुयाण्याये

\(\text{oh} \ 6/1 \ \text{puyānija} \ \text{apare} \)
\(/\text{oh} \ 6/1 \ \text{puyānija} \ 7/1 = \text{pūś ca yān ca j ca = puyānj (sam. dv.), tasmin; apare} \)
\(7/1 = \text{ah paro yasmāt puyānjaḥ (bv.), tasmāi/} \)
\((\text{āṅgasya} \ #6.4.1 \ \text{abhyāsasya} \ #58 \ \text{it} \ #76 \ \text{sani} \ #79)\)
*uvarṇāntābhāyāsasya pavārgye yānī jākāre cāvāṛnapare parata ikārādeṣo bhavati sani pratyaye parataḥ\)

An *i* comes in place of the final *u* of an *abhyāsa* which occurs either before a consonant of the *p*-series (*pavārga*), or before a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaN*, or else, before *j*, with each one of these followed by *a*, provided affix *san* follows the *āṅga*.

Examples:

*pipavāsate* 'third person singular middle \(LAT\)-derivate of *puN*, used with affix *san*'

*pipāvayāsati* 'third person singular active causal \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *puN* used with *NiC* and ending in affix *san*'

*vibhāvayāsati* 'third person singular active causal \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *bhū* used with *NiC* and ending in affix *san*'

*yiyavāsati* 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root *yu* 'to mix' ending in *san*’
yiyāvaiṣati ‘third person signular active causal \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root \(yu\) used with the causative \(NiC\) and ending in affix \(saN\)

rīrāvaiṣati ‘third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(ru\) ‘to cry’ used with the causative \(NiC\) and ending in affix \(saN\)

līlāvaiṣati ‘third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(lū\) ‘to cut’ used with causal \(NiC\) and ending in affix \(saN\)

jījāvaiṣati ‘third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(ju\) used with causal \(NiC\) and ending in affix \(saN\)

1. Note that \(sani\) ‘when \(saN\) follows’ and \(it\) ‘short \(i\)’ are still carried over. This rule offers \(i\) as a replacement for the final \(u\) of an \(abhyāsa\). The conditions of this replacement are complex: (i) the \(u\) at the end of the \(abhyāsa\) must be followed, either by a sound of the \(p\)-series (pavarga), or by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \(yaN\), or else, by \(j\); (ii) all these sounds which may constitute right condition for the \(abhyāsa\)-final \(u\) must also be followed by \(a\). Finally, (iii) the \(aṅga\) must be followed by affix \(saN\). Consider the derivational details of \(pipaviṣate\) and \(pipāvaiṣati\). Given \(pūN + saN\), augment \(i\) will be introduced (7.2.74 smipūnraṇjāvasaṃ samu). An application of \(guna\) on \(ū\) with subsequent replacement in \(av\) will produce: \(p(ū→o→av) + i + saN = pāv + i + saN\). Reduplication (dvitva) of \(pū\), via sthānivadbhāva (1.1.59 dvirvacanā aai), will produce: \(pū + pāv + i + saN\). The \(ū\) of the \(abhyāsa\) will then go through shortening. It will further go through a replacement in \(i\). Thus, \(p(u→i) + pāv + i + saN = pī + pāv + i + saN\). Deriving \(pipaviṣate\), with the introduction of \(LAT\) replaced with the middle ending \(ta\), should pose no problem. We similarly derive the active third singular causal derivate of \(pūN\) with \(saN\). Thus, \((pū + NiC) = pāvī; (pāvī + saN)\); \((pāvīsa + (LAT→tiP) = pipāvaiṣati\), again through reduplication and replacement in \(i\) (itva), etc. We also get \(bibhāvaiṣati\), from \((bhū + NiC) + saN → bhāvīsa + (LAT→tiP)\), with similar application of rules. These three offer examples where a consonant of the \(p\)-series occurs after the \(abhyāsa\), itself followed by \(a\).

Derivates such as \(yiyaviṣati\) and \(yiyāvaiṣati\) illustrate contexts where an \(abhyāsa\) is followed by \(y\), followed by \(a\). Recall that the root in these two derivates is \(yu\) ‘to mix’ and derivational patterns are similar to preceding examples. We similarly get \(rīrāvaiṣati\) and \(līlāvaiṣati\), with \(vrddhi\) and a subsequent replacement in \(āv\). An example where \(j\), followed by \(a\), follows an \(abhyāsa\), is furnished by verbal root \(ju\), a root found only in the \(sūtrapātha\). Thus, we get \(jījāvaiṣati\).

2. Derivates, where \(saN\) is introduced after a base ending in \(NiC\), yield forms such as \(bh(ū→au→āv) + NiC = bhāv + i + sa(N)\) and \(p(ū→au→āv) + Ni + sa(N) = pāv + i + saN\), through \(vrddhi\) and subsequent replacement in \(āv\). Reduplication at this stage cannot produce \(bhū + bhāv + i + sa\) and \(pū + pāv + i + sa\), because what will go through reduplication will not be \(bhū\), via \(sthānivadbhāva\). It will, instead, be \(bhāv\). Why can we not take \(bhāv\) through \(sthānivadbhāva\)? Because \(NiC\) which conditions \(vrddhi\) does not form the right
condition (nimitta) for reduplication (dvitva). This then means that we cannot get a consonant of the p-series, etc., followed by a. That is correct. Then this rule will become vacuous (vyartha). Yes. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that a replacement in āv, for example of bhāv, can be accepted to go through sthānivadbhāva. We will thus get bhū, through reduplication via sthānivadbhāva. An application of replacement in i (itva) can then be made by treating the abhyāsa as bhū subsequent to reduplication.

3. Why do we state this i-replacement only for that which ends in u? So that replacement i (itva) could not be accomplished in pāpacyate and pāpacisate, where the first does not have saN but the second does. However, its abhyāsa does not end in u.

Why do we state this right context of a consonant of the p-series, or of y, or else of j, which must follow the abhyāsa. So that i-replacement (itva) does not apply in case of avatutāvayiṣati, a derivate of (ava-cu + NiC + saN)) + LAT. There is no itva, also in jhāvayiṣati, a derivate of (hu + NiC + saN)) + LAT.

Why 'only when a follows'? Consider ṣubhūṣati where the abhyāsa ends in u and is followed by a consonant of the p-series. Notice, however, that bh is not followed by a. It is followed by ū, instead. The replacement in i (itva) is again blocked.

7.4.81 सवतिश्वर्णोत्तिन्द्रविप्रवतिपुत्रित्वज्ञवत्तीनां वा

sravatiśrñotidravatipravatiślavaticyavatīnāṁ vā
/sravati-śrñoti-dravati-pravati-plavati-cyavatīnāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśām;
vā ṣa/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhāyāsaya #58 it #76 sani #79 oh puyaj apare #80)
'sravati, śrñoti, dravati, pravati, plavati, cyavati' ity eteṣām abhyāsasya or avarṇapare yañi vā ikārādayo bhavati sani parataḥ
An i comes, optionally, in place of the final u of an abhyāsa which occurs before a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaN followed by a, provided the aṅga is constituted by verbal roots sru 'to move, go', śru 'to hear', dru 'to drip, move', pruN 'to move, go', pluN and cyuN' and affix saN follows.

Examples:

sisrāvaiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root sru used with NiC and affix saN'
susrāvaiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
śisrāvaiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root śru used with NiC and affix saN'
sūsrauayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
didrāvaiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root dru used with NiC and affix saN'
dudrāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
piṇprāvayiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pruN used with NiC and affix saN'
puprāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
ipātāvaiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pluN used with NiC and affix saN'
pupātāvaiṣati 'ibidem (optional), third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root used with NiC and affix saN'
cicāvaiṣati 'third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root cyuN used with NiC and affix saN'
cucāvaiṣati 'ibidem'

1. Note that a replacement in i (itva) of this rule is optional. Consider sisrāvaiṣati and susrāvaiṣati where the two-third singular active causal saN-derivates of verbal root sru differ only in optional replacement of u by i. This same is also true of pairs of other derivates: (sru + NiC) = (sravi + saN) + LAT = sisrāvaiṣati and susrāvaiṣati, etc. They all go through reduplication, vṛddhi-replacement and optional replacement in i (itva) for final u.

2. A question is raised as to how a replacement in i (itva) can be accomplished when u is not followed immediately by y, followed by a. How could u be replaced with i when s, ś and d, etc., intervene between y followed by a? Commentators explain that itva is allowed here at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement of provision. Since this rule is an optional rule, and especially since itva of the previous rule applies only when no other sound intervenes between u and y, this option is special. It is explained as an instance of aprāptavibhāṣā 'an option made available which it previously was not'.

2. Recall, however, that this option is available only when a sound denoted by yaN, followed by a, follows u. Elsewhere, we will get suśrūṣati and suśrūṣate. That is, no itva since a does not follow yaN. This rule finds its scope only where a causal verbal root is used with saN.

7.4.82 गुणो यत्तुकोः:

guno yaṅlukoh
\( /g\u0124\u1e0a h 1/1 yaṅ-lukoh 6/2 (itar. du.), tayoh/\)
\( (āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58)\)
yani yaṅluki ca igantasyābhīyāsaya guṇo bhavati
A guṇa vowel comes in place of an iK-final abhyāsa of an āṅga when affix yaN, and its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:

ceciyate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of aīN 'to heap, gather' with affix yaN'
loluyate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of lūN 'to cut' with affix yaN'
johaviti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of hu ‘to sacrifice’ with LUK-deletion of yaN’
cokrušoti ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of kruš ‘to call, challenge’ with affix yaN’

1. Note that lukoh of ya-nilukoh must refer to ya-niluk ‘deletion of yaN by means of LUK’. This rule will then apply in dual contexts of introduction as well as subsequent deletion of yaN. Since this rule offers a guna replacement with reference to the abhyāsa of an āṅga, rule 1.1.3 iko gunavṛddhā must also be read in this context. Refer to the appendix (III:706-7) of 2.4.74 yaño’ ci ca for derivational details of examples with LUK-deletion of yaN. Consider johaviti from hu + yaN where yaN gets deleted (2.4.74 yaño’ ci ca). Reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa, which also include replacement in guna, produce: j(u→o) + hu + (yaN→ϕ) → jo + hu + (LAT→tiP) = jo + hu + ti. We can then get iT of 7.5.49 yaño vā to give us: jo + hu + iT + ti. We can get johaviti, through guna and subsequent replacement in av. Thus, jo + h(u→o→av) + i + ti = johaviti. Since iT is optional, we will also get a form without it. Consider johoti derived with no iT, but with an application of guna.

Refer to the appendix (III:712-13) of 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco kriyāsama-bhihāre . . . for derivational details of examples ending in yaN. Reduplication in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.9 sani yañoḥ. The final vowel of the āṅga is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.25 akṛtsārvadhāṭukayoḥ. That is, after the guna application of 7.3.84 sārvadhāṭukārdhāṭukayoḥ. The N of yaN, of course, ensures the introduction of middle (āṭmanepada) endings (1.3.12 ānudāttanaṇita āṭmanepadam).

7.4.83 

dīrgho’ kitaḥ
/dīrghah 1/1 akitāḥ 6/1 = kakāra it yasya (bv.) = kit, na kit (nañ. tat.), tasya/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhīyāsasya #58 ya-nilukoh #82)
akito’ bhyāsasya dīrgho bhavati yaṇi ya-niluki ca
A long vowel comes in place of an abhyāsa not marked with K as an it, when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:
pāpacaye ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pac ending in affix yaN’
pāpaciti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pac used with LUK-deletion of yaN’
yāyaJayate ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root yaj ending in affix yaN’
yāyaJiti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root yaj ending in affix yaN’
1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short of an abhyāsa, not marked with K as an i (akit), provided yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows. Thus we get pac + yaN → pa + pac + ya → pāpacya + (LAT-to) = pāpacyate, a form with no deletion of yaN. A deletion of yaN will produce pa + pac + it + (LAT-to) = pāpacyi. Here again, refer to derivational details under 2.4.74 yaño' ci ca (III:706-7) and 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco ... (III:712-13).

2. Why do we need the condition of akit 'that which does not have k as an it'? Consider yamyamyate / yamyamiti and ramramyate / ramramiiti which are derivates of yam and ram with yaN and its deletion by means of LUK, respectively. Note that augment nUK is introduced by 7.4.85 nugato' nunāsikāntasya, subsequent to reduplication and operations relative to abhyāsa. Given ya + n + yam + ya and ra + n + ram + ya, lengthening of the abhyāsa cannot be accomplished on the basis of condition of akit. Obviously, nUK is marked with K as an it. But why state the condition of akit 'no k as an it' to block lengthening? That is, when lengthening can be blocked by introducing nUK first, thereby making the abhyāsa ending in a non-vowel (anajanta). If this is accepted then akitāh indicates the application of (Paribh:67): abhyāsavikāreśva apavādā notsargān vidhin bādhante 'exceptions do not block their corresponding general rules in contexts of modifications of units termed abhyāsa'. Thus, lengthening applies first.

There are several consequences of accepting this interpretive provision:

1. This rule does not block shortening in deriving dōdhaukyate. Thus, given dhauk + yaN, we get dhauk + dhauk + ya → dhau + dhauk + ya → do + dhauk + ya, through reduplication, halādiśeṣa and jāśva: dh→d. Shortening produces d(o→u) + dhauk + ya which, after the application of 7.4.82 guṇo yañlukoh, produces d(u→o) + dhauk + ya. We finally derive duḍhaukyate by introducing LAT and performing related operations.

2. Similar consequence is witnessed in deriving ačikarat from (kr + NiC) + LUÑ where CLI is replaced with caN. The r of the abhyāsa is replaced with a (followed by r; rapara) after reduplication. Two rules, 7.4.79 sany atah and 7.4.94 dirgho laghoḥ, then become applicable. The i-replacement (itva) of the first rule is applied prior to application of lengthening. Refer to full derivational details of ačikarat under the appendix of 1.4.10 hrasvam laghu.

3. Refer to derivational details of mimāṃsate (III:712) under the appendix of 3.1.6 mānbadhadānānbyo. ... Note here that, given ma + mān + sa, replacement in i applies prior to application of lengthening (dirgha).

4. We similarly get aṣīgaṇat from (gan + NiC) + LUÑ. Note here that i-replacement of 7.4.97 i ca ganah does not block 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ. That is, it applies subsequently to that.
7.4.84 नीद्राण्डशास्त्रमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम्

निग वा चु षुआषु द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम्

/निग 1/1 द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् 6/3

(ितांतितिः, तेजांति)

(अन्गग्येः 6.4.1 अंगग्येः 58 यान्लुकोह 82)

वा चु, द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् ity etesām

अन्गग्येः निग अगमो भावधि यान्ति यान्लुकोहः ca

An augment, namely निग, is introduced to the abhyāsa of an an̄gaga

cstituted by verbal roots द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् ‘to move crookedly’, sruṣṭi ‘to fall’,

d्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् ‘to scatter’, bhrasṭi ‘to fall’, kasā ‘to move, go’, pata ‘to fall,

d्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् move’, pada ‘to go’ and skanda ‘to leap, move’ when affix यान्ति, or its
deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:

vanīवयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् used

with affix यान्ति’

vanīवयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

sanīतसयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root sruṣṭi used

with affix यान्ति’

sanīतसयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root sruṣṭi used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

danīवधवयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् used

with affix यान्ति’

danīवधवयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root द्रव्यमुख्यमुद्रासुप्रभासपस्तपतपदक्षणम् used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

banīव्रघयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root bhrasṭi used

with affix यान्ति’

banīव्रघयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root bhrasṭi used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

canīकसयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root kas used

with affix यान्ति’

canīकसयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root kas used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

panīपतयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pata used

with affix यान्ति’

panīपतयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pata used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

panīपातयाते ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pata used

with affix यान्ति’

panīपातयातिः ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root pata used

with LUK-deletion of affix यान्ति’

canīskadyate ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root skand used with affix yaN’

canīskandīti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of verbal root skand used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’

1. This rule introduces augment niK to the abhyāsa of verbal roots vaṇcU, srmśU, dhvarsU, bhṛṃśU, kāsA, pātI, pādA and skandIṛ when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows. Note that deletion of nasals (anunāsika) in all derivates is accomplished by 6.4.24 aniditām hal upadhyāḥ kniti. That is, when yaN follows. In contexts where yaN is deleted by LUK, we do not get such nasal deletions. For, the condition of kniti ‘marked with k and N as an it’ cannot be met. Rule 1.1.62 pratyaayalope pratyaayalakṣaṇam does not allow deleted yaN to still qualify the string to be treated as followed by an affix marked with N as an it.

7.4.85 नृगलोज्जनासिकान्तस्य

nug ato’ nunāsikāntasya
/nuk 1/1 ataḥ 5/1 anunāsikāntasya 6/1 = anunāśeko’n te yasya (bv.), tasya/ (aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yaṇlukoh #82)
anunāsikāntasyaṅgasya yo’ bhyāsas tasyākārāntasya nug āgamo bhavati

An augment, namely nUK, is introduced to the a-final abhyāsa of an aṅga terminating in an anunāśika, provided when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:

tantamvate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root tan ‘to faint’ ending in affix yaN’
tantanīti ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root tan ‘expand’ used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
jaṅgamvate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root gam ‘to go’ ending in affix yaN’
jaṅgamīti ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root gam ‘to go’ used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
yamīnomvate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root yam ‘to restrain’ ending in affix yaN’
yamīnomīti ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root yam used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
raṃramvate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root ram ‘to sport’ ending in affix yaN’
raṃramīti ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root ram used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
1. This rule introduces augment nUK to the a-final abhyāsa of an āṅga when yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows. Verbal roots tan and gam would qualify as an āṅga ending in a nasal. We get ta + tan and ga + gam after reduplication and operations relative to their abhyāsa. The abhyāsa forms then receive augment nUK. Recall that yamyamye and yamyamīti, etc., have their nasals replaced with an anusvāra. Commentators state that nUK points toward its replacement as any sthānī (item to be replaced), generally does (Kāś: sthānīnāḥ hy ādeśa laksyate). Augment nUK is thus introduced as an anusvāra. Not accepting this would create problems in replacing n of nUK with an anusvāra in yamyamye and yamyamīti. For, rule 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali replaces a non-pada-final m and n with anusvāra, only when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal (non-nasal consonants) follows. The anusvāra can then be replaced with n via provision of a single replacement similar to what follows in a sequence (parasavarna; 8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ).

2. The Mahābhāṣya adds that this anusvāra is also treated as if coming at the end of a pada (padāntavat; padāntavac ceti ca vaktavyam). This enables rule 8.4.59 vā padāntasya to apply for optional single replacement similar to the following sound (parasavarna). That is, the obligatory parasavarna of 8.4.58 anusvārasya . . . is made optional. This parasavarna is not found in ramramye and ramramīti because the context does not meet the condition of homogeneity on account of r.

3. Why must the abhyāsa end in a? Consider tetimyate where, given ti + tim + yaN, nUK is not introduced on account of the abhyāsa not ending in a. Why do we have the specification of a made with a following t (tapararakaraṇa)? So that nUK could not be introduced to an abhyāsa which previously ended in a long (ā), but subsequently had its ā replaced with a corresponding short (hrasva; 7.4.59 hrasvaḥ; Kāś: tapararakaraṇam tu bhūtapūrvasyāpi dīrghasya nivṛtyaṛtham). Consider bābhāmyate which derives from bhām + yaN → bhā + bhām + ya where ā of bhā is replaced with a. The abhyāsa is thus not allowed augment nUK. Its a, again, is replaced with ā to yield bābhāmyate, via application of 7.4.83 dīrgho kitah.

Why do we have the condition of an āṅga ending in a nasal? Consider pāpacyate where, since pac does not end in a nasal, we do not get nUK.

7.4.86 जपाजपहदाधसब्हान्स्यपाः

japajaphadahaśasabhaṇjaṃpaśām ca
/jaipa-jabha-daha-daśa-bhaṇja-paśām 6/1 (itar. dv.), teśām; ca ṣa/
(āṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yanṭukoh #82 nuk #84)
‘jaipa, jabha, daha, daśa, bhaṇja, paśa’ ity eteśām abhyāsasya nud āgamo bhavati yanṭukoh parataḥ

An augment, namely nUK, is introduced to the abhyāsa of an āṅga constituted by verbal roots japA ‘to mutter’, jabhA ‘to yawn’, dahA ‘to burn’,
daśA ‘to bite’, bhaṇjA ‘to break’ and paśA ‘to fasten, bind’, when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:

jañjāpyate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root jāp ‘to mutter, chant’ ending in affix yaN’
jañjāpiṭī ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root jāp used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
jañjābhyaṭe ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root jabh ‘to bite, yawn’ ending in affix yaN’
jañjābhīṭi ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root jabh ‘to bite, yawn’ used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
dandahyaṭe ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root dāḥ ‘to burn’ ending in affix yaN’
dandahīṭi ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root dāḥ used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
dandaśyaṭe ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root daś ‘to bite’ ending in affix yaN’
dandaśīṭi ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root daś used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
ambahjaṭe ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root bhaṇj ‘to break’ ending in affix yaN’
ambahjaṇīṭi ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root bhaṇj used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
pamapaśyaṭe ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root paś ending in affix yaN’
pamapaśīṭi ‘ibidem; with LUK-deletion of yaN’

1. This rule introduces augment nUK to the abhyāsa of verbal roots jāpA ‘mutter, chant’, jabhA ‘to bite, yawn’, dāḥA ‘to burn’, daśA ‘to bite’, bhaṇjA ‘to break’ and paśA ‘a root only used in the sūtras’ when yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows. This introduction of nUK was not available from the earlier rule. It has been made available here. Notice how a specification of daśA is made here without its nasal m. This specification without m of damī simply indicates that the nasal, i.e., m, gets deleted when yaN follows. This nasal deletion also applies when LUK-deletion of yaN applies (Kāś: danśir ayām nakāralopārtham eva nirdīṣṭah. tena yaṅluky api nakāralopo bhavati). Recall that deletion of the root nasal is accomplished (6.4.24 anidīṭaṃ . . .) when yaN follows. Refer to derivational details of jañjāpyate, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.24 lūpasadacarajāpa . . . Recall here that 3.1.24 introduces yaN only when bhāvagartha ‘contempt for action’ is denoted. The first four roots of our specification can receive yaN from 3.1.24 lūpasadacarajāpa . . . That is, when censure of their denoted action is expressed. Verbal roots bhaṇjA and paśA can receive yaN under the meaning conditions of paunahṛpunya ‘doing
something over and over again’ or atiśaya ‘intense action’ (3.1.22 dhātor ekāco . . .).

2. Commentators inform that paśA is a root available only in the Sūtrapāṭha (Kāś: paśa iti sauto dhātuḥ).

7.4.87 चरफलोश्च
caraphalōś ca
/ cara-phaloh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca ϕ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yaṅlukoh #82 nuk #84)
‘cara, phala’ ity etayor abhyāsasya nug āgamo bhavati yaṅyaylukoh parataḥ
Augment nUK is introduced also to the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by verbal roots carA and phalA when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:
cančūryate ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root carA ‘to consume’ used with yaN’
cančūrīti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root carA used with LUK-deletion of affix yaN’
pamphulyate ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root phalA ‘to bear fruit, burst’ used with affix yaN’
pamphulīti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root phalA used with LUK-deletion of yaN’

1. This rule introduces nUK to the abhyāsa of verbal roots car ‘to move, wander’ and phal ‘to bear fruit’ when affix yaN or its deletion by means of LUK follows. Refer to derivational details of cančūryate under the appendix (III:713-14) of 3.1.24 lūpasadacarajapā. . . . Follow similar rule applications for deriving pamphulyate. We can derive cančurīti with LUK-deletion of affix yaN and introduction of augment iT (7.3.94 yaṅo vā). Note that there is no long replacement (dīrgha) for the short of cu (8.2.77 hali ca), since no consonant follows.

7.4.88 उत्तरस्यस्यातः:
ut parasyātaḥ
/ ut 1/1 parasya 6/1 atah 6/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yaṅlukoh #82 caraphaloh #87)
caraphalor abhyāsāt parasyāta ukārādeśo bhavati yaṅlukoh parataḥ
An a which occurs after the abhyāsa of verbal roots carA and phalA is replaced with u (uT) when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

Examples:
cančūryate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root carA used with affix yaN’
caṅcūrīti ‘third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root \(car\)A used with \(LUK\)-deletion of affix \(yaN\)’

pamphulīte ‘third person singular middle \(LAT\)-derivate of verbal root \(phal\)A used with affix \(yaN\)’

pamphulīti ‘third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of verabl root \(phal\)A used with \(LUK\)-deletion of affix \(yaN\)’

1. This rule introduces \(u\) in place of an \(a\) which occurs after the abhyāsa of verbal roots \(car\)A and \(phal\)A. Of course, when \(yaN\), or its deletion by \(LUK\), follows. Thus, we get \(ca + car + ya \rightarrow ca + c(a \rightarrow u) r + ya\), where short \(u\) (\(utva\)) replaces the \(a\) which occurs after \(ca\) termed abhyāsa.

2. Why do we require \(a\) to follow the abhyāsa? So that this replacement does not apply to the abhyāsa itself. Why state \(atah\) ‘in place of the \(a\)? So that \(u\) does not replace the final sound segment (1.1.52 alō’ ntyasya) of the abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam).

3. Note that \(t\) is made to follow the specification of short \(u\) (taparakaraṇa so that a guna-replacement of the penultimate (laghūpadha; 7.3.86 puganta….) can be blocked. Consider caṅcūrīti where the penultimate (\(upadha\)) \(u\) is replaced with its long counterpart, under the provision of 8.2.77 hali ca. This long replacement, however, is considered asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of the application of guna of 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca. The replacement in long still applies. The short indicated by \(u\) (\(ut\)) thus cannot be canceled because of suspension (asiddhatva) of dirgha ‘long’. Similar applicational problem is witnessed in deriving pamphulīti. Why is taparakaraṇa of \(ut\) not able to block long replacement 8.2.77 hali ca as it is able to block guna of \(u\)?

7.4.89 तिच

ti ca
/ti 7/1 ca $\phi$/

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yaṅlukoḥ #82 caraphaloḥ #87 ut atah #88)
takārādau ṭrayaye prataś caraphalo akārasya ukārādeśo bhavati
An \(uT\) comes in place, also, of the \(a\) of an \(aṅga\) constituted by \(car\)A and \(phal\)A when an affix beginning with \(t\) follows.

Examples:

caranaṁ cūrtiḥ ‘quarter of a hymn’
brahmanas cūrtiḥ ‘quarter of a hymn’
praphulī ‘blossoming’
praphulīḥ sūmanasah ‘flowers are blossomed’

1. The \(ti\) of this rule makes clear that yaṅlukoḥ and abhyāsasya should not be carried over here. For, contexts with yaṅ and \(LUK\)-deletion of yaṅ can be covered by the earlier rule. The long in place of the short of \(ca\) in cūrtiḥ is
gotten from 8.2.77 hali ca. The reduplication of i is gotten from 8.4.46 aco rahābhyaṁ dve. Note that praphultāh is the nominative plural feminine of praphul + Kta. Of course, ārtti is a derivate of affix KtiN introduced with the signification of feminine (3.3.94 striyām kti).

7.4.90 रीगुद्धाःस्य च

řig ṛ dụnghasya ca
/ṛṅk 1/1 ṛd-ṛ useDispatcha 6/1 = ṛd upadhā yasya (bu.), tasya/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 yaṅlukoh #82)
ṛ useDispatcha yo' bhyāsas tasya rīg āgamo bhavati yaṅyaṅlukoh parataḥ
Augment rīK is introduced to the abhyāsa of an aṅga which contains ī in its penultimate position (upadhā), provided when affix yaN, or its deletion by LUK, follows.

EXAMPLES:

varinṛtyate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root vṛt 'to turn' used with rīK
varinṛśiti 'ibidem; with LUK-deletion of yaN'
varinṛdhyaate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root vṛdh 'to grow' used with rīK'
varinṛdhiti 'ibidem; with LUK-deletion of yaN'
naṁnṛtyate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root nṛt 'to dance' used with rīK'
naṁnṛśiti 'ibidem; with LUK-deletion of yaN'

1. This rule introduces augment rīK to the abhyāsa of an aṅga which has a short ī (ṛt) in its penultimate position. Of course, when yaN, or LUK-deletion of yaN, follows. Thus, vṛt + vṛdh + ya → va + vṛdh + ya → (va + rīK) + vṛdh + ya. The dh of vṛdh is doubled up (8.4.47 anaci ca) and the first dh is replaced with d (8.4.53 jhalāṁ jaś jhashi). Recall that varinṛśiti and varinṛdhiti are derivate with LUK-deletion of yaN.

2. A proposal is made to specify rt as ṛtuvataḥ to get the sense of rīK ṛtuvataḥ 'augment rīK is introduced to that (a root) which has ī in its penultimate position'. This will enable us to get rīK in varinṛṣcyate / varinṛścīti and paripṛchch瑜伽 / paripṛchchīti, etc. Note that the roots in these derivate are vṛasce 'to cut' and pracch 'to ask'. They do not have rīn their next to the last position. They, however, yield va + vṛsc and pa + prcch, through reduplication and samprasāraṇa. This rule then introduces rīK. That is, rīK can be introduced also where the roots may not have ī to start with.

7.4.91 रुग्रिकौ च लुकृ

rugrikau ca luki
/ruk-rikau 1/2 (itar. dv.), tau; ca φ luki 7/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 rīk ṭḍupadhasya #90)
yanltuki ṭḍupadhasyāṅgasya yo’ bhyāsas tasya rugrikāv āgamau bhavataś
cakārād rīk ca
Augments rUK, rIK, and rIK as well, are introduced to the abhyāsa of an aṅga which has r in its penultimate position (upadhā), when LUK-deletion of affix yaN follows.

Examples:

narnarti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of nṛt with deletion of yaN and augment rUK’
narinarti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of nṛt with deletion of yaN and augment rIK’
narīnarti ‘... with rIK’
varvarti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of vṛt with deletion of yaN and augment rUK’
varivarti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of vṛt with deletion of yaN and augment rIK’
varīvarti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of vṛt with deletion of yaN and augment rIK’

1. This rule introduces augment rUK, rIK and rIK to the abhyāsa of an aṅga where LUK-deletion of yaN is accomplished. Thus, we get narnarti, narinarti and narīnarti, respectively. Similarly, we get varvarti, varivarti and varīvarti. The u of rUis for ease of articulation (uccāranārtha). A specification by luki ‘when LUK-deletion ...’ makes clear that these augments are not introduced when yaN does not go through LUK-deletion.

2. A vārttika proposal is made so that marmṛjayate and marmṛjayamānāsah could be derived via nipātana. An introduction of rUK, in these examples, could not be possible because yaN follows. This vārttika proposal makes it possible, via nipātana. Incidentally, marmṛjayamānāsah is a nominative plural form ending in jas. Augment asUK is introduced, in the Vedic, when the nominative plural ending jas follows.

7.4.92 अत्तरच

ṛtas ca

/ṛtah 6/1 ca φ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 rīk #90 rugrikau luki #91)
ṛkārantasyāṅgasya yo’ bhyāsas tasya rugrikāv āgamau bhavataś
cakārād rīk ca
Augments rUK and rIK, and rIK as well, are introduced to the abhyāsa of an aṅga which ends in r, when LUK-deletion of affix yaN follows.
Examples:

carkarti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of DUkǐN ‘to do’ with deletion of yaN and augment rUK’
carikarti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of DUkǐN with deletion of yaN and augment riK’
carikarti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of DUkǐN with deletion of yaN and augment riK’
jarharti ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of h_TestCase ‘to fetch, carry’ with deletion of yaN and augment rUK’
jarihatavi ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of h_TestCase with deletion of yaN and augment rUK’
jarihatavi ‘third person singular LAT-derivate of h_TestCase with deletion of yaN and augment riK’

1. This rule allows introduction of augment rUK, riK, and riK to the abhyāsa of an aṅga where deletion of yaN has taken place. Thus, we get derivates of DUkǐN and h_TestCase, for example, carkarti and jarharti, etc. Note that we get k → c (cutra) in k_TestCase + yaN and h_TestCase → j_TestCase (jaśtua) in h_TestCase + yaN, after yaN-deletion, doubling (dvitva) and operations relative to abhyāsa. Our strings carikŗ + t and jarhör + t also go through replacement in guna, followed by r (tapara).

2. Why do we have the condition of taparakaṇa ‘t used at the end of a sound speciﬁcation’ (in ṛṭ, 1.1.70 taparasa tapas ṭaḷasvya)? This question arises since an abhyāsa generally ends in a short vowel. Why then specify short r with taparakaṇa? This taparakaṇa blocks augmentas (āga-m-nivṛtti) in roots such as k_TestCase ‘to scatter’. We thus get k_TestCase + k_TestCase + t → kar + k_TestCase + t = ka + k_TestCase + t, through reduplication, a-replacement followed by r (aṁa-raparāva) and halādiśeṣa ‘retention of the initial consonant’. A long replacement by 7.4.83 dingho kitaḥ, plus replacement in guna, followed by r of k_TestCase, then applies to produce c(a → a) + k(_TestCase → ar) + t = cakarti. Other forms of k_TestCase, namely, carikarti and carikarti, follow similar patterns. Derivates of h_TestCase, used with LAT → tiP, are similarly derived from jar + h_TestCase + LAT with augmentas rUK, riK and riK.

3. Note that anāgasya and abhyāsasya are both carried over to this rule (ṛtaš ca). The word ṛṭaḥ could thus be considered a qualiﬁer to both anāgasya and abhyāsasya. But since taparakaṇa is used here for canceling long ṛ, and also since a short ṛ will thus be automatically available, taparakaṇa does not serve any purpose. Consequently, ṛṭaḥ is considered a qualiﬁer only to anāgasya. That is, ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya yoḥ bhyaśaḥ . . . ‘the abhyāsa of an aṅga which ends in a (short) ṛ’.

4. A Mahābhāṣya verse ﬁnds this usage of augmentas rUK, etc., challenging:

kirati carkarītāntam pacaoṭy atra yo nayet/
prāptasthaṁ tam ahāṁ manye prārabdhas tena samgrahah/
‘he who is capable of leading kirati ‘third singular present indicative active of k_TestCase’ to carkarīta, i.e., cakarītī intensive with deletion of yaN, via
LUK, similarly to *pacati*, etc., I consider him the knower of applicational scope (*prāpti*) of augments rUK, rIK and rĪK.

The word *kirati* is used in the specification as an *upalakṣaṇa* ‘that which not only makes itself understood, but also others (*svabodhakatve sati svetarabodhakaḥ*)’. Verbal root *kṛ* not only represents a root ending in ō but also represents roots such as gī *girane* ‘to call out, invoke’, etc.

7.4.93 सन्याझुनि चढ्यरेननलोपे

sanval laghuni caṇpare' naglope
/sanvat φ laghuni 7/1 caṇpare'7/1 = caṇpara yasmāt (bv.), tasmin; anag-lope 7/1 = aho lopah (ṣaś. tat.); nāsti aglopo yasmin (bv.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58)
laghuni dhātvaksare parato yo' bhyāsas tasya caṇpare au paratah sanīva
kāryam bhavati anaglope

Operations similar to forms ending in affix *saN* apply to an *abhyāsa* which, in an aṅga, occurs before a root-vowel termed *laghu* ‘light, short’ (1.4.10 *hrasvaṁ laghu*), when affix *NiC*, followed by CaN, follows and the aṅga incurs no LOPA-deletion of a sound denoted by aK.

Examples:

*aćkaraṭ* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *kṛ + NiC*
*aṭipacac* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *pac + NiC*
*aṭipacavat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *pū + NiC*
*aślavat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *lū + NiC*
*aṭijavat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *jū + NiC*
*aṭisravat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *sru + NiC*
*aṣuravat* 'ibidem'
*aṭisravat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *sru + NiC*
*aṣuṣravat* 'ibidem'
*aḍḍravat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *dru + NiC*
*aḍuddravat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *dru + NiC*
*aṭiṇravat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *pru + NiC*
*aṇṛpravat* 'ibidem'
*aṭiplavat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *plu + NiC*
*aṇṛplavat* 'ibidem'
*aṭicyavat* 'third person singular active *LUN*→tiP-derivate of *ctu + NiC*
*aṭicyavat* 'ibidem'

1. This is an extension (*atidesa*) rule. It extends operations to an *abhyāsa*, occurring before a light (*laghu*) root-syllable, similar to when affix *saN* follows (*sanvat*) *NiC*, followed by CaN. We thus must have (i) an aṅga with *NiC* followed by CaN, provided the aṅga must not have gone through deletion of a sound denoted by aK and (ii) the *abhyāsa* of a root must be followed by a
vowel termed *laghu* (1.4.9 *hrasvām laghu*). Now consider rules 7.4.79 *sany atāḥ*, 7.4.80 *oh puyanjy apare* and 7.4.81 *sravatīśnoṭidravati*. . . . Our first rule offers a replacement in *i* (*itva*) to the final sound of an *abhyāsa* which ends in *a*. This, of course, when *saN* follows. A string such as (*kṛ + NiC + LUṆ*) which, subsequent upon a replacement in *tiP* for *LUṆ*, and subsequent introduction of (*CLI→CaṆ*) and augment *aṬ*, yields *kār + CaṆ + ti→k(ṛ→ār) i + (LUṆ→tiP)→kār + i + (CLI→CaṆ) + ti→aṬ + kār (i→ϕ) + a + t(i→ϕ)→a + (kā→a) r + a + t = a + kār + a + t*. An application of reduplication, *halādisēṣa* 'retention of initial consonant' (*kār→ka*), deletion of *NiC* and *cutva* ((*k→c*) *a*) will produce *a + ca + kār + a + t*. Our present rule will then replace the final *a* of *ca* with *i* which, in turn, will be replaced with its long counterpart to produce: *a + c(a→i→i) + kār + a + t = aḍikārat*. Refer to derivational details of *aḍikārat* and *aṇiḥarat* under the appendix of rule 1.4.9 *hrasvām laghu*.

Other examples can be similarly derived. Consider *aṇīpavat*, *alīlavat* and *aṇījavat* which also involve replacement in *i* (*itva*) of an *abhyāsa* which ends in *u* (7.4.80 *oh puyanjy apare*). Our present rule allows this *itva* to the final *u* of the *abhyāsa* which occurs before a consonant of the *p*-series (*pavarga*), *yaN*, or *j* followed by *a*. That is, also when *CaN* follows. Remember that 7.4.80 *oh puyanjy apare* allows *itva* when *saN* follows. Rule 7.4.81 *sravatīśnoṭidravati* . . . allows *itva* to *u* under similar conditions. Our present rule extends *itva*, via *sanvaddhāva* 'operations similar to when *saN* follows', also when *CaṆ* follows. Thus, we get *asiravat* (from (*sṛu + NiC + LUṆ*)), *aśiśravat* (from (*sṛu + NiC + LUṆ*)), *adīdravat* (from (*dṛu + NiC + LUṆ*)), *aṇīpavat* (from (*pru + NiC + LUṆ*)), *aṇīplavat* (from (*plu + NiC + LUṆ*)) and *aṇīcyavat* (from (*cyu + NiC + LUṆ*)), respectively. Since this *sanvaddhāva* 'treatment as if when *saN* follows' is optional, we will also get forms where the option of *itva* is not accepted. Thus, we get *aṇiśravat*, *aṇiśravat*, *aṇiḍravat*, *aṇiṇavat*, *aṇiṇplavat*, and *aṇiṇcyavat*, respectively.

2. Why state the condition of *laghuni* 'when a (syllable with a vowel) *laghu* follows'? Consider *atatakṣat* and *ararakṣat* where the vowel before the conjunct is termed *guru* (1.4.11 *samyoge guru*) and hence, *sanvaddhāva* is blocked. This leads to an absence of *i*-replacement (*itva*) of the *abhyāsa*. This same is also true of *aṇījāgarat*, a derivate of (*jāgr + NiC + LUṆ*). Refer to derivational details under 1.4.10 *hrasvām laghu* (II:507-9) and 6.1.11 *caṇi*.

3. Why do we have the condition of *cāṇi pare* 'when *CaṆ* follows'? So that this *sanvaddhāva* can be blocked in *aham papaca* 'I cooked'. This is a counter-example with no optional treatment as *NiC* of 7.1.91 *naḥ uttamo vā*? Besides, we do not get *CaṆ* in a derivate of *LIṬ*.

Why do we have to have the condition of a following *Ni* when *CaṆ* follows? So that *sanvaddhāva* does not apply when *CaṆ* alone follows. Consider *aḍikamata*, a third singular middle derivate of *kamU* 'to glow' in *LUṆ* where *sanvaddhāva* is blocked because *NiC* is not followed by *CaṆ*.

4. Why do we have the condition of *anaglope* 'when no deletion of a sound
denoted by $aK$? Consider $acakathat$ where we find $Nī$ followed by $CaN$. Note that the root ends in $a$. This $a$ is deleted after $Nī$ is introduced. The root thus becomes aglopin 'that which has lost its $aK$ to deletion'. A similar deletion of $a$ is found in $(dr + NīC) + (LUṆ → tiP) = adadṛṣat$, where sanvadbhāva is also blocked. The $NīC$ is here introduced by $tat karoti tad ācaśte (gaṇasūtra)$ and the $t$-deletion is accomplished, via $ut: nāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya (6.4.155 ṭeh)$.

Why, in avīvadat = vāditavantaṃ prayojitavān 'encouraged him while encouraged to debate', where there are two $NīC$ affixes the first of which is deleted, deletion of $aK$ is not accepted as taken effect. The $nau$ of our present rule denotes $NīC$ as a class (jātī). Consequently, deletion (aglopa) has to be a deletion other than one of $NīC$. This deletion thus qualifies as non-$aK$ deletion. We, therefore, get sanvadbhāva and replacement in $i$ (ītva) to apply.

7.4.94 दीर्घो लघो:

$dirgho lagho$
/ $dirghaḥ 1/1 laghoḥ 6/1 /
($aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 laaghuni caṇpāre anaglope #93)$
$dirgho bhavati laghor abhyāsasya laghuni nau caṇpāre' naglope$

A long vowel comes in place of the laghu vowel of an abhyāṣa, when followed by a laghu vowel of the root, provided affix $NīC$, used before $CaN$, follows the $aṅga$, and no LOPA-deletion of an $aK$ of the $aṅga$ has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

$acikarat$
$ajñharat$
$ālilavat$
$āpīpacat$

1. Consider $acikarat$ which derives from $(kṛ + NīC) + LUṆ$, via $LUṆ → tiP, CLI → CaN$, reduplication, operations relative to the abhyāsa and sanvadbhāva 'treatment as if affix saN follows'. Our present rule applies on $a + ci + kar + a + t$ where the short $i$ of $ci$, an abhyāsa, is replaced with its long counterpart to produce $acikarat$. One can similarly derive $ajñharat, ālilavat$ and $āpīpacat$ from $(kṛ + NīC) + LUṆ, (lū + NīC) + LUṆ$, and $(pū + NīC) + LUṆ$, respectively. Refer also to examples of the preceding rule.

2. Why is this condition of long in place of a laghu 'light, short'? Consider $abibhrajat$, a derivate of $bhrāj 'to glow, shine'$, which derives from $(bhrāj + NīC) + LUṆ$. The $i$ of $bi$ before the conjunct $bhr$ no longer remains a laghu (1.4.10 hrasvam laghu). It is termed guru 'heavy' (1.4.11 samyoge guru), instead. The long replacement of this rule is thus blocked.

Why do we have the condition of ‘a following laghu of the root’? Consider
adhyāya Seven: Pāda Four

atataksat and araraksat, the two active LUN-derivatives of taks ‘to fashion’ and rakṣ ‘to protect’ where we do not find a following laghu. That is, a before ks, a conjunct, cannot be accepted as a laghu.

The condition of canpāre ‘when CaN follows’ and anaglope ‘when no deletion of aKN are also important. Refer to my notes of earlier rules for counter-examples such as aham papaca, acakamata and acakathat.

7.4.95 अतः स्मृत्वा प्रात्रिन्ददर्थं स्पष्टायां

at smṛdṛtvarapratamraddastṛspasām
/at 1/1 smṛ-ṛ-tvara-pratha-mrada-stṛ-śpaśām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 canpāre #93)
’smṛ, dṛ, tvāra, pratha, mrada, stṛ-śpaśā’ ity eteṣām abhyāsasya ‘at’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in aT comes in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted by verbal roots smṛ ‘to think, remember’, dṛ ‘to fear’, tvāra ‘to hasten’, pratha ‘to spread’, mrada ‘to be gracious’, stṛ ‘to strew, cover’ and spaśā ‘to tie, touch’ when affix NiC, followed by CaN, follows.

EXAMPLES:

asmarat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of smṛ’
addarat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of dṛ’
atatvarat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of tvāra’
apapraθhat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of pratha’
amamradat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of mrada’
avatarat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of stṛ’
apapaspasat ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of spaśā’

1. This rule allows aT as a replacement for the abhyāsa of verbal roots smṛ ‘to remember’, etc. This aT is offered against i-replacement (itva) of 7.4.79 sany atah, in view of rule 7.4.93 sanvallaghuni . . . The taparakaṇaṇa ‘making a t to follow’ specification of aT also blocks long replacement of 7.4.94 dirgho laghoḥ.

7.4.96 विभाषा वेष्ठिचेष्ठयोः:

vibhāṣā veṣṭi-cestyōḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 veṣṭi-cestyōḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyāsasya #58 canpāre #93 at #95)
’veṣṭi, cestyi’ ity etayor abhyāsasya vibhāṣā ‘at’ ity ayam ādeśo caṇpāre nāv

paratāḥ

An aT comes, only optionally, in place of the abhyāsa of an aṅga constituted veṣṭi ‘to wrap’ and cestyi ‘to strive, stir’ when a NiC, followed by CaN, follows.
EXAMPLES:

- *avavesṭat* ‘third person singular active optional LUN-derivate of *vēṣṭ* used with affix *NiC’
- *aviyavesṭat* ‘third person singular active optional LUN-derivate of *vēṣṭ* used with affix *NiC’
- *acaceṣṭat* ‘third person singular active optional LUN-derivate of *ceṣṭ* used with affix *NiC’
- *aciceṣṭat* ‘third person singular active optional LUN-derivate of *ceṣṭ* used with affix *NiC’

1. Note that these roots, i.e., (*vēṣṭ* + *NiC*) + *LUN* and (*ceṣṭ* + *NiC*) + *LUN*, do not get a *laghu* vowel to follow after their *abhyaśa*. Consequently, replacement in *i* (*itva*), via *sanvadbhava* ‘treatment as if *saN* follows’, is not available to them. The *e* of their *abhyaśa* is replaced with *i* by 7.4.59 *krasvaḥ*. That is, when the option of *aT*, which is offered here, is not accepted.

7.4.97 3 च गणनः

*i ca gaṇah*

/*i 1/1 (deleted) ca φ gaṇah 6/1/*

(aṅgasya #6.4.1 abhyaśasya #58 canipare #93 at #95)

ganer abhyaśasya ikāraśeśo bhavati caṇipare na parataḥ cakārāc ac ca

An *i*, and *aT* as well at the strength of *ca* ‘and’, comes in place of the *abhyaśa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *gaṇi* ‘to count’ when affix *NiC*, followed by *CaN*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

- *ajiganat* ‘third person singular active LUN-derivate of causal *gaṇi*’
- *ajiganat* ‘ibidem (with *aT*)’

1. This rule offers *i* as an optional replacement to the *abhyaśa* of *gaṇi* ‘causal root’ under conditions similar to the earlier rule. This *i* is made optional against *aT*, at the strength of the use of *ca* ‘and’. This replacement will be introduced in place of the last sound segment of the *abhyaśa* (1.1.52 *alo* ‘ntyasya). This root cannot avail *sanvadbhava* ‘treatment as a form ending in affix *saN*’ and *itva* ‘replacement in *i*’ because it ends in *a*. This *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* and thus qualifies the *anga* to be *aglopin* ‘that which contains a deletion by *LOPA*. We will get two forms: one with *aT* and the other with *i*, i.e., *ajiganat* and *aṅganat*, respectively. We will similarly get two forms in the middle (*ātmaneśa*): *aṅganata* and *ajaganata*. 
Adhyāya Eight

Pāda One

8.1.1 सर्वस्य द्वे

sarvasya due
/sarvasya 6/1 due 1/1/
adhiṇārā yam ita uttaram yad vaksyāmah ‘padasya ity ataḥ prāh ‘sarvasya
due bhavatah ity evam veditavyam
Two occur in place of one whole form . . .

Examples:

pacati pacati ‘cooks and cooks’
grāmo grāmo ramanīyam ‘each and every village is beautiful’

1. This is a governing heading (adhikāra) and, hence, it is carried over all
rules enumerated prior to 8.1.16 padasya. This section of rules will allow a
single form to be iterated. For example, consider 8.1.4 nityavīpsayoh which
allows a single form to be obligatorily replaced with two, when nityatā ‘per-
manence’ and viṣṭa ‘repetition, over and over again, pervasion’ is signified.
A question is raised as to what exactly is replaced with two. Kāśikā answers it
ye śabdastās cānthataś cobbhayathāntaratame ‘those two which, in view of form
and meaning both, are most similar’. Thus, a single word pacati when re-
placed with two becomes pacati pacati. Similarly, grāmo grāmo ramanīyam ‘each
and every village is beautiful’.

2. Note that this rule does not specify any predicate (vidheya). It also does
not specify any operand (kāryin). Since this rule is formulated such that it
expects subsequent specifications of its predicate and operand, and also
since it is marked with the svarita accent, it is an adhikāra. The meaning of
this rule should be determined based on what one understands by the use of
the words sarvasya ‘in place of all, of the whole’ and due ‘two’. That is, meaning
of a form alone should be considered. Note that to accept the form alone
could be appropriate, especially in consonance with 1.1.68 svam rūpam
śabdasyāśabdasmajñā ‘only the form of a word . . .’. However, this view will
create difficulty in connection with the application of rules 6.1.99 nāmreśita-
syāntasya tu vā and 6.1.100 nityam āmṛte dāci. For, these rules accept the
existence of at, gotten through iteration, and offer operational provisions.
If the form of these two rules alone was considered, it will be impossible to
get at. Consequently, ‘meaning’ (arthā) must be accepted as the basis for
interpreting operational provisions of 8.1.1 sarvasya due.

Note that sarva ‘all, entire’ is used with meanings of (i) entirety of sub-
stance (dravyakārtsnyā), (ii) entirety of kind (prakārakārtsnyā) and (iii) entirety of parts (avyayavakārtsnyā). Consider the following sentences which illustrate these three meanings:

(a) sarvāsvaṁ dātī ‘gives all he owns’
(b) sarvānnīno bhikṣuḥ ‘this beggar eats all kinds of food’
(c) sarvāḥ pāṭaḥ dagdhiḥ ‘this dress is all burned’

The third meaning of avayavakārtsnyā ‘entirety of parts (of a whole)’ is accepted in connection with sarvā of 8.1.1 sarvāsvaṁ dve. Recall that as, by bringing special meaning words such as pari, etc., close to the context of sarvāsvaṁ dve, we do not get any part, for example of pāṭaḥ in sarvā pāṭaḥ dagdhiḥ excluded (from burning), the dve of sarvāsvaṁ dve, in interpreting sarvā as denoting avayavakārtsnyā, cannot exclude any part of what is to be replaced.

2. The operational provision of this rule, especially in view of the number word dve ‘two’ and the genitive of sarvāsvaṁ ‘(in place) of entire’, is interpreted in two ways:

(i) two words come in place of one (sthāne dvivrucanam) and
(ii) a single word is used twice by way of repetition (dvihprayogo dvivrucanam).

The first view will interpret sarvāsvaṁ, especially since this proposal is made in the context of instruction about words (śabdānsūṣāna), as referring to the form of words (śabda). Since dve is a number word, and especially since numbers (sāmkhyā) up to ten refer to what is to be numbered (sāmkhyeya), it will refer to the form of word (sāmkhyeyam śabdarūpam) or its repetition (āvṛtti). This dve can be interpreted as neuter or feminine. If it is interpreted as neuter it will refer to the number of the word-form (sāmkhyeya). If interpreted as feminine, it will refer to repetition (āvṛtti), twofold articulation of the word. The genitive of sarvāsvaṁ, in view of replacing one word-form with two, will be interpreted as sthānaśaṣṭhi ‘genitive denoting in place of’. Recall that āvṛtti ‘repetition’ is an action (kriyā) of which word will serve as a means (sādhana). A substituendum-substitute relationship (sthāṇyādesabhāva) cannot obtain between an action (kriyā) and its means (sādhana). For it does, the action, when replaced by the substitute, will be displaced. That is, the action of articulating the word will disappear. Thus, the genitive of sarvāsvaṁ cannot be interpreted as denoting ‘in place of’, in accord with the repetition view (āvṛttipakṣa). It must be interpreted as the genitive marked with usage in conjunction with a kri affix (kṛtyogalakṣaṇā saṣṭhī). The entire word (śabda), in this view, will become the subject of action of repetition (Nyāsa: sarvo hi śabda āvartyamāna evāvṛttikriyāyāḥ kartā bhavati). Kāśikā, in its paraphrase (vṛtti), states sarvāsvaṁ sthāne dve bhavataḥ ‘two come in place of a single whole’. This is done by accepting the first view, i.e., in place of, interpretation of the genitive.
8.1.2 तस्य परमाप्रेदितम्

\[ \text{tasya param āmreṇitam} \]
\[ / \text{tasya 6/1 param 1/1 āmreṇitam 1/1/} \]
\[ (sarasasya due #1) \]
\[ \text{tasya dviruktasya yat param śabdarūpaṃ tad āmreṇitasamjñāṃ bhavati} \]
The final of this iterated sequence is termed āmreṇīta.

Examples:

\[ \text{caura caura}^{3} \text{ ghātayisāmyi tvā bandhayisāmyi tvā ‘thief, thief, I will kill you, I will have you tied up (arrested)’} \]
\[ \text{vṛṣala vṛṣala}^{3} \text{ ghātayisāmyi tvā bandhayisāmyi tvā ‘vṛṣala, o vṛṣala, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)’} \]
\[ \text{dasyo dasyo}^{3} \text{ ghātayisāmyi tvā bandhayisāmyi tvā ‘bandit, o bandit, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)’} \]

1. The second element in iteration (\( \text{tasya} \)) is termed āmreṇīta. Thus, given \( \text{caura ‘thief’} \) which, after iteration (cf. 8.1.8 vākyāder āmanitrītasya . . .) produces \( \text{caura caura} \), the second \( \text{caura} \) is termed an āmreṇīta. Rule 8.1.91 āmreṇītāṃ bhartsane then applies to mark its \( \bar{ti} \) (1.1.64 \( \text{aco’ ntyādi \bar{t}i} \)) vowel with a \( \text{pluta} \). Thus, we get \( \text{caura caura}^{3} \). Recall that the iteration of \( \text{caura} \) has applied subsequent to deletion of \( sU \) after \( \text{caura caura} \), under the sambuddhi ‘vocative singular’ condition of 6.1.67 ēn hravāt . . . The final \( u \) of \( \text{dasyo} + sU \) is replaced with its \( \text{guna} \) counterpart (7.3.108 hravasya \( \text{gunaḥ} \)). Deletion of \( sU \) and subsequent iteration produce \( \text{dasyo dasyo}^{3} \), where the final vowel of the āmreṇīta is replaced with \( \text{pluta} \). We similarly get \( \text{vṛṣala vṛṣala}^{3} \)!

The scope of the term āmreṇīta is illustrated by rules such as 8.2.95 āmreṇītāṃ bhartsane, etc.

8.1.3 अनुदात्तः च

\[ \text{anudāttām ca} \]
\[ / \text{anudāttām 1/1 ca ṃ/} \]
\[ (āmreṇitam #2) \]
\[ \text{anudāttām ca tad bhavati yad āmreṇitasamjñām} \]
That which is termed āmreṇīta is also marked with anudāṭṭā.

Examples:

\[ \text{bhunktē bhunktē ‘eats and eats’} \]
\[ \text{paśun paśun ‘animals and animals’} \]

1. This rule allows anudāṭṭā to all vowels of an item termed āmreṇīta. Thus, consider \( \text{bhunktē ‘eats’} \), of \( \text{bhunktē bhunktē} \), where iteration is accomplished by 8.1.4 nityavyāpsayoh. Recall that the third singular middle ending, here \( tē \), is selected in view of 1.3.66 bhujo’ navane. Verbal root \( \text{bhuj}A ‘to consume’ is}
marked with udāta as its it. Iteration would have transferred the original accent to the resultant form. The affix, i.e., te, itself brings udāta in view of 3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau. Augment ŚnaM is qualified for anudāta, especially in view of the vt. satisiṣṭo pī vikarnasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaram na bādhate (ad 6.1.155 anudāttam padam ekavarjam). But since ŚnaM is also taught concurrently with aT (short a) to start with (adupadesā), te becomes anudāta in view of 6.1.183 tāṣy anudāttenāt. . . . Now ŚnaM must be marked with udāta in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudātta ca). But when a of ŚnaM gets deleted, we get anudāta from 6.1.155 anudāttasya ca. . . . This accentual pattern will also be available to forms resulting from iteration. Our present rule assigns anudāta to the entire form termed āmṛedīta. Subsequently, u of bhunkte is marked with svarita (8.4.65 udāttānuḍāttasya svaritāḥ). The other anudātta accents go through monotone (eṣaḥṛuti). The paśu ‘animal’ of paśun, etc., similarly goes through this accentual assignment.

8.1.4 नित्यवीपसयोः:

nityavīpsayoh
/ nitya vīpsayoh 7/2 = nityaṁ ca vīpsā ca = nityavīpse (itar. dv.), tayoh/ (sarvasya duve #1)

nitye cāṛthe vīpsāyam ca yad vartate tasya duve bhataḥ

Two come in place of a single whole form when the signification is nitya ‘over and over again, regularly, continually’ and vīpsā ‘pervasion of a thing by property and action’.

EXAMPLES:

pacati pacati ‘cooks and cooks’
jalpati jalpati ‘talks and talks’
bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati ‘goes after eating and eating’
bhojam bhojam vrajati ‘goes to each and every feast’
lunīhi lunīhi ity evayam lunāti ‘cut it, cut it, thus he cuts’

1. Note that nitya is used in the general sense of sarvakālabhāvin ‘that which happens at all times’. It is seen used in the sense of ‘eternal, permanent’, in examples such as nitya ātmā ‘self (soul) is eternal’, nityam ākāśam ‘sky is eternal’ and nityā dyauḥ ‘heaven is eternal’. It is also seen used in the sense of abhikṣṇya ‘repetition, over and over again’, as in nityam prahasitah ‘always laughing’ and nityam jalpitah ‘always talking’. If it is used with the signification of ‘permanence, eternal’, iteration (dvirvacana) will also apply to ātmā ‘self’ and ākāśa ‘ether, space’, etc. Since abhikṣṇya is the property of an action (kriyādharme), and also since nityatā ‘permanence’ of this rule must exclude any reference to ‘eternity’ of ākāśa and ātmā, etc., nityatā of this rule is interpreted as denoting abhikṣṇya ‘over and over again’. The word nitya, in this context of abhikṣṇya, can now be seen as ‘an action which
the agent primarily engages in to bringing about its completion (Kāś: yāṁ kriyāṁ kartā pradāhānyena anuparaman karoti’). Thus, we get pacatipacati; bhuktva bhuktva vrajati, bhogam bhogam vrajati and lunhi lunihity evāyaṁ lunāti, etc. These examples illustrate that a nityatā of the ābhikṣṇya type can be found in a tiN’ a form ending in an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term tiN’ and avyayakṛt ‘an indeclinable (avyaya) derived with an affix termed kṛt (1.1.39 kṛn mejantah; 1.1.40 ktvātosun . . . ’).

Why is a form such as pāpacyate ‘third singular present middle derivate of verbal root pac ending in yaN’ not subjected to go through iteration when its denotatum is paurahpunya ‘over and over again’? Commentators explain that ‘iteration’ (dvirvacana) is used so that paurahpunya can be denoted. Affix yaN of pāpacyate = punah punah pacati ‘cooks over and over again’ has already accomplished what iteration is supposed to accomplish. This is the reason why pāpacyate does not go through iteration. A form ending in affix yaNIs capable of denoting paurahpunya without any expectancy of iteration (dvirvacana). I leave out any further details of this question.

The word viśā ‘pervasion’ focuses on property of ‘forms which end in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term sUP’. What is viśā? The desire of a speaker to pervade (vyāptum ichchā) the loci of different objects in their entirety by means of ‘action’ (kriyā) and ‘quality’ (guṇa), concurrently (yugpat; Kāś: nānāvicārāṁ adhikaranānāṁ kriyāguṇābhyaṁ yugpatprayakturvyaaptumîchchā viśā). Thus we get grāmo grāmo ramaṇiyāh ‘each and every village is beautiful’ and puruṣaḥ puruṣo nidhanam upaiti ‘each and every person reaches death’.

Our first example illustrates the desire of speakers to pervade the entirely of different villages, based upon their direction and location, by means of quality of their ‘beauty’ (ramaṇiyatā), concurrently. Our next example illustrates the desire of speakers to pervade each and every person with the action of nidhana ‘dying’.

A form which ends in a tiN’ and is used with ābhikṣṇya and prakarṣa ‘excellence’, must receive an affix denoting prakarṣa after iteration has applied (kṛtadvirvacanāt). Thus, consider pacati pacatitarāṁ where iteration of pacati precedes denotation of prakarṣa. Commentators note that conflict of equal strength (viḥṛatisedha) is the reason why iteration must take precedence. Iteration finds its independent scope where ābhikṣṇya, i.e., pacati pacati, and not prakarṣa ‘excellence’, is denoted. An affix denoting ‘excellence’ finds its independent scope where association with excellence, i.e., pacatitarāṁ, and not ābhikṣṇya, is denoted. A context where both find their scope, i.e., pacati pacatitarāṁ, requires iteration to precede based on viḥṛatisedha ‘conflict of equal strength’. Once iteration has applied, excellence can be denoted by reconstructing the context of its use (punah prasaṅgaviśā). A form which ends in a sUP and is to be used in association with viśā and prakarṣa must go through iteration after receiving the affix denoting excellence. Thus, we get ādhyataram ādhyatarm ānaya ‘bring each and everyone
who is rich’. An association with viṣpā is intended here for forms which already denote excellence.

8.1.5 परेर्वर्जने

parer varjane
/pareh 6/1 varjane 7/1/
(sarvasya due #1)
parity etasya varjane rthe due bhavataḥ
.Two come in place of one whole form of pari when the signification is varjana ‘exclusion’.

EXAMPLES:

paripari trigarttebhya vrṣṭo devah ‘it rained around, but not in the country of the Trigarttas’
pari trigarttebhyaḥ ‘ibidem’
paripari sauvirebhyo . . . ‘it rained around, but not in the country of the Sauvīras’
pari sauvirebhyaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows iteration of pari when it is used with the signification of varjana ‘exclusion’. Thus, pari pari trigarttebhya vrṣṭo devah ‘god rained all over, but not in the country of the Trigarttas’. Recall that pari is termed a karmaprañcāniya (1.4.87 apapari varjane). The ablative (pañcamī) of trigarttebhyaḥ is introduced in consonance with 2.3.10 pañcamy apān. . .

This pari can also be allowed to optionally combine in a compound (2.1.11-12 vibhāṣā apapari . . .). We know it from the inclusion of varjana in this rule. For, an explicit statement of varjana was not necessary since its meaning could then have been gotten from the compound. This, in turn, also suggests that our present rule will apply where the option of compound formation is not accepted. That is, iteration does not apply when meaning of varjana is included within the denotatum of the compound. Note also that iteration was here made available under the condition of viṣpā. This signification of varjana, as part of the provision of this rule, then becomes restrictive (niyama) in nature.

2. Why do we state the condition of varjane? Observe pariṣiṇcati ‘waters all over’ where pari is a preverb (upasarga), and not a karmaprañcāniya.

3. A vārttika (ut: parer varjane samāse veti vaktavyam) proposes iteration of pari, only optionally, when it is used with the signification of varjana and is not combined in a compound (asamāse). Thus, paripari trigarttebhyo . . . ; pari trigarttebhyaḥ.

8.1.6 प्रसमुपोढ; पादपूरणे

prasamupodaḥ pādapūrane
8.1.7 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda One

/prā-sam-upodah 6/1 = praś ca sam ca upaś ca (sam. dv.), tasya; pāda-
pūraṇam 1/1 (śaś. tat.), tasmin/
(sarvasya dvé #1)
‘pra, sam, upa, ud’ ity eṣām pādapūraṇe dvé bhava.do dvirvacanena cét pādaḥ
pūryate

Two come in place of one whole form of pra, sam, upa and ud, when iteration serves as means of completing the quarter of a hymn.

Examples:

prāryāmagnirbārātasyā śṛṣṭe ‘when this ritual fire (agni) . . .’
samamīdyāvasa vṛṣan ‘you are the lord, giver of desires’
upōpa me parā mṛṣā ‘come near me and touch’
kim nōdudu hariṣeṣe dātavya ṛ ‘why do you not please to give us prosperity’

1. Since such usage is not available in the classical language, this rule applies only to the Vedic hymns.

Why do we have the condition of pādapūraṇam ‘completion of a quarter of a Vedic hymn’? Consider pra devaṁ devyā dhiyā where completion of a quarter is not the purpose.

8.1.7 उपर्यायध्यासः सामीपे

uparyadyadhasah sāmīpye

/upary-adhy-adhasah 1/3 = upari ca adhi ca adhaś ca (sam. dv.), tāni;
sāmīpye 7/1/
(sarvasya dvé #1)
‘upari, adhi, adhas’ ity eṣām dvé bhavatāh sāmīpyevivekāśite

Two come in place of one whole form of upari, adhi and adhas, when sāmīpya ‘proximity’ is the signification.

Examples:

uparyupari duḥkham ‘misery is just about over’
uparyupari grāmam ‘. . . just above the village’
adyadhi grāmam ‘. . . just below the village’

1. Note that upari ‘above’, adhi ‘under’ and adhas ‘below’ are all indeclinables (avyaya) with the signification of sāmīpya = pratyāsatī ‘proximity’. Proximity is viewed with reference to time (kāla) and place (deśa). Sentence one denotes proximity with time (kāla), in the sense that ‘misery has just about ended’. Our second sentence denotes proximity with place (deśa). Proximity to the village here refers to places ‘above’ and ‘below’ the location of the village (grāmaṣya sāmīpyena upariṣṭād (adhaśā va) deśa ity arthah).
The dvipaśyā ‘accusative’ in grāmam ‘village’ is introduced in view of enumeration (parigāṇana) in the vārttika proposal (ad 1.4.48 upānvadhyān . . .):
ubhasarvatasoh kāryā dhiguparyādiṣu triṣu/
dvitiyāmeḍītānteṣu tato’ nyatraṇi drśyate//

2. Why do we have to state the condition of sāmipyā ‘proximity’? Consider upari candramāḥ ‘moon above . . . ’ where no proximity is denoted. Why do we not get iteration in upari śiraso ghatam dhārayati ‘has a jar placed on head’? What is denoted here is ‘top (of the head)’ and ‘bottom (of the jar); auttarā-dharyam). There is no denotation of proximity between the ‘head’ and the ‘jar’. This proximity, however, is possible to infer. What about iteration in the following verse:

uparyupari paśyantah sarva eva daridrati/
adho’ dho daṁśane kasya mahimā nopajāyate//
‘who does not feel belittled while looking up and above;
who does not feel elated while looking below.’

Iteration is here accomplished with the denotation of vīpsā ‘pervasion’.

8.1.8 वाक्यादेशार्थतत्त्वद्वैतास्यास्मात्मतिकोषप्रभुधन्भत्तेनेषु

vākyāder āmantritasyāsūyāsammatikopakutsanabhartsanēsu
/vākyādeh 6/1 āmantritasya 6/1 asūyā-sammati-kopa-kutsana-bhartsanēsu
7/3 (ītar. dv.), teṣu/
(sarvasva dv #1)

ekārthāḥ padasamūhaḥ vākyam. vākyāder āmantritasya dvé bhavataḥ asūyā-
sammati-kopa-kutsana-bhartsanēy yadi tad vākyāṁ bhavati

Two come in place of an āmantrīta which occurs at the beginning of a sentence, provided the sentence is used with the signification of asūyā ‘fault-finding’, sammati ‘praise, concurrence’, kopa ‘anger’, kutsana ‘censure’ and bhartsana ‘threat to harm, scolding’.

Examples:

māṅgavakās mānava! abhirūpakaś abhirūpaka!! riktaṁ te ābhirūpyam
‘O kid beautiful, gone is your beauty’
māṅgavakās mānava! abhirūpakaś abhirūpaka!! śobhanah khaṭv asi ‘O
kid, you are beautiful’
māṅgavakās mānava avinītakās avinītaka idānini jñāsyasi jālma ‘O kid,
you are indeed an impudent wretch’
śaktikēś śaktite yaśtikeś yaśṭite riktā te śaktih ‘O Śaktikā, O Yaṣṭikā, gone
indeed is your power’
caurā caurāṁ uṛṣālaṁ uṛṣāla! ghātasyaṁī tvā, bandhayasyāmi tvā ‘O lowly
Uṛṣāla, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)’

1. This rule allows iteration of a form termed āmantrīta ‘address’, when this same is used at the beginning of a sentence and the sentence denotes asūyā, etc. Kāśikā explains a vākyā ‘sentence’ as ekārthāḥ padasamūhaḥ ‘a group
of words which denotes a single meaning’. A sentence at times is explained as a group of words where only one form ends in a tiN (kvacit tu ekatiś samūho vākyam). Sometimes a sentence is given no definition at all.

Kāśīka explains asiyyā as paragūṇānāṁ asahanam ‘not tolerating qualities of others’. The words pūjā and kopa are glossed as sammatiḥ ‘respect, concurrence’ and krodha ‘anger’, respectively. The word nindanaṁ is explained as kutsanam ‘censure’. A similar explanation for bhartsanam is given as apakāra-śabdair bhayotpādanam ‘generating fear by threats of consequences’.

Note that vākyā of the compound vākyādeḥ ‘beginning of a sentence’ is treated as secondary (gauṇa). Still, asūyā, etc., are related with vākyā ‘sentence’. Thus we get the interpretation: asūyādiṣu yad vākyam tad āder iti ‘the initial of a sentence which is used with the signification of asūyā ‘fault-finding’, etc. Only a sentence can denote asūyā, etc., since these happen to be characteristic qualities of speakers (prāyoktṝ-dharma). Since they cannot be accepted as characteristic qualities of the denotatum (abhidheya), an āmantritā cannot denote asūyā, etc. (PM ad Kāś; prāyoktydharma hy asūyādayo nābhoidheya- dharma, te ca vākyaṇaiva dyotyante nāmantritena). It is for this reason that asūyā, etc., are used as qualifiers to a sentence. The wording of this rule has āmantritā as a qualified (viśeṣa), and hence principal (pradhāna). This renders vākyā as non-principal (apradhāna). One may think that asūyā, etc., should, logically, be used as qualifiers to āmantritā. This, however, is not the correct view. For, an āmantritā can then avail iteration only when it is used with asūyā, etc., in integration. We will get iteration in a sentence such as asūye asūye! We cannot get iteration, for example, when a sentence denotes asūyā, etc. Thus, consider māṇavakaś! māṇavaka‼, etc.

2. Why do we state the condition of vākyādeḥ ‘at the beginning of a sentence’? So that iteration does not apply to a form which may occur at the end, or middle, of a sentence. Thus, consider sōbhanaṁ kaleu asi māṇavaka! ‘you are beautiful, indeed, kid’ where māṇavaka, at the end of a sentence, cannot qualify for iteration.

3. Why do we state the condition of āmantritā? Consider udāro devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta is generous’ where iteration does not apply in the absence of an āmantritā. Finally, why do we state the condition of asūyādiṣu ‘finding fault, etc.’? Consider gām abhyāja śuklām ‘fetch the white cow to the village’ where the sentence does not denote any meaning of asūyā, etc.

4. Note that māṇavaka, etc., go through iteration since they are termed āmantritā (2.3.48 sa’ manritam), and are used as part of a sentence whereby asūyā, etc., are denoted. A pūta vowel marked with svarita is assigned (8.2.103 svaritāmederedite . . .) to the first of words iterated under the condition of asūyā, etc. The pūta of āmedēta, the second of words iterated under the condition of bhartsanā ‘reproach’, is assigned udāṭta (8.2.95 āmeditaṁ bhartsane).

5. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś) cites the following verse:
8.1.9 एकम् बहुव्रीहिवत्

एकम् बहुव्रीहिवत।

/ ekam 1/1 bahuvrihivat $= $ bahuvriher iva/
(sarvasya due #1)

एकम् इतैं च चाब्दरुपम् द्विरूक्तम् बहुव्रीहिवद् भवति

A sequence of two, in place of one whole form of ekam ‘one’, is treated as if it is a bahuvrihi compound.

Examples:

एकायिकम् अक्षराधे पाठ्यति ‘reads each and every syllable’
एकायिकयाः हृत्या जुहोति ‘sacrifices with oblations accompanying each and every offering’

1. Note that this is an extensional (ātideśika) proposal. The word ekam, when gone through iteration under the denotation of viṣṣā (8.1.4 nityavip-sayoh), is treated as if it was a bahuvrihi. Treatment as a bahuvrihi causes the assignment of the term samāsa ‘compound’, followed by deletion of nominal endings. We thus get $ek(a + e + a) = ekaikha + (sU→a)m = ekaikam,$ (7.1.24 ato’ m), subsequent upon treatment of ekamekam as a bahuvrihi and deletion of its nominal endings. We similarly get the feminine form ekaikayā from ekā + Ōa + ekā + Ōa = ekayā + ekayā $\rightarrow$ ekaikayā. The ekā of ekaikayā also goes through masculine transformaiton (pumvadhāva; 6.3.32 striyāḥ pumvad . . ).

2. The purpose of bahuvrihivadhāva ‘treatment as if a bahuvrihi’ is gener-
features of that which is signified (abhidheya), we will get iteration of the word-form ābāḍha and not of words such as pīśīta and bāḍhita, etc., which may be synonymous with it. That is, we may not get iteration of words such as gata, etc. If, however, ābāḍha is interpreted as referring to characteristic features (state) of speakers (prayokṭi), iteration can apply to everything. For, gata, etc., do not denote ābāḍha. The word ābāḍha is here interpreted as referring to the dharma ‘characteristic quality’ of the speaker (prayokṭi-dharma), and not to abhidheya-dharma ‘features of denotation’.

The ca in this rule is used for split-interpretation (vākyabhedā). Thus, one split sentence allows iteration and the other facilitates treatment as a bahuvrihi (Nyāsa ad Kāś: tena dvayam atra vidhiyate. ekena vākyena dvivrucanam, apareṇa ca bahuvrīhivadbhāvah).

Incidentally, all examples involve deletion of sUP. Masculine transformation (puṃvadbhāva) is additionally involved in gatagata, naṣṭanaṣṭa and paṭitapaṭitā.

**8.1.11 कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु**

karmadhārayavad uttaresu
/karmadhārayat φ uttaresu 7/1/
(sarvasya due #1 bahuvrīhivat #9)
ita uttaresu dvivrucanesu karmadhārayat kāryam bhavati

Operations similar to a compound termed karmadhāraya obtain, hereafter, on that which has gone through iteration of a single whole.

**Examples:**

patupatuh ‘intelligent, clever’
mṛđumṛduh ‘soft, tender’
panditapanditaḥ ‘skilled’
patupatvi ‘intelligent, clever (feminine)’
mṛđumṛdvi ‘soft, tender (feminine)’
kālakālīkā ‘dark black (feminine)’

1. This rule extends operations similar to those which obtain on a karmadhāraya compound to a single form gone through iteration. The purpose of this extensional provision of karamadhārayadbhāva ‘treatment as if a karmadhāraya’ is to facilitate sublopa ‘deletion of sUP’ (2.1.74 suṇo dhātuprāti-padikayoh), puṃvadbhāva ‘masculine transformation’ (6.3.42 puṃvat karmadhāraya . . . ) and assignment of the final (anta) udāta accent. The first provision, i.e., deletion of sUP, is a general (sādhāraṇa) compound provision. The second, or puṃvadbhāva, is sometimes usual, and at others unusual (asādhāraṇa). That is, it is usual where there is no negation of puṃvadbhāva ‘masculine transformation’. Consider, for example, patupatvi, etc., which yield patupatuh, etc., through masculine transformation applied to patvi. A
provision of pumvadbhāva made against, for example, its negation by 6.3.37
na kopadhāyāḥ, is unusual. Thus, consider kālakālikā, where TāP of the
initial constituent, i.e., kālikā, goes through pumvadbhāva, eventhough it has
k in its penultimate position (upadhā). Recall that kālika is derived by intro-
ducing affix ka (5.3.70 prāg ivāt kah) after kālā ‘black’ where, given kālā + ka,
7.4.13 ke’ nah replaces the final ā of kālā with its short counterpart. Rule
7.3.44 pratyasthāt . . . then orders a replacement in i (itva) to produce
kāl(ā→a) + ka → kāl(a→i) + ka. We finally get kālikakālikā with TāP and
iteration. Note that iteration (dvitva), in all these examples, is accomplished
by 8.1.12 prakāre guṇavacanasya.

This rule also assigns a final udātta accent, for example to patupatuh, which
was made available by 6.1.223 samāsasya, but was blocked by 8.1.3 anudāttaṁ
ca. Our present rule reinstates this accentual provision.

2. Note that this rule is an adhikāra ‘governing heading’. It would be
carried over to subsequent rules, anyway. The word uttareṣu ‘in subsequent
rules’ is then used for clarity (vispāṭārtham).

8.1.12 प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य

prakāre guṇavacanasya
/prakāre 7/1 guṇavacanasaya 6/1 = guṇasya vacanam (saś. tat.), tasmin/
(sarvasya dve #1 karmadhārayavat #11)
prakāre vartamānasya guṇavacanasya dve bhavataḥ

Two come in place of a single whole form signifying property (guṇa-
cana), with the resultant sequence additionally treated as if it was a
compound termed karmadhāraya, when prakāra ‘similarity, kind’ is
denoted.

Examples:

patupatuh ‘clever-like’
mydumrduḥ ‘soft-like’
panditupanditaḥ ‘scholar-like’

1. The word prakāra is explained as both bheda ‘difference’ and sādṛṣṭya
‘similarity’. Thus, consider bahubhir prakārait bhunktē which means: bahubhir
bhedaṁ bhunktē ‘he eats in many different ways’. Now consider brāhmaṇa-
prakāro’ yaṁ māṇavakah which denotes: brāhmaṇaṁaddṛśo’ yaṁ māṇavakah ‘this
kid is similar to a brāhmaṇa kid’. This rule accepts the ‘similarity’ meaning
of prakāra. Thus, patupatru denotes ‘a kind of clever’ person. That is, it denotes
a person comparatively less clever to one who is really clever. This is how
other examples also have to be interpreted.

A final udātta will block the anudātta (8.1.3 anudāttaṁ ca) at the strength
of karmadhārayavat provision as if a karmadhāraya of the earlier rule. That
is, 8.1.3 anudāttaṁ ca offers an anudātta accent to an āmreṣita (8.1.2 tasya
paramāṃśritaṁ). Rule 6.1.217 samāśasya assigns a final udātta, instead, at the strength of extensional karmadhāraya (8.1.11 karmadhārayavad . . .).

2. Note that affix jātiyāR (5.3.69 prakāravacane jātiyā) also denotes prakāra. This provision of iteration is not intended to block jātiyaR. This is why Kāṣikā (Vāmana) offers pāṭujātiyā as an example. Affix jātiyaR is used with the denotation of both bheda and sādṛśya meanings of prakāra. The present context of iteration requires denotation of sādṛśya 'similarity'. Commentators explain that an example such as brāhmaṇajātiyā which denotes prakāra of the ‘difference’ kind (bhedarūpe rthe), even though with no denotation of quality (agunavacane pī), constitutes an independent scope (sāvakāśa) of jātiyaR. In the context of meanings such as ‘similarity’ (sādṛśya) it can then be blocked by the subsequent (para) provision of this iteration. This, however, cannot be accepted as blocking of jātiyaR. We will still get pāṭujātiyā, etc.

3. Why do we state the condition of guṇavacanaśya 'of that which is used with the signification of quality'? Consider agnir māṇavakah 'this kid is fire' and gaurīhikah 'this bull is (from) Vāhika', where the two non-quality words, i.e., agni 'fire' and go 'bull', are being used, mostly because of their qualities of sharpness (taikṣṇyaṃ) and jādyā 'stupidity', to denote specific qualities, by way of comparison. The meaning of a word which one understands directly after hearing it is considered principal (mukhya). A meaning which is comprehended with effort (yatna) is considered secondary (gaṇa). 'Fire' and 'bull' are principal meanings of agni and go. The 'boy' of our example is comprehended by means of agni, with effort. This same also applies to vāhika 'a place in the north-west'. A connection between the 'boy' and 'fire' and 'Vāhika' and 'bull' is mediated by qualities of 'sharpness' and 'stupidity'. These words, agni and go, thus become quality words. Note, however, that this does not make them quality words forever (sarvaṅgāla-guṇavacana). Iteration of this rule cannot apply where quality happens to be denoted by words which are not all-time quality words. They are basically non-quality words (Kāṣ. tathāpi sarvadā guṇavacano na bhavati na dvir ucyate).

There are several vārttika proposals under this rule:

(i) Iteration should be allowed where anupūrvi 'successive (sequential) order' is denoted (anupūrviye duve bhavataḥ). This proposal is being made to cover iteration in vīpsā 'pervasion'. Thus, mule mule sthūlāḥ 'thick at each and every root'; agre agre sūkṣmāḥ 'thin at each and every top'; jyeṣṭhaṁ jyeṣṭhaṁ praveṣaya 'let each and every elder enter'.

(ii) Iteration applies when exact denotatum is to be determined from within more than one. Thus, asmāt kārṣāpanād iha bhavaddhyāṁ māṣam māṣam dehi 'give two Māṣas each out of this Kārṣāpana (which has many Māṣas) to these two gentlemen'. This iteration is not allowed with the signification of vīpsā. For, only two Māṣas, and not all belonging to a single Kārṣāpana, are given away.
(iii) Iteration is to be allowed also when \textit{cāpala} 'unsteadiness, confusion' is denoted \textit{(cāpale due bhavata iti vaktavyam)}. Thus, \textit{ahirahir budhyasva budhyasva} 'beware, beware, there is a snake there!' It is not necessary that iteration will involve just two words. It may include more than two to ensure denotation. Thus, \textit{ahir ahir ahir budhyasva budhyasva budhyasva!}

(iv) Iteration is also allowed when \textit{kriyāsamabhikāra} 'frequent action' is denoted \textit{(kriyāsamabhikāre due bhavata iti vaktavyam)}. Thus, \textit{sa bhavān lunihī lunihī ity evāyaṁ lunāti} 'he says, 'please cut, please cut,' thus he cuts'.

(v) Iteration is to be allowed when \textit{ābhikṣṇya} 'over and over again' is denoted \textit{(ābhikṣṇye due bhavata iti vaktavyam)}. Thus, \textit{bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati} and \textit{bhogaṁ bhogaṁ vrajati}, etc. This is already covered by 8.1.4 nityānvipṣayoh.

(vi) Iteration is to be allowed also when \textit{DāC} follows. Thus, \textit{paṭapaṭā karoti = paṭapaṭāyate}. The \textit{DāC} of these examples must refer to what is provided for by 5.4.57 \textit{aryaktānukarāṇād}. . . . Thus, we cannot ask for iteration, for example in \textit{dvitiyā karoti} 'ploughs the field a second time' and \textit{tṛtyā karoti} 'ploughs the field a third time', where \textit{DāC} is introduced by 5.4.58 \textit{kṛṇo dvitiyaṅtṛiyā}. . . . Some, in view of this restriction of \textit{DāC}, read this \textit{vārttika} as \textit{dāci bahulam} (Kāś: \textit{aryaktānukarāṇaṁdājantasya dvirvacanam isyate iha na bhavati-dvitiyā karoti, tṛtyā karoti. tadarṭhāṁ kecid ‘dāci bahulam’ iti paṭhanti}).

(vii) Iteration is also allowed in case of \textit{pūrva} 'prior, earlier' and \textit{prathama} 'first', especially when \textit{arthaṅīsaya} 'excellence of meaning' is denoted. Thus, \textit{pūrvam pūrvam pūṣṭyanti} 'this tree comes out with flowers earlier than that' and \textit{prathamam prathamam pacyante} 'this crop ripens comparatively earlier than that'.

(viii) Iteration is also allowed forms which end in affixes \textit{Datara} and \textit{Datama}, though, with the signification of comparative superiority in excellence of females. Thus, \textit{ubhāvī imāva ādhyau}; \textit{katarā katamā anayor ādhyatā} 'they are both rich; who is the richer of these two'; \textit{sarva ime ādhyāḥ}; \textit{katamākatamā eśām ādhyatā} 'they are all rich; who is the richest among them all'.

(ix) A pronominal is iterated when denoting reciprocity of action \textit{(karmavyayāhāre sarvanāmnmo due bhavata iti vaktavyam)}; the iterated strings are variously treated as if a compound \textit{(samāsavac ca bahulam)}. Thus, \textit{anyo nyam ime brāhmaṇaṁ bhoyayanti} 'these brāhmaṇas are feeding one another' and \textit{anyamanyam ime . . . ‘ibidem’}. When iteration is not treated as a compound, we find nominative singular in the first constituent (Kāś: \textit{yadā na samāsavat prathamaṅkavacanam tadā pūrvapadasya}).

(x) The neuter and feminine iterated forms with the signification of
reciprocity of action also receive ām at the end (strīnapumāsakayor ụttara-padasya cāmbhāvo vaktasyaḥ). Thus, anyoḥ nyām ime brāhmaṇyau. bhojaya-taḥ ‘these two brāhmaṇa women are feeding one another’; itaretaram ime brāhmaṇa-akule bhojaya-taḥ ‘these two clans of the brāhmaṇas are feeding one another’.

8.1.13 अक्रच्रे प्रियसुखयोगर्यत्तयाम्

akṛcchre priyasukhayor anyatarasyām
/a-kṛcchre7/1 = na kṛcchram (naṅ. tat.), tasmin; priyasukhayoh 6/2 = priyaś ca sukaḥ ca (itar. du.), tayoḥ; anyatarasyām 7/1/
(sarvasya deve #1 karmadhārayavat #11)
‘priya, sukaḥ’ ity etayor anyatarasyām deve bhavataḥ akṛcchre dyotye
Forms of priya ‘dear’ and sukha ‘happiness, comfort’ are iterated, optionally, with an additional provision that their iterated sequence be treated as a compound termed karmadhāraya, when the derivate denotes akṛcchra ‘easy to accomplish, easily, lack of hardship’.

Examples:

priyapriyena dadātī ‘easily gives things away’
priyena dadātī ‘ibidem’
sukhasukhena dadātī ‘happily gives things away’
sukhena dadātī ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows optional iteration of priya ‘dear’ and sukha ‘comfort, happiness’, when the signification is akṛcchra ‘non-hardship, no trouble’. Additionally, the iterated string is treated as if it was a compound termed karmadhāraya. Consider priya + Tā → priyena and sukha + Tā → sukhena, where, after iteration and treatment of resultant string as a karmadhāraya, we get priyapriya, via LUK-deletion of nominal endings (PM ad Kāś: trīyaśkavaca-nāntasya dvirvacane karmadhārayadbhāvā subluki pūnas tad eva vacanam). Assignment of the term prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ to priyapriya (1.2.46 kṛtādhistamasās ca), and subsequent introduction of instrumental singular Tā, yields pripriya + Tā → priyapriyena. Similar rules will apply in deriving sukhasukhena. Haradatta explains priyapriyena dadātī as ‘gives even the dearest things away without any difficulty’ (PM ad Kāś: ayaṇatdayitam api vastu anāyāsena dadātīty arthaḥ).

8.1.14 यथावेयान्ययथायथम्

yathāsvaḥ yathāyatham
/yathāsva 7/1 = yo yah svo = yathāsvam (avayābhaha), tasmin; yathāyatham 1/1/
(sarvasya deve #1 karmadhārayavat #11)
yo ya ātmā yad yadātiyam tat tad yathāsvam tasmin yathāyatham iti nipātyate
A form such as yathāyatham is derived, via nipātana, and is also treated as if it was a compound termed karmadhāraya, when the signification is yathāsvam ‘a correspondingly true property’.

EXAMPLES:

jnātāḥ sarve padārthā yathāyatham ‘all things were known (by me) in accord with their true properties’

1. This rule allows iteration and assigns neuter to yathā ‘as’, via nipātana. The final ā of a neuter nominal stem is then replaced with its short counterpart (1.2.47 hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya).

The avayyibhāva ‘indeclinable’ compound of yathāsvam is formed with the signification of vipsā ‘pervasion’ (2.1.7 yathā sādṛśye). The word sva is here used in the sense of ‘self’ (ātman), or ‘that which is like one’s self’ (ātmiya). That is why we get the example: yo ya ātmā yad yad ātmiyam tad tad yathāsvam tasmin yathāyatham iti ‘whatever is this self and whatever may be the likeness with this self, that all is ‘yathāsvam’; a signification of that is made by yathāyatham’.

8.1.15 द्वन्द्व रहस्यमयाद्वचनव्युक्तमण्यप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिः

dvandvam rahasyamaryādāvacanavyutkramanayajnāpātraprayogābhivyaktisu
/dvandvam 1/1 rahasya-maryādāvacana (maryādāyā vacanam; śaṣ. tat.)-vyutkramaṇa-yajnāpātraprayoga (yajnāpātraṇāṃ prayogah; śaṣ. tat.)-abhivyaktisu 7/3 (iṭar. dva., teṣu/ (saraśaya dve #1 karmadhārayavat #11)
‘dvandvam’ iti dviśabdasya dvivracanaṃ pūrvapadasyāmbhāvah atvaṃ cottaapadasya nipātyate ‘rahasya, maryādāvacana, vyutkramaṇa, yajnāpātra-prayoga, abhiyakti’ ity eteṣu artheṣu
A form such as dvandvam is derived, via nipātana, and is also treated as if it was a compound termed karmadhāraya, when the signification is rahasya ‘secret’, maryādāvacana ‘an extent, limit’, vyutkramaṇa ‘separation, moving away’, yajnāpātraprayoga ‘positioning of ritual vessels’ and abhiyakti ‘manifestation’.

EXAMPLES:

dvandvam mantrayate ‘discusses in seclusion’
ācaturō hīme paśavo dvandvam mithunāyante ‘these animals mate with their offsprings only through four generations’
dvandvam vyutkraṇāḥ ‘they moved out having formed two groups each’
dvandvam nyāṇi prayunakti dhiṛaḥ ‘this priest is placing ritual pots face down in pairs’
dvandvam nāradaparvatau ‘the association of Nārada and Parvata’
dvandvam saṅkarṣaṇavāsudevaṅu 'the association of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva'

1. Note that the word dvandva is generally used in the sense of rahasya 'secret'. Meanings such as maryādā-vacana 'delimitation of an extent or limit', vyuktramana 'separation, moving away', yajñapātra-pryoga 'positioning of ritual vessels' and abhivyakti 'manifestation' also fall within the scope of contextual meaning of dvandva. Consider dvandvam mantrayate where dvandvam means 'in a group of two; having become two each'. Kāśikā illustrates maryādāvacana 'delimitation of extent' with ācaturāṃ hime paśavo mithunāyante 'animals mate with their offsprings up to (and including) their fourth generation'; mātā putrenā mithunam gacchati, pautrenā, tatputrenāpīti . . . 'a mother mates with her son, grandson, even with the grandson’s (son’s son’s) son, but not with any offspring thereafter'. Note that iteration applies to dvi 'two' when used in conjunction followed by au. Given the string dvi + au + dvi + au, the i of first dvi then goes through a replacement in am. The second i is also replaced with a (atva). Thus, dvi + au → dvi + au + dvi + au; dvi(i→am) + au + dvi + au → dvam + au + dvi(i→a) + au → dvam + au + dva + au → dvam + (au→φ) + dva + (au→φ) = dva(m→n) + dva = dvandvam. This all is accomplished, via nipātana. Recall that composition of dvam + au + dva + au as a karmadhāraya facilitates deletion of nominal endings. Treatment as neuter further facilitates application of 6.1.106 ami pūrvah. Thus, dvandvam + (sU→am) = dvandva(a+a→a)m = dvandvam.

2. We also find dvandvam, elsewhere. It is for this reason that a split-interpretation of this rule is attempted. Recall that dvandva is also used in the sense of ca 'and' (2.2.29 cārthe dvandvah).

8.1.16 पदस्य

पदस्या

padasya

/padasya 6/1/

'padasya' ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ārdhvam anukramisyāmaḥ padasyety evaṃ veditavyam

In place of a pada . . .

Examples:

pacan 'o, you, who is cooking'
yajan 'o, you, who is performing ritual sacrifice'

1. This is an adhikāra 'governing heading'. The word padasya must be carried up to rule 8.3.55 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah (adhikāro) 'yam,' apadāntasya mūrdhanyah iti yāvad yad vakṣyati tat padasya bhavati. . .). Whatever is stated hereafter should apply to that which is a pada (1.4.14 suptiṇantaṃ padam, etc.).

The genitive of padasya is then interpreted, either as sthānasatthī 'genitive
denoting in place of, or avayava-śaṣṭhi ‘genitive denoting some part of a whole’, as desired by context of rules on hand. Consider, for example, rule 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah whereby ‘the final sound of that which ends in a conjunct goes through deletion by means of LOPA’. The phrase ‘that which . . .’ must be supplied with pada as the antecedent of ‘that’. That is, ‘the final sound of a pada which ends in a conjunct goes through deletion by means of LOPA’. The genitive in 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah is interpreted as sthānaśaṣṭhi ‘a genitive denoting in place of’. The genitive, for example of 8.2.4 udāttaśvaritayor yaṇaḥ svanito vā’ nudāttasya, is treated as a genitive denoting ‘part of a whole’ (avayava-śaṣṭhi).

The example derivates, i.e., pacan and yajan, are padas where, given pacant and yajant, we get the deletion of t occurring as final of a conjunct. Refer to the appendix (III:751) under 3.2.124 laṭaḥ śatrāṣaṇacāv . . . for derivational details of pacan.

8.1.17 पदात्

padāt
/padāt 5/1/
(padasya #16)
‘padāt’ ity ayam adhikārah prāh ‘kutsane ca supy agotrādau’ ity etasmād yad ita ārdhvam anukramisyāmah ‘padāt’ ity evam tad veditavyam
In place of a pada which is used after a pada . . .

Examples:
pacati devadatta ‘O Devadatta, he is cooking’

1. This is also an adhikāra ‘governing heading’. It is carried over prior to 8.1.69 kutsane ca supy agotrādau. This rule introduces an operation relative to a pada (padasya) which occurs after a pada (padāt). Thus, consider the paraphrase of rule 8.1.19 āmantritasya ca: āmantritasya padasya padāt parasya anudattādeo bhavati ‘an anudātta comes as a replacement in place of a pada termed āmantrita which, in turn, occurs after a pada’. Thus, consider pacati devadatta ‘Devadatta, he is cooking’, where devadatta receives blanket anudātta since it is termed āmantrita (2.3.48 sā’ manritam) and occurs after pacati, a verbal pada. Now consider devadatta pacasi ‘Devadatta, you are cooking’ where blanket anudātta could not be made available since devadatta does not occur after a pada.

8.1.18 अनुदात्तम सर्वमपादाद्व

anudāttām sarvam apādēdau
/anudāttam 1/1 sarvam 1/1 apādēdau 7/1 = padasya ādiḥ = padādiḥ
(śaṣ. tat.); na padādiḥ (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(padasya #16 padāt #17)


 `'anudātta` iti, `sarvam` iti ca, `apādādau` iti ca etat trayam adhikṛtam veditavyam āpādāparisamāpteh

A pada which occurs after another pada, except when occurring at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is marked with anudātta in its entirety.

**Examples:**

`pacasi devadatta` `you are cooking Devadatta!`

`pacasi devadatta` `ibidem`

1. This entire sūtra carries over through the end of this quarter. That is, whatever is stated hereafter must be read with anudātta, sarvam and apādādau. Thus, Pāṇini will state āmantritasya ca (8.1.19) which, in turn, must be read with anudātta, sarvam and apādādau. That is, that which is specified by subsequent rules will all be marked with anudātta if the same does not occur at the beginning of a quarter-verse (pādādau). The word pāda here refers to the quarter of a verse of praise (śloka) or hymn (ṛk).

Why do we state the condition of apādādau? Consider mṛtyo anavadhyṣṇyam where mṛtyo is āmantrita but could not be all marked anudātta since it does occur at the beginning of the quarter of a verse. Pāṇini will similarly state 8.1.21 bahuvacanasya vasnasaun which orders uas and nas as replacements for the genitive, dative, and accusative plural forms of yuṣmād `second personal pronominal` and asmād `first personal pronominal`, respectively. These replacements are also marked with anudātta. Thus, grāmo ugh... and janapado nah..., etc. Why do we have the condition of apadadaun? Consider the following verse:

`rudro viśvēsvaro devo yuṣmākan kuladevataḥ/
sa eva nātho bhagavān asmākan śatrumardanah//`

`lord of the universe, the divine Rudra is the divinity of your clan; he alone is our protector lord, the one who will crush our enemies`

We do not get a replacement in connection with yuṣmākan and asmākan here since yuṣmākan occurs at the beginning of the quarter, i.e., yuṣmākan kuladevataḥ `the divinity of your clan`. This same applies to asmākan which occurs at the beginning of the quarter asmākan śatrumardanah `crusher of our enemies`. Incidentally, the word pāda here refers to the quarter of a hymn or a verse of praise (śloka).

2. Why do we need the specification of sarvam `all`? For, only one udātta, or svarita, is possible in a pada (6.1.155 anudāttaṁ padaṁ ekavarjau, PM ad Kās... ekasmin pada eka evodāttaḥ svarito vā sambhavati). If that same udātta, or svarita, is ordered to be marked with anudātta, the entire pada will be marked with anudātta. This is why we need an explanation on the use of the word sarvam in this rule. A pada which may come under the purview of this
specification by sarva could be of two types: (i) where a particular accent has already applied (anūdyamāna) and (ii) where a rule of accent is anticipated to apply (vidhīyamāna). There is a conflict here: we can talk about changing the quality of a thing only when we already have that quality available. How could we talk about changing the quality which does not even exist? It is similar to changing the color of a piece of cloth which is already woven, and not of one which is yet to be woven (Nyāsa ad Kāś: siddhasya hi vastuno dharmāntaram śakyate kartum, yathā nispannarūpasya vāsaso rāghaḥ, nānispānasya). Thus, this anudāṭṭa provision will apply only to instances of āmantrita (8.1.19 āmantritasya ca), etc. That is, if sarvam is not stated in this rule. For example, yuṣmad and asmad for which accentual provisions are made will be covered by this rule. But, in the absence of sarvam, their replacements, i.e., vāṁ and nau (8.1.20 yuṣmadasmadāḥ . . .), cannot receive anudāṭṭa. How is it possible to assign anudāṭṭa to replacements of yuṣmad and asmad? That is, even when this specification with sarvam is made. It will be made possible because replacements and their accentual provisions are made by separate rules (vākya-bheda). There is yet another purpose stated for this use of sarvam. I do not discuss it here because of its complexity.

8.1.19 आपत्त्रितस्य च

āmantritasya ca
/āmantritasya 6/1 ca φ/
(padasya #1 padāt #2 anudāṭṭam sarvam apāḍādau #3)
āmantritasya padasya padāt parasyāpāḍādau vartamāṇasya sarvasyānudāṭṭo bhavati

A pada termed āmantrita which occurs after another pada, except when occurring at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is also marked with anudāṭṭa in its entirety.

Examples:

paḍasi devadattra ‘you are cooking Devadatta!’

paḍasi devadattra ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the term āmantrita is assigned by 2.3.48 sā’ manritam. Rule 6.1.195 āmantritasya ca offers initial udāṭṭa to that which is termed an āmantrita. This rule assigns nighāta ‘anudāṭṭa in toto’ (sarvānudāṭta) to an āmantrita which occurs after a pada, provided the same does not occur at the beginning of the quarter of a verse.

2. A vārttika proposes that nighāta rules (our present rule and 8.1.28 tiṅ atīnah, etc.), and rules dealing with accentual provisions of replacements of yuṣmad and asmad as well, apply only when the pada which conditions nighāta, and the pada which follows, are part of the same sentence. Consider iha daṇḍo harānena ‘here is the stick, carry by means of it’, odanam paça tava
bhaviṣyat ‘cook rice, it will be yours (to eat)’ and odanam pada mama bhaviṣyat ‘cook rice, it will be mine’, where hara, a pada ending in a tiṅ, follows daṇḍa, a pada not ending in a tiṅ, does not get niṅhāta since daṇḍa is not used in the same sentence. If the condition of occurrence in a single sentence is not required we will also get replacement of yuṣmad with tava and asmad with me (8.1.22 temayāvā ekavacanasasya) in sentences such as the preceding two with tava and mama.

Now consider iha devadatta mātā te kathayati ‘here, your mother says Devadatta’, nadyāś tiṣṭhata kule ‘he is sitting on the bank of the river’ and śālīnāṁ te odanam dāsyāmi ‘I shall give you rice-meal of the śāli grains’. The word devadatta, which is termed āmantrīta in the first sentence, occurs after iha ‘here’ of the same sentence. It thus receives niṅhāta. This same applies to tiṣṭhata of the second sentence where the non-tiṅ word, nadyāḥ, precedes. A niṅhāta is to be understood in the context of a single sentence so that yuṣmad, i.e., tava, which occurs after śālīnāṁ of the third sentence, is replaced with te. For this we must have the condition of samāṇavākye ‘in the same sentence’. A sentence with me replacing asmad can be similarly understood as śālīnāṁ me odanam dehi ‘give me the rice-meal of śāli grains’.

8.1.20 युष्मदस्मदोऽपि श्रष्ठि-चतुर्थिद्वितीयास्थयोत्तरानां

yuṣmadasmadoḥ śaṣṭhi-caturthi-dvitiyāsthayor vāṁnāvau
/yuṣmad-asmdoh/ 6/2 (itar. du.), tayoḥ; śaṣṭhi-caturthi-dvitiyāsthayoḥ 6/2
= śaṣṭhi ca caturthi ca dvitiyā ca = śaṣṭhi-caturthi-dvitiyāḥ, tāṣu yau tiṣṭhataḥ
= śaṣṭhi-caturthi-dvitiyāstau, tayoḥ; vānmāvau 1/1 = vām ca nau ca (itar.
du.), tāu/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18)
‘yuṣmad, asmad’ ity etayoḥ śaṣṭhi-caturthi-dvitiyāsthayor yathāsamkhyam ‘vām, nau’ ity etāv adeṣau bhavatasa tāu cānudāttau

A pada which contains yuṣmad and asmad, ends in the genitive (śaṣṭhi), dative (caturthi), or accusative (dvitiyā), and occurs after some other pada though not as initial of the quarter of a verse, is replaced, respectively, with the anudātta form of vām and nau.

Examples:

grāmo vām svam ‘this village is the property of you two’
janaṭpado nau svam ‘this principality is the property of us two’
grāmo vām diyate ‘this village is being given to you two’
janaṭpado nau diyate ‘this principality is given to us’
grāmo vām pasyati ‘this village looks to us’
janaṭpado nau pasyati ‘this principality looks to us’

1. This rule allows a total replacement in vām and nau for yuṣmad and asmad, respectively, when they end in dvitiyā ‘accusative’, caturthi ‘dative’, or
řaśṭha ‘genitive’, after a pada, though not at the beginning of a verse quarter. Additionally, these replacements are both marked with anudatta. Since other replacements are subsequently offered for singular and plural, these replacements apply only to duals (dvivacana).

Why was this rule not specified with ṛaśṭhīcaturthīdvītiyāsyu ‘when used in the genitive, dative or accusative’? That is, why did Pāṇini use this specification with stha, as in . . . dvītiyāsthayoh? The word stha ‘standing, staying’ is used here to indicate that endings must not be deleted or assumed. The endings thus must be heard (śrūyamāna). That is, these replacements are offered for deriving yuvām/āvām; yuvābhīyam/āvābhīyām and yuvayoh/āvayoh, the accusative, dative and genitive dual forms of yuṣmad/asmad. For example, we will get uvaśhīyām, etc., of grāme yuvābhīyāṃ kṛtam ‘done by you two in the village’, etc., when this replacement is not applied. We similarly do not get any replacement in yuṣmatprutaha ‘your son’, etc., where the nominal endings go through deletion.

8.1.21 बहुवचनस्य वस्तसी

bāhuvacanasya vasnasau  
/bāhuvacanasya 6/1 vas-nasau 1/2 (itar. dv.)/
(padasya #16 padat #17 anudattam sarvam apādādaunā #18 yuṣmadasmadoḥ  
ṛaśṭhīcaturthīdvītiyāsthayoh #20)

bāhuvacanāntayoh yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṛaśṭhīcaturthīdvītiyāsthayoh yathāsaṃ- 
khyaṃ vas nas ity etāv ādeaunā bhavataḥ

A pada which contains yuṣmad and asmad, ends in the genitive, dative or accusative plural, and occurs after some other pada though not at the beginning of a verse quarter, is replaced in full, respectively, with the anudatta form of vas and nas.

Examples:

grāmo vaḥ svam ‘this village is your (pl.) property’
grāmo naḥ svam ‘this village is our property’
grāmo vaḥ dīyate ‘this village is offered to you (plural)’
janaṇapado naḥ dīyate ‘this principality is offered to us’
grāmo vaḥ paśyati ‘this village looks at you (plural)’
janaṇapado vaḥ paśyati ‘this principality looks at you’

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding. It offers vas and nas as replacements for yuṣmad and asmad, respectively, when genitive and dative plural endings are in use. It is only applicable to the replacement of a pada ending in ṛaśṭha and caturthī. For, Pāṇini will be soon introducing separate replacements for a pada ending in the dvītiyā ‘accusative’ (Kāś: dvītiyānta- 
syādeśāntara-vidhānasāmarthyāt ṛaśṭhīcaturthhyor evāyaṃ yogah). Recall that vas and nas replace the accusative plural yuṣmān and asmān, respectively. They
are marked anudāṭta and follow replacement conditions similar to those of the preceding rules. Refer to derivational details of vaḥ under the appendix of 1.1.56 sthānīvad ādeśo . . . (II:397).

8.1.22 तेर्मयावेक्षचनन्य

temayāv ekavacanasya
/te-mayau 1/1 (itar. dv.), tau; ekavacanasya 6/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāṭtam sarvam apādādu #18 yuṣmadasmadoḥ sāṣṭhicaturthīdvitiyāsthayoḥ #20)
yuṣmadasmadorekavacanāntayoḥ sāṣṭhicaturthīsthayor yathāsāṃkhyaṃ ‘te, me’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

A pada which contains yuṣmad and asmad, ends in the genitive, or dative, singular, and occurs after some other pada, though not as initial of a quarter verse, is replaced in full, respectively, with the anudāṭta form of te and me.

Examples:

grāmas te svam ‘this village is your property’
grāmo me svam ‘this village is my property’
grāmas te diyate ‘this village is being offered to you’
grāmo me diyate ‘this village is being offered to me’

1. A pada, constituted by yuṣmad and asmad which ends in the sāṣṭhi, or caturthi, singular (ekavacana), and occurs after another pada, though not at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is replaced in toto with te and me, respectively. Additionally, these replacements are both marked with anudāṭta. A proposal for replacing the pada which ends in dvitiyā ‘accusative’ will be made subsequently. Thus, dvitiyā cannot be paraphrased with the wording of this rule. These replacements in te and me will be coming in place of tava and mama of the genitive, respectively. They will similarly come in place of tubhyam and mahyam of the dative (caturthi).

8.1.23 त्वाभी द्वितीयायायः

tvāmau dvitiyāyāḥ
/ tvāmau 1/1 = tvāś ca māś ca (itar. dv.); dvitiyāyāḥ 6/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāṭtam sarvam apādādu #18 yuṣmadasmadoḥ #20 ekavacanasya #22)
dvitiyāyā yad ekavacanaṁ tadantar yuṣmadasmadom yathāsāṃkhyaṃ ‘tvā, mā’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ.

A pada which occurs after another pada, though not at the beginning of a quarter verse, and constitutes yuṣmad and asmad ending in the accusative singular, is replaced in full, respectively, with an anudāṭta form of tvā and mā.
8.1.24 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda One

Examples:

grāmas tvā paśyati ‘the village looks up to you’
grāmo mā paśyati ‘the village looks up to me’

1. This rule offers a replacement in tvā and mā, both concurrently marked with anudātta, respectively, for yuṣmad and asmad when used in the accusative singular. All other conditions remain similar to the preceding rules. Thus, what could have been tvām and mām is offered as tvām and mām, respectively.

8.1.24 न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते

na cavāhāhaivyayukte
/naḥ cavāhāhaivyayukte 7/1 = caḥ ca vāḥ ca haḥ ca ahaḥ ca evaḥ ca =
cavāhāhaivyayukte tair yukte (trīyī tat. with internal itar. dv.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 yuṣmadasmadoḥ saṣṭhī-caturthīdvitiyāsthayaḥ #20)
‘ca, vā, ha, aha, eva’ ebhīr yuktaḥ yuṣmadasmadār vānāv ādaya na bhavantī
da which contains yuṣmad and asmad and ends in saṣṭhī, caturthī, or dvitiyā, is not fully replaced, respectively, with an anudātta form of vāṁ
and naḥ, etc., when the same occurs after a pada in construction with
cā ‘and’, vā ‘or’, ha ‘indeed’, aha ‘certainly’ and eva ‘only’.

Examples:

grāmas tava ca svam ‘this village is also your property’
grāmo mama ca svam ‘this village is also my property’
... yuvayōṣ ca svam ‘this village is also the property of you both’
... āvayōṣ ca svam ‘this village is also the property of us both’
grāmas tava vā svam ‘or the village is your property’
... mama vā svam ‘or the village is my property’
... yuvayōr vā svam ‘or the village is the property of you two’
... āvayōr vā svam ‘or the village is the property of us both’
grāmas tava ha svam ‘the village is indeed your property’
grāmo mama ha svam ‘the village is indeed my property’
... yuvayōr ha svam ‘the village is the property of you both’
... āvayōr ha svam ‘the village is the property of us both’
grāmas tavāha svam ‘the village is your...’
grāmo mamāha svam ‘the village is my...’
... āvayōr aha svam ‘the village is... us both’
grāmas tavaiwa svam ‘... your property alone’
grāmo mamaiwa svam ‘... my property alone’
... yuvayōr eva svam ‘of you two alone...’
... āvayōr eva svam ‘of us two alone...’
grāmas ca te svam nagaram ca me svam ‘the village is your property and
the city of mine’
1. This rule offers negation of all preceding replacements in the genitive, dative and accusative, whether singular, dual or plural, when *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ* are used in construction with *ca*, *vā*, *ha*, *aha* and *eva*. Thus, we will get regular forms such as *tava*, *mama*, *yuvasoh*, *āvasoh*, *tvam* and *mām*, etc.

Note that *ca*, *vā*, *ha*, *aha* and *eva* are used with the signification of *samuccaya* 'collection, aggregation', *vikalpa* 'option', *adbhuta* 'extraordinary, wow!', *kheda* 'exclamation of sadness' and *avadhāraṇa* 'determination', respectively.

Why is *yukte* '... in association' used in this rule? Why was *ṭṛiṣṭya* 'instrumental' alone not used? Commentators explain that this negation does not apply when *ca*, etc., do not denote their meanings by directly following *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ*. Thus, consider grāmaś *ca te svām nagaraś ca me svām* where, since *ca* does not follow *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ*, we get *te* and *me*. It is to indicate this that *yukte* is used here. Consider the negation of the next rule which, in the absence of *yukte*, applies, whether or not the sense of *paśya* (*paśyartha* 'sense of seeing') is expressed after *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ*.

8.1.25 पर्यायथांचानालोचने

*paśyarthaiś cānālocane*

/ *paśyarthaiḥ* 3/3 = *paśyo* rtho yeśaṁ (*bv.*), taiḥ; *ca* ṣ anālocane 7/1 = na ālocanaṁ (*naṇ. tat.*), tasmīn/

(*padasya #16 padāt #17 yusmaḍasmaḍoh #20 ekavacanasya #22 na #24*)

*paśyarthair anālocane vartamānair yukte yusmaḍasmaḍor vānāv ādayo na bhavanti*

A replacement in *vām* and *nau*, etc., does not come in place of a *pada* which contains *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ*, and ends in *sasthi*, *caturthi* and *dvitiyā*, also when used in construction with verbal roots having the signification of *paśya* 'perception', though with the exclusion of a perception gained by means of sight (*ālocana*).

**Examples:**

*grāmas tava svām samikṣyāgataḥ* 'understanding that this village is your property, I came here’

*grāmo mama svām samikṣyāgataḥ* 'understanding that this village is my property, I came here’

*grāmas tvāḥ samikṣyāgataḥ* 'understanding that this village is being given to you, I came here’

*grāmo mahāyaḥ diyaṃnāmaḥ samikṣyāgataḥ* 'with the understanding that the village is being given to me, he came’

*grāmas tvām samikṣyāgataḥ* 'knowing (about) you the entire village came’

*grāmo mām samikṣyāgataḥ* 'knowing (about) me the entire village came’

1. This rule also blocks replacements in *vām* and *nau*, etc., for *yusmaḍ* and *asmaḍ*, when they are used in construction with a verbal root whose action
denotes ‘seeing, perceiving’ (paśyārthaḥ), though not by sight (anālocane). The example derivates use samiksya ‘having properly perceived, understood’ to illustrate ‘seeing without sight’.

Why do we state the condition of anālocane ‘when not perceived by sight’? Consider grāmas tvā paśyati ‘the entire village looks at you’ and grāmo mā paśyati ‘the entire village looks at me’, where we do not get the negation of replacements. For, what is denoted here is ‘seeing with sight’.

Recall that since there is no use of yūkte, negation applies irrespective of whether the sense of paśya is denoted directly after yuṣmad and asmad. The example derivates illustrate both types.

8.1.26 सपूर्वायाः प्रथमायाः विभाषाः

sapūrvāyāḥ prathamāyāḥ vibhāṣā
dsaha = vidyamānam pūrvam yasyāḥ (bv.), tasyāḥ;
prathamāyāḥ 6/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
vidyamānapūrvāt prathamāntāt padād uttarayor yuṣmadasmadā vibhāṣā
vānān ādayo na bhavanti

Replacements in vām and nau, and the others like them, optionally do not come in place of a pada which consists of yuṣmad and asmad, ends in sasthi, caturthi or dvitīyā, and occurs in construction after a pada ending in prathama ‘nominative’, preceded by another pada.

Examples:

grāme kambalas te svam ‘a blanket is your property in the village’
grāme kambalas tava svam ‘ibidem’
grāme kambalo me svam ‘a blanket is my property in the village’
grāme kambalo mama svam ‘ibidem’
grāme kambalas te diyate ‘a blanket is given to you in the village’
grāme kambalas tubhyam diyate ‘ibidem’
grāme kambalo me diyate ‘a blanket is given to me in the village’
grāme kambalo mahyam diyate ‘ibidem’
grāme chāṭrās tvā paśyanti ‘students see you in the village’
grāme chāṭrās tvā paśyanti ‘ibidem’
grāme chāṭrā mā paśyanti ‘students see me in the village’
grāme chāṭrā mām paśyanti ‘ibidem’

1. The word saha ‘with’, in saha pūrvāyāḥ = sapūrvāyāḥ ‘that which has something preceding’, means vidyamāna ‘present, occurring’. Thus, sapūrvāyāḥ prathamāyāḥ gives the sense of ‘after a pada which ends in prathamā ‘nominative’ preceded by another pada’. This rule offers vām and nau, etc., as optional replacements for yuṣmad and asmad when these occur after a pada ending in the nominative, preceded by another pada. Consider grāme kambalas tava svam where tava, used preceded by kambalas in the nominative,
can be optionally replaced with te, so long as kambalaḥ occurs preceded by yet another pada, here grāme. That is, we can get: grāme kambalas te svam. Note that all these examples of yuṣmad and asmad are given here in the singular. Replacements in dual and plural can also be gotten if earlier specifications allow.

Why do we have the condition of sapūrvāyāḥ? Consider kambalas te svam and kambalo me svam where, in the absence of any other preceding pada, we get the replacements in consonance with rule 8.1.22 temayāv ekavacanasya. That is, this rule does not apply, and we get the genitive singular yuṣmad and asmad replaced with te and me, obligatorily. This same obligatory replacement is also witnessed in kambalo grāme te svam and kambalo grāme me svam where yuṣmad and asmad are used after a pada not ending in prathamā, though used preceded by another pada.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to restrict optional replacements only when yuṣmad and asmad are not used in anvādeśa ‘an appended (reinforcing) statement’ (vt. yuṣmadasmadar vibhāṣā ananvādeśa iti vaktavam). The nature of this restriction makes this optional type ‘fixed’ (vyavasthiita-vibhāṣā). Thus, we will get an obligatory (nitya) replacement, as against an optional (vibhāṣā) in atho grāme kambalas te svam, atho grāme kambalo me svam. Yet others desire that replacements such as vā and nau, etc., should be all made optional when yuṣmad and asmad are not used in anvādeśa (vt. sarva eva vānnāv ādayo’ nanvādeśe vibhāṣā vaktavāyāḥ). This vārttika proposal would apply, irrespective of whether a nominative is preceded by another pada. But what then will be the use of our present rule? This rule will find its scope only when anvādeśa is involved.

8.1.27 तिनो गोत्रादीन कुत्सनाभीक्षणयोः:

tiṇo gotrādīni kutsanābhikṣṇayoh
/tiṇaḥ 5/1 gotrādīni 1/3 kutsanābhikṣṇayoh 7/2/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18)
tiṇantāt padāt parāṇi gotrādīni kutsane ābhikṣṇye cārthe vartamānāni
anudātāni bhavanti

A pada which occurs after a pada denoted by tiṇ, and is formed with a nominal enumerated in the list headed by gotra used with the implication of kutsana ‘pejoration’ and ābhikṣṇya ‘repeated action’, is marked anudatta in its entirety.

Examples:

pacati gotram ‘he extolls the greatness of his lineage’
jalpati gotram ‘ibidem’
pacatipacati gotram ‘he repeats the name of his gotra, over and over again’
jalpatijalpati gotram 'ibidem'
pacati brygam 'speaks extolling . . .'
jalpati brygam 'ibidem'
pacatipacati brygam 'speaks repeatedly extolling . . .'
jalpatijalpati brygam 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows anudatta, in toto, to a pada which occurs after a pada ending in a tiN and is constituted by a nominal of the gotrādi group, provided its dentonation entails kutsana 'pejoration' and ābhikṣnya 'repeated action'.

Verbal root pac is used in example-derivates with the signification of khyāpana 'extolling, proclaiming'. The word bryva is derived with affix aC (3.1.134 nandigrahi . . .), introduced after brū 'to speak', with no replacement in vac for brū (2.4.53 bruvocaci). The iteration of pacati pacati, etc., is accomplished by 8.1.4 nityavāpsayoh, under the condition of ābhikṣnya 'repeated action'.

2. Note that this nighāta 'blanket anudatta' is made optional in case of nāma 'name'. In the absence of nighāta, we will get initial udātta. Thus, pacati nāma and pāthati nāmā.

8.1.28 तिनिन्तितितिः:

tiṅn atiṅah
/ tiṅ 1/1 atiṅah 5/1 = na tiṅ (naṅ. tat.), tasmāt/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudattām sarvam apādādau #18)
tiṅantaṁ padam atiṅantāt padāt param anudattām bhavati
A pada which ends in a tiṅ and occurs after a non-tiṅ is marked with anudatta in its entirety.

Examples:

devadattaṁ pacati
yajñadattaṁ pacati

1. Note that apādādau 'when not occurring at the beginning of a verse quarter' is also carried over. This rule, thus, allows a pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiṅ to be marked anudatta, in toto, when the same occurs after a pada not ending in a tiṅ. Consider pacati, of devadattaṁ pacati and yajñadattaṁ pacati which is marked anudatta, in toto (sarvānudatta), since it ends in a tiṅ and occurs after a pada not ending in a tiṅ. Refer to rule 3.1.4 anudattau suppitau for accentual details of pacati, especially for accentual details prior to the application of this rule.

Why do we state the condition of tiṅah? Consider nīlam uṭpālam 'blue lotus' and suklam vāstram 'white dress' where we do not get a tiṅ occurring after a non-tiṅ.
Why do we state the condition of atiṇaḥ? Consider bhavati pacati ‘the action of cooking at the current time by a single agent is taking place’. Note that tiP and ŚaP of pacati are marked with anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitaau). The a of pac is marked with udātta in consonance with root-accent (dhātu-svara). This causes the a of ŚaP to be marked with svarīta, in view of 8.4.65 udāttānudāttaysa svarītaḥ.

Since bhavati is a pada ending in a tiN, we do not get total anudātta in pacati. What is the use of atiṇaḥ, especially when a simple sentence contains only one pada ending in a tiN? This rule does not necessarily require the condition of a single sentence (samānavākya) for its application. The two words could be of two sentences. The Mahābhāṣya, however, can accept bhavati as the principal pada. It will then recognize pacati as a secondary pada, mostly because it here serves as a means (śādhanatvena).

8.1.29 न लुतः

na lut
/na ɐ lut 1/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28)
luṇantam tinantam nānudāttam bhavati

A pada which ends in a tiN-replacement of LUT, and occurs after a non-tiN pada, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety.

Examples:

śvah karttā ‘he will do tomorrow’
śvah karttārau ‘those two will do tomorrow’
māsena karttārāḥ ‘they will do in a month’

1. This rule starts making negative provisions against what may have been made available by earlier rules. For example, a pada which ends in a tiN-replacement of LUT ‘periphrastic future’ is not marked anudātta (Kāś: luṇantam . . . nānudāttam . . . ). Thus, śvah karttā ‘will do tomorrow’, etc. Refer to derivational details of karttā, etc., under rule 6.1.183 tāsānudātteṇtāda. . . . Note that affix tāsI of kartās, etc., is marked with udātta (3.1.3 ādy udātaś ca). Affixes Da, rau and ras (2.4.85 lutah prathamasya . . . ) which occur after tāsI are marked with anudātta (6.1.183 tāsānudātten . . . ). Recall that ti (1.1.64 aco ntyādi ti) of tāsI, i.e., ās, is deleted. The ā of tās is thus marked with udātta.

8.1.30 निपातातिर्भद्धतुकुवित्रिवेच्चणककिचिचत्रयुक्तम्

nipātair yadayadhitakuvinneececcan-kaccidyatrayuktam
/nipātaeh S/1 yad-yadi-hanta-kuvin-ned-ec-can-kaccic-yatra-yuktam = yac ca yadi ca hanta ca ned ca ec can ca kaccic ca yatra ca = yadyadya . . . yatrāḥ (ilar. dv.), tair yuktam (tr̥t. tat. with int. dv.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam
apādādau #18 tīn #28 na #29)
‘yat, yadi, hanta, kuvid, ned, cet, can, kaccit, yatra’ ity etair nipātair yuktam
tīnantam nānuḍāttam bhavati

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tīN, and occurs in construc-
tion with particles yatra ‘the place where’, yadi ‘if’, hanta ‘oh, well’,
kuvid ‘perhaps’, ned ‘not indeed’, cet ‘if’, can ‘if’, kaccit ‘I hope that’
and yatra ‘the place where’, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

yat karoṭi, yat pacaṭi
yadi karoṭi, yadi pacaṭi
hanta karoṭi, hanta pacaṭi
kuviṭ karoṭi, kuviṭ pacaṭi
nej jihmāyanto narakam patāma
sa ced bhunkte, sa ced adhīte
ayam ca maṛśyati
kaccid bhunkte, kaccid adhīte
yatra bhunkte yatādhīte
pṛtrāso yatra pitaṛo bhavānti

1. This accentual negation of a pada which ends in a tīN and is used in
construction with a nipāta ‘particle’ goes against the positive provision of
our preceding rule. Consider (kṛ→kar) + u + tīP→karoti, where tīP is marked
with anudātta by 6.1.155 anudāttam padam... This leaves u, a vikarana ‘conjugational
sign’, to be marked with udātta (vt: sati śiṣṭasvāra...; ad 6.1.155
anudāttam...). Consequently, tī is turned into a svarita (8.4.65 udāttā
anudāttasya svaritah). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of other
examples.

8.1.31 नछ प्रत्यारम्भे

naha pratyārambhe
/naha p pratyārambhe 7/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18 tīn #28 na #29)
‘naha’ ity etena yukt pratyārambhe tīnantam nānuḍāttam bhavati

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tīN, and occurs in construc-
tion with naha, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety when
pratyārambha ‘countering repeated denial’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

naha bhṛksyase ‘so (let’s see) how you would not eat!’
nahāḍhyasyase ‘so (let’s see) how you would not study!’
1. Kāśikā explains pratyārāmbha as ‘a statement of desire rebuking
(upālambha) someone for not doing something advised (avadhīrayitāram
upālabādhun yā icchā). Notice that naha ‘not indeed’, a combined specification
with na ‘not’ and ha ‘indeed’, denotes negation in construction with repeated
denial of an action denoted by the verbal root. Incidentally, bhoksyase and
adhisyASE are second dual middle forms of bhuj ‘to consume’ and iN ‘to
study’ in LR ‘future’, where thās (3.4.78 tiptasjhisip . . . ) gets replaced with
se (3.4.80 thāsā se). For reason that sya of bhoksyase and adhyesyase is cited
with aT in upadeśa, se is marked with anudātta (6.1.183 tasyānudāttet . . . ).
Affix sya, itself, is marked with udātta on account of affixal accent (pratya-
svara; 3.1.3 ādyudāttaś ca). This subsequently causes se to be marked with
svarita (8.4.65 udātānudāttasya svaritaḥ).

Why do we have the condition of pratyārāmbha? Consider naha vai tasmis
cA loke daksīṇāmiścchanti ‘not indeed in that place people expect to get a sac-
Rificial fee’.

8.1.32 सत्यम् प्रश्ने

satyam praśne
/satyam 1/1 praśne 7/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29)
’satyam’ ity anena yuktam tiṇantam nānudāttam bhavati praśne
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiṅ, and occurs in construction
with satyam ‘truly’, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety when a
question is signified.

Examples:

satyam bhoksyase ‘so you will surely eat?’
satyam adhyesyase ‘so you will surely study?’

1. This rule denies anudātta to a verbal pada ending in a tiṅ when satyam
is used in construction and a question is being asked. Why do we state the
condition of praśne ‘when a question is asked’? Consider satyam vakṣyāmi
nāṇṭam ‘I speak truth and no untruth’.

8.1.33 अत्तिलोच्ये

aṅgāprātilome
/ aṅga φ aprātilome 7/1 = na prātilome (naṅ. tat.), tasmin/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29)
’aṅga’ ity anena yuktam tiṇantam aprātilome gamyamāne nānudāttam
bhavati
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiṅ and occurs in construction
with aṅga ‘true’ is not marked with anudātta in its entirety, when absence
of non-amiability (aprātilomya) is signified.
EXAMPLES:

aṅga kuru ‘indeed, you do’
aṅga pacā ‘indeed, you cook’
aṅga paṭhā ‘indeed, you recite’

1. The word prātiloma is explained as anabhimata-kāritvam ‘doing something not desired’. Why do we state the condition of aprātiloma? Consider aṅga kūja vṛṣala! idānīṁ jñāṣyasi jālma!! ‘hey you lowly untouchable, go on cry, soon you will find out, rascal’.

8.1.34 हि च

hi ca
/hi ca φ/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādu #18 tiṁ #28 na #29 aprātiloma #33)

‘hi’ ity anena yuktam tiṇantam aprātiloma nānudāttam bhavati

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiṅ, and occurs in construction with hi ‘surely, indeed’, is also not marked with anudātta in its entirety, when absence of non-amiability (aprātiloma) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

sa hi kuru ‘indeed, now you go ahead and do’
sa hi pacā ‘indeed, now you go ahead and cook’
sa hi paṭhā ‘indeed, now you go ahead and recite’

1. The condition of aprātiloma still applies. Consider sa hi kūja vṛṣala! idānīṁ jñāṣyasi jālma!! ‘talk all you want O Vṛṣala, soon you will find out . . .’.

8.1.35 छन्दस्यनेत्रपनां साकांक्षम्

chandasya anekam api sākānksam
/chandasi 7/1 anekam 1/1 = na ekam (naṅ. tat.); api φ sākānksam 1/1 = saha ākāṅksayā varīte (bv.)/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādu #18 tiṁ #28 na #29 hi #34)

chandasi viṣaye hi-yuktam tiṇantam sākānksam anekam api nānudāttam bhavati

One or more padas which end in a tiṅ with some shared dependency relationship are also not marked with anudātta, in the Vedic, when they occur in construction with hi ‘surely, indeed’.

EXAMPLES:

āṅrītam hi matto vadāti, pāpmā enam vijunāti ‘a person who gets intoxicated speaks untruth, the sin, incurred through intoxication, makes him pure’
agnir hy agre udayayat, tam indro’ nudajayat ‘Agni indeed won first then Indra defeated him’
ajā hyagner ajāniṣṭa garbhāt sā vā āpaśyat janitārām agre ‘Ajā indeed was born from Agni, then (she) experienced the one who brought her about’

1. This rule assigns anudāṭṭa to more than one verbal pada, provided there is shared mutual dependency and hi is used in construction. This anudāṭṭa may, sometime, also apply to a single pada. Consider anṛtam hi matto vaddati pāṃmā enam vipunātī. The two padas which here end in a tīṇi are both related to each other by means of hi. Their mutual dependency relationship can be described as that of a hetu ‘cause’ and hetumat ‘effect’. Because the person is intoxicated, his intoxication is associated with impurity incurred as a result of speaking untruth. This same state of intoxication causes a thorough purification via repentance for accrued sins (Nyāsa: yasmād anṛtam matto vaddati tasmā pāṃmā enam vipunātī). These padas both do not get marked with anudāṭṭa. Incidentally, vaddati, like pacati, is marked with udāṭṭa at the beginning. The nā of vipunātī is marked udāṭṭa by affixal accent (pratyaya-svara). The anudāṭṭa of vi, a preverb, is gotten in consonance with 8.1.71 tīṇi codāttavati. . . . Our last example will also have its ajāniṣṭa denied blanket anudāṭṭa, eventhough, ajāniṣṭa and apāśyat both share a mutual dependency relationship on account of hi. Incidentally, apāśyat entails a replacement of drīṣ with paśya (7.3.78 pāghṛādhmā . . .). Deriving ajāniṣṭa from jan + lun, with sīc and iṭ, etc., should present no difficulty.

Now consider agnir hi agre udayayat tam indro’ nudajayat where both the padas are in construction with hi but only one, i.e., udayayat, receives the negation of anudāṭṭa. This is as a result of the use of api in the wording of this rule. The second, i.e., anūdajayat, gets blanket anudāṭṭa (nighāta) of 8.1.28 tīṇi attiṇah. Incidentally, ud-ajayat is a third singular active derivate of lun and is marked with udāṭṭa at the beginning. For, aṭṭ is marked udāṭṭa by 6.4.71 luṇḍaṇḍri. . . . The remaining vowels then become all anudāṭṭa.

8.1.36 यावद्यथाभव्याम्

yāvad yathābhāyaṁ
/yāvadyathābhāyaṁ 3/2 = yāvac ca yathā ca (itar. dv.), tābhāyaṁ/
(padasya #16 pada#17 anudāṭṭam sarvam apādāda#18 tīṇ#28 na#29)
‘yāvat, yathā’ ity etābhāyaṁ yuktam tīṇantam nānudāṭṭam bhavati
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tīṇi, and is used in construction with yāvat ‘as long as’ and yathā ‘as’, is not marked with anudāṭṭa in its entirety.

Examples:

yāvad bhūṇkte ‘as long as he eats . . .’
8.1.37 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda One

yathā bhūṅkte ‘the manner in which he eats . . .’
devadattāḥ pacāti yāvat ‘as long as Devadatta cooks . . .’
devadattāḥ pacāti yathā ‘the manner in which Devadatta cooks . . .’

1. This rule is not needed since 8.1.66 yadvṛttaṁ nityam can deny blanket anudāṭṭā, obligatorily. It is stated that 8.1.66 specifies its obligatory nighāta with pañcamī ‘ablative’. This, in view of 1.1.67 tasmā ity uttarasya, will offer nighāta only when a pada ending in a tiN is followed by yāvat and yathā. That is, devadattāḥ pacāti yathā and devadattāḥ pacāti yāvat cannot avail this negation in view of 8.1.66 yadvṛttaṁ nityam. This rule is formulated to facilitate negation, also when yathā and yāvat follow a pada ending in a tiN (Kāś. parenāpi yoge bhavati pratisedhaḥ). Hence, this rule makes a specification with trīyā.

8.1.37 पूजयां नानन्तरम्

PUJAYAM NAANANTHAM

pūjāyām nāna nantaram

/pūjāyām 7/1 na φ anantar a 1/1 = na antaram vidyate’ sya tad (bv.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudattam sarvam apāddhau #18 tin #28 na #29
yāvad yathābhyaṁ #36)
’yāvat, yathā’ ity etābhyaṁ yuktam anantar aṁ tinānt aṁ pūjāyāṁ viśaye
nānādattaṁ bhavati

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiN, and is used in construction contiguously after yāvat and yathā, is also not marked with non-anudattā in its entirety, provided pūjā ‘praise’ is denoted.

Examples:

yāvat pacāti śobhanam ‘he cooks great as long as he does’
yathā pacāti śobhanam ‘he cooks great the way he does’
yāvat karoṭi cāru ‘he does great as long as he does’
yathā karoṭi cāru ‘he does great the way he does’

1. Note that na ‘not’ carries from rule 8.1.29 na lut. This, when read with anudattā, will give us the meaning of na anudattam = ananudattam ‘non-
anudattā’. The negative na of this rule will then negate na ananudattam =
anudattam ‘no non-anudattā = anudattā’. This is how we get the provision of
anudattā in this rule. Thus, a form which ends in a tiN and immediately follows yathā and yāvat is not marked with anudattā when the context is pūjā
‘praise’.

2. Note that the locative of pūjāyām is interpreted as viśaya-saptamī ‘locative
of domain’. Thus, we will not get this negation where the context is not ‘praise’. Consider yāvad bhūṅkte ‘as long as he eats . . .’ and yathā bhūṅkte
‘the manner in which he eats . . .’ where this rule does not apply since ‘praise’
is not the context. Consider yāvad devadattāḥ pacāti śobhanam and yathā
devadattāḥ pacāti śobhanam where yāvat and yathā are not used immediately
before pacāti. This serves as a counter-example to the condition of anantar aṁ.
Our earlier rule negates the nighāta ‘blanket anudāta’ of these counter-examples, instead (Kāś: pūrvenaṁ niḥgataṁ pratisidhyate).

8.1.38 उपसर्गव्यपेतं च

upasargavyapetam ca
/upasargavyapetam 1/1 = upasargena vyapetam (trt. tat.); ca ꞌ
(padasya #16 padā#17 anudātam sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29
yāvadyathābhīyām #36 pūjāyām nānantaram #37)
yāvadyathābhīyām yuktam upasargavyapetam ca pūjāyām viṣaye nānudātam
bhavati

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiN, and is used in construction preceded by yāvat and yathā, though intervened with a preverb, is also not marked with non-anudāta in its entirety, provided pūjā ‘praise’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāvat prapacatī śobhanam ‘he cooks beautifully as long as he does’
yathā prapacatī śobhanam ‘it is beautiful the way he cooks’
yāvat prakaraṇī cāru ‘it is beautiful as long as he does’
yathā prakaraṇī cāru ‘it is beautiful as he does’

1. This rule allows negation of non-anudāta also when yāvat and yathā precede a pada ending in a tiN, with the intervention of a preverb (upasargavyapetam). Of course, the context of pūjā is still valid. Recall that the earlier rule requires a verbal pada to immediately follow yāvat and yathā. This rule can tolerate the intervention of a preverb. Incidentally, the words śobhana ‘beautiful’ and cāru ‘ibidem’ here denote pūjā ‘praise’.

2. Note that ca is here used for attracting pūjāyām and anantaram, both. The word upasarga ‘preverb’ is used to cancel possible intervention of something other than a preverb.

8.1.39 तुपश्यपश्यताहि: पूजायाम्

tupasyapaśyatabhaiḥ pūjāyām
/tu-paśya-paśyata-ahaiḥ 3/1 (itar. dv.), tahiḥ; pūjāyām 7/1/
(padasya #16 padā#17 anudātam sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29)
‘tu, paśya, paśyata, aha’ ity etair yuktam tiṇantam nānudātam bhavati
pūjāyām viṣaye

A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiN, and is used in construction with tu ‘but, indeed’, paśya ‘see’, paśyata ‘ibidem’ and aha ‘surely’, is not marked with anudāta in its entirety when pūjā ‘praise’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

mānavakas tu bhunekte śobhanam ‘this kid, indeed, eats beautifully’
8.1.41 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda One

paśya maṇavako bhūṅkte 'look how beautifully the kid eats'
paśyata maṇavako bhūṅkte 'ibidem'
aha maṇavako bhūṅkte śobhanam 'wow, the kid eats beautifully'

1. This rule negates anudātta of a pada which ends in a tin and occurs in construction with tu, paśya, paśyata and aha. This negation applies to the positive provision of anudātta made by 8.1.28 tin atiṇaḥ. Look for derivational details of bhūṅkte under 8.1.30 nipātair yadi. . .

2. Why do we have to state pūjāyām here when the same could be carried from 8.1.37 pūjāyām nānantaram. Recall that pūjāyām of that rule is associated with the negation of blanket anudātta (Nyāsa ad Kāś: tadd hi pūjāgraṇaḥ nighātapratisedhasya pratiṣedhena sambaddham). If that is carried here, the negation of nighāta must also be carried. It is to block the negation of anudātta that pūjāyām is used here again. That is, we will get the negation of anudātta here.

8.1.40 अहो च

aha ca
/ aho ϕ ca ϕ/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29 pūjāyām #39)
‘aha’ ity anena yuktam tīnantam nānudāttaṁ bhavati pūjāyām visaye
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tin, and is used in construction with aho ‘wow, ah’, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety, provided when pūjā ‘praise’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aha devadattaḥ pācāti śobhanam ‘wow, Devadatta cooks beautifully’
aha viśṇumitraḥ karoti cāru ‘wow! Viśṇumitra is making (it) beautifully’

1. The ca ‘and’ is used here to attract pūjāyām. Refer to derivational details under 8.1.30 nipātair. . .

How come aho ca is formulated as a separate rule? Why was aho not included within the wording of the preceding rule? A separate rule with aho is formulated so that aho alone can be carried to subsequent rule(s) (Kāś: pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham).

8.1.41 रोषे विभाषा

śese vibhāṣā
/ śese 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29 aho #40)
‘aha’ ity anena yuktam tīnantam śese nānudāttaṁ bhavati
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṅ*, and is used in construction with *aho* ‘ah, wow!’ , is, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when something other than praise (*pūjā*) is denoted.

**Examples:**

*katam aho kariṣyasi* ‘so, you will make a mat’
*mama geham ēyasi* ‘so, you will come to my house’

1. The negative provision of *anudātta* which was made by the preceding rule is here made optional in case of contexts outside *pūjā* ‘praise’. If this optional negation is not accepted, we will have *anudātta* (8.1.28 *tiṅ iliṅaḥ*). Consider *kariṣyasi* where, in view of optional negation of *anudātta*, *sya* is marked with *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ady udāttaś ca*). The *si*, of course, was marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). It was then subsequently marked with *svārita* (8.4.66 *udāttaṇudāttaśya svāritaḥ*).

### 8.1.42 पुरा च परीपायाम्

*pūra ca parīpsāyām*  
/ *pūrā ca parīpsāyām 7/1/*

(*padasya #16 *padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 *tiṅ #28 na #29 vibhāṣā #41*)  
‘*pūrā* ity anena yuktāṃ tiṇantiṃ parīpsāyāṃ arthe vibhāṣā nānudāttaṃ bhavati

A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṅ*, and is used in construction with *pūra* ‘prior to, previously’, is also, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when *parīpsā* ‘haste’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

*adhīśya māṇavaka pūra vidyotate vidyut* ‘study child, (before) lightning starts’

. . . *pūrā stanayati stanayitnuḥ* . . . (before) thunder starts’

1. Note that the *dharmaśāstras* ‘code of laws’ strictly forbid studying during thunder and lightning. This is because they are considered obstacles (*antarāya*) in learning (*PM ad Kāś: vidyotanādāv adhyayanaṃ pratiṣṭiddham, atas tadupanyāśena tvaritam adhiśveti gamyate ity arthah*). Consequently, there is an urgency to complete studying before thunder and lightning starts. The word *pūrā*, a *nipāta*, here denotes proximity to some future action (*Kāś: pūrāśabdo* tra bhavisyād āsattimat dyotayati).

The present (*LA7*) of *vidyotate*, etc., is used in the sense of future (3.3.4 *yāvatpurāṇipātayor lat*). The *te* of *vidyotate* is marked with *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tāṣyanudātteneśa*. . . Thus, *dyotate* is initially marked *udātta* in view of root-accent (*dhātusvara*). The *vi* is *anudātta* by 8.1.71 *tiṅi vodātavatī*. Verbal root *stani* is a derivate of *NiC* introduced after *stani*. It is marked with *udātta*.
at the end (antodātta) in view of 6.1.159 dhātoḥ. The i of stani goes through guna and a replacement in ay. The a of na of stani + LAT → stan(i→e→ay) + ŚaP + tiP= stanayati remains udātta.

If optional udātta is accepted, vi of vidyotate will be marked with udātta, based on affixal accent.

2. Why do we state the condition of paripsā ‘haste’? Consider nadena sma purādhiyate ‘previously, they used to study by means of (the glow of) reeds’ where purā denotes a long past time. This same applies to ūrṇayā sva purādhiyate ‘used to study by means of (the glow of) a ball of wool’.

8.1.43 नन्वित्यनुसूचनायामः

nanu ity anujñāsāayām
/nanu φ iti φ anujñāsāayām 7/1 = anujñāyā eṣanā (śaṣ. tat.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29 vibhāṣa #41)
\‘purā\’ ity anena yuktam tiṇantaṃ nānudattam bhavati anujñāsāayām viṣaye
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tiṇ, and is used in construction with nanu ‘certainly, indeed’, is optionally not marked with anudatta in its entirety, when anujñāsanā ‘seeking permission conducive to doing (something)’ is denoted.

Examples:

nanu karomi bhoḥ ‘may I do it, sir?’
nanu gacchāmi bhoḥ ‘may I go, sir?’

1. The word anujñāsanā is explained by Haradatta (PM ad Kāśi) as: kīmicit kartum svayam evodyatasyai vat kriyatām ity evam rūpo bhuyapagamaḥ = anujñā ‘approaching someone by saying, ‘this is how you do it’, to someone willing to do something’. Affix LAT of karomi is introduced by 3.2.123 vartamāne lat. The LAT of nanu karomi bhoḥ ‘here, I do it sir’ could be introduced by 3.2.120 nanau prṣaprativacane. This can serve as a counter-example since the sentence denotes prṣa-prativacane ‘response to a question’, akāṛṣi kātam devadatta ‘did you make the mat Devadatta?’

8.1.44 किं क्रियाप्राप्तेऽनुसारगम्प्रतिष्ठितम्

kim kriyāpraśne nupasargam apratisiddham
/kim 1/1 kriyāpraśne 7/1 = kriyāyāḥ praṇāḥ (śaṣ. tat.), tasmin;
anupasargam 1/1 = na vidyate upasargo sya (bu.), tat; apratisiddham 1/1 = pratisedhah pratisiddham; na pratisiddham asyety (bu.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29):
\‘kim\’ etat kriyāpraśne yadda vartate tadānena yuktam tiṇantaṃ anupasargam apratisiddham nānudattam bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN* and occurs in construction with *kim* ‘what, which’ with the signification of *kriyāpraśna* ‘questioning an action’, is not marked with *anudātta* when action denoted by the root is not negated and there is no preverb used.

**Examples:**

kim devadattah pacati āhosvid bhuṅkte ‘Devadatta is cooking or eating?’
kim devadattah śete āhosvid adhīte ‘Devadatta is sleeping or studying?’

1. Refer to derivational details of śete under 6.1.183 tāsyānudāttanit. . .

An objection is raised against denying *anudātta* to *bhuṅkte* and *adhīte* of our example derivates. It is argued that they are not used in construction with *kim*. Hence, this rule should only apply to *pacati* and śete. But such an objection does not make sense because it is not the proximity of usage with *kim* which is crucial. It is the expression of doubt, instead. An interrogative *kim* also relates, via doubt (*saṃśaya*), to *bhuṅkte* and *adhīte*.

2. Why do we have to state the condition of *kriyā* in *kriyāpraśne*? This rule will not apply when a means (śādhana) is questioned. Thus, *kim devadatta odanam pacati āhosvic chākam* ‘is Devadatta cooking rice or vegetable?’

Why do we state the condition of *praśne* ‘when a question?’ Consider *kim adhīte devadattah* ‘Devadatta studies, what?’ The word *kim* is here used to rebuke (*ksepe*) Devadatta.

Why do we state the condition of *anupasargāt* ‘when not occurring after a preverb’. Consider *kim devadattah prapačati āhosvit prakaroti* where the roots are both used with the preverb *pra*.

Why do we state the condition of *apratisiddham* ‘when not negated’? Consider *kim devadatto na pathāti āhosvin na karoti* ‘Devadatta does not read, or does not do’.

**8.1.45 लोपे विभाषा**

lope vibhāsā
/lope 7/1 vibhāsā 1/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29
kim kriyāpraśne’ nupasargam apratisiddham #44)
kimo lope kriyāpraśne tinantam anupasargam apratisiddham vibhāsā nānu-
dāttaṁ bhavati

A *pada* which ends in a *tiN* and occurs in construction with *kim* ‘what, which’ with the signification of *kriyāpraśna* ‘questioning an action’, even when deleted, is optionally marked with *anudātta* when action denoted by the root is not negated and there is no preverb used.

**Examples:**

devadattah pacāti āhosvit pathāti ‘Devadatta is cooking or studying?’
devadattah pacati āhosvit pathāti ‘ibidem’
1. This rule allows anudāṭṭa, only optionally, when a pada ending in a tiN is used in construction with kim, and kim has gone through deletion. All other conditions remain the same. A deletion of kim simply implies a context where kim is not used but its meaning is understood (Nyāsa ad Kāś: aprayujyamānasyāpi tasyārtho gamyate). Incidentally, pacati and paṭhati do not differ in accent.

8.1.46 एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लुढ़

**ehimanye prahāse lṛṭ**

/ehimanye 1/1 (deleted) = ehi ś ca manye ca (itar. dv.); prahāse 7/1 lṛṭ 1/1 /

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāṭṭam sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29)

‘ehimanye’ ity anena uktam lṛḍántaṁ nānuḍāṭṭam bhavati prahāse

A pada which ends in a tiN-replacement of LRT, and is used in construction with ehi and manye, is not marked with anudāṭṭa when prahāsa ‘derision, chiding, joke’ is signified.

**Examples:**

*ehi manye odanāṁ bhokṣyase, na hi bhokṣyase, bhuktah so’ thibhīḥ ‘come, (you) think that you will eat rice, that you will indeed not, that has already been eaten by the guests’

*ehi manye rathena yāṣyasi, na hi yāṣyasi, yātas tena te pitā ‘come, (you) think that you will go by the chariot, that you will indeed not, your father has already gone with it’

1. Note that these examples involve transposition (vyātyaya) of subjects (puruṣa) in the context of derision or joke (prahāsa; cf. 1.4.106 prahāse ca manyopapade). Thus, the second personal ending in bhokṣyase is used under the condition of a conjoined first personal subject (asmad). The first personal ending in manyeis similarly accomplished under the condition of a conjoined second personal subject (yuṣmād; Nyāsa ad Kāś: ‘prahāse ca manyopapade’ iti puruṣa-vyātyayaḥ; ‘bhujer asmady upapade madhyamah, manyater yuṣmady upapade uttamaḥ’). This transposition of subjects is not found in contexts outside derision. Consider ehi manyase odanam bhokse ‘come, you think you will eat rice’, a counter-example to the condition of prahāse.

Refer to accentual details of bhokṣyase under rule 8.1.31 naha prayārāmbhe. The siP of yāṣyasi will be marked with anudāṭta, based on its P as an it (pit; 3.1.4 anudāṭtau suppitaun). Its sya will be marked with udāṭta on account of affixal accent (pratyayavara; 3.1.3 ādy udāṭtaś ca). This will make si marked with a svarita.

2. Note that 8.1.51 gatyarthaloṭā... allows a derivate of LRT to retain its accent when used in construction with the imperative (LOT) of a verb of motion (gatyartha). Verbal root iN, here used in imperative ehi with the
preverb āN, denotes such action. Why do we need this rule when 8.1.51 gatyarthaloṭā . . . could account for what this rule offers. Commentators state that this accentual provision for a derivate of LRT is restrictive (niyama) in nature. That is, it applies only when prahāsa ‘derision’ is denoted.

8.1.47 जात्यपूर्वम्

jātu apūrvam
/jātu φ apūrvam 1/1 = avidyamānaṃ pūrvam yasmāt (bv.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29)
‘jātu’ īty etad avidyamānapūrvam tena yuktam tiṇantam nānudāṭtam bhavati
A pada which ends in an affix denoted by tin and is used in construction with jātu ‘definitely’, not preceded by any other pada, is not marked with anudāṭta.

Examples:

jātu karisyāmi ‘surely, I will do it’

1. Why do we state the condition of apūrvam ‘that which is used with no preceding pada’? Consider kaṭam jātu karisyāti ‘he will definitely make a mat’, where anudāṭta cannot be denied. For, jātu is preceded by kaṭam.

8.1.48 किंवृत्तं च चिदुत्तरम्

kimvṛttam ca ciduttaram
/kimvṛttam 1/1 = kimo vṛttam (saś. tat. via nipātana); ca φ ciduttaram 1/1 = cid uttaram yasmāt (bv.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18 tin #28 na #29 apūrvam #47)
. . . tat kimvṛttam ciduttaram avidyamānapūrvam yat tena yuktam nānudāṭtam bhavati
A pada which ends in a tin and is used in construction with kimvṛttapada ‘who, what, which’, preceded by nothing but followed by cid, is also not marked with anudāṭta.

Examples:

kaścid bhujayāti ‘someone feeds’
kaścid adhīte ‘someone studies’
kencit karoṭi ‘makes with something’
kasmāciṣcid dadāti ‘gives to someone’
kataraścit karoṭi ‘who among these two is doing’
katamaścid bhunkte ‘who among these many is eating’

1. The word kimvṛtta has been explained as kimah vṛttram ‘where there is kim’. It thus refers to forms of kim with all nominal endings and affixes Datara/
Datama, as well. Affix *Kia* of *kimvṛttta* denotes locus (*adhikarana*). Refer to derivational details of *bhunjkte*, etc., under 8.1.30 *nipātair* . . . Note that *bhujayati* has *bhujī* 'to have someone consume', a causal derivate of *NiC*, as its root. Its *is* thus marked with *udātta* in view of root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The *a* of *ja*, subsequent to *guna* and *ay* of *i→e*, becomes *udātta*. The initial *udātta* of *dadāti* is accomplished in consonance with 6.1.187 *anudātte ca*.

8.1.49 आहो उताहो चानन्तराम्

"āho utāho cānantaram
/ āho ṣ utāho ṣ ca ṣ anantaram 1/1 = na vidyate ntarām yasya (bv.) /
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apāḍādau #18 tiṁ #28 na #29 apūrvam #47)
‘āho, utāho’ ity etābhyaṁ āpyābhyaṁ yuktam anantaram tiṇantam nānu-dāttam bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*, and is used in construction immediately after āho ‘is this so?’ and utāho ‘is that so?’, is not marked with *anudātta*.

**Examples:**

āho bhunjkte ‘is he eating?’
utāho bhunjkte ‘ibidem’
āho paṭhāti ‘is he studying?’
utāho paṭhāti ‘ibidem’

1. But not when the sentence is āho devadatto bhunjkte, where *bhunjkte* is not used immediately after āho. See the next rule. The condition of *apūrvam* ‘not used after any other *pada*’ is still valid. Thus, consider devadatta āho bhunjkte where āho is used preceded by devadattah.

8.1.50 शेषे विभाषा

śese vibhāṣā
/śese 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apāḍādau #18 tiṁ #28 na #29)
‘āho, utāho’ ity etābhyaṁ āpyābhyaṁ yuktam tiṇantam nānu-dāttam śese vibhāṣā bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*, and is used in construction after āho and utāho in remaining (non-contiguous) contexts, is optionally not marked with *anudātta*.

**Examples:**

āho devadattah pacāti ‘is Devadatta cooking?’
utāho devadattah pacāti ‘ibidem’
āho devadattaḥ pāṭhāti 'is Devadatta studying?'
uttāho devadattaḥ pāṭhāti 'ibidem'

1. This is a residual (śesā) provision of the preceding rule. The word śesā 'remainder' refers to contexts other than those which have already been specified by earlier rules. It refers to a context where a verbal pada ends in a tiN and occurs in construction after āho and uttāho non-contiguously. This verbal pada, in accord with provisions of this rule, is optionally not marked with anudāta.

8.1.51 gatyarthaloṭa lṛṇa na cet kārakaṃ sarvānyat
/gatyarthaloṭa 3/1 = gatir artho yesaṃ te = gatyarthāḥ (bv.); gatyarthānāṃ
lot = gatyarthaloṭ (saṣ. tat.), tena; lṛṇ 1/1 na ṣeḥ kārakaṃ 1/1 sarvānyat
1/1 = sarvaṇ ca-tad anyac ca (karmadhāraya tatpurusa)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apārādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29)
gaminā samānārtha gatyarthāḥ, gatyarthānāṃ lot gatyarthaloṭ; gatyarthaloṭa
yuktam iyāntam tīṇantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati, na cet kārakaṃ sarvam
anyadbhavati

A pada which ends in a tiN-replacement of LRT and is used in construction with a tiN-replacement of LOT introduced after a verbal root having the signification of gati 'movement', is not marked with anudāta, provided participant relations, as expressed, are not at all different.

Examples:

āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ draksyasy ēnam 'come to the village Devadatta, you will see it (the village)'
āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ odanam bhokṣyasē 'come to the village Devadatta, you will eat rice'
uhyaṃ evadattaṃ sālayay, tenaiva bhokṣyantē 'let grains of śali rice be brought by Devadatta, their rice-meal will be eaten by him'
uhyaṃ evadattaṃ sālayay yajñadattaṃ bhokṣyantē 'let grains of śali rice be brought by Devadatta, their meal will be eaten by Yajñadatta'  

1. This rule negates the anudāta of a verbal form which ends in a replacement of LRT, when this same is used in construction with a form ending in LOT and the 'agent and object' of actions denoted by roots of both verbal forms are not different at all. That is, when the agent or object denoted by derivatives of LRT and LOT are both expressed as the same. The word kāraka refers here to kārty and kārman only. For, these are the only two kārakas which can be denoted by a form ending in a tiN (3.4.69 laḥ karaṇaṇi . . .). Other kārakas, i.e., karana 'instrument', etc., cannot be included here (Kāś: kārtkaraṇi evātra tīṇantavācyē kārakagrahaṇena gṛhyate na karaṇādi kārakān-
taram) within the reference of kārakam. It is for this reason that agents of āgaccha ‘come’, draksyasi ‘will see’ and bhoksyase ‘will eat’ are similar in sentences one and two both. Our next two example sentences denote the same object (karman), śālayāḥ ‘rice’, in uhyantām and bhoksyante. This is what the phrase na cet, read with the karmadhāraya compound sarvānyat = sarvam ca tad anyac ca ‘that which is all and is also different’ means. Jīnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśika) explains that a kāraka denoted by the form ending in LOT, and one denoted by the sense of the form ending in LRT, alone, is considered here for similarity. The similarity of any other kāraka denoted by any other word is not considered (anena lodantavācyam īṛdantavācyārtham yat kārakam tasyavānanyatvam āśritam, na sābdantavācyasyai eti . . .).

Why do we have the condition of gatyaṃtha ‘that which has the signification of motion (gati)’? Consider paca devadattaudanam bhoksyase enam ‘cook rice Devadatta, you will eat this rice-meal’, where pac does not denote an action signifying motion (gati). Why do we have the condition of lotā ‘used in construction with LOT’? Consider āgaccher devadatta grāmam draksyasi enam, where the action in āgaccheḥ signifies gati but is used in LIN, and no LRT. Why do we have the condition of LRT? Consider āgaccha devadatta grāmam pāsyasi enam, where āgaccha denotes an action involving motion, but is not used in construction with a LRT. For, pāsyasi is a form of LAT.

Why do we have the condition of na cet kārakam sarvānyat? Consider āgaccha devadatta grāmam pitā te odanam bhoksyate ‘come to the village Devadatta, your father will eat rice’, where agents of āgaccha and bhoksyate are not the same. Also consider uhyantām devadattaśa śālayāḥ saktavaḥ tena pāsyante ‘let grains of sāli rice be brought by Devadatta, saktu will be drunk by him’, where the objects expressed by uhyantām and pāsyante are not the same.

Why the condition of sarva ‘all’? Consider āgaccha grāmam devadatta tvam cāham ca draksyāvah enam, where negation of anudātta will also apply. For, the kāraka denoted by the pada ending in a replacement of LOT is here expressed by LRT, along with a different kāraka. Note that non-difference does not relate here to all participant relations involved. Instead, it only relates to all participant relations which happen to be expressed by padas which end in tiN and are used in sentences on hand. For, in its absence, we will also get the application of this rule in: vaha brāhmaṇa śālim tvam pitaiṁ tvam tava bhoksyate ‘carry the sāli rice-grains O brāhmaṇa, their rice-meal will be eaten by your father’. The negation of anudātta is here blocked.

2. Note that, given dṛś + (LAT→si), rule 6.1.58 sṛjidsor . . . introduces augment aM. The sva, in all these examples, will be marked with udātta by affixal accent (pratyaya-svara; 3.1.3 ady udattاس ca). Refer to similar examples for derivational details of draksyasi and bhoksyase.

8.1.52 सोत् च

loṭ ca
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

/lot 1/1 ca φ/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apiādadau #18 tin #28 na #29 gatyarthaloṭā na cet kārakaṃ sarvānyat #51)
loḍantam triṇantam gatyarthaloṭā yaktaṃ nānudāttam bhavati, na cet kārakaṃ sarvam anyad bhavati

A pada which ends in a tin-replacement of LOT, and is used in construction with a tin-replacement of LOT introduced after a verbal root having the signification of gati ‘movement’, is also not marked with anudātta, provided participant relations, as expressed, are not at all different.

Examples:

āgaccha devadatta grāmam paśyā ‘come Devadatta, see the village’
āvraja viśnumitra grāmam sādhi ‘come Viśnumitra, protect the village’
āgamyatām devadattaṃ grāmo dṛṣyatāṃ yajñadattena ‘let Devadatta come and the village be seen by Yajñadatta’

1. This rule extends the negation of anudātta also to a pada which ends in a tin-replacement of LOT, used in construction with a derivate of LOT. Of course, when participants expressed with both derivate of LOT are not different. Note that agaccha, etc., are derivate of LOT. The LA-affix in āgamyatām and dṛṣyatām is introduced with the denotatum of karman ‘object’. A second personal derivate of LOT has its dṛṣ replaced with paśy. The second personal hi of (dṛṣ→paśy) + ṢaP + hi is deleted by 6.4.105 aṭo heḥ. The paśy of paśy + (S) a(P) = paśy + a is marked with udātta by root accent. Since the a of ṢaP is anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitaḥ), this pada gets marked with udātta at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of sādhi under 6.4.22 asiddhavad atrābhāt. This verbal pada, since its hi is marked with something other than P as an it, is marked with udātta at the end by affixal accent.

2. Note that the condition of a verbal root having the signification of gati (gatyarthānām) is still valid. Thus, this rule will not apply in case of paca devadattaudanam bhuvikṣva enam ‘cook rice Devadatta, eat it’. Verbal root pac does not have the signification of gati ‘movement’. The twin conditions of loṭā and sarvānyat are also important. This is how this rule does not apply on āgaccher devadatta grāmam paśyainam and āgaccha devadatta grāmam paśytaṃ enam yajñadattah, respectively. Note that āgaccheḥ, a potential, is not a form of LOT and the agent and object of paśyatu are also different. Note, however, that, because of the anuvrtti of sarva ‘all’, this rule will still apply on āgaccha devadatta grāmam tvam cāhaṃ ca paśyāvah ‘come to the village Devadatta, you and I will both see it’. Verbal form dṛṣyatām derives from dṛṣ + tām → dṛṣ + yaK + tām, where ā of tām is marked with udātta by affixal accent (3.1.3 adyudāttaś ca). This udātta can be blocked by the udātta of the vikaraṇa, i.e., yaK. This, however, does not happen in view of the Mahābhāṣya (ad 6.1.155 anudāttam padaṃ . . .): satiṣiṣṭo’ pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvarāṃ na
bādhate ‘the accent of a class-marker (viṅkaraṇa), even though taught subsequently, does not block the accent of a sārvadhatu-replacement of LA’. This facilitates an anudāta for tām (6.1.183 ṭasyānudattāten . . .). Thus, dhūyatām remains marked with udāta in the middle.

3. Why is this rule formulated separately from the preceding? So that the anuvṛtti of LRṬ, and not of LOT, could be stopped from carrying over to the following rule (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: uttarātra loṭ eva kāryam yathā syāt lḥo mā bhūd ity evam artham prthāgyakaraṇam).

8.1.53 विभाषितं सौपसर्गमनुतत्तपम्

vibhāṣitaṃ sopasargam anuttamam
/vibhāṣitaḥ 1/1 sopasargam 1/1 = upārṣergaḥ saha vartate (bv.); anuttamam 1/1 = na uttamam (nāṇ. tat.)/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudātaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29 gatuḥratotā na cet kāraṇaḥ sarvāṇyaḥ #51 loṭ #52)
 lactantam sopasargam uttamavarjitaṁ gatuḥratotā yuktam tiṇantam vibhāṣitaṁ nānudātaṁ bhavati, na cet kāraṇaḥ sarvam anadvad bhavati
A pada which ends in a tiṇ-replacement of LOT with the exception of uttama ‘first personal’, and which is used in construction with a tiṇ-replacement of LOT introduced after a verbal root having a signification similar to gati ‘movement’, is optionally not marked with anudāta provided, of course, when participant relations as expressed are not at all different.

EXAMPLES:

āgačcha devadatta grāmam praviṣa ‘come Devadatta, enter the village’
āgačcha devadatta grāmam praviṣa ‘ibidem’
āgačcha devadatta grāmam prasādhi ‘come Devadatta, rule the village’
āgačcha devadatta grāmam prasādhi ‘ibidem’

1. This rule optionally blocks the anudāta of a verbal root which is used with the signification of gati and ends in a non-first personal tiṇ-replacement of LOT (anuttamam). This rule makes the obligatory provision of the preceding rule as optional (vibhāṣita). The word vibhāṣita is synonymous with vibhāṣā and this option can be characterized as prāpta-vibhāṣā ‘an option which was already made available’. The final udāta of prasādhi is similar to that of śādhī. The pra of prasādhi will receive anudāta of 8.1.71 tiṇi codattavati. Note that praviṣa derives from pra-viṣ + Ša + hi where hi gets deleted and pra receives anudāta. The a of Ša is marked with udāta by affixal accent. This offers praviṣa the option of being marked with udāta at the end. If the option of anudāta is accepted then praviṣa will receive total nighāta ‘blanket anudāta’, instead. The preverb pra will then be marked udāta by Phītsūtra ((80) nipātā ādyudāṭṭāḥ).
2. Why do we have the condition of sopasargam ‘used with a preverb’. Consider āgaccha devadatta grāmam pāṣya where, in the absence of this optional provision, the preceding rule applies obligatorily.

Why do we state the condition of anuttamam ‘when not first personal’? Consider āgaccha devadatta grāmam praviśāni, where praviśāni is a form of the first person. The preceding rule will again apply, obligatorily.

8.1.54 हन्त च

hanta ca
/ hanta ca φ /
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādaṁ #18 tiṁ #28 na #29 lot#52 vibhāṣītaṁ sopasargam anuttamam #53)
‘hanta’ ity anena yuktam loḍantam sopasargam tiṁantam vibhāṣītaṁ nānudāttaṁ bhavati
A pada which ends in a non-first personal (anuttama) tiṁ-replacement of LOT, and is used in construction with hanta ‘o, well’, is also optionally not marked with anudātta.

Examples:

hanta praviśa ‘o, well, enter!’
hanta praviśa ‘ibidem’
hanta prāśāḍhi ‘o, well, discipline!’
hanta prāśāḍhi ‘ibidem’

1. A verbal pada which ends in a non-first personal tiṁ-replacement of LOT, under conditions similar to the preceding rule, is also optionally not marked with anudātta, when this same is used in conjunction with hanta ‘o, well’!. The word ca ‘and’ is used here to attract the preceding rule in its entirety. This optional provision is made against the obligatory provision of 8.1.30 nipātair yadya... .

8.1.55 आम एकान्तरमायमन्त्रमन्त्रमात्रांके

āma ekāntaram āmanritam anantike
/ āmaḥ 5/1 ekāntaram 1/1 = ekām padam antaram yasya tat (bv.);
āmanritam 1/1 anantike 7/1 = na antikam (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādaṁ #18 na #29)
āma uttaram ekapadāntaram āmanritaṁ anantike nānudāttaṁ bhavati
A pada termed āmanrita which occurs after ām and is intervened by not more than a single pada, is not marked with anudātta in its entirety when an address is made to a person other than one close by (antika).

Examples:

ām pacasi devadatta3 ‘so you are cooking Devadatta!’
ām bho devadatta3 ‘yes, Devadatta!’
1. This rule negates *sarvānudātta* 'blanket anudātta' of a *pada* termed *āmantrita*, provided the same occurs after *ām* intervened by not more than a single *pada*. Note that this accentual provision is also conditioned by *anantike* 'when antika 'near' is not denoted'. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two interpretations of *anantike*: far (dūra), and neither near nor far. I accept the second interpretation since the usage is *sambuddhi* 'address' and the rule does not explicitly use *adūre* 'far'. If Pāṇini's intent was to interpret *anantika* as *dūra* he would have used *adūre*. Refer also to *paribhāṣā* (75): *naṁviyuktam anyasadṛśādhihikarāṇe* . . .

Consider *ām pacasi devādatta3*! and *ām bhō devādatta3*, where this rulenegates *anudātta* in *devadatta*, an *āmantrita*, since *ām* and *devadatta* are intervened by a single *pada*, i.e., *pacasi* and *bhō*. Once *anudātta* is negated, rule 6.1.195 *āmantritaśya ca* applies to mark *āmantrita* with initial *udātta*. Recall in this connection that *bhō* is also *āmantrita* and hence, is treated as if nonexistent (*avidyamānavat; 8.1.72 āmantritaṁ . . .*). How could the initial *udātta* of *devadatta* be accomplished here? Rule 8.1.73 *nāmantrite samānādhihikarāṇe* will block the 'non-existence' provision (*avidyamānavat*) of 8.1.72 *āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ām?* Consider *sākaṁ pacasi devadatta3* 'are you cooking leafy vegetables, devadatta!' Why do we have the condition of *ekāntaram* 'intervention of one'? Consider *ām prapacasi devadatta3* where *pra* and *pacasi* both intervene. Why do we have the condition of *āmantritam?* Consider *ām pacati devadattaḥ* 'devadatta surely cooks', where *devadattaḥ* is not an *āmantrita*.

Why do we have the condition of *anantika* ‘not far, not near’? Consider *ām devadattaḥ* ‘yes, Devadatta . . .’. This rule, when its *anantika* is not interpreted as meaning ‘not far not near’, will leave no scope of application of *ekaśruti* ‘monotone’ (1.2.33 *ekaśruti dūrāt . . .*) and *pluta* ‘prolated vowel’ marked with *udātta* (8.2.84 *dūrāddhūte ca*).

Incidentally, *s* of *bhos* is replaced with *rU* (8.2.66 *sasaujuṛ ruḥ*). The *r* is then replaced with *y* (8.3.17 *bhobhagaoḥgo . . .*) to be subsequently deleted by 8.3.22 *hali sarveśām*. This is how we get *bhō*.

8.1.56 याद्धितुपरं छन्दसि

याद्धितुपरम च याद्धितुपरम च

/yaddhituparam chandasi

/yadd-hitu-param 1/1 = yac ca hiś ca tuṣ ca (itar. dv.); chandasi 7/1/ (padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādaāau #18 tīṁ #28 na #29)
yatparam hīparam tuparam ca tuṁantam chandasi nānudāttaṁ bhavati
A pada which ends in a tīN, and occurs in construction before yad ‘that which’, hi ‘indeed’ and tu ‘indeed, but’, is not marked with *anudātta* in the Vedic.
EXAMPLES:

gavām gotram udāsṛjaḥ yam ángirah 'Aṅgirā, you have released cows from their shed'

indavo vām uṣantī hi 'soma-drops, indeed, like you'

ākhyaśyāmi tu te 'I shall tell you, indeed'

1. Note that this negation of anudāṭa is already made available in the context of a following yad (8.1.30 nipātaḥ . . .), hi (8.1.34 hi ca) and tu (8.1.39 tupaśya-paśyatā . . .). Why do we need this rule? A provision made against one already made available is made for restrictive purposes (niyasārtham). That is, a form which ends in a tiN, in the Vedic, and whose anudāṭa is negated under the condition of what follows in construction, should be negated only when yad, hi and tu, and not any other word follows (Kāś: ebhir eva parair yogyo pratiśedho bhavati nānyair iti). We will thus get nighāta ‘blanket anudāṭa’ in jāye suo rohāvighi where rohāva, a derivate of rūḥ in LOT, is used in construction with ehi, a derivate of ā-i ‘to come’ in LOT signifying gati.

Consider udāsṛjaḥ yad . . . where yad follows and udāsṛjaḥ is a derivate of LN, replaced with sīP. Thus, (ud+aT+srj) + Ša + (LN→sīP) → udāsṛjaḥ. Note that (s→rU) is replaced with u (6.1.113 haśi ca) where 6.1.87 ād gunaḥ subsequently orders a single guna as a replacement for a-u at the end. The aT, of course, is marked with udāṭa. The uṣantī of vāmuṣantī is a derivate of LAT where v of verbal root vaś goes through samprāśāna (6.1.16 grahi-jyāvayi . . .). Thus, vaś + (LAT→jhi) → (v→u)aś + ŠaP + (jhi→anti) → (uā→ us) + a + anti = uṣantī. The a of ŠaP is deleted by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛti-bhyah . . .

Since a of anti is marked with udāṭa in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 ādyudāṭtaś ca), uṣantī is accepted as marked with udāṭa in the middle. Our last example ākhyaśyāmi is a first person singular derivate of LRT, introduced after ā-kiyā ‘to relate’. Its sya is, as usual, marked with udāṭa. Since this pada will be marked with udāṭa, instead, the preverb will be marked with anudāṭa by 8.1.71 tiṇi codāṭtavati.

8.1.57 चन्द्रिकदिवकोरादितिदित्वाविष्कृतेः

canacidivagotrađitaddhitāmređitesu agateh
/cana-cid-iva-gotrađi-taddhita-ämređitesu 7/3 = canaś ca cit ca iva ca
gotrādayas (gotra ādir yeśām te, bu.) ca taddhitāś ca āmređitaś ca (ītar. dv.),
tesu; agateh 5/1 = na gatiḥ (naṁ. tat.), tasmāt/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāṭtam sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29)
‘cana, cid, iva, gotrađi, taddhita, āmređita’ īty eteśu parataḥ agater uttaram

tinantaṃ nānudāṭtaṃ bhavati

A pada which ends in a tiN and is used in construction before (i) cana, cid, iva, (ii) a nominal listed in the group headed by gotra (5.3.66-67), (iii) a derivate ending in an affix termed taddhita (4.1.76), and (iv) an
āmredita, is not marked with anudātta, provided the pada ending in a tiN does not occur in construction after gati.

Examples:

devadattaḥ pacāti cana ‘Devadatta is not even cooking’
devadattaḥ pacāti cit ‘ibidem’
devadattaḥ pacāti iva ‘Devadatta shows as if he is cooking’
devadattaḥ pacāti gotram ‘Devadatta is trouble to his family’
devadattaḥ pacāti bruvam ‘Devadatta only talks, does not cook’
devadattaḥ pacāti pravacanam ‘Devadatta only lectures, does not cook’
devadattaḥ pacātikalpam ‘Devadatta only shows as if he is cooking’
devadattaḥ pacātirūpam ‘ibidem’
devadattaḥ pacāti pacāti ‘Devadatta cooks repeatedly’

1. This rule begins negation of anudātta of those forms which end in a tiN and happen to be followed by cana, cit, iva; a nominal of the gotrādi group, a derivate of taddhita, or a form termed āmredita (8.1.2 tasya paramāmreditam), provided they do not occur in construction after a form termed gati (1.4.59 upasargāḥ kriyāyoge; 1.4.60 gatiś ca). Kāśikā warns that the term gati in this, and in rule 8.1.68 sagatir api tiṇ as well, should be understood only as referring to an upasarga termed gati (Kāś: atrāgatigrahane ‘sagatir api tiṇ’ ity atra ca upasargagrahaṇam draśāvyam; Nyāsa ad Kāś: tenopasargasamjñasyaiva gater grahaṇam vijñāyate). It is for this reason that we do not get negation of anudātta in śukṣkaroti can, etc.

Note that, here too, the gotrādi nominals are accepted as involving the signification of kutsana ‘pejoration’ and ābhīkṣṇya ‘repeated action’ (Kāś: ihāpi gotrādayah kutsanābhīkṣṇyayor eva grhyante; cf. 8.1.27 tiṇo gotrādīni kutsanābhīkṣṇyayoh).

2. Consider pacātikalpam and pacātirūpam where the taddhita affixes kalP (5.3.67 īṣad asammāptau) and rūP (5.3.66 praśamsāyāṃ rūpap) have been introduced. Since these affixes are both marked with Pas an it (pit), they are marked with anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). These forms thus avail the monotone (ekaśruti) provision of 1.2.39 suvarītī. . . . The iteration of pacati pacati is, of course, accomplished by 8.1.4 nityavipṣayoh. The second pacati is here termed āmredita. The first pacati then qualifies for negation of its nighāta ‘blanket anudātta’ under the condition of the following second which is termed āmredita.

8.1.58 चादिषु च
cādīṣu ca
/ cādīṣu 7/3 = ca ādīr yēśāṃ (bu.), teṣu; ca ṣ/ (padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29 agateḥ #57)


cādiṣu parataḥ tiṇantam agateḥ param nāṇudāttaṃ bhavati
A pada which ends in a tiṅ, does not occur after a pada constituted by a gati, and is used in construction before that which is listed in the group headed by ca (cādi), is also not marked with anudātta.

Examples:

devadattaḥ pacāti ca khādati ca ‘Devadatta cooks and eats’
devadattaḥ pacāti vā khādati vā ‘Devadatta is either cooking or eating’
devadattaḥ pacāti ha khādati ha ‘Devadatta indeed cooks and eats’
devadattaḥ pacāty aha khādaty aha ‘Devadatta certainly cooks and eats’
devadattaḥ pacāty eva khādaty eva ‘Devadatta only cooks and eats’

1. This rule negates nighāta ‘blanket anudātta’ of a form ending in a tiṅ when the same occurs preceded by a form other than a gati, and is followed by ca, etc. Note that ca, etc. (cādi), generally refers to a group of indeclinables which, when not denoting a thing (asattve), are termed particles (nipāta; 1.4.57 cādayo sattvve). The word cādi here refers only to particles ca, vā, ha, aha and eva which have been specified under rule 8.1.24 na cavāhāhaivayukte. This limited reference to cādi is determined on the basis of proximity (pratyāsatti) between this rule and rule 8.1.24 na cavāhāhaivayukte.

8.1.59 चवायोगे प्रश्नम

cavāyoge prathamā
/ ca-vā-yoge 7/1 = caś ca vāś ca (itar. dv.), tau; tābhyaṃ yogah (trt. tat.), tasmin; prathamā 1/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29)
‘ca, vā’ ity etābhhyāṃ yoge prathamā tiṇvibhaktir nāṇudātāḥ bhavati
The first pada which ends in a tiṅ, and is used in association with ca ‘and’ and vā ‘or’, is not marked with anudātta.

Examples:

gardabhāṁś ca kālayāti viṇāṃ ca vādayati ‘... goads the donkeys, plays the lute’
gardabhān vā kālayāti viṇāṃ vā vādayati ‘... either goads the donkeys or plays the lute’

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of agateh ‘after that which denotes something other than movement (gati)’ which was valid in the last rule is here abandoned (Kāś: agateh iti pūrvastre cāṅkṛṣṭam ity atra nānuvartate). The word yoge ‘in association’ is used here merely to indicate association (sāhacarya). It does not have any relevance to whether ca, etc., are used before or after the form ending in a tiṅ. Consequently, nighāta can also be negated when ca, etc., precede a form ending in a tiṅ.
The word *prathamā* is not used here in the sense of the nominative. It is, instead, used for referring to the first verbal form by way of its ending (*vibhakti*). This is why *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *ca vā ity etābhyām yo ge prathamā tiṇvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati* ‘the first (word-)ending (*vibhakti*) denoted by *tiṅ*, in association with *ca*, etc., is not marked with *anudātta*’. This blocks the negation of *anudātta* in case of the second, etc., verbal forms ending in a *tiṅ* (*Kāś: ... dvitiyādes tiṇantasya mā bhūḍ iti*).

Since association (*yoga*) with *ca* and *vā* is possible only when more than one entities are involved, negation of *anudātta* may apply to more than one. The word *prathamā* restricts the negation to the first. Thus, *kālayāti* in both examples will be subject to negation of *anudātta*. The second verb will be subject to *nighāta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅn atiṅaḥ*. The accentuation of *kālayāti* follows the pattern of *bhujayati* and *stanayati* (cf. 8.1.42 *purā ca parīpsāyām*, etc.).

8.1.60 हेति क्षियायायम्

heti kṣiyāyāṁ
/ ha ṅ iti ṅ kṣiyāyāṁ 7/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29 prathamā #59)
‘ha’ ity anena yuktaḥ prathamā tiṇvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati kṣiyāyāṁ
gamyamānāyāṁ

The first *pada* which ends in a *tiṅ*, and is used in association with *ha*, is not marked with *anudātta* when kṣiyā ‘undesired conduct’ is denoted.

Examples:

svayaṁ ha ratheṇa yātiṁ upādhīyāyam padātim gamayati ‘himself goes by a chariot, but has his teacher go on foot’
svayaṁ hauḍanaṁ bhunkeṭā upādhīyāyam saktun pāyayati ‘himself eats a meal of rice, but has his teacher drink a meal of saktu’

1. *Kāśikā* explains kṣiyā as *dharmaṇyātikramahā* ācāra-bhedah ‘breach of conduct; opposite conduct’. As usual, the first verbal *pada* which ends in a *tiṅ* will be denied its *anudātta*. The *svarita-pluta* of 8.2.104 kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu ... will apply, instead. Recall, however, that yā of yāti remains *udātta* since the *svarita* of *ti* will remain suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the root accent.

2. The word *iti* is used here to indicate the word-form of *ha*, as a condition for negation of *anudātta*. In its absence, the negation of *anudātta* could apply to *ha*, or to the form ending in a *tiṅ* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: titkaran t {	extit{sati}} svarū- \textit{pamāṭrapradhāno} hasabdo nighātasya kāraṇaṁ bhavati/ asatyām api hasabdasya tiṇantasya vā kṣiyāyāṁ vṛttau nighātāpratisedhaḥ sidhō bhavati*).

8.1.61 अहेति विनियोगे च

aheti vinīyoge ca
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

8.1.62

/aha φ iti φ viniyoge 7/1 ca φ/

(padasya #16 padāṭ #17 anudāttāṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tīṁ #28 na #29 prathamā #59 kṣiyāyāṁ #60)

‘aha’ ity anena yuktā prathamā tiṃvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati viniyoge
gamyāme

The first pada which ends in a tiN, and is used in construction with aha, is not marked with anudātta when viniyoga ‘commissioning for varying things’ or kṣiyā ‘undesired conduct’ is denoted.

Examples:

tvam aha grāmam gacchā tvam ahāranyāṁ gaccha ‘you surely go to the village and indeed go to the forest’
svayam aha rathena yātiṁ upādhyāyam padātiṁ gamayati ‘he indeed goes himself by the chariot and sends his teacher on foot’
svayam ahaudanam bhunkeś upādhyāyam saktun pāyati ‘he himself eats rice and has his teacher drink saktu’

1. Note that viniyoga is explained as nānāprayojana niyogah ‘commission for diverse purposes’. The use of ca ‘and’ attracts the condition of kṣiyāyām ‘undesired conduct’. Thus, there are two conditions, viniyoga and kṣiyā, under which anudātta can be negated. Negation of anudātta and pluta is similar to examples of the preceding rule (Kāś: pūrvavan nighatapratisedhah plutas ca).

8.1.62 चाहलोपावेतबवधारणम्

cahalopa evety avadhāraṇam

/cahalope 7/1 = caś ca ahaś ca = cāhau (itar. dv.), tayor lopah (saṣ. tat.);
eva φ iti φ avadhāraṇam 1/1/

(padasya #16 padāṭ #17 anudāttāṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tīṁ #28 na #29 prathamā #59)
calope ahalo pe prathamā tiṃvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati evety etac ced avadhāraṇāṁ prayuyate

The first pada which ends in a tiN is not marked with anudātta when ca and aha, used in construction with it, go through a deletion by LOPA, provided eva is used with the signification of avadhāraṇa ‘restriction, exact determination’.

Examples:

devadatta eva grāmam gacchātu ‘let Devadatta alone go to the village’
sa devadatta evāranyāṁ gacchātu ‘and let that same Devadatta go to the forest’
devadatta eva grāmam gacchātu ‘let Devadatta alone go to the village’
yajñadatta evāranyāṁ gacchātu ‘(and) let Yajñadatta alone go to the forest’
1. This negation of anudāṭṭa in the first verbal form is dependent upon deletion of ca and ha. Additionally, it requires the use of eva in the sense of avadhāraṇa ‘restriction, exact determination’. What is the meaning of cāhālopa? It means where ca and aha are not explicitly used but their sense is understood. Recall that ca means samuccaya ‘collection, aggregation, and’ and eva means kevala ‘only’. Generally, in examples above, deletion of ca should be understood when same agents are involved. Thus, consider the first two sentences of our examples which can be rendered with ca as: devadatta eva grāmam cāranyam ca gacchatu ‘let Devadatta alone go to the village, and to the forest’. Deletion of aha can be similarly understood when different agents are involved (Kāś: samānakartye calopah, nānakartye ahalopah).

The first gacchatu is marked with udāṭṭa, in view of root-accent (dhātu-svara; 6.1.159 dhāṭoḥ). It follows the accentual pattern of pācāti. The second gacchatu will, of course, be marked with anudāṭṭa, as required (8.1.28 tiṇṇ atiṇaḥ).

8.1.63 चादिलोपे विभाषा

cādilope vibhāṣā
/ cādilope 7/1 = ca ādir yeśām (bv.); teśāṃ lopaḥ (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; vibhāṣā 1/1/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāṭṭam sarvam apādādau #18 tiṇ #28 na #29 prathamā #59)

cādayah' na cavāhāhaivaivukte' iti śūtranirdiṣṭā gṛhyante, teśāṃ lope prathamā
tīṇvibhaktir nānudāṭṭa bhavati vibhāṣā

The first pada which ends in a tiṇ is not marked with anudāṭṭa when ca, etc., go through deletion by means of LOPA.

EXAMPLES:

śuklā vrīhayo bhavānti ‘rice are generally white’
śuklā vrīhayo bhavānti ‘ibidem’
śvetā gā ājyāya duhānti ‘they milk white cows for butter (ghee)’
śvetā gā ājyāya duhānti ‘ibidem’
vrīhībhīr yajēta ‘one should sacrifice with ritual oblation of (wild) rice’
vrīhībhīr yajēta ‘ibidem’
yavair yajēta ‘one should sacrifice with ritual oblation of barley’
yavair yajēta ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the negation of anudāṭṭa optional in contexts where ca, vô, ha, aha and eva (cādi) are deleted. Consequently, the first verbal form which ends in a tiṇ will be optionally denied its anudāṭṭa. Here again cādi refers to particles specified under rule 8.1.24 na cavāhāhaivaivukte. The sense of lope ‘when deletion . . .’ also remains the same. That is, when cādi elements are not used but their sense is understood. Consider śuklā vrīhayo
bhavānti 'rice are generally white' where we will optionally also get bhavantī. There is no negation of nīghāta 'blanket anudāta' in the second bhavanti. We similarly get vṛihībhir yajēta where vā is deleted. Once ta is marked with anudāta on the basis of being a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tīṇīt sārvadhātukam) replacement of LA, yajēta will be marked with udāta at the beginning by root accent (6.1.159 dhātoḥ). Another option will be yajēta. One can similarly understand other examples (Kāś: evam seṣeṣv api yathādarsanam udāhāryam).

8.1.64 ैवावेति च छन्दसिः

vaivāveti ca cchandasi
/ vaivāva 1/2 (deleted) = vaiś ca vāvas ca (itar. dv.); iti φ ca φ cchandasi 7/1/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudātaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tīṇ #28 na #29 prathamā #59 vibhāsā #63)
‘vai, vāva’ ity etābhyaṁ yuktā prathamā tiṇīvibhaktir vibhāsā nānudātta bhavati cchandasi viṣaye
The first pada (of a sentence) which ends in a tīṇ and is used in association with vai ‘truly’ and vāva ‘indeed’, is, optionally, not marked with anudāta in the Vedic.

Examples:

ahārvai devānmāśid rātriṣasūrānaṁ āśīt ‘the day indeed was of the gods and the night of the demons’
bṛhaspatirvai devānām purohiṇa āśīt (āśīt) sandāmarkavasūrānāṁ ‘Bṛhaspati indeed was the priest of gods, Śaṅḍa and Marka were the priests of demons’
ayaṁ vāv hasta āśīt netara āśīt ‘this, and not any other, was indeed the (famous) hand’

1. This rule offers optional negation of anudāta, in the Vedic, where vai and vāva are used in association with the first verbal form ending in a tīṇ. Refer to derivational details of āśīt under rule 7.3.96 astisico’ prkte. Recall that āT, as an affix, is marked with udāta at the beginning (3.1.3 ādyudāttaṁ ca).

8.1.65 एकान्याभ्यां समर्थभ्याम्

ekānyābhyaṁ samarthābhhyām
/ ekānyābhyaṁ 3/2 = ekaś ca anyaś ca (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ; samarthābhhyām 3/2 = samas tulyo’ rtho yayoḥ (bv.), tābhyaṁ/
(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudātaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 tīṇ #28 na #29 prathamā #59 vibhāsā #63 cchandasi #64)
‘eka, anya’ ity etābhyaṁ samarthābhyaṁ yuktā prathamā tiṅvibhaktīr vibhāśā nānudātā bhavati chandasi viṣaye

The first pada (of a sentence) which ends in a tiṅ and is used in association with eka and anya, having the same signification, is, optionally, not marked with anudātta in the Vedic.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{prajām ekā jinvatī ūrgam ēkā raksāti} \] ‘one quickens progeny, the other preserves strength’

\[ \text{prajām ekā jinvatī ūrgam ēkā raksāti} \] ‘ibidem’

\[ \text{tayōr anyah pippālam svādu atti anāśmann anyo abhicākaśāti} \] ‘one of these two eats the tasty Pippala fruit, the other, not eating, looks on intently’

1. The word samarthābhyaṁ means ‘with two having the same meaning’. Consequently, eka and anya are here used with the single meaning of ‘one’. Incidentally, eka is diversely used in the sense of ‘other’, ‘principal’, ‘first’, ‘only’, ‘common’, ‘equal’, ‘little’ and ‘one’:

\[ \text{eko nyārthe pradhāne ca prathame kevāle tathā/ sādhāraṇe samāne lpe samākhīyāyam ca prayujyate/} \]

Recall also that jinvatī, a third singular active present indicative of jiv, is derived with nUM (7.1.58 idito num dhātōh; 1.1.47 mid ac'o nyāt parah) as: jivI + (LAT→tiP) → jiv + ŠaP + tiP → (ji+nUM+v) + ŠaP + tiP) = jinvatī. This verbal form is marked with udātta (6.1.159 dhātoh) at the beginning, similarly to pacati. This same is also true of atti ‘eats’.

8.1.66 यद्वृत्तान्तित्यथः

\[ \text{yadvratāṃ nityam} \]

/yadvrattāt 5/1 = yado vrattam (sas. tat.), tasmāt, nityam φ/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudātām sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29 prathamā #59)

\[ \text{yadvrattā uttaram tiṇantam nānudātām nityam} \]

The first pada (of a sentence) which ends in a tiṅ, and occurs after yadvratta ‘forms of yad (that which) with various nominal endings’, is obligatorily not marked with anudātta.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{yo bhunktē 'he who eats . . .' } \]

\[ \text{yam bhajayāti 'the one he feeds . . .'} \]

\[ \text{yena bhunktē 'that by means of which (or with who) he eats'} \]

\[ \text{yasmae dadāti 'one to whom he gives . . .'} \]

1. Note that yadvratta can be explained similarly to kimūttta (8.1.48 kimūtttam)
Thus, *yadvyta* here refers to the totality of paradigmatic forms of *yad* 'that which'. Verbal form *juhumah* derives from *hu* + (*LAT* → *mas* → *mah*), with doubling and its related operations. The form itself is *udatta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *adyudatta* ca).

### 8.1.67 पूजनात् पूजितमुनुदातः काण्डितिच्यः

- *pujanat pujitam anudatam kasthadibhyah*
- */pujanat 5/1 pujitam 1/1 anudatam 1/1 kasthadibhyah 5/3/*
- *(padasya #16 padat #17 anudatam sarvam apadadau #18)*

A *pada* which denotes a thing praised (*pujitam*), and occurs after a *pada* which denotes praise (*pujana*), is marked with *anudatta*.

### Examples:

- *kasthadhyapakah* 'an excellent teacher'
- *kasthabhirupakah* 'a teacher beyond comparison'
- *daryunadhyapakah* 'a teacher who teaches difficult texts'
- *daryunabhirupakah* 'a teacher beyond comparison'
- *amataputradhyapakah* 'the teacher of one who does not have a mother'

1. Haradatta states that nominals listed in the group headed by *kastha* 'wood' (*kasthadi*) may denote a meaning synonymous with *adbhuta* 'amazing'. Consequently, their denotatum can be accepted as the denotatum of *pujana* 'praise' (PM ad *Kas: kasthadaya caite adbhitaryaya: pujanavacanan bhavanti*). Note that Pāṇini specifies a word ending in a *tiN* (*tiñana*) in the next rule. This rule is then interpreted as specifying a *pada* ending in a *sUP* (*subanta*). The words *kasthadhyapakah*, etc., are all qualifiers to an action (*kriyaviśeṣana*). They also end in *dvitya* 'accusative'. Thus, *kastham adbhatam adhyapayati = kasthadhyapakah* 'he who teaches wonderfully', etc. But since there are no rules whereby a *kriyaviśeṣana* 'qualifier to an action' can be combined in a compound, commentators take recourse to 2.1.72 *mayurasyamsakādayas ca*. The author of the *vārttika* proposes that deletion of *m* should be accomplished in these words. Thus, *kastham adhyapayati = kastha(m→*φ*) adhyapakah = kastha(a+a→*ā*) dhyapakah = kasthadhyapakah*. Since this deleted *m* is part of a nominal inflection (*vibhakti*), we will also have to accept this deletion in the context of absence of compound formation. Thus, resort to 2.1.72 *mayurasyamsakādayas ca* will not be necessary. Note that resort to 2.1.72 *mayura* . . . is taken because of a lack of syntactic coordination (*vaiyadhika*) between compound constituents such as *kastham* and *adhyapakah*. That is, *kastham*, etc., are adverbial modifiers (*kriyaviśeṣana*) ending in the accusative (*dvitya*). Recall in this connection that *adhyapaka*, etc., end in affix *NnuL*. Consequently, they are marked with *udatta* conditioned by *L* as affixal *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). Our present rule will assign *anudatta*.
2. Kāśikā and SK both read an additional word kāśṭhādibhyah as part of the wording of this rule. I omit it since it is part of a vārttika proposal.

8.1.68 गतिरिप्ति तिन्

sagatir api tiṃ
/sagatir 1/1 = gatinā saha (bv.); api φ tiṃ 1/1/
(padasya #16 padaś #17 anudāttaṃ saram apādādaun #18 pujaṇāt pujaṇām #67)

sagatir agatir api pujaṇāt param pujaṇām tiṇantam anudāttaṃ bhavati
A pada which ends in a tiṅ, denotes a thing praised (pujaṇa) and occurs after a pada which denotes praise (pujaṇa), is, whether used with a gati or not, marked with anudatta.

EXAMPLES:

yat kāṣṭham pacati 'that he cooks beautifully . . .'  
yat kāṣṭham prapacati 'ibidem'
yad dārunaṃ pacati 'that he cooks assiduously . . .'  
yad dārunaṃ prapacati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows anudatta for a form which ends in a tiṅ and is used after a word denoting pujaṇa 'praise', when the form ending in a tiṅ is used in association with, and also without, a gati word. Recall that 8.1.28 tiṅ atināḥ offers nighāta 'blanket anudatta' which is subsequently negated by 8.1.30 nipātair yadyadi . . . . Our present rule makes its provision against negation of nighāta. The vārttika proposal of deletion of m (cf. earlier rule) applies only when a non-tiṅ follows. Consequently, yathāṣṭham, etc., of yathāṣṭham pacati, etc., do not lose their m. Since the specification of this rule is made with sagatih, nighāta also applies to the gati word, irrespective of whether the gati word is combined with a form ending in tiṅ. Thus, we get yaddārunaṃ prapacati, etc. The word gati, since the context is that of a following form ending in a tiṅ, refers to a preverb (upasarga; 1.4.60 gatiś ca).

2. Why do we have the specification made with tiṅ? So that this rule does not apply in the context of a following non-tiṅ. Conversely, so that a tiṅ does not become part of the right context of the preceding rule. Also recall that the vārttika proposal of m-deletion applies only there. That is, it cannot apply here.

8.1.69 कुस्तने च सुप्यगोग्राहादी

kutsane ca supy agotradau
/kutsane 7/1 ca φ supi 7/1 agotradau 7/1 = gotra adir yasya (bv.); na
gotrādiḥ (naṇ. tal.), tasmin/
(padasya #16 anudāttaṃ saram apādādaun #18 sagatir api tiṅ #68)
kutsane ca subante gotrādīvarjite parataḥ sagatir api tiṇ agatir apya anudātto bhavati

A pada which ends in a tiṇ and occurs in construction with, or even without, a gati, is marked with anudātta, provided a pada which ends in a sUP and denotes kutsana 'censure', though is not constituted by a nominal of the gotrādī group, follows.

Examples:

pacati pūti '... cooks in a questionable way'
prapacati pūti 'ibidem'
pacati mithyā '... cooks uselessly'
prapacati mithyā 'ibidem'

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of padāt (8.1.17 padā) is no longer valid. The anuvṛtti of sagatir api tiṇ is still valid. Consequently, the nīghāta of 8.1.28 tiṇī atināh could not be available in case of a tiṇ used without a gati. A form which ends in a tiṇ and is used with a gati could only avail nīghāta for itself. Our present rule makes nīghāta available to both. Recall that the sU of pūrti + sU is deleted by 7.1.23 svamor napuṃsakāt.

2. Why do we have the condition of kutsane 'when censure ...'? So that this accentual provision does not apply to pacati śobhanam 'cooks beautifully'. Why do we have the condition of supi 'when a pada ending in a sUP follows'? So that this rule does not apply when a non-sUP, for example pacati kliśnāti 'saddens when cooks', follows. Why do we have the condition of agotrādau 'when a non-gotrādī nominal ...'? Consider pacati gotram '... cooks while extolling the virtues of his lineage (gotra)' where this rule cannot apply.

3. A vārttika proposal requires this rule to apply only when kriyā-kutsana 'censure of action' is denoted. Thus, this rule cannot apply on prapacati pūtir devadattaḥ where pūtih denotes censure of devadattaḥ, the agent (karttvā kutsanam). The Mahābhāṣya sums it all up in the following verse:

supi kutsane kriyāya malopa īsto tiṇīti cokṭārtham /
pūtiś cāṇubandho vibhāṣitaṁ cāpi bahvarttham //

8.1.70 gatir gatau

/gatiḥ 1/1 gatau 7/1/
(padasya #16 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18)
gatir gatau parato' nudātto bhavati
A gati which occurs before a gati is marked with anudātta.

Examples:

abhyuddharati '... lifts up'
samudānāyati ‘... properly brings up’
abhīsamparyāhārati ‘... properly brings towards ...’

1. Consider abhy-ud-harati where abhi, an upasarga ‘preverb’, receives anudātta by phīṣūtra (1): phīśo’ ntodātah. This, of course, happens in view of the negation of udātta (Phīṣūtra (81): upasargās cābhivarjam). Since it is followed, here, by the gati word ut, it becomes anudātta. The a of abhi alone remains anudātta, subsequent to the replacement of its i. The u of ut becomes udātta in view of the Phīṣūtra (81): upasargās cābhivarjam. The sa of sam-ud-ānayati receives its udātta by upasargās cābhivarjam. However, since āN, a gati, follows both sam and ut, they both become anudātta. Of course, āN remains udātta. The abhi of abhi-sam-pary-āharati, as usual, was qualified for anudātta. Since āN follows abhi, sam and pari, they all become anudātta.

2. Why do we say when followed by a gati? Consider ā mandrair indra haribhir yāhi mayūraramabhiḥ where ā is a gati in association with yāhi. Since ā is not followed by a gati it retains its accent. If gatau was not stated here ā would have lost its accent. Thus, gatau restricts the scope of application of this rule.

8.1.71 तिनि चोदातत्तब्ति

\text{tini codātavati}
\text{/tini7/1 ca φ udātavati7/1/ = udāatto' sminn asfiti (a derivate of matUP), tasmin/}
(\text{padasya #16 anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau #18 gatiḥ #70})
tinante udātavati parato gatir anudātto bhavati

A gati, when occurring before a pada which ends in a tiN and carries an udātta, is also marked with anudātta.

**Examples:**

yat prpacatī ‘whatever he cooks ...’
yat prakaroti ‘whatever he makes ...’

1. This rule allows a gati to be marked with udātta when a pada which ends in a tiN, and possesses an udātta, follows. Recall that pacati and karoti possess an udātta on account of negation of their nīghaṭa by 8.1.30 nipātau yadyadya ... and 8.1.66 yadūrtān nityam, respectively. Our gati word pra, under the following condition of pacati and karoti, is marked with anudātta. That is, it cannot be marked with udātta by the Phīṣūtra (81): upasargās cābhivarjam.

2. Why do we have the condition of tini? So that a gati is not marked with udātta before any following pada. It must be marked with udātta only when a verbal pada which ends in a tiN follows. Thus, consider ā of ā mandrair indra haribhir yāhi mayūraramabhiḥ ‘O Indra, come by beautiful horses of peacock color’, where ā(N) is a gati used in association with yāhi. The full verbal form is āyāhi ‘come’. But since it is followed by mandraih, and not a form ending in a tiN, it cannot be marked with anudātta. Similarly, tini is used to make
sure that this rule applies with reference to a verbal pada, and not, for example, a root. Thus, consider yat pra-karoti where verbal root kṛ is marked with anudātta, but karoti is marked with udātta. It is also necessary that the accent of a form ending in a tiṅ be also clearly specified. This is why we must have udāttavati ‘when a tiṅ, marked with udātta, follows’.

This explanation of the use of tiṅi creates problems, especially in view of the convention: yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas tesaṁ tam prati gatyupasargasamjñē bhavataḥ ‘pra, etc., when used in construction with a kriyā ‘action’, are termed gati in relation to the action’. This makes pra, etc., to be treated as gati also in construction with a form not ending in a tiṅ. This, in view of the use of tiṅi, creates problems with pra pacatitarām and pra pacatitamām where pra, even without the use of a form ending in a tiṅ, is marked with anudātta. Commentators state three positions on this:

(i) An indeclinable (arayāya), here pra, is combined with a form ending in āṁ, i.e., pacatitarām and pacatitamām, to yield a compound (2.2.18 kugatiḥprādayaḥ). The gati-form then is marked with udātta (Phītsūtra: nipatā ādyudāttaḥ) by way of retaining its original accent (6.2.2 tatpurṣe tulyārtha . . .). Thus, the gati does not get anudātta even when tiṅi is not used in this rule. The rest of the compound, in accord with 6.1.155 anudāttaṁ padam ekavartam, is marked with anudātta.

(ii) Some form an indeclinable compound with forms ending in affixes taraP and tamaP. In this view, pra retains its original accent even before the compound is formed. We get āṁ, an udātta, introduced subsequently. The anudātta of gati is thus established by 6.1.155 anudāttaṁ padam ekavartam. This rule then has no purpose in establishing the nighāta of a gati.

(iii) Recall that this compound-formation involves a gati and a form ending in an affix termed kṛt. The Paribhāṣā (76): gatikārakapapadaṇāṁ kṛdbhiḥ saha samasavacanam prāk subūtpatteḥ states that a compound such as this should be formed prior to the introduction of nominal endings denoted by sUP. Yet another interpretation of this paribhāṣā may demand that such compounds be formed only with a form ending in a kṛt affix, and not with any other form. According to the first interpretation, pra, since it cannot be a subanta ‘an item ending in a sUP’, cannot be combined. Since both pra and pacatitarām will have different accents, our present sūtra with tiṅi becomes necessary for facilitating the nighāta of pra in construction with the form ending in āṁ. Recall that pra gets udātta by the Phītsūtra: upasargās cābhivartam and āṁ gets its udātta by affixal accent (3.1.3 ādy udāttaś ca). The second interpretation of the paribhāṣā is not relevant to our discussion.
8.1.72 आमन्त्रित पूर्वसिद्धान्तवत्

āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat
/āmantritam 1/1 pūrvam 1/1 avidyamānavat φ = na vidyamānam (nañ. 
tat.); avidyamānena tulyam = avidyamānavat/
(падасya #16)
āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavad bhavatī, tasmin satī yat kāryam tan na 
bhavati asati yat tad bhavati

A pada termed āmantrita, when followed by another pada, is treated as 
if non-existent.

EXAMPLES:

devādatta yajñādatta ‘O, Devadatta!, O, Yajñādatta!’
devādatta pacāsi ‘Devadatta, you are cooking’
devādatta tava grāmāḥ svam ‘Devadatta, this village is your property’
devādatta mama grāmāḥ svam ‘Devadatta, this village is my property’
yāvad devādatta pacāsi ‘till the time you are cooking Devadatta!’
devādatta jātu pacāsi ‘are you cooking at all Devadatta!’
āho devādatta pacāsi ‘are you cooking Devadatta!’
utāho devādatta pacāsi ‘ibidem’
ām bhoh pacāsi devādatta ‘yes Devadatta, you are cooking’

1. This rule makes an extensional provision of allowing an āmantrita to be 
treated as if non-existent provided this āmantrita is followed by another pada. 
That is, an operation which obtains on a following pada, under the condition 
of a preceding pada termed āmantrita, is not applied by treating the āmantrita 
as if non-existent (avidyamānavat). Similarly, operations which obtain on a pada when an āmantrita does not precede become applicable (Kāś: āmantritam 
pūrvam avidyamānavad bhavatī tasmin satī yat kāryam tan na bhavati, asati yat 
tad bhavati).

What are the purposes of allowing this treatment as if non-existent? Consider devādatta yajñādatta where both are termed āmantrita (2.3.48 sā’’ 
mantritam). The following pada, i.e., yajñādatta, is here subject to receiving 
nighāta ‘blanket anudāṭa’ of 8.1.19 āmantritasya ca. Our present rule requires 
that the preceding pada, i.e., devadatta, be treated as if non-existent (avidya-
mānavat). The nighāta of yajñādatta which was earlier made available is now 
blocked. That is, the provision of initial udāṭa which was made available by 
6.1.195 āmantritasya ca stays.

Similarly, the nighāta of 8.1.28 tiṁn atînāḥ is also blocked in devādatta pacāsi 
where devadatta, a preceding āmantrita, is treated as if non-existent. A 
replacement in te and me, for yusmād and asmād, will also be blocked in devadatta 
tava grāmāḥ svam and devadatta mama grāmāḥ svam. Note that 8.1.22 temayāv 
ekaucanasya requires this replacement in anudāṭa. Yet another anudāṭa 
(8.1.37 pujāyāṁ nānantaram), which may be available to pacāsi of yavād 
devadatta pacasi, is blocked because of devadatta treated as if non-existent.
The nighāta of pacāsi, in devadatta jātu pacāsi, is negated (8.1.47 jātv api pūrvaṁ), because devadatta is treated as if non-existent before jātu. Similar applications can be seen in āho devadatta pacāsi and utāho devadatta pacāsi, where pacāsi becomes non-anudāta (8.1.49 ho utāho cānantaram), subsequent to treatment of devadatta as non-existent. Finally, consider ām bhoh pācasī devadatta where devadatta becomes non-anudāta (8.1.55 ām ekāntaram . . .). For, bhoh is here treated as non-existent and devadatta then becomes an āmantrita intervened by a single pada. The condition of intervention by a single pada cannot be satisfied here since bhoh is not treated as non-existent.

2. Why do we have the condition of āmantritam? Consider devadattaḥ pacāti where, in the absence of treatment of an āmantrita as non-existent (avidya- mānavaṁ), the nighāta of pacāti must apply.

Why do we have the condition of pūrvaṁ ‘preceding’? So that the āmantrita is not treated as avidyamānavaṁ with reference to operation on itself. For, pūrva ‘preceding’ is defined as a term relative to para ‘subsequent’. An āmantrita, when used as a preceding pada, can be treated as if non-existent only for operations relative to what follows, irrespective of whether such an operation happens to be conditioned by itself, or by something else (Kāś: pūrvatvaṁ ca parāpekṣāṁ bhavatītī parasyaiva eva kārye svanimitte vā tad avidyamānavaṁ bhavati na tu svakārye). Consider devadatta pācasi where devadatta becomes as if non-existent relative to pacasi. Its initial uḍāṭa, as per rule 6.1.195 āmantritasya ca, cannot be blocked. Now consider īmam mé gaṅge yamune sarasvatiḥ where gaṅge is an āmantrita used as a preceding pada in relation to yamune. It can be treated as if non-existent in relation to yamune. It cannot be considered as if non-existent in relation to me. For, me will be treated as immediately preceding yamune since gaṅge will be considered as if non-existent. The word yamune will thus be marked with anudāṭa because of me. Remember here that gaṅge, because of its status as non-existent, cannot condition the anudāṭa of yamune. That is, it cannot kill the conditioning status of me insofar as the anudāṭa of yamune is concerned.

8.1.73 नामम्ब्रते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम्

nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe sāmānyavacanam
/ naḥ āmantrite 7/1 samānādhikaraṇe 7/1 = samānam adhikaranaṁ yasya
(bu.), tat; / sāmānyavacanam 1/1 = sāmānyasya vacanam (saś. tat.); /
(padasya #16 āmantritaṁ pūrvaṁ avidyamānavaṁ #72)
āmantritānte samānādhikaraṇe parataḥ pūrvaṁ āmantritānte sāmānya-
vacanam nāvidyamānavaṁ bhavati

A pada termed āmantrita, used with the signification of a general (sāmānrya), is not treated as if non-existent when another āmantrita, used in syntactic coordination with the preceding, follows.
EXAMPLES:

agné grhapate ‘O Agni, master of the house’
mānaṇavaka jatitādhyāpaka ‘O kid, the teacher with matted hair’

1. This rule declares a preceding āmantrita, signifying a general (sāmānya), as if not non-existent when an āmantrita, used in syntactic coordination with the preceding, follows. Consider agne grhapate where agne is treated as if existing (vidyāmāṇavat) and, consequently, grhapate gets the nighāta ‘blanket anudātta’ of 6.1.19 āmantritasya ca. That is, the following word is marked with anudātta on account of its preceding treated as vidyāmāṇavat (Kāś: pūrvasya vidyāmāṇavat param anudāttam eva bhavati). Similar reasoning also applies to the second example. If the option of treating as if existent is not accepted then 8.1.19 āmantritasya ca makes both words marked with udātta at the beginning.

2. Why do we have the condition of āmantrite? Consider devadatta pacasi ‘Devadatta, you are cooking’. Note that the LA-affix of pacasi denotes an agent which is the denotatum of devadatta. There is a syntactic coordination between devadatta and pacasi. However, there is no āmantrite to follow.

Why do we have the condition of syntactic coordination? Consider devadatta pāṇḍita yajñadatta where the word pāṇḍita is a qualifier to yajñadatta. It cannot be accepted as sharing syntactic coordination with the preceding. Why do we have the condition of sāmānyavacana ‘denoting a general’? So that this rule does not apply in cases of synonyms. Thus, aghaney, devi, sarāsvati, idē, kāvyē, vihāryē, which are all vocatives, but synonyms of Sarasvati. They all follow the accentual provision of 6.1.195 āmantritasya ca.

8.1.74 विभाषितं विद्वेषायचने बहुवचनम्

vibhāṣitaṁ vīṣeṣavacane bahuvacanam
vibhāṣitaṁ 1/1 vīṣeṣavacane 1/1 = vīṣeṣasya vacanam (ssaś. tat.)/
(padasya #16 āmantritaṁ pūrvam avidyāmāṇavat #72 āmantrite samānādhihikarane #73)
vīṣeṣavacane samānādhihikarane āmantritānte paraṇaḥ pūrvam āmantritaṁ bahuvacanāntaṁ vibhāṣitaṁ avidyāmāṇavat bhavati
A pada termed āmantrita, used with the denotatum of sāmānya ‘general’, is treated as if non-existent, only optionally, when an āmantrita used in syntactic coordination with the denotatum of a particular (vīṣeṣa), follows.

EXAMPLES:

devaḥ śarānyāḥ ‘O gods! the givers of shelter’
devaḥ śarānyāḥ ‘ibidem’
brāhmānā vaivyākaranāḥ ‘O brāhmanaṇas, the grammarians’
brāhmānā vaivyākaranāḥ ‘ibidem’
1. Note that the wording of this sūtra is generally accepted as: vibhāsitam viśeṣavacane. Patañjali requires that bahuvacane should also be used as part of the wording of this rule. This to inform that only plural usage is available. That is, a singular āmantrita word with the signification of general is obligatorily treated as if ‘not existent’ (avidyamānava) when used in syntactic coordination with another such word signifying its ‘particular’ counterpart. Thus, mānāvaka jaṭilaka ‘O kid, with matted hair’.

It is also stated that sāmānyavacanam is also needed because of syntactic coordination context with viśeṣavacanam. Kāśikā states that viśeṣavacane, since sāmānyavacanam is carried from the earlier rule, could be easily understood. Pāṇini uses it explicitly in this rule for clarity (viśeṣavacanagrahanaṃ viśpaṭārtham). Note, however, that Kāśikā does it by also accepting bahuvacanam in the wording of this rule. Some others do not read sāmānyavacanam in the wording of the earlier rule. They read sāmānyavacanam in the wording of this rule, instead. Consider the examples where deva and brāhmaṇa denote general qualities of ‘divineness’ and ‘brähmaṇāness’. Their denotatum is thus sāmānya. The denotatum of śaraṇya and vairākarana constitutes the particular used in syntactic coordination with its general counterpart. Thus, we optionally get deva and brāhmaṇa as if they did exist (vidyamānava). Rule 8.1.19 āmantritasya ca can now apply to offer nighāta ‘blanket anudāta’ to śaraṇya and deva. If the option ofvidyamānava is not accepted, both these words, in view of 6.1.195 āmantritasya ca, will be marked with udāta at the beginning.

**Pāda Two**

8.2.1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्  

pūrvatratṛśiddham  
\( /pūrvatra \ynthesis asiddham \) 1/1 = na siddham (nañ. tat.)/  
adhipāraṇ yam a adhyāyaharpiramālmāṭhe. yad ita urydhvam anukramsīyāmḥ  
‘pūrvatratṛśiddham’ ity evam veditavyam. tatra yeyāṃ sapūdasaptādhyāyya- 
nukṛāntā etasyāṃ ayaṃ pādono dhīyaḥ siddho bhavati  

That which follows from here onwards is treated as if suspended (asiddham) in view of what precedes.

**Examples:**  

asmā uddhara ‘fetch for this person’  
dvā atra ‘the two here’  
dvā ānaya ‘bring the two’  
asā ādiyāḥ ‘that is sun’  
amuṣmai ‘dative singular of adas ‘he’’  
amuṣmat ‘ablative singular . . .’  
amuṣmin ‘locative singular . . .’
śuṣṭikā 'dried up'
śuṣṭakajāngā 'she whose thighs are thin'
kṣāmimān 'decaying'
avajdhat 'carried'
guḍaliṇmān 'jaggery-licking'

1. This is an adhikāra, and hence, it carries through all rules enumerated up to the end of this book-chapter (adhyāya). Whatever is stated hereafter must remain suspended in view of what precedes this rule. Thus, in view of the preceding seven and one quarter-chapters of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, its last three quarter-chapters of rules are considered suspended (asiddha). A following rule, here in this section of the tripadī 'last three quarter-chapters of rules', is also to be considered suspended (asiddha) in view of what precedes (Kāś. ita uttaraṁ cottaṁ uttaro yogāḥ pūrvapūrvatrāsidham bhavati = asiddhavad bhavati). What is the meaning of asiddho bhavati 'is considered suspended'. It does not do what is already done and established (Kāś. siddhakāryam na karotī arthah).

Now the question: 'what is the thing which becomes suspended (asiddha)'? Is this a rule (śāstra), or an operation (kārya) performed by that rule? This brings two notions of asiddhatva 'suspension': (i) śastrāsidhatva 'suspension of rule(s)' and kāryāsidhatva 'suspension of operation(s)'. The first view will accept a rule (śāstra; lakṣaṇa) as asiddha 'suspended'. The second view will consider an operation (kārya) performed by a given rule (śāstra) as asiddha. This asiddhatva should be interpreted as śastrāsidhatva, because 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsidham is a rule (śāstra) where atra 'here' denotes an extent (avadhī) in relation to pūrva 'prior', an obligatory avadhimat 'that which is bounded by an extent'. It is generally accepted that avadhyaavadhimatoḥ sajātiyatvam avadhī 'extent' and avadhimat 'that which constitutes the extent' share similarity of class (jāti). That is, yaj jātīr avadhis tai jātīr avadhimān 'the class of an avadhimān is identical with the class of its corresponding avadhī'. Consider caitrāt pūrvah phālgunah 'phālguna is prior to caitra'. Since the word caitra here denotes a particular month (first month of the Vikrama calendar), phālguna (last month of the Vikrama calendar) must also denote a month. It cannot, for example, denote Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers. The word pūrva must thus denote śāstra 'rules'. The asiddhatva of 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsidham then must relate to the notion of suspension of rules (śastrāsidhatva). What about the notion of suspension of kārya 'operation'? The idea of the suspension (asiddhatva) of kārya can be gotten only secondarily, by way of suspension of the śāstra which is primary (mukhya). Why is śastrāsidhatva 'suspension of rule' considered primary (mukhya)? Because śastrāsidhatva is stated within rules by means of explicit statements (sanniveśa-viśeṣa-yogītvāt). When a rule (śāstra) becomes asiddha, the cognition which is generated by, and about, that particular śāstra also becomes asiddha. An operation which is carried out on the basis of cognition of a particular śāstra also becomes asiddha when
cognition of that śāstra becomes asiddha. This is the order in which this notion of asiddhatva can be effectively understood. Thus, na hi mukhyasya grahaṇe sambhavaṇi gauṇasya grahaṇam yuktam ‘it is not appropriate for a specification made by means of a principal (śāstrāsiddhatva) to possibly refer to a non-principal (kāryāsiddhatva).’ The asiddhatva of 8.2.1 pūrvatāsiddham is thus accepted as suspension of rules (śāstrāsiddhatva). Neo-grammarians such as Nāgēśa and Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita accept this view. Earlier grammarians, which also includes authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti, accept the kāryāsiddhatva view.

Note that it is rather impossible for the tradition to accept suspension of rules. How could a śāstra, which has been stated and hence has attained the status of something established (siddha), be considered unestablished (asiddha). A pot (ghaṭa) will never become a piece of cloth (pāṭa), no matter how many times someone calls it a piece of cloth. How can sun (sūrya) become non-sun (asūrya)? Pāṇini should not have formulated this rule, especially since what is done (siddha) is something which cannot be undone (asiddha). But how should one go against Pāṇini’s own words (vacana). It is at the strength of Pāṇini’s own formulation (vacana-sāmarthya) that commentators are willing to accept the śāstra, not exactly as asiddha but, as if asiddha ‘suspended-like’ (asiddhavat). That is, they extend (atidīsanti) the status of suspension (asiddhatva) to what is established (siddha). This is how an operation which is carried out by a rule, and which is siddha, will become asiddha vat ‘as if not established’.

Everyone knows about vatighaṭitatvam atideśatvam ‘an extensional provision is made with inclusion of affix vatUP’. Where is vatUP in the wording of rule 8.2.1 pūrvatāsiddham? It is stated that one can get the sense of vatUP, even without explicitly stating vatUP (vinā ‘pi vatim vatvarho gamyate) in the wording of the rule. Consider abhrāmaṇam brāhmaṇam ity āha ‘he called a non-brāhmaṇa a brāhmaṇa’. One gets the sense of asiddhavat from asiddham the same way one gets the sense of brāhmaṇavat ‘brāhmaṇa-like’ from brāhmaṇa.

Yet another problem: what is the nature of this rule? Is this a heading rule (adhiķāra), or an extension (atideśa). Commentators accept this rule primarily as an adhiķāra ‘heading’. Secondarily, though, they accept its extensional provision included within its status as an adhiķāra. It is similar to 6.4.22 asiddhāvad aṭrābhāt which is an adhiķāra with extensional provision of suspension (asiddhatva). This is how the independence of an adhiķāra and atideśa is reconciled to coexistence.

But this rule, similar to 4.2.92 śese, is not only a lakṣāṇa ‘rule’ but is also a vidhi ‘operation’. It is an adhiķāra since it has to be carried to rules contained within the last three quarters (trīpaṭī) of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is also a vidhi since it provides for some new operation. How do you get these two meanings of adhiķāra and vidhi from this single rule. One may resort to tantra, a technique which Patañjali (ad 1.3.3 halantyam) describes as: saṅkṛd uccaritave sati bahvarthabodhakatvam tantratvam ‘tantra is an interpretive technique whereby
a word articulated just once denotes more than one meaning’. The other
two interpretive techniques of ekaśeṣa ‘retention of one’ and āṛṣṭī ‘repetition’
are not employed here. A single citation of asiddham could account for both
the governing heading as well as the operational extension of suspension.

Now consider brāhmaṇābhyām kṛtam dehi where a single citation of brāhma-
ṇābhyām can be read with the rest of the sentence in different ways to yield
four different paraphrases:

(i) brāhmaṇābhyām kṛtam ‘made by two brāhmaṇas’
(ii) brahmaṇābhyām dehi ‘give to the two brāhmaṇas’
(iii) brāhmaṇābhyām kṛtam dehi ‘give that which was made by the two
brāhmaṇas’
(iv) brāhmaṇābhyām kṛtam dehi ‘give that which was made to the two
brāhmaṇas’

Here is an additional example:

(v) payo payaḥ jaryati
‘milk (when boiled) causes (its) water (content) to burn’
(vi) ‘water (in milk) causes milk to burn’
A single payaḥ is giving two meanings here.

Consider the paraphrases of this rule, when read with the obligatory param
‘that which follows’:

(a) pūrvatraya kartavye sati param asiddham bhavati ‘in view of application
of that which is ‘prior’ (pūrvam; the sapāda-saptādhyaṁ), that which
is ‘subsequent’ is treated ‘as if suspended (asiddham; the tripādi).’
(b) pūrvatraya kartavye sati param asiddham bhavati ‘in view of application
of that which is ‘prior’ in rules of the tripādi ‘last three quarters of
rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī’, that which is ‘subsequent’ is treated ‘as if
suspended’ (asiddham).’

The first interpretation will make this rule vidhi ‘operational’. The second
interpretation, since it is to be read as part of subsequent rules, will make it
an adhikāra ‘governing rule’. Still, this rule is primarily an adhikāra. Inciden-
tially, how can one read param in this rule when it is not explicitly stated in
the rule? We can read param ‘that which follows’ because pūrvam ‘that which
precedes’, as in pūrvatrayaśiddham, is a relative term and has an obligatory
expectancy relationship (nitya-sambandha) with param.

This statement of asiddhatva is made for purposes of negating (pratise-
dhārtham) an operation with ‘replacement’ (ādesa) as its condition (nimitta;
Kāś. tad etad asiddhatva-vacanam ādesalakṣaṇa-pratiseadhārtham). It is also
made for purposes of accomplishing application of a rule with sthānī
‘substituendum, i.e., that which is displaced by a substitute’, as its condition
(Kāś. utsargalakṣaṇahāvārtham ca). Consider asmai uddhara, the dative sin-
gular form of *idam 'this' followed in close proximity by *uddhara, where 6.1.78 eco *yavāyāvah replaces the ai of asmai with āy. The y of āy then goes through deletion of 8.3.19 lopah śākalyasya. We thus get asm(ai→āy) uddhara → asmā(y→♀) uddhara = asmā uddhara. Note here that 6.1.87 ād guṇah may find its scope of application on asmā uddhara. This will yield a wrong form *asm(ā→u→♀)ddhara → *asmoddhara. Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah cannot apply here since 8.3.19 lopah śākalyasya will be treated as asiddha. That is, deletion of y will be accepted as not having taken effect. Similar examples with a replacement in āu, for au of dvau and ādityau, can be found in dvau atra → dvā atra and asau ādityah → asā ādityah. Of course, with deletion of u of au→āu, again by 8.3.19 lopah śākalyasya. Note here that 6.1.100 aakah savarne dīrgahā may become applicable to dvā atra and asā ādityah which, in turn, may produce unacceptable results *dv(ā+a→♀)tra → *dvātra and as(ā+a→♀)dītyah → *asādītyah. Here again, the suspension of 8.3.19 lopah śākalyasya will remove the condition of application of 6.1.100 aakah savarne dīrgahā. Consequently, we will get dvā atra and asā ādityah. That is, when a following rule is treated as asiddha in close context of a preceding rule, an operation carried out by it is treated as if asiddha, even more so (PM: yādā hi pūrvasāstrasamadhih paraśmyāśtram asiddham, taddā tatpratipāditaṁ kāryam sutaram asiddham bhavati).

The preceding are examples where an operation conditioned by a replacement is negated (ādesā-lakṣaṇa-pratīṣedha).

2. Let us now consider amuṣmai, amuṣmāt and amuṣmin, the dative, ablative and locative singular forms of adas ‘that’, which illustrate accomplishment of an operation conditioned by items to be replaced (utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāva). Recall that, given adas + (N)e, the s of adas is replaced with a (7.2.102 tyādādīnām ah). The resultant sequence of two a vowels of ada (s→a) + (N)e = ada + (N)e, is then replaced with a single a (6.4.94 ato guṇe). The e of Ne is also replaced with smai, under the condition of a pronominal anīga ending in a (7.1.14 sarvanāmnaḥ smai). Rule 8.2.20 adaso’ser . . . then applies on ada + smai to replace its d with m and a with u. We thus get: a(d→m) + (a→u) + smai = amusmai. An application of 8.3.59 ādesāpratīyayoḥ then replaces the s of amusmai with š. We thus get amuṣmai. We similarly get amuṣmāt and amuṣmin, where the ablative and locative singular endings NaśI and Ni are replaced with smāt and smin, respectively (7.1.15 nasinyoh smātsminau). Recall that the final a of ada, which gets replaced with u of 8.2.20 adaso’ser . . . , forms the left condition (nimitta) of replacement in smai, smāt and smin. These replacements cannot be accomplished unless 8.2.20 adaso’ser . . . , and thereby its effect, is not considered suspended. The a at the end of ada is clearly an item which, when replaced with u, removes the substituendum replaced by u. Restoring this substituendum, via asiddhatva, facilitates application of replacements such as smai, smāt and smin (Kāś: utvasyāsiddhatvāt smāyādayo bhavanti).

Now consider the following verse:
These examples illustrate additional suspensions:

(i) śusikā: which derives from śus + (K)ta, where 8.2.51 śuṣah kaḥ replaces the affixal ta with ka. We thus get śuska 'dried'. A feminine derivate with ṭāP will be śuska + ṭāP → śuskā. One will get śuṣā + ka → śuṣkāka by introducing affix ka (5.3.73 ajñāte) with the denotatum of ajñāta 'not known'. What about the feminine counterpart of śuṣkāra? There are two possible forms śuṣkāk(a→φ) + (达不到) śuṣk(a→a)k + a → śuṣkakā; and śuṣk(a→i)kā → śuṣkikā. Note that the a of śuṣkāk + a is replaced with its short counterpart (7.4.13 ke naḥ). This a is then obligatorily replaced with i to produce śuṣkikā (7.3.44 pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya . . . ). Rule 7.3.46 uḍicām ātāḥ . . . , however, does not recognize this replacement, especially in the opinion of northern grammarians (uḍicām). This will get a wrong form *uṣkakā. Recall that this replacement will be accomplished before k (yakapūrvāyāḥ). It is to block this optional a, against the obligatory i, that ka as a replacement for ta (8.2.51 śuṣah kaḥ) is considered suspended in view of the application of 7.3.46 uḍicām ātāḥ . . .

(ii) śuṣkajāṅgāḥ: This is a bahuvrīhi compound paraphrased as śuṣke jāṅghe asyāḥ 'she whose thighs are thin'. Here again, the negation of masculine transformation (pumvadbhāva) by 6.3.37 na kopa-dhāyaḥ cannot be accomplished. For, ka-replacement of ta will be considered asiddha and hence, the kopa-dhā 'penultimate k' condition of negation of pumvadbhāva 'masculine transformation' will be removed.

(iii) ksāmimān: The derivational history of this form begins with ksai + (K)ta, where ai is replaced with ā (6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe . . . ) and t of Kta is replaced with m (8.2.53 ksāyo mah). We can now derive ksāmi, parallel to ksāmanyāpayam 'offspring of Kṣāma', with affix iN (4.1.95 ata iñ). One may also derive ksāmin, paraphrased as ksāmo vā asyāsti 'he of whose is Kṣāma', with affix inl (5.2.115 ata iniθhanav). The base-form of ksāmimān, i.e., ksāminat, can now be derived by introducing affix matUP (5.2.94 tad asyāstī asmin . . . ), either after ksāmi, or after ksāmin, ending in the genitive (ṣaṣṭhī). Why can we not replace m of matUP with v of 8.2.9 mād upadhāyāś ca . . . ? The m-replacement of 8.2.53 ksāyo mah is considered suspended (asiddha) in view of application of 8.2.9 mād upadhāyāś ca. The condition of v-replacement of m of matUP is thus removed.

(iv) auṣadhat. This form derives from (ūḍha + NiC) + LUN, where ūḍha is derived from vah + (K)ta. Note that vah 'to carry' goes through
samprasaṇa and its h is replaced with dh (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho dhāh), thereby yielding udh + ta. The t of (K) ta then goes through a replacement in dh (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh), via dh (dhatva; 8.2.40 ḷaṣastathordho . . . ). Thus we get udh + (t → dh → dh) a = udh + dha. The first dh of udh + dha then goes through deletion (8.3.13 ḷho ḷhe ṭopaḥ). The u of u + dha is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 dhraloke pūrvasya . . . ). One can now introduce the causal suffix NiC with the signification of tam ākhyat 'described him' (Mbh ad 3.1.26 hetumati ca). Affix LUN can be then introduced after ०dha + (N)i(C) to yield ०dha + i + (LUN→tiP) = ०dha + i + ti, where ti-deletion (6.4.115 teḥ; vt. nāv iṣṭhavat . . . ) will delete a of ०dha, thereby yielding ०dha + i + ti. The i of ti will be deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca. An introduction of CLI (3.1.43 cli luṇi), its replacement in CaN (3.1.48 niṣṛdṛusrubhyaḥ . . . ) and deletion of NiC (6.4.51 ner anīṭi) will then follow. This yields ०dha + (NiC→ϕ) + CaN + t → ०dha + (C)a(N) + t = ०dha + a + t.

Rule 6.1.11 caṇi must now apply on ०dha of ०dha + a + ta. It is in the application of reduplication (dvirvacane kartavye) that h → dh (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho dhāh), t → dh (dhatva; 8.2.40 ḷaṣastathordho . . . ), dh → dh (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh) and deletion of dh (dhalopa; 8.3.13 ḷo ḷhe ṭopaḥ) all become asiddha 'suspended' by 8.2.1 pūrvatrā-siddham. The earlier ti-deletion is also treated here as what it replaced (Mbh: nau kṛtaṁ sthānivad . . . ; 1.1.56 sthānivad ādeśo nāvaḍhau). What is introduced here, via reduplication and in consonance with 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasya, is thus hta. We get ṛ + hta + dh + (C)a(N) + t = ṛ + hta + dh + a + t which, after application of 7.4.60 halādi sesaḥ, yields ṛ + ha + dh + a + t. Note here that augment aT must also be introduced before roots which begin with a vowel (6.4.72 ād. ajāḍinām; 1.1.46 ādyantau taṇītau). We thus get: a(T) + ṛ + ha + dh + a + t. The h of this string is then replaced with jh (cutva; 7.4.62 kuoḥ cuḥ). This jh then goes through a replacement in j (jaśtvā; 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca). Now we have: ṛ + ṛ + (h → jh → j) a + dh + a + t which, after application of 6.1.90 ātaś ca, yields (ā+ ṛ→au) + ja + dh + a + t → aujaḍhat. Why do we not get a replacement in a (iṭva) for a of aujaḍhat, via sanvadbhāva 'treatment as if when sanNfollowed'. Because of the negation of anaglope 'not when there is deletion of aK' (7.4.93 sanval laghuni . . . ). We thus do not get aujaḍhat. Note, however, that aujaḍhat could still be a form derived from ūdhī, a derivate ending in affix KtiN.

(v) guḍalinmāṇ: This form is derived by introducing affix KoIP after verbal root iih 'to lick, taste', under the cooccurrence condition of guḍa 'jaggery' in the accusative. Thus, guḍam ledhi = guḍalih. Affix matUP is then introduced after guḍalih to yield guḍalih + matUP.
The h of guḍaliḥ then goes through a replacement in ḍh (ḍhatva; 8.2.31 ho ḍhah) and ḍ (jaśṭva; 8.2.29 jhalām jaśi'nte). Why do we not get the m of matUP replaced with v (8.2.10 jhayah)? Replacement applications of ḍh and ḍ are considered asiddha (8.2.1 pūrvatṛāsiddham) in view of application of 8.2.9 jhayah. Rule 8.4.44 yaro' nunāsike . . . then applies on guḍali(h→ḍh→ḍ) mat to produce guḍali(ḍ→n) mat, whereby we get the nominative singular form guḍaliṃmān.

3. If the last three quarter-rules (tripādi) of the Aṣṭādhyāyi are considered asiddha 'suspended' in view of application of the preceding sapāda-saptādhyāyi, then what is the purpose of specifications made here with pañcamī 'ablative', saṣṭhī 'genitive' and spatami 'locative'. For, rules dealing with these specifications will all become asiddha 'suspended' in view of application of 1.1.49 saṣṭhī sthāneyogā, 1.1.66 tasmīn iti nirdiṣṭe . . . and 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya. It is stated that, based on the kāryakāla 'formulation of a rule when it is intended to apply' view, these rules will not be considered asiddha in view of application of specific naming (samjñā) and interpreting (paribhāṣā) rules. The notion of pūrva 'prior' and para 'subsequent', especially with reference to asiddhatva 'suspension', cannot apply to them. It is stated that naming and interpretive rules are meant for facilitating applications of other rules. There is no pūrva 'prior' or para 'subsequent' applicational constraint on them because they indicate their functions only when brought close to applicational context of other rules. It is important to note that naming and interpretive rules (samjñā-paribhāṣā) abandon their sequential order dictated by their placement in grammar and, instead, follow their applicational order. They apply in the order of anticipated applications. Nyāsa illustrates this point with multiple examples of rule application and concludes that naming and interpretive rules cannot be considered suspended. This is what the tradition accepts in the kāryakāla view. The following verses sum it all:

samjñāḥ parārthā atyanām paribhāṣāś ca tadvidhāḥ/
na svātantryena tās tasmāt kāryāvagatiḥetavah//
anekasya pradhānasya śeṣabhūtā bhavantu iti/
etāh kevalam ācāryah prthagdesā upādiśat//
vīdhīvakyaśe tu samkhyaṭa yatra tatra sthitair api/
bodhayantyaḥ suvakāryaḥ naikapūrvaḥ parā imāḥ //

'namning (samjñā), and similarly interpreting (paribhāṣā), are extremely dependent on other rules. They, therefore, cannot be accepted as sources of understanding operations independently. They may thus be interpreted as residuals in relation to many principal operational rules. They have simply been read in different places by the ācārya (Paṇini). There is no relative order such as prior and subsequent in relation to them. They, having approached operational rules placed all over, thus make their function known'
4. Recall that, in a conflict of equal strength (vipratisedha) between a prior (pūrva) and a subsequent (para) rule, that which is subsequent in order wins (1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam). What happens to this interpretive rule in relation to 8.2.1 pūrvastrāśiddham? If one accepts the kāryakāla view, this interpretive rule will also present itself at the time of application of 8.2.1 pūrvastrāśiddham. This interpretive rule of vipratisedha, since a subsequent rule which competes (sparddhate) against a prior rule is considered asiddha in view of its application, does not find scope (Kāś: ‘vipratisedhe param kāryam’ ity esā tu paribhāṣā yena pūrveṇa lakṣaṇena saha sparddhate, param lakṣaṇam tat prati tasyāsiddhatvān na pravartate). Consider the two derivatives of NyaT; i.e., (vi-sphur + NyaT) + sU → visphoryam and (ava-gur + NyaT) + sU → avagoryam, where application of guna (7.3.86 pugentalaghipdhasya ca) cannot be blocked by application of dīṛgha ‘long replacement’(8.2.77 hali ca) on the basis of subsequent order of enumeration (paratva). For, 8.2.77 hali ca will be treated as asiddha in view of application of 8.2.26 pugentalaghipdhasya ca. The question of conflict between rules of ‘equal strength’ (tulyabalatā) thus does not arise.

If it is said that a subsequent operation is considered suspended when a prior operation is to be performed, a subsequent exception will become suspended in view of application of a prior (pūrva) general (utsarga) rule. Consequently, the gh of 8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghāḥ will become suspended in the derivation of dogdā and dogdhum. The gh of ho ḍhaḥ (8.2.31), in turn, will become applicable. It is therefore said that in applying a general rule, even though placed subsequently, an exception (apavāda) is not considered suspended. This is accepted at the strength of Pāṇini’s own statement. Why can they not be applied in turn at the strength of the Pāṇinian statement? This will save the Pāṇinian statement from becoming vacuous. This is not acceptable. Although an exception could be applied in turn, optional application of gh by 8.2.33 vādruhamuha . . . will become vacuous (cf. Nyāsa ad Kāś).

This shows how an exception always blocks application of its corresponding general rule. The very formulation of an exception will become useless if it is blocked by a general rule placed subsequently (Kāś: apavādasya tu parasyāpi utsarge kartavye vacanapramāṇayād asiddhatvam na bhavati).

8.2.2 नलोपः सुप्वरसङ्गालुविविधिषु कृति

\[\text{nalo} \text{p}a \text{ḥ supsvarasamjñātugvidhiśu kṛti} \]

\[\text{na} \text{l}o \text{p}a \text{ḥ na} \text{kā} \text{r}a \text{s}a \text{l}o \text{p}a \text{ḥ (saś. tat.)}; sup-svara-samjñā-tug-vidhiśu 7/3 = sup ca svaraś ca samjñā ca tuk ca (itar. dv.); eteṣām vidhayāḥ (saś. tat.), tāsu; kṛti 7/1/ (asiddhaḥ #1) \]

\[\text{nalo} \text{p}a \text{ḥ pūrvastrāśiddho bhavati svarvidhau samjñāvidhau tugvidhau ca kṛti} \]
A deletion of \( n \) by means of LOPA is treated here as if suspended, when an operation relative to \( sU\dot{P} \), accent (\( s\varata \)), naming (\( s\text{am\text{\-}n\text{\-}} \)) and introduction of augment \( tUK \) before a \( k\text{rt} \) affix, is to be performed.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{rājabhīḥ} 'instrumental plural of \textit{rājan} 'king''
\item \textit{takṣabhīḥ} 'instrumental plural of \textit{takṣan} 'carpenter''
\item \textit{rājabhīyām} 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of \textit{rājan}'
\item \textit{takṣabhīyām} 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of \textit{takṣan}''
\item \textit{rājasu} 'locative plural of \textit{rājan}'
\item \textit{takṣasu} 'locative plural of \textit{takṣan}''
\item \textit{rājavati} 'a female with royal splendor'
\item \textit{paṇcārām} 'five eye-diseases'
\item \textit{daśārām} 'ten eye-diseases'
\item \textit{paṇcadaṇḍī} 'a place with five shaft-carrying ascetics'
\item \textit{paṇca brāhmaṇāyaḥ} 'five brāhmaṇa women'
\item \textit{daśa brāhmaṇāyaḥ} 'ten brāhmaṇa women'
\item \textit{vr̥trahabhyām} 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of \textit{vr̥trahan} 'killer of \textit{Vṛtra}''
\item \textit{vr̥trahabhiḥ} 'instrumental plural of \textit{vr̥trahan}'
\end{itemize}

1. The word \textit{vidhi} 'operation, process' is here interpreted as relatable to all four constituents of the \textit{dvandva} compound \textit{sup-svara-samjñā-tug-vidhisu}. For, the word \textit{vidhi} is used at the end of a \textit{dvandva} compound and whatever is used at the end of a \textit{dvandva} compound is related to each one of its constituents (cf. \textit{dvandva}nte \textit{śrīyamāṇaṃ} \textit{pratyekām abhisambadhya}). That is, by reading the locative \textit{vidhau} with individual constituents, we get the interpretations: \textit{sub-vidhau} 'in an operation relative to elements denoted by the abbreviatory term \textit{sU\dot{P}}', \textit{svara-vidhau} 'in an operation relative to accentuation', \textit{samjñā-vidhau} 'in an operation relative to naming (\textit{samjñā}) and tug-vidhau. The word \textit{krti} is relatable only to tug-\textit{vidhi} 'an operation relative to the introduction of augment \textit{tUK}'. It is impossible (\textit{asambhava}) to relate it to \textit{sub-vidhi}, \textit{svara-vidhi} and \textit{samjñā-vidhi}. Thus, \textit{krti}, when paraphrased with tug-vidhau, will yield the interpretation: 'in an operation relative to augment \textit{tUK}, provided an affix termed \textit{krt} follows'.

Note that \textit{sup}, \textit{svara}, \textit{samjñā} and \textit{tug} form a \textit{dvandva} compound which, in turn, is combined with \textit{vidhi} to form a genitive (\textit{saśṭhi}) \textit{tatpurusā} compound. This genitive is then interpreted as \textit{śeṣa-śaśṭhi} 'residual (not specified thus far by rules enumerating the use of genitive), denoting \textit{sambandha-sāmānya} 'relationship in general' (2.3.50 \textit{saśṭhi} \textit{śeṣe}).

The word \textit{vidhī}, which is here associated with \textit{sup}, etc., can be interpreted either as \textit{bhāva-sādhana} 'completed action (root-sense) as means' or as \textit{karma-sādhana} 'operational object as means'. This dual interpretation is offered in view of whether operational objects relative to \textit{sub-vidhi}, etc., already exist. A
bhāva-sādhana interpretation of vidhi will offer these operations relative to something which does not exist. A karma-sādhana interpretation of vidhi will offer these operations relative to something which already exists.

Our rule uses vidhi only once. How do we get this dual interpretation of vidhi from its single use. It is true that vidhi is used only once. However, it is read separately with sup, svara, samjñā and tuk. This separate usage enables us to get these two interpretations of vidhi. The problem of interpretation will arise only when we construe vidhi with supsvarasamjñātuk, all as a whole at once (Nyāsa: yady esa vidhiśabdaḥ supsvarādibhiḥ samudāyena sambādhya te taddā syād ayaṃ dosaḥ). If we construe vidhi individually with sup, etc., it will yield different sentences. The vidhi of each one of those sentences can also be interpreted differently. That is, in view of both bhāva-sādhana and karma-sādhana interpretations of vidhi (Nyāsa: teṣu ca bhinneṣu vākyeṣu vidhiśabdō' pi bhinna eva. kaścid bhāvasādhanaḥ, kaścit karmasādhanaḥ). A bhāvasādhana interpretation, for examples, with svara will give the interpretation: ‘when an operation relative to accent is to be performed’. A karmasādhana interpretation, for example with sup, will yield the interpretation: ‘when an operation with sup as its focus (object) is to be performed’. This interpretation will include operations focusing on sup (sup-paraka), as well as their replacements (sup-sthānīka). Note that karmasādhana interpretation of vidhi is only relatable to sup.

Consider rājabhīḥ and takṣabhīḥ which derive from rājan + bhis and takṣan + bhis. The final n of rājan and takṣan, in rājan + bhis and takṣan + bhis, goes through deletion of 8.2.7 na lopaḥ prātipadiṅgatasya. Mention must also be made here of three rules which may become applicable to these strings. Rule 7.1.9 ato bhis aṣa requires that bhis ‘instrumental plural nominal ending’, which occurs after an aṅga ending in a be replaced with aṣa. Rule 7.3.102 supi ca requires that the final a of an aṅga, here rāja and takṣa, be replaced with its long counterpart. Rule 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et introduces e as a replacement to an aṅga which ends in a, provided a nominal ending (sup) beginning with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term jhāḥ follows. These replacements are blocked by treating the deleted n of rājan and takṣan as asiddha ‘suspended’. For, a replacement in aṣa and a cannot be accomplished unless the aṅga ended in a. The aṅga, due mainly to suspension of n-deletion, ends in n.

Returning to the bhāva-sādhana interpretation of vidhi, we find that the suspension (asiddhatva) of n cannot be accomplished in view of introducing replacements in aṣa and a. For, in a bhāva-sādhana ‘root-sense as a means’ interpretation, asiddhatva ‘suspension’ is possible only when an operation brings about something which did not exist (bhāvasādhane hi yatrāśato vidhānām tatrāsiddhatvena bhavāntaryam, na tu satāḥ). In a karma-sādhana ‘object as a means’ interpretation of vidhi ‘operation’, asiddhatva is possible only when an operation is carried out with reference to something which
already exists. We can find asiddhatvā in the context of subvidhi since sUP is there. Thus, we will find asiddhatvā when an operation applies ‘in place of’ or ‘when sUP follows’. It is the karma-sādhana interpretation of sub-vidhi that, with support of asiddhatvā of n, blocks replacements in āis and ā in rāja + bhis and takṣa + bhis. Commentators explain that the bhāva-sādhana interpretation is followed in all operations, except for sub-vidhi. For, sūp, svara and samjña have to be all introduced first. For, it is only with reference to their introduction that asiddhatvā obtains.

2. Note that all these four operations are contained within the sapādasaṇḍāhīyāi ‘first seven and one quarter-chapters’. Deletion of n is, of course, contained within the trippādi ‘last three quarters’. As such, deletion of n is already suspended (asiddha) in view of these four operations. Why raise, again, the question of asiddhatvā ‘suspension’ of n-deletion? It is stated that a provision made against one which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (siddhe satyā ārambhō niyamārthaḥ). What is that restrictive purpose here? Deletion of n should be considered asiddha only with reference to these operations, and not with reference to any other. Consider rājīvati, rājayate and rājasvah where replacements in i, i.e., (rājā(n→ϕ) + ya + śaP + tiP → rāj(a→i) + ya + a + ti → rājīvati), and long ā, i.e., rājā(n→ϕ) + ya + (ta→te) → rāj(a→ā) + ya + ŚaP + te) = rājāvate is accomplished. Of course, under the non-suspension of n-deletion. This same is also witnessed in accomplishing the single replacement in ā of rājā(n→ϕ) + āśva → rāj(a+a→ā) śvah = rājāsvah.

Now consider some illustrations. For example, in rājā (n→ϕ) + bhis and takṣa(n→ϕ) + bhis, we do not get āis as a replacement, due mainly to the suspension of n-deletion. We similarly do not get a replacement in ā (7.3.102 suṇī cā) or ā (7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et).

Kāśikā offers rājan + (m→v) at(UP) = rājavat + NīP = rājavati, a derivate of matUP used with the feminine affix NīP (4.1.6 ugitās ca), to illustrate asiddhatvā of n-deletion in svara-vidhi. Since deletion of n is treated as asiddha in svara-vidhi, rājavati cannot be marked with udātta at the end (6.2.117 anto' vatyāḥ). For, due to the suspension of n-deletion, we cannot get rājavati as ending in avātī. This being the case, rājavatī will be marked with udātta at the beginning, based on N as an it of affix KanIN in rājan (Unādi (162): kaninyuvṛṣita . . . ). The final i of rājavati cannot be marked with udātta at the end at the strength of avātī (6.1.217 anto' vatyāh). The initial udātta (6.2.90 arme cāvarnam dvyac tryac) of pāncan and dasān, which becomes applicable after n-deletion at the strength of bases ending in a, is blocked in pāncārnam and dasārnam, due mainly to suspension of n-deletion. That is, due to appearance of n at the end, of pāncaca(n→ϕ) and dasa(n→ϕ), we could no longer find the bases ending a. These compounds are formed by 2.1.50 dikṣamkhya samjñāyām and are marked with udātta at the end (antodātta; 6.1.220 samāsasya), instead.

Next consider pāñcadaṇḍi ‘a group of five shaft-wearing ascetics’, a dvīgu of the samāhāra type, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 taddhitār-
thottarapada. . . . Note that this compound is napumśaka 'neuter' (2.4.17 sa napumśakam). This compound, subsequent to n-deletion of danḍin, also qualifies as ending in a vowel denoted by iK. Consequently, 6.2.29 iganta . . . dvigau requires retention of the original accent of paṅca. This, however, is blocked, due again to suspension of n-deletion. For, the condition of final iK caused by n-deletion can longer be met as a result of the suspension of n-deletion (Nyāsa: nalope kyta igantata jāteti 'igantakālakapālahagaluṣaśarāveśu dvigau' iti pūrvaśotasya prakṛtisvariḥ prāpnoti, na lopasyāsiddhatvān na bhavati, samā- sāntodāttatvam eva bhavati). The original accent of the initial constituent (pūrvaśapataprakṛtisvara) will not be retained. The compound will be marked with udatta at the end.

Let us take paṅca brāhmāno yah and daśa brāhmānyah as illustrations of n-deletion and negation of TāP (4.1.10 na sāṣṭirasrādibhyah). Note that paṅcan and daśan are assigned the term saṭ (1.1.24 śnānta saṭ), based on these number words ending in n. This n, when deleted, has consequences for introducing feminine affixes. For example, rule 4.1.10 na sāṣṭirasrādibhyah negates affix TāP after bases recognized as saṭ. How could a base, for example paṅcan, which has lost its n to deletion be recognized as saṭ? If it cannot be recognized as saṭ, TāP (4.1.10 na sāṣṭirasrādibhyah) cannot be introduced. It is to retain the status of saṭ that n-deletion is considered suspended (āśiddha) in the context of saṁjña-vidhi. Introduction of TāP by 4.1.10 na sāṣṭirasrādibhyah thus remains negated.

3. Some question whether a definitional rule should be formulated with reference to a single operation on hand, or it should be formulated once, and be used for multiple operations, as the need may arise. The first aspect of the question relates to yathoddea-paśa of grammar (Nyāsa: yāvanti saṁjña-kāryāni tatraikāva saṁjña pravartate 'only one definitional term applies to all corresponding definitional functions'). The second view assumes that a definitional rule should be formed once and should be brought each time an operational rule needs it for ekavākyata 'single sentenceness' (Nyāsa: yayā saṁjña-yatakāryaṁ kriyate tayaivānyat, ato yāvanti saṁjña-kāryāni tāvatya eva saṁjña pravarttate 'a definitional term by means of which one operational function is performed, by that same term additional function is also performed; thus, terms come into functional use as there may be definitional functions to be performed'. The first view does not have any applicational purpose here. The term by means of which LUK-deletion (7.1.22 saṭbhya luk) of ās and ās was accomplished, the same definitional term should also be employed here to indicate negation of TāP. Thus, the word saṁjña need not be used here if the first view is accepted. We do need it if the second view is accepted.

Now consider viṭrahabhyaṁ and viṭrahabhīḥ as illustrations of tug-vidhi kṛtī 'operation relative to augment tUK when an affix termed kṛt follows'. These are instrumental dual and plural forms of viṭrahan where the base is derived
with *KuIP*, introduced after *han* under the cooccurrence condition of object (3.2.87 *brahmacrina*...). Recall that the base *vṛtrahan* loses its *n* to deletion (8.2.7 *nalaṇaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). We thus get *vṛtraha*(*n→ϕ*) + *bhyām = vṛtraḥbhyām* and *vṛtraḥbhīh*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya pītu kṛtī tuk* requires that augment *tUK* be introduced after a root which ends in a short vowel and occurs followed by a *kṛt* affix marked with *P* as an *it*. We thus get a situation where *tUK* could be introduced after *ha* of *vṛtra + am + ha*(*n→ϕ*) + *KuIP* = *vṛtra + am + ha + KuIP*. This introduction of *tUK* is, however, blocked. For, treating *n*-deletion as *asiddha* will no longer leave the root terminating in the short vowel *a*.

4. Why is *tUK* specified in this rule? So that, via suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *n*-deletion, introduction of *tUK* could be blocked. Note that *n*-deletion is accomplished under the condition of extreme proximity (*sannipāta*) with *sUP*. This condition (*nimitta*) of extreme proximity will be impaired with introduction of *tUK*. The problem is: a condition which is characteristically described by extreme proximity is to be accepted as a non-condition if it causes destruction of that proximity' (*Paribhāṣa* (70): *sannipātalaksano vidhir animittam tadvighātasya*). Some claim that an operation which is carried out based upon close proximity relations cannot be accepted as the cause of an operation which destroys that relation. The operation which is performed on *vṛtrahan + bhyām*, based on *sannipāta*, is assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.17 *svādīṣu asaranvaṃasthāne*). This causes *n*-deletion, an operation caused by assignment of the term *pada* (*padanimitakalopa*). An introduction of *tUK* will yield the form *vṛtraha + tUK + bhyām = vṛtraha(t→d) + bhyām = vṛtraḥbhām*. The *n*-deletion which was carried out based upon *sannipāta* cannot be considered as a cause in the introduction of *tUK*, an operation which destroys *sannipāta*. That is, how could extreme proximity be considered a condition of *tUK* when it causes its own destruction. If *n*-deletion cannot serve as a condition for introduction of *tUK*, specifying *tUK* in this rule is vacuous. Besides, *tUK* is introduced with reference to the final short *a*, and not the entire nominal stem which may end in it.

There is also another position on this. It is claimed that deletion of *n* is accomplished based on a nominal ending which is external (*bāhyā*). Introduction of *tUK* is accomplished based upon *a*, followed by *KuIP*, which is internal (*antarāṅga*; *Paribhāṣa* (51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*). If that is so, why specify *tUK* in this rule? *Kāśikā* notes that *tUK* is used here to indicate non-obligatory nature (*anityatva*) of these two interpretive conventions (*Kāś: atra ketcit‘ sannipātalaksano vidhir animittam tadvighātasya iti tukam prati nalopasyānimittatūd bahiraṅgalakṣāṇena vā‘ siddhatvān turgvidhīghraṇānām anarthakam iti pratipaññāh, tat kriyāle paribhāṣādvayaṣyaānityatavām jñāpayitum*).

5. Why do we have the condition of *kṛtī* ‘when a *kṛt* affix follows’? Consider *vṛtraḥcitatram* ‘shelter of one who killed *Vṛtra*’ and *vṛtraḥcādyā* ‘shadow of one who killed *Vṛtra*’ as counter-examples where *tUK*s is introduced under
the condition of a following ch (6.1.73 che ca). That is, this ch is not an affix termed kṛt.

8.2.3 न मुने

na mu ne
/na φ mu 1/1 (deleted) ne 7/1/
(asiddhā #1)
mubhāvo nābhāve kartavye nāsiddho bhavati
A replacement in mu is not treated as if suspended when a replacement in nā is introduced.

EXAMPLES:

amunā ‘instrumental singular of adas ‘that’’

1. Note that na ‘not’ is an indeclinable (aryaya). A specification with mu is made here without using any nominal ending (Kāś: avibhaktiko' yam nirdēśaḥ). This word-form mu refers to the mu of amunā ‘instrumental singular of adas ‘that’, gotten through applications of 7.2.102 tyadādīnām aḥ, 8.2.80 adaso' ser dād u do mah and 7.3.120 āno nā' striyām. One must remember here that amu is termed ghi by 1.4.7 ṣeṣo ghy asakhi. The instrumental singular ending Tā is replaced with nā only when the same follows an anga termed ghi. Consequently, if mu is treated as asiddha ‘suspended’, nā will not be able to replace Tā ‘the instrumental singular nominal ending’. It thus does not make any sense to declare the suspension (asiddhatva) of mu when nā follows. But this rule does not state suspension of mu. It states its negation, instead. But how could something be negated when there is no corresponding positive provision made. A negation always applies against some positive provision (prāptipūrvako nisedhaḥ). It is for this reason that our present rule is restrictive: mu remains unsuspended in introducing nā. Thus, (adas→amu) +(Tā→nā)

= amunā.

Note that the process whereby we get mu (mu-bhāva) is in focus here. We also have, as a focus, the process of deriving nā as a replacement of Tā in amunā. Finally, the ne of na mune is explained as derived from na + Ni = ne, the locative singular form of na. This rule negates asiddhatva ‘suspension’ of mu when na follows. That is, when nā is introduced, or nā follows, mu remains non-suspended (siddha).

The saptami ‘locative’ of ne gets a two-way interpretation: ‘when nā is to be introduced, and ‘when nā follows’. It is claimed that this sāstra does not define a locative with the denotation of para ‘that which follows’. Actually, the locative which is explained as serving the right condition for an operation to apply on what precedes (bhāva-saaptamī), itself, turns into para-saaptamī ‘that which follows’. Commentators also advise that the locative of na could be interpreted as denoting both viṣaya-saaptamī ‘locative denoting scope’ and parasaptaṃī ‘locative denoting the right condition of occurrence’. For, nā
cannot be accepted as a condition toward destroying the hrasvatva ‘short duration’. A condition characterized with extreme proximity becomes a non-condition when the same destroys extreme proximity.

These two interpretations of na can be gotten by means of tantra, an interpretive technique whereby desired results are obtained by reading two different meanings of a single word. The first reading of this rule will interpret na with the meaning of applicational scope: ne kartavye ‘when na is to be introduced’. The second reading will interpret na with the meaning of right condition: ne parataḥ ‘when na follows’. The first view establishes siddhatva ‘non-suspension’ of mu. The second establishes replacement in nā (nābhāva), based on the non-suspension of mu. These both interpretations are captured by the Kāśikārīṭti: ne parato yat prāpnoti tasmin kartavye mabhāvo nāsiddha eva: ‘that which obtains when na follows; mu, indeed, remains un-suspended in accomplishing that’.

How could both intents be realized, via a single rule? It is like vṛddha-kumāri ‘an old unmarried woman who, when requesting a boon, said: putrā me bahu-kṣaṇa-ghṛtaṃ annam suvarnapātrāḥ bhūjīrām ‘may my sons be blessed to consume food with plentiful milk and ghee in a gold plate’. How could she have her sons consume this plentiful milk, ghee and rice when she did not have any sons? How could she have those sons when she was old and unmarried. How could she produce sons without a husband? Remember that it was a boon. If she got plentiful milk, ghee and rice, she had to have sons to consume milk, ghee and rice. For, granting of the boon will become vacuous. This is how she will also get married, have a husband and produce sons. She got everything by way of getting a single boon granted. This same way one can get two intents realized by a single rule.

2. The mu which we get, for example of amunā, is considered non-suspended (nāsiddha) when na, for example of nā, follows. This non-suspension, in the context of application of 7.3.102 supī ca, enables amu to be still seen as amu, and not as ada. As a result, we do not get dīrgha ‘lengthening’ in amu, of amunā (cf. 7.3.102 supī ca; 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsiddham). This lengthening of 7.3.102 can still be blocked even when nā as a replacement of Tā is accomplished. How? A condition which is characteristically described by extreme proximity (of nā) is to be accepted as a non-condition if it causes destruction of that proximity’ (sannipātalakṣanom vidhir animittam tadavi-ghātasya). An operation where nā is introduced, or where nā follows, is a non-condition if it conditions destruction of the short (hrasva). This will result into blocking of long-replacement. This is supported by the specification of amunā with a short u in mu. This non-suspension of mu has dual consequenses. Recall that we get ada + ā from adas + Tā with the application of 7.2.102 tyadādinām ah (s→ā), and 6.1.97 ato guṇe (ad(a+a→ā)). We derive amunā with the application of 8.2.80 adaso’ ser dād u do mah: a(d→m) (a→u) = amu + ā. Finally, ā is replaced with nā under the condition of occurrence
after a stem termed *ghi* (7.3.120 āño nā śтриyām). This introduction of nā will be blocked if *mu* is considered suspended. Given *ada + ā*, we will then have the application of 7.1.12 ānasiṇasāminātsyāḥ. This rule will introduce *ina* and we will end up with a wrong form *adenā*. This is the reason why *mu* is considered non-suspended in the application of *mu*. For, a suspended *mu* will block the nā conditioned by *ghi*. If we have the *mu* suspended in view of 7.3.102 *supi ca, we will end up with another wrong form *adānā*. If it is treated as non-suspended then we will end up with still another wrong form: *amūnā*. This is the reason that the rule is interpreted by *tantra* in two ways:

(i) *ne kartavye mutvasya asiddhatvaṁ nisēdhati* ‘it negates the suspension of *mu* when nā is to be introduced’;

(ii) *ne parataḥ yatprāptaṁ tatra asiddhatvaṁ nisēdhati* ‘it negates the suspension of *mu* relative to what obtains, i.e., long replacement of 7.3.102’. The two purposes of non-suspension are: introduction of nā as conditioned by assignment of the term *ghi*; and long replacement (*dirgha*) of 7.3.102 *supi ca*.

3. Now consider some *vārttiṇa* proposals under this rule:

(i) An internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) single replacement accent (*ekādeśa-svarah*) should be treated as *siddha* (*vṛt.: ekādeśasvaro* *ntaraṅgah siddho vaktavyah*).

What is the purpose of making this *vārttiṇa* proposal? So that the following accents can be regulated:

(a) accent of a single replacement in *āy, āy and āv*;

(b) accent of single replacements (*ekādeśa-svara*);

(c) accent of forms derived with *affix Śatṛ*;

(d) accent of a *pada* where all syllables, except for one, are marked with *anudāṭṭa* (*ekānanudāṭṭa; 6.1.155 anudāṭṭam . . .*);

(e) accent of a *pada* where all syllables are marked with *udāṭṭa* (8.1.28 *tiṇatiṇaḥ*).

(a) accent of a single replacement in *āy, āy and āv*. Haradatta (*PM*) offers four views on accent of a single replacement:

(i) a single replacement in place of an *udāṭṭa* and *anudāṭṭa* is marked with *udāṭṭa* in view of close similarity (*ānantaryya*), as per 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāṭṭenodāṭṭah*. This accentual provision will be accepted as *siddha* ‘non-suspended’, against the *svarīta* (8.4.65 *udāṭṭenudāṭṭasya svarītah*) which is most similar (*antar atama*).

(ii) the second view simply accepts *udāṭṭa* as a replacement accent for the *svarīta* mentioned in (i).

(iii) the third view accepts that, as an interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*), 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāṭṭenodāṭṭah* applies only where a single replacement is
ordered. Thus, a replacement accomplished by 6.1.87 ād guṇah will, on account of being a replacement for udāṭṭa and anudāṭṭa, be marked with udāṭṭa. This way, an udāṭṭa can be accomplished concurrently with the replacement.

(iv) the fourth view will offer udāṭṭa as an exception to svarita.

The udāṭṭa accent of ay, etc., is siddha, insofar as the interpretive (paribhāṣā) view is concerned. We will face the question of asiddhatva of udāṭṭa in other views. The udāṭṭa, particularly against close similarity of a svarita replacement, will have to be treated as siddha. This is how svarita can be blocked.

Consider vrksa which, because of nominal stem accent (pratipadika-svara), is marked udāṭṭa at the end (Phāṣṭātra 1). Given vrksa + (N) i + idam = vrks(a+i→e) + idam = vrks + idam, where we get e as a single replacement of a+i (6.1.87 ād guṇah). Because a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces, we will get svarita (8.4.65 udāṭṭanudāṭṭasya svaritah) for e. This svarita will be blocked in favor of udāṭṭa when udāṭṭa is treated as siddha ‘non-suspended’. If the svarita is not treated as siddha, svarita could also be accepted as the most similar replacement. With svarita treated as siddha, udāṭṭa can be treated as the most similar replacement. Now consider the replacement of e, of vrks + idam, with ay. This single replacement is internally conditioned (antaranga). For, application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah is dependent upon a single word. A replacement in ay is dependent upon both the padas. A replacement in ay is, hence, externally conditioned (bahiranga). The ay must also be marked with udāṭṭa. That is, the udāṭṭa which it replaces is treated as siddha.

What is true of (vrks(a+i→e) + idam) = (vrks(e→ay) + idam) = (vrks(y→ϕ) + idam) = vrks(idam is also true of (plaks(a+i→e) + idam) → (plaks(e→ay) + idam)) = (plaks(y→ϕ) idam)) = plaks idam.

Now consider kumārī + Nē → kumāryai, the dative singular of kumārī. The word kumāra is marked with udāṭṭa at the end. Affix NīP is then introduced after it to derive kumārī (4.1.20 vayasi prathame). The final a of kumāra is deleted (6.4.148 yasyeti ca). The i of kumāra is marked with udāṭṭa by 6.1.158 anudāṭṭasya ca. . . Now consider the dative singular kumārī + (N)e, where augment āT is introduced by 7.3.112 ān nadyāḥ. We then get the i replaced with y. kumār(i→y) + āT + e. The e is marked with udāṭṭa in view of 6.1.171 udāṭṭayaṇaḥ halphaṛanī. This udāṭṭa, however, applies to āT in view of 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya. A single vrddhi replacement in ai is then ordered for the vocalic sequence ā+e (6.1.90 āṭas ca). Thus, we get kumāry + (ā+e→ai) = kumāryai. Given kumāryai + idam, we get ai of kumāryai replaced with ay before i of idam. We thus get kumāry(ai→ay) + idam. This single vrddhi replacement (of 6.1.90 āṭas ca) qualifies for svarita, based on its closest similarity with what was replaced. Rule 8.2.5 ekadeśa udāṭṭenodāṭṭah marks it with udāṭṭa. But this can be done only when it is treated as siddha ‘non-suspended’. This udāṭṭa, however, can be realized before ai replaces ā+e. The replacement in ay will then get the udāṭṭa accent. Or else, given kumāryā + e, we get the vrddhi of
6.1.90 āṭaś ca. Augment āṬ also gets its accent from 6.1.171 udāttayano halpūrvāt. These two both are non-obligatory (anītya). The accent is non-obligatory because it applies to a different form (śabdāntara-prāpteh). It applies to ai (vṛddhi) before āṬ is introduced. The vṛddhi is also realized prior to the udāta and anudāṭṭa accents. An operation which, after assigning the accent to āṬ, brings in an accent different from the udāṭṭa and anudāṭṭa is treated as anītya 'non-obligatory'. In a situation where both accentual provisions are anītya, accent could be assigned based on paratva 'subsequent operational order'. But since this operation is related to sounds, a replacement in vṛddhi applies on the basis of being internally conditioned (antaraṅgatvāt). The accentuation, because of the requirement of nominal endings, becomes externally conditioned (bahirāṅga).

(b) accent of single replacements (ekādeśa-svara): Consider gāṅga + Nī, where gāṅga is derived with suffix aN (4.3.120 tasypedam), introduced after gāṅgā + ṇas with the signification of gāṅgāyā idam 'this is of Gaṅgā'. It is also udāṭṭa at the end by affinal accent (pratyaya-svara). Affix Nī, on account of being a sUP, is marked anudāṭṭa (3.1.4 anudāṭṭau suppitau). A single replacement in e, resulting from replacing the sequence a+i of gāṅg(a+i→e) = gāṅge, will be marked with udāṭṭa (8.2.5 ekādeśa udāṭtenodāṭṭaḥ). Given gāṅge anūpah, where anūpah is a prāḍīt compound (2.2.18 kugatīprādayaḥ) paraphrased as āpo' nugatam ('ocean') water gone into land', the compound could retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent (6.2.2 tatpurṣe tulyārtha . . . ). However, it is marked with udāṭṭa at the end of its following constituent, in view of 6.2.189 anor apradhāṅakanāyiṣa. The rest of the compound goes through nighāta-blacket anudāṭṭa. A single replacement of the vocalic sequence e+c (6.1.108 eṇah padāntād atī), as in gāṅg(e+a)nūpah, is also marked with udāṭṭa by 8.2.5 ekādeśa udāṭtenodāṭṭaḥ. The svarita accent of 8.2.6 svarito vā' nudāṭte . . . is also optionally made available to it.

(c) Consider tud + Śa + (LAT→Śatṛ) → tud + a + at = tudat, where a corresponding feminine form is given as tudati. Note that Śa is marked with udāṭṭa by affinal accent (3.1.3 ādy udāṭṭaḥ). The single replacement of a+a in tud(a+a→a)t = tudat is marked with udāṭṭa (8.2.5 ekādeśa . . . ). This, of course, is to be treated as siddha 'non-suspended'. Now comes 6.1.170 sāturanumā nadjājādhi which, when read with the anuvṛtti of antodāttād uttarāpadāt, marks the final i of tudati with udāṭṭa. This final udāṭṭa could not be accomplished if the single replacement accent is treated as asiddha 'suspended'. For, this is the domain of antodāṭṭāt 'after that which is marked with udāṭṭa at the end'.

The negation of anumah (in 6.1.170 sāturanumā . . . ) becomes an indicator (jñāpaka) that the accent of a single replacement is
considered siddha ‘non-suspended’ in matters of assigning accent to a form ending in ŚatR. If not, this negation will become vacuous (vyarthā). For, a word which ends in ŚatR and is augmented with nUM cannot be found as marked with udāṭta at the end, especially when there is no single replacement accent (Kāś: na hi sanumkaṁ satrantam kincid ekadesasvaram antarenāntodāttam asti). That is, udāṭta at the end without a single replacement accent is impossible to find.

(d) accent of a pada where, all syllables except for one, are marked with anudāṭta (ekānanudāṭta; 6.1.155 anudāṭtaṃ . . .).

Consider tudanti and likhanti where, given tud + Ša + anti and likh + Ša + anti, we get a single replacement accent on (Śa+a→a) vti = anti. Rule 8.2.5 ekādesa udāṭtenodāṭtaḥ assigns an udāṭta. This accent is considered siddha for purposes of 6.1.155 anudāṭtaṃ padam . . . Thus, we get tudanti and likhanti.

(e) accent of a pada where all syllables are marked with udāṭta (8.1.28 tiṇnatiṇaḥ).

Consider brāhmaṇaḥ tudanti and brāhmaṇā likhanti where the replacement accent of a is treated as siddha. Consequently, all syllables are marked with anudāṭta, as per 8.1.28 tiṇn atiṇaḥ. Now consider pacaṭṭi, where iti, because of being a particle (nipāta), is marked with udāṭta at the beginning (nipāta ādyudāṭṭā bhavanti). A single long replacement in place of two-vowels of pacati and iti is accepted as bahiranga ‘externally conditioned’. For, it is conditioned by two words (dvipadāśrayatvā).

Since vārttika one recognizes only an internally conditioned single replacement accent as siddha, an externally conditioned replacement accent will thus be considered asiddha ‘suspended’. The exclusion of 6.1.155 anudāṭtaṃ padam ekavarjam will thus not apply. We will similarly not get the anudāṭta of gati, i.e., pra, from 8.1.71 tiṇi codattavati. The blanket anudāṭta of 8.1.28 tiṇn atiṇaḥ alone applies.

(ii) This vārttika proposes that, in matters of replacing rU with u, 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ should not be considered suspended (ut: samyogāntasya lopo ror utve siddho vaktavyah). Consider harivo medināṃ tvā, where harivaḥ is the vocative singular form of hariva + sU. The word hariva, in turn, is a derivate of matUP. Given (hari+ mat(U)p) + sU, we get (hari + (ma+nUM+ti)) + sU = hari(m→v) ant + sU = harivant + sU, by introducing augment nUM and replacing the m of matUP with v (8.2.15 chandasirah). This gives us: harivant + sU. Rule 6.1.68 halriyābbhyo . . . then deletes sU by way of assigning the term aprkta to s. We thus get harivant + (sU→ϕ) = harivant. The final t of harivant then goes through deletion of 8.2.23 samyogāntasya.
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lopah. The final \( n \) of harivan is then replaced with \( rU \) (8.3.1 matwavo \( rU \) sambuddhau chandasi). Rule 6.1.113 haśi ca then applies on harivar + medinam to replace \( r(\rightarrow U) + \) medinam \( \rightarrow \) hariva + \( (r\rightarrow u) + \) medinam = hariv(\( a+u\rightarrow o) + \) medinam = harivo medinam, by replacing the \( a+u \) sequence with \( o \) (guna; 6.1.87 ād gunah). Note that \( r \) is replaced with \( u \) under the condition of \( m \), a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term haŚ. If, however, the conjunct-final \( t \)-deletion is treated as suspended (asiddha), \( r \) will be accepted as followed by \( t \), a consonant not denoted by haŚ. This would block the replacement of \( r \) with \( u \). It is to facilitate this replacement that this vārttika proposes \( t \)-deletion to be treated as siddha ‘non-suspended’.

(iii) A deletion of \( slC \) is to be treated as non-suspended (siddha) when a single replacement is to be accomplished (\( vt: \) sīlopa ekādeśe siddho vaktavyah). Thus, consider alāvīt and apāvīt where, given \( a + lau + i + (slC\rightarrow \phi) + i + t \), 8.2.18 īt ītī applies to delete \( slC \). The sequence of two ī vowels, i.e., \( i+i \), is then replaced with \( ī \) (6.1.100 aken savarne dīrghah). Rule 6.1.100 aken savarne dīrghah cannot apply to replace \( i+i \) with \( ī \) if deletion of \( slC \) is treated as suspended (asiddha). If deletion of \( slC \) is treated as siddha, we will have no \( slC \) to intervene. A single long-replacement in ī will be easily accomplished. Refer to alāvīt (II:333-34) for further derivational details. We can similarly derive apāvīt.

(iv) This vārttika proposes that, in matters of operations relative to a replacement in ś, accentuation (svara), affixal operation (pratyaya-vidhi) and augment īṭ (īḍ-vidhi), the substitute of an affix termed niśṭhā (niśṭhādesa; 1.1.26 ktaktavatū niśṭhā) is treated as siddha ‘non-suspended’ (\( vt: \) niśṭhādesa śatva-svara-pratyayavidhidihidhisu siddho vaktavyah). Consider vrknāh and vrknavān, where vrknā (Kta) and vrknavat (KtatavU) are derivates of niśṭhā (1.1.26 ktaktavatū niśṭhā) suffixes Kta and KtatavU, respectively. Given OvrāsU + Kta where, because of O as an \( it \) in the root, t of Kta is replaced with n (8.2.45 oditaś ca). We thus get vrśc + (t\( \rightarrow n) = vrśc + na. Recall here that r, of vraśc + ta, is replaced with its samprasārana counterpart \( r \) (6.1.16 grahiyāvayi . . .). The resultant vocalic sequence \( r+a \) is then replaced with \( r \) (6.1.107 samprasāranač ca). The n-replacement of īs is treated as siddha, in matters of replacing the root-final c with ś (8.2.36 vraścabharsīṣyā . . .). If this n-replacement is not treated as siddha ‘not suspended’, the string will still be vrśc + ta. Since ī is included within the denotatum of jhaL, a replacement in ś for the final c of the root can thus not be blocked. Incidentally, the c is replaced with k (kuta; 8.2.30 coh kuh). The n itself is replaced with n (8.4.2 atkupvān . . .). We thus get vrkna and vrknavat. The s of the
conjunct, in the absence of a replacement in ś, is deleted (8.2.29
skoh samyogādyor ante ca).

Consider kṣība ‘a drunk’ which is given as an example for op-
erations relative to accent, affixation and iT. How could this one
example illustrate three operational considerations? This word is
derived via nipātana. A nipātana is manipulated to account for
derivates in many ways. Consider \((kṣīb + i(T→ϕ) + (K→ϕ)ta)) \rightarrow
(kṣīb + (i+t→ϕ)a) = kṣība, a name (samjñā), where deletion of i
and t is accomplished via nipātana. Since this deletion, under the
condition of samjñā ‘name’, is treated as asiddha, kṣība cannot be
assigned udātta at the beginning. Now consider kṣībe taratī = kṣībikah,
a derivate of ṢṭhaN (4.4.7 nauduyacañ than), where characteris-
tic accent of a disyllabic name cannot be availed (6.1.202 niṣṭhā ca
dṛyajanāt). We get augment iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukaseyed valādeh)
because of suspension of t-deletion.

(v) Another vārttika (plutavikārastugvīdhau che siddho vaktavyah)
proposes that modification relative to a plutā ‘extra-long’ vowel be
treated as siddha ‘not suspended’, when augment iTKis introduced
before affix cha. Why before cha? So that, elsewhere, modification
relative to a plutā vowel be treated as asiddha. Consider āgnā3i
chhatram and pataśu chhatram, where, after deletion of the nominal
ending termed sambuddhi, agne and paṭo go through modification
of an extra-long ā (8.2.107 eco’ praghyasya . . . ). An extra-long ā
replaces the first half of i and u of the vocative. Its next half is
replaced with i and u. Because the plutā modification is treated
here as siddha, we get obligatory iTK (6.1.75 che ca). An optional
tUK (6.1.76 padāntād vā) may have been available if modification
relative to plutā was not treated as siddha.

(vi) Yet another vārttika proposes that, in matters of introducing dhUT
(8.3.29 nāh si dhut), a replacement in ś, and also cU (c, ch, j, jh, ṅ),
is treated as siddha ‘non suspended’. Consider verbal root ścyutir
which begins with s. This ś is replaced with ś because c follows. If
this ś is treated as asiddha, we will get dhUT (8.3.29 nāh si dhut) in
aṭsycotāti and aṭ + sUand raṭ + sU, where aḍ and raḍ are derivatives of
KuIP, gone through total deletion (saryāpahārī-lopa). Incidentally,
sUgoes through deletion (6.1.68 halnyābbhyo . . . ) and the final t of
aṭ and raṭ is replaced with ḍ (8.2.30 jhalām jaśo’nte).

Why is ścyutir ‘to drip’ specified with ṅ? It does not serve any
purpose. Consider madhuś cyotātīti = madhuścyut, once again a
derivate with KuIP. Now add the causal affix NiC to derive madhuśći.
Forms such as madhuścyutam ācaśte = madhuścyayati / madhuścyayate
can now be derived by introducing affix KuIPafter madhuśśi, where
affix NiC is deleted (6.4.51 ner aniti). Affix KuIP, as usual, also goes
through deletion. The ś at the beginning of the conjunct ścy, in
madhuścy, must be deleted (8.2.29 skhoḥ samyogādyor ante ca). The y
must also go through deletion because it is conjunct-final in a pada
(8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah). The resultant madhuś now gets its final
ś replaced with k (8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ). We thus get madhuk. It
would have been difficult to delete ś had the root been specified
as beginning with ś. That is, only c and y could be deleted. The
resultant madhuś would have gotten its ś replaced with ś (8.2.36
vraścabhrasjasṛ). Finally, this ś would have been replaced with t
(8.2.30 jhalāṃ jaśo' nte) to yield *madhut, a form not desired (aniśta).

(vii) This vārttika proposes that a replacement denoted by jaŚ and caR,
when occurring in an iterated form, be treated as siddha, provided
operations relative to a replacement in e (vt: abhyāsajāstvacartve
etvatukoh siddhe vaktavye; 6.4.120 ata ekahalmadhye . . .) and augment
tUK are to be performed. Consider bhabhanatuh and bhabhanuh, the
active third person dual and plural perfect (LīT) forms of bhan,
where we also get iteration (dvirvacana). The bh of bhabhan is here
replaced with b (jaŚ). This replacement must be treated as siddha.
For, the root will, otherwise, be treated as not beginning with a
replacement (anādesādi). This will cause the application of a re-
placement in e (etva; 6.4.120 ata ekahalmadhye . . .). The resultant
forms of perfect, i.e., *bhenatuh and *bhenuh, will again be undes-
ired.

Now consider the desiderative (saN) third person singular ac-
tive present form vicicchitsati. The initial ch of the iterated verbal
form chichid + sa → (ch→c) ichid + sa is here replaced with c (cartva;
8.4.54 abhyāse car ca). If this replacement is not treated as siddha,
we will not get augment tUK of 6.1.73 che ca.

(viii) This vārttika proposes that a single replacement similar to what
follows (parasavarnya) is to be accepted as siddha when iteration
(dvirvacana) is to be performed. Consider sam + yantā and sam +
vatsara; and yallokam and tallokam. The m is here changed into an
anusvāra (8.2.23 mo' nusvāraḥ). This anusvāra is further replaced
with a nasalized ū and l (8.4.58 anusvārasya yayī parasavarnāh). If
this replacement is treated as asiddha 'suspended', we will not get
doubling of ū and l by applying 8.4.47 anaci ca, read with 8.4.45
yaro' nunāsike. . . . That is, sajyyanta; sauvvatsarah; yālllokam and
tallokam cannot be derived.

(ix) Yet another vārttika proposes that replacements in l (latva; 8.2.21
acīvibhāṣa), dh (dhatva; 8.2.31 ho dhaḥ), gh (ghatva; 8.2.33 vā
druhamuhaṃsuhaṃsīṣām), n (natva; 8.2.56 nudavindodatrā . . .), rU
(rutva; 8.2.75 daś a), s (satva; 8.3.85 mātuḥpiturbhyām . . .), n (natva;
8.4.2 aṭkupvān . . .), nasal (anunāsika; 8.4.45 yaro' nunāsike . . .) and
ch (chatva; 8.4.63 śaścho ṭī) are treated as siddha for purposes of doubling. Of course, if rules which accomplish these replacements are read with the anuvṛtti of padasya (8.1.16 padasya, etc.). Consider the examples: latvā: garo garah/ galo galah; ghātvā: drogdhā drogdhā/ drodhā drodhā; natvā: nunno nunnah/ nutto nuttaḥ; rutvā: abhino' bhinah/ abhino' bhinat; satvā: mātuṣṣvasā mātuḥsvasā; pituṣṣvasā pithuḥsvasā; natvā: māsavāpāṇi māsavāpāṇi; anunāsika: vānīnayanam vāgnayanam; vākchayanam vākchayanam; vākṣayanam vākṣayanam.

8.2.4 उदातस्वरित्योयण: स्वरितोपज्ञुदातस्य

udātসvaritayor yanaḥ svarīto' nudātasya
/udātta-svaritayoh 6/2 (itār. dv.), tayoḥ; yanaḥ 5/1 svaritah 1/1
anudātasya 6/1/
udātayanaḥ svaritayanaś ca parasyānudātasya svarita ādeśo bhavati

A svarita comes in place of an anudātta which, in turn, occurs after a yaN replacing an udātta and svarita.

Examples:

kumāryaū
kumāryāḥ
sakṛllvāsā
khalapvāsā

1. This rule offers svarita as a replacement for an anudātta which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by yaN, itself a replacement of an udātta or svarita vowel. Consider kumār(i→y) + au and kumār(i→y) + (j) as → kumāryaḥ, where the nominal endings au and (j) as are marked with udātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). Note that the masculine base kumāra is marked with udātta at the end (Phīṣṭārā 1: phio' ntotātāh). Affix NiP, which is introduced after kumāra to derive kumārī, is marked with anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau). Since deletion of the udātta a of kumāra is caused by the following anudātta of NiP, rule 6.1.158 anudātstasya ca yatrodāttalopah allows i of the feminine kumārī to be marked with udātta. This resultant udātta is referred to by commentators as udātta-nivṛtti-svara ‘an accent which is obtained by way of udātta-deletion’. When this udātta i of kumārī is replaced with y (yaN), the anudātta nominal endings au and (j) as are replaced with svarita.

Now consider sakṛllū + āsā → sakṛll(ū→v) + āsā = sakṛllvāsā and khalap(ū→v) + āsā → khalapvāsā, where affix KvIP is introduced after lū ‘to cut’ and pū ‘to cleanse’. These roots are marked with udātta at the end, in consonance with root-accent (dhātusvara; 6.1.159 dhātoḥ). The compound is formed by 2.2.19 upapadam atini. These compounds, based on retention requirement of original accent in the following constituent of a pada ending in affix kṛ (6.2.139 gatikārakopapadāt kṛ), are marked with udātta at the end.
When their udātta vowel ā is replaced with v before the anudātta vowel of Nī ‘locative singular’, our present rule marks i with svarita. We thus get sakrlvī and khalapet, both marked with svarita at the end. This svarita vowel i goes through a replacement in yaN before ā of āsā. Note that āsā is marked with udātta at the end (Phisūtra (18): āsāyā ādigākhyā). Consequently, ā of āsā is marked with anudātta by 6.1.155 anudāttaṃ padam ekavajram. Thus, we get: sakrlvāsā and khalapvāsā, where the anudātta vowel, i.e., ā, of āsā, when occurring after a yaN-replacement marked with svarita, is replaced with svarita. In summary, this rule assigns svarita to an anudātta when the anudātta follows a yaN-replacement marked with udātta (Nyāsa: ihānena sūtraṇānudāttaśodāttayaṇaḥ parasya svarito vidhiyate). This rule also assigns svarita to an anudātta when the anudātta follows a yaN-replacement marked with svarita (Nyāsa: svarityaṇaḥ ca parasya (saṣṭamy ekavacanasya pūrvaṇa prakāreṇa) svarito vidhiyate). The expressions udāttaśaṇaḥ and varityaṇaḥ refer to a yaN-replacement marked with udātta and varita, as obtained by rule applications.

Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for further discussion on this accentuation.

2. Why do we state udāttaśaṣṭayaḥ ‘in place of udātta and svarita’? Consider baidā āsā = baidyāsā, and sāṃgaravī + āsā = sāṃgaravāsā, where an anudātta vowel, i.e., i, is replaced with yaN (anudāttaśaṇaḥ). The initial constituents of these compound words are marked with udātta, based on N as an i of the feminine affix NīN (4.1.73 sāṃgaravād . . . nīn). That is, N as an i assigns udātta at the beginning. The rest of the word gets marked with anudātta. The word baidyāsā has y as a replacement of anudātta, and not of an udātta or svarita.

Why state anudāttaśaṣṭya ‘in place of an anudātta’? Consider kumār(ī-ṛ) + atra = kumāryatra and kiṣor(ī-ṛ) + atra = kiṣoryatra where atra is marked with udātta at the beginning in consonance with L as an i in traL (5.3.10 saṣṭamās traL; 6.1.190 līti). The udātta of atra, obviously, cannot be replaced with the svarita offered by this rule.

8.2.5 एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात: 

 ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ
/ekādeśaḥ 1/1 = ekaś cāsāv ādesaḥ ca (karmdhāraya tat); udāttena 3/1
udāttaḥ 1/1/
(anudāttaṣṭyaḥ 4+)
udāttena sahānudāttaṣṭyaḥ ekādeśaḥ sa udātto bhavati
A single replacement in place of an udātta and anudātta is marked with udātta.

Examples:

agnī 'nominative dual of agni 'fire'
vāyu 'nominative dual of vayu 'wind'
vrksaih ‘instrumental plural of vrksa ‘tree’’
plakṣaih ‘instrumental plural of plakṣa ‘a kind of tree’’

1. Note that anudāttasya is carried. A svarita is considered the most similar single replacement in place of an udātta and anudātta. This rule offers an udātta, instead (Nyāsa: svarite prāpte idam ārabhyate). Stems such as agni, vāyu, vrksa and plakṣa are marked with udātta at the end (Pñīṣūtra (1): pñīṣa’nta udāttah). Their nominal endings are marked with anudātta (3.1.4 anudāttau suppītāu). A single replacement in i (6.1.101 prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarnah), for example in place of i of agni and au of the nominative dual, is marked with udātta. Thus, agn(i + au→ī) = agnī, vāyū; and vrksa + (bhis→ais) → vrks(a+ai→ai)s → vrksai(s→r→h) = vrksaih, plakṣaih. Incidentally, the ai-replacement in vrksaih and plakṣaih is accomplished by 6.1.88 vṛddhir eci.

Why do we have the specification made with udāttana ‘with an udātta’? Consider pac + ŠaP + anti → pacanti and yaj + ŠaP + anti → yajanti, where the a of ŠaP and the sārvadhatuka-replacement of LA, i.e., (jhi→anti), is also marked with anudātta (6.1.183 tasy anudāttamānaṇaḥ . . .). A single replacement, i.e., a (6.1.97 ato gune), similar to what follows (pararūpam), must, hereby, be marked with anudātta. The svarita of 8.4.66 udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ which may be available to ŠaP is treated as asiddha ‘suspended’, relative to the single replacement of 6.1.97 ato gune.

8.2.6 स्वारितो बासुन्दाते पदादि

svarito vā’ nudātte padādau
/svaritāḥ 1/1 vā ṣ anudātте 7/1 padādau 7/1 = padasya ādīḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(anudāttasya #4 ekādeśa udāttasya #5)
anudātте padādau udāttena saha ya ekādeśaḥ sa svarito vā bhavaty udātto vā
A single replacement in place of a vocalic sequence formed with an udātta, followed by an anudātta at the beginning of a pada, is, optionally, marked with svarita.

Examples:

su utthitaḥ = sūthitaḥ ‘properly raised; produced’
sūthitaḥ ‘ibidem’
vikṣāte ‘. . . observes, beholds’
vikṣate ‘ibidem’
vagākośi ‘you are rich’
vagākośi ‘ibidem’

1. This rule, optionally, allows a single replacement in place of a sequence of an udātta and a pada-initial anudātta, to be optionally marked with a svarita. Consider su utthitaḥ = sūthitaḥ and sūthitaḥ, where the first has a replacement
in svarita for a sequence of udātta and a pada-initial anudātta. The second example retains the udātta of the preceding rule. Note that su is a member of the prādi group termed karmapravacaniyā (1.4.83 karmapravacaniyāḥ). It combines with the past participial āttihā to form an avayabhāva (2.2.18 kugatiprādayāḥ) compound where its first, an indeclinable (avayā) constituent, retains its original accent (6.2.2 tatpuruse tulyārtha . . . ). That is, the first constituent will be marked with initial udātta (Phṛṣṭūra (80): nīpātā ṛṛṇudāttaḥ). The rest of the compound is marked with anudātta (6.1.155 anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjām). Now consider viṅκsate / vasuko’ si where both viṅκsate and asi are marked with anudātta (8.1.28 tiṅn atiṅnāḥ). We find a pada-initial udātta in both instances. Recall that vi of viṅκsate is marked with udātta at the end (Phṛṣṭūra (81): upasargaś cābhivarjam). A final udātta is also assigned to a of vasuka, based on nominal stem accent (prātipadika-svara; Uṇādi: phito ntondāttaḥ). The i of vi and the i of ikṣate, when replaced with ī, are thus, optionally, marked with svarita.

2. Why do we have to use svarita? It is used for clarity (vispaṭārtham). If svarita is not used in this rule, the udātta of the preceding rule will become optional under the condition of the following anudātta of this rule. If udātta becomes optional, we will get svarita in instances where optional udātta is not accepted. This will happen because of close proximity (ānantarya) of svarita with udātta and anudātta. That is, we can get svarita without the use of the word svarita.

Why do we have the condition of anudātta? Consider devadatto’ tra where atra ‘here’ is marked with udātta at the beginning. The option of this rule is, hence, not allowed.

Why do we state padādi ‘at the beginning of a pada’? Consider vrksau and vrksāh where the nominal endings are marked with anudātta. They, however, do not occur at the beginning of a pada.

3. Bhaṭṭojo Dīkṣita interprets và of this rule, especially in the context of a single long replacement of two short i vowels, as vyavasthita-vibhāṣa ‘fixed option’. He follows the Prātiṣākhyaḥ and offers examples with illustrations of three kinds of sandhi: (i) abhinihata ‘merged’, for example, pararūpa ‘a single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence’ and pūrvarūpa ‘a single replacement similar to what precedes in a vocalic sequence’; (ii) prāśiṣṭa ‘a sandhi with composite replacement in guṇa, vrddhi and savarna-dīrgha ‘homogeneous long’; and (iii) ksaipra ‘a sandhi, i.e., yaN, involving speedy articulation’ (SK: vyavasthītavibhāṣātvaḥ ikārayoḥ svaraiḥ . . . ikārayoḥ ca prāśeṣe ksaipraprabhīnīhateṣu ceti).

8.2.7 Nalopaḥ: Prātipadikāntasya

nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya
/nalopaḥ 1/1 nakārasya lopaḥ = nalopaḥ (saś. tat.); prātipadika 6/1 (deleted); antasya 6/1/
(padasya #1.16)
pratipadikasya padasya yo' ntyo nakaras tasya lopo bhavati
Deletion by LOPA comes in place of the final n of a nominal stem which is termed a pada (1.4.14 supāñantam padam).

Examples:

rājā 'nominative singular of rājan 'king'
rājabhyām 'instrumental/dative/ablative dual . . .'
rājabhih 'instrumental plural . . .'
rājatā 'nominative singular of rājatā 'kingship'
rājatarah 'a comparatively better king'
rājatamaḥ 'the best king'

1. Note that padasya (8.1.16 padasya) is carried over. This rule offers deletion of the final n of a nominal stem which is termed a pada. The two genitives of pratipadikāntasya and padasya are interpreted as sharing coreferentiality (sāmānādhihkaranya) relationship. The final n of rājan, a nominal stem which is termed a pada (1.4.17 svādīṣu asarvanāmasthāne), before bhyām, etc., is deleted via LOPA.

The word anta 'end, final' is treated as a qualifier to pratipadikasya (with deleted genitive). Since asarvanāmasthāne 'not when a sarvanāmasthāna ending follows' negates assignment of the term pada to a nominal stem which may end in n, the n must also be accepted as part of the nominal stem. The n is here qualified with both pratipadika 'nominal stem' and anta 'end'. If a vyadhikaraṇa 'non-coreferential' relationship between pada and pratipadikānta is accepted, padasya will become a qualifier to pratipadikāntasya. This will make n as part of both the pada as well as the nominal stem (Nyāsa: padasya yo' vayāvah so' pī pratipadikasety arthah). This being the case, even when anta is used, deletion, via taddantavidhi 'treating x as referring also to that which ends in x', will apply to the final n (1.1.52 alo' nyasya) of rājan in rājānau and rājānah. If anta is not used, deletion will apply to n wherever it occurs. For, the sūtra will then read: nalopah pratipadikasya (padasya). We may thus get a deletion of n, even in narābhhyām. Even when anta is combined with pratipadika, the sūtra will read: pratipadikāntasya padāvayavasya nakārasya 'of n which occurs at the end of a nominal stem as part of a pada'. This cannot give us the sense of n occurring at the end of a pada. This will save the n of the third plural LANTA-derivate of han 'to kill, move', i.e., ahan, from deletion since we do not have a nominal stem, mostly because of negation of dhātu 'verbal root' in 1.2.45 arthavad adhātuḥ. . . . This no sense of n occurring at the end of a pada will also save the initial n of narābhhyām from deletion. But deletion may still apply to the n of rājānau, etc. Kāśi, therefore, states that pratipadika is not combined with anta. It is, instead, used in this rule without any case-ending. That is, the genitive ending at the end of pratipadika, i.e., pratipadikasya, has gone through LUK-deletion (7.1.39 supām suluk . . .).
In summary, \textit{prātipadika} and \textit{pada}, both, must be used in this rule, not combined but used in syntactic coordination. The genitive of \textit{prātipadika} is given as deleted in the process. The word \textit{prātipadika} must be used to save the \textit{n} of verbal forms \textit{ahan}, etc., from deletion. The word \textit{pada} must be used to save, for example, the \textit{n} of \textit{rājan + au = rājānau} from deletion.

Haradatta (PM) quotes the following \textit{kārikā}-verse:

\begin{verbatim}
viśesyam antasyety asya nety etad avibhaktikam /
tathaiva prātipadikety etat padaviśeṣanam//
\end{verbatim}

‘the word \textit{prātipadika} ‘nominal stem’ is considered the qualified (\textit{viśeyā}) element of \textit{anta} ‘end, final’ (\textit{antasya}); its specification does not lack a nominal ending; in this same manner, this word \textit{prātipadika} is considered a qualifier to the word \textit{pada}’

2. Negation of \textit{n}-deletion of \textit{ahan} must be stated (\textit{vt. ahno na\textit{l}op\textit{a}p\textit{ra}\textit{t}i\textit{s}edho v\textit{a},\textit{k\textit{a},}\textit{y\textit{a}h}). Consider \textit{ahan + sU}, where \textit{sU} goes through \textit{LUK}-deletion (7.1.23 \textit{svamor napum\textit{s}akāi}). Since \textit{sU} goes through deletion by \textit{LUK}, \textit{ahan} cannot be qualified as followed by \textit{sUP} (1.1.63 na \textit{lumatāngasya}). The \textit{n} of \textit{ahan} is then replaced with \textit{ru} (8.2.68 \textit{ahan}). A replacement in \textit{ru} for \textit{n} of \textit{ahan} is also found in \textit{ahan + bhyām}. The \textit{ru}-replacement of \textit{n} of \textit{ahan} is further replaced with \textit{u} (6.4.114 \textit{hasī ca}). We get \textit{ah(a+u→o) + bhyām = ahobhyām}, with a single replacement in \textit{guna} for the vocalic sequence of \textit{a+u}. This same also applies to \textit{ahobhiḥ}.

A question is raised against the validity of this \textit{vārttika} proposal. Why do we need this \textit{vārttika}? The \textit{n} of \textit{ahan} is replaced with \textit{u}, via \textit{ru}. Why negate \textit{n}-deletion even when the question of its deletion does not arise. A more complex discussion which includes \textit{asiddhatva} of rules, and \textit{āvṛtti} as a technique of rule interpretation, follows in the \textit{Mahābhāṣya}. If one copies \textit{ahan} from 8.2.86, it will itself facilitate absence of \textit{n}-deletion (\textit{na\textit{l}op\textit{a}h\textit{b}h\textit{h}ā\textit{i},}), via \textit{nīpātana}. The other interpretation will accomplish \textit{ru} (\textit{ru\textit{v}a}) which, otherwise, would have become suspended. Operationally, lack of \textit{n}-deletion precedes \textit{ru\textit{v}a}. I omit other details for fear of expatiation.

8.2.8 न िसमुबध्वः:

\begin{verbatim}
na niśambuddhyoh
\end{verbatim}

\textit{na} \textit{ñiśambuddhyoh} 7/2 = \textit{niś ca sam\textit{b}uddhi\textit{s} ca = niśambuddhi (itar.
\textit{du}, ), tayoh/}

\begin{verbatim}
(padasya #1.16 nalopah prātipadikāntasya #7)
\end{verbatim}

\textit{na} \textit{u} \textit{parataḥ sam\textit{b}uddhau ca nakāralopan bhavati
A deletion by LOPA does not come in place of the final \textit{n} of a nominal stem which constitutes a \textit{pada}, provided when \textit{Ni}, or a nominal ending termed \textit{sam\textit{b}uddhi}, follows.
Examples:

ārdre carman 'hide soaked with (water)'
lohitē carman 'hide soaked with blood'
he rājan 'O king!'
he takṣan 'O carpenter!'

1. This rule negates deletion of the final n of a nominal stem when Ni 'locative singular', or a nominal ending termed sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacananam sambuddhiḥ), i.e., sU, follows. Consider ārdre carman and lohitē carman where the locative ending Ni goes through LUK-deletion (7.1.39 supām sutuk . . .) after carman. The sambuddhi after rājan and takṣan of he rājan and he takṣan also goes through deletion (6.1.68 halṇīyābbhyo āṅghāt . . .). The final n-deletion of the preceding rule here becomes applicable to carman, rājan and takṣan. But because of pratayalakṣana 'operation characteristic of deleted affix' based upon sambuddhi, this rule negates n-deletion. It is thus a general practice to negate n-deletion before Ni and sambuddhi.

2. Now consider rājan + ́Nas + puruṣa + sU → rājan + (́Nas→ϕ) + puruṣa + (sU→ϕ) = rāja(n→ϕ) + puruṣa = rājapuruṣa + sU = rājapuruṣah, where a prātipadika is treated as a prātipadika, even when the suffix used after it goes through deletion. This goes against 1.1.63 pratayalopē pratayalakṣanam. That is, ́Nas will still be there after rājan. The assignment of the term prātipadika to rājan + ́Nas by 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasaṃāsās ca, of the compound base rājan+(́Nas→ϕ)puruṣa+(sU→ϕ) = rājapuruṣa, will go against the negation of apratyayah of 1.2.45 arthavad . . . Consequently, rājan will not be called a nominal stem. Deletion of n will thus be blocked. But since this rule allows such deletions by way of negating it in the context of Ni and sambuddhi, we infer that assignment of the term prātipadika is not negated at the strength of apratyayah 'non-affix'. That is, the negation of apratyayah has no validity here. If it does, we will also get the negation of the assignment of the term prātipadika in he takṣan and he rājan. This will block n-deletion and as a result, make the negation of 8.2.8 na nisambuddhau vacuous. This same will also happen in case of he carman. This rule also indicates that assignment of the term bha (1.4.18 yaci bham) is also negated, especially in relation to affixal deletion (pratyayalopē; 1.1.62 pratayalopē pratayalakṣanam) of ́Nas which cannot be revived by means of pratayalakṣana. This saves the a of rājan+(́Nas→ϕ)puruṣa+sU = rājapuruṣa from deletion. Note, however, that given rājan + ́Nas, in deriving rājñah, the a of an of rājan is deleted (6.4.131 allopo' nah). Operations relative to an aṅga will not be performed. The term aṅga will not be assigned before the affix. But we will get the assignment of the term pada by accepting the form as ending in a sUP. We thus will derive rājñah, a fully inflected word (pada). The assignment of the term bha will be blocked by the assignment of the terms prātipadika and pada. Based on this very negation, the apratyayah 'non-affixal' meaning of 1.2.45 arthavad . . .
will enable the assignment of the term prātipadika to that which ends in an affix and begins with a nominal stem (pratyayānta tadādi). This is how allopa' naḥ will not be able to delete the a of rājan.

Others object to this negation of bha-samjñā. They argue that yaci (1.4.18 yaci bham) defines bha-samjñā. The notion of pratyayalaksana ‘characteristic operations relative to affixal deletion’ does not revive LUK-deletion of Nas so that bha-samjñā could be assigned. The negation of 1.1.63 na lumatāngasya applies to all operations relative to an āṅga, whether they are related to the domain of āṅga or not (PM: tatra hi lumatā lupte pratyaye yadaṅgaṃ tasya yatkāryam āṅgam anāṅgam vā tat sarvam pratisidhyate). Consequently, this rule cannot indicate non-assignment of the term bha relative to an operation on an āṅga.

Nyāsa explains that no purpose can be served by non-assignment of the term bha in yathoddeśapakṣa ‘understanding the function of rules in view of their placement in grammar’. The question of assigning the term bha does not arise in the kāryakālapakṣa ‘understanding rules in view of their function at the time of their application’. For, operations under assignment of the term bha are performed relative to an āṅga, and 1.1.63 na lumatāngasya will be ready to negate them. What then is the need for indicating non-assignment of the term bha?

2. A vārttika proposal is made for negating the negation of this rule, especially when a final compound constituent combines to follow a preceding constituent ending in the locative (ut: nāv uttarapade pratisedhasya pratisedho vaktavyah). Consider carmanī tilā asya = carmatilāḥ ‘he on whose skin there are moles’. The n of carman of (carman+Ni)+(tila+jas) = carma(n→Ō)tila is saved from deletion because of this negation. That is, it occurs before Ni used in combination with a following constituent (uttarapade). That is, negation of negation, i.e., n-deletion, is accomplished, for example in carmanitilah, when Ni followed by a pada follows. This bahuvrihi compound is formed on the basis of suggestivity (gamakatvāḥ), and not on the basis of carman and tilāḥ used in appositional relationship. Now consider he rājavṛṇḍāraka! where the compound-base rājavṛṇḍāraka is used before a sambuddhi. The sambuddhi is here used after rājavṛṇḍāraka, the compound. It is not possible to have this compound with rājan where the first constituent is also used in combination before a sambuddhi (sambuddhyantam pūrvapadaṃ naiva samasyate ‘a preceding constituent ending in sambuddhi is never combined in a compound’). The deletion of n thus applies. If one forms a compound, paraphrased as he rājan vṛṇḍāraka!, by 2.1.62 vṛṇḍārakam āgakuñjaraḥ puṣyamānam, n-deletion will be negated. That is why Kāśikā says that, in he rājavṛṇḍāraka, the entire compound, i.e., rājavṛṇḍāraka, is used before sambuddhi. For, he rājavṛṇḍāraka can never give the meaning of he rājan vṛṇḍāraka!

Yet another vārttika proposal is made for optional deletion of n at the end of a neuter nominal stem. Thus: he carman! / he carma! Haradatta (PM) con-
Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Two

siders this aprāpta-vibhāṣā ‘an option which was not made available is made available’. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa) considers it a case of vyavasthita-vibhāṣā ‘fixed option’.

8.2.9 भावविधियों तमोवृविधविदिष्यः:

mād upadhitāyaś ca mator vo’ yavādibhyah
/māt 5/1 = maś ca aś ca = mam (sam. dv.), tasmāt; upadhāyāḥ 6/1 ca φ
matoḥ 6/1 vah 1/1 ayavādibhyah 5/3 = yava ādir yeṣāṁ te = yavādayah
(bv.); na yavādayo (naḥ. tat.), tebhyaḥ/
makārāntād makāropadhād avarnāntād avarnopadhāc cottarasya matoḥ ‘va’
ity ayam ādeśo bhavati yavādibhyas tu parato na bhavati
The initial m of matUP is replaced with v, when matUP occurs after a nominal stem which either ends in m or has m in its upadhā ‘penultimate’, or ends in a or has a in its upadhā, but does not occur after a nominal of the group headed by yava ‘barley’.

EXAMPLES:

kimvān ‘rich in nothing; he who says, ‘what’ all the time’
śamvān ‘tranquil’
śamivān ‘rich in śamī trees’
dādīmivān ‘rich in dādīma fruits’
vrksavān ‘rich in trees’
plakṣavān ‘rich in plakṣa trees’
khātvāvān ‘rich in cots’
mālavān ‘rich in garlands’
payasvān ‘rich in milk’
yāsasvān ‘famous’
bhāsvān ‘glowing’

1. This rule replaces the initial m of matUP with v, if matUP occurs after a nominal stem which (i) either ends in m or has m in its upadhā, or ends in a or has a in its upadhā, but does not occur after a nominal listed in the group headed by yava. The two meaning conditions are thus: (makārāntāt/akārāntāt) prātipadikāt; and (makāropadhāt/akāropadhāt) prātipadikāt.

This rule has a very complex formulation, or so it seems, when one tries to reach the desired interpretation. Note first that māt is a samāhāra-dvandva used in the ablative, paraphrased as māt: maś ca aś ca, tasmāt ‘ma = m and a, after that (māt)’. Haradatta says that ca of this rule is responsible for rulesplitting (yoga-vibhāga). We thus get the first sentence: māt parasya mator vo bhavati’ (the initial of) a matUP which occurs after a form ending in m or a is replaced with v’. The second split-sentence which we get with upadhāyāḥ is: upadhāyāḥ ca (māt parasya) mator vo bhavati ‘(the initial of) a matUP which occurs after that which has m or a in its penultimate position is replaced
with \(v\). Note that matUP is here used by way of being a käryin ‘operational locus’. This specification of käryin then brings a nominal stem in construction. Recall that 5.2.94 tad asyāsty asminn iti matUP introduces affix matUP after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in the prathamā ‘nominaive’. This nominal stem is then qualified with māt. That is, makāro' ntyaṣya 'that whose final is a \(m\) and avarṇa' ntyaṣya 'that whose final sound is \(a\)’. Similarly, we qualify upadhā 'penultimate' with māt to get the sense of: makāra upadhā yasya 'that whose penultimate is \(m\) and akāra upadhā yasya 'that whose penultimate is \(a\)’.

2. Note that māt is to be interpreted independently to give the sense of 'after that which ends in \(m\) and \(a\)’. It also has to be interpreted as a qualifier to upadhāyāḥ, thereby to yield the meaning: ‘after that which has \(m\) and \(a\) in its upadhā This way, the \(m\) of matUP alone will be replaced with \(v\). Refer to my notes under 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttārasya and 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya for additional details.

3. Now consider,

(i) examples after a stem ending in \(m\) (makārāntāt):

\[
\text{kimvān and śamvān.}
\]

\[
\text{kim } + (\text{m} \rightarrow \text{v}) \text{ at(UP) } = \text{ki(m} \rightarrow \text{m}) \text{vat } = \text{kimvat } + sU \rightarrow \text{kimvān, where matUP is introduced by 5.2.94 tad asyāsty iti } \ldots \text{ Rule 7.1.70 ugīd acām } \ldots \text{ introduces augment nUM to produce kimva } + (\text{UM}) + t + sU \rightarrow \text{kimvant } + sU. \text{ Two deletions, i.e., of sU(6.1.68 haṁiyābbhya } \ldots \text{), and of t at the end of the conjunct (8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaha), then apply to yield: kimvant } + (sU \rightarrow \phi) \rightarrow \text{kimvan(t} \rightarrow \phi) = \text{kimvan. An application of 6.4.14 atvasantisya cādhātoḥ finally produces kimv(a} \rightarrow \text{ā) n } = \text{kimvān. We similarly get (śam + vatUP) } + sU = \text{śamvān.}
\]

(ii) examples after a stem with \(m\) in its upadhā (makāropadhāt): śamvān and dādīmivān.

(iii) examples after that which ends in \(a\) (avarṇaṁaṁaṁtāt): vṛksavān and plākṣavān; khaṭuvān and mālavān.

(iv) examples after that which has \(a\) in its upadhā (avarṇopadhāt): payasvān, yaśasvān and bhāsvān.

Note that payas and yaśas are assigned the term bha before vān (1.4.19 tasaṁ matvarthā). This blocks a replacement in rU for the final s of yaśas and payas (8.2.66 sasajūso ruḥ). Refer to notes and appendix under 5.2.94 tad asyāstity asminn iti matUP for additional derivational details.

4. Why do we state mād upadhāyās ca ‘after that which ends in \(m\) or \(a\), or has \(m\) or \(a\) in its upadhā? Consider agnimān and vāyumān, where agni and vāyu do not end in \(m\) or have \(a\). They also do not contain \(m\) or \(a\) in their upadhā.

Why do we have an exclusion stated by ayavādibhyah ‘after those which are not listed in the group headed by yava ‘barley’?’ Consider yavamān ‘rich
in barley’ and ārmimān ‘abounding in waves’, where yava ends in a and ūrmī ‘wave’ has m in its upadhā. But these nominals, both, are part of the yavādi group. The nominals of the yavādi group are excluded so that a replacement in v for the initial of matUP can be blocked. Recall that such a replacement may, otherwise, become available. Note also that the yavādi is an ‘open-ended’ (ākṛti) group. That is, any nominal which meets the condition of mād upadhāyāh, but where a replacement in v for the m of matUP is not seen, can be included within the yavādi listing (Kāś: akṛtavatvo matub yavādisu draśṭavyāḥ. yasya sati nimitte matuḥ vatvam na dṛṣṭaye sa yavādisu draśṭavyāḥ). That is, any nominal with no replacement in v for m can be considered part of the yavādi listing.

Why do we not get a replacement in v in nṛmata idam = nārmatam? Given (nṛ + Naṣ + matUP + aN), where affix aN is introduced with the signification of tasyedam (4.3.120) ‘that is his’, we get a replacement in vṛddhi. This gives us: nārmata, where we get an a sound in the upadhā. But this upadhā qualification is facilitated by vṛddhi which, in turn, is externally conditioned (bahiranga) by aN. This replacement in vis, of course, internally conditioned (antaraṅga). The vṛddhi is considered suspended (asiddha) in view of replacement in v. This is why there is no v-replacement for the m of matUP in nārmatam = narā asya saṇīti nṛmān; nṛmata idam ‘this belongs to one who has many men at his command’.

8.2.10 ज्ञयः:

jhayāḥ
/jhayāḥ 5/1/
(padasya #8.16 mator vah #9)
jhayantād uttarasya matoh ‘va’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The m of matUP is replaced with v when matUP occurs after that which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaY (Śs.8-12).

Examples:

agnicitvān grāmaḥ ‘a village where they heap ritual fire’
udāśītvān ghosah ‘a settlement of cow-herds rich in buttermilk’
vidyutvān balāhakah ‘cloud with lightning’
indro marutvān ‘Indra, the lord of winds’
dṛṣadvān desaḥ ‘a place with pebbles in abundance’

1. Note that matUP of this rule must occur after a form which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaY (non-nasal stops). Refer to derivational details of vidyutvān ‘possessing lightning’ and udāśītvān ‘possessing butter-milk’ under 1.4.19 tasau matvarthe (II:519-20). Recall that agniāt is assigned the term bha (1.4.19 tasau matvarthe). This blocks the assignment of the term pada. Consequently, 8.2.39 jhalām jasō ‘nte cannot replace the t of agnicitvān with d (jaśtva; 8.2.39 jhalām jasō ‘nte).
8.2.11 सञ्ज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(padasya #1.16 mātor vah #9)
saṃjñāyām viśaye matoḥ ‘va’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The initial sound, i.e., m, of matUP, is replaced with v when the derivate denotes a name (saṃjñā).

Examples:

ahīvatī ‘name of a river’
kapīvatī ‘ibidem’
ṛṣīvatī ‘ibidem’
munivatī ‘ibidem’

1. Note that matUP of these derivate is introduced by 4.2.84 nadyāṃ matup.

A long replacement for the short of ahi ‘snake’, kapī ‘monkey’ and muni ‘sage’ is ordered by 6.3.118 sarādīnāṃ ca. Finally, bases ending in matUP receive the feminine affix NīP (4.1.6 ugītaś ca).

8.2.12 आसंदिवदाः

āsandīvadāsthīvacakrīvatkākṣīvacaramaṇvatā
/asandīvad-āsthīvacakrīvatkākṣīvacaramaṇvatā (all specifications, except for the last, made with deleted nominative)/
(saṃjñāyām #11)

‘āsandīvat, āsthīvat, cakrīvat, kākṣīvat, rumaṇvat, carmaṇvat’ ity etāni saṃjñāyām nipātyante

Forms such as āsandīvat, āsthīvat, cakrīvat, kākṣīvat, rumaṇvat and carmaṇvat are derived, via nipātana, when a name is signified.

Examples:

āsandīvat ‘name of a place (village)’
āsthīvat ‘ibidem’
cakrīvat ‘ibidem’
kākṣīvat ‘ibidem’
rumaṇvat ‘ibidem’
carmaṇvat ‘name of a river’

1. This rule is not formulated to offer a replacement in v for the m of matUP. Such a replacement is already made available by the preceding rule. Our present rule offers replacements to bases which occur before matUP, provided derivate denote a name. Thus, āsana is replaced with āsandī before vat, when āsandīvat is to denote a name. Similar replacement are ordered for other bases. Thus, asthi→ aṣṭhi; cakra→cakrī; kaksyā→kakṣyā; lavana→ rumaṇ.
Now the examples: (āsana→āsandī) vat = āsandīvat; (asthī→aṣṭhī) vat = aṣṭhīvat; (cakra→cakrī) vat = cakrīvat; (kakṣyā → kaksī) vat = kaksīvat; (lavanā→ruman) vat = ruman̄vat; (carmān→carmān) vat = carman̄vat. The feminine affix NīP can now be introduced after carman̄vat to derive carman̄vatī, name of a river. Notice how all derivates, except for one carman̄vatī, are specified with deleted nominative singular. Derivational details of these forms are not offered because they have been shown derived, via nipātana.

These examples can refer to names of places: āsandīvatī grāmāḥ ‘a village named Āsandīvat’, etc.

āsandīvatī dhānyādām rukmiṇīmah haritasrajām/
āsvaṃ babandha sāraṇgāṃ devebhyo janamejayah//
‘Janamejaya, tied the corn-eating, variegated horse with white spot on its forehead, and green garlands around its neck, for gods at Āsandīvat’

Elsewhere, when the denotation is not a name, we will get: āsanavān, asthimān, cakravān, kaksyāvān, lavanāvān and carman̄vatī, respectively.

8.2.13 उदन्वानुद्धि च

udanvān udadhau ca
/udanvān 1/1 udadhau 7/1 ca ϕ/
(samjñāyām #11)
‘udanvān’ ity udakāsabdasya matāv udanbhāvo nipātyate udadhāv arthe samjñāyām ca viṣaye
A form such as udanvat is derived, via nipātana, by replacing udaka ‘water’ with udan, when affix matUP follows and the derivate denotes an ocean, or a name.

Examples:

udanvān nāma ṛṣih, yasya udanvantāḥ putraḥ ‘Udanvān is a sage whose son is named Audanvat’

udanvān = yasmin udakam dhīyate ‘that in which water is held, i.e., an ocean’

1. This rule limits replacement of udaka with udan under the condition of two meanings: an ocean (udadhī; that in which water is held) and a name (samjñā). We thus get udanvat + sU → udanvān which is the name of a sage. This same can also be used for ‘ocean’. But consider udakavān ghaṭāḥ ‘the jar (is) with water’ where this replacement is not allowed. For, the idea of dhāraṇa ‘containing, holding’ is not expressed with the jar. What then is the expressed idea here? It is the idea of a general relationship with possible existence of water (Kāś: udakasattā sambandhasāmāṇyam) in the jar. The possibility of something else, i.e., grains, in the jar cannot be ruled out.
8.2.14 राज्यावसौराज्ये

राज्यावन साराज्ये
/राज्यावन् ware 7/1 = शोभाना राजा यस्मिन देशे सा = सुराज़ (b.v.);
tasya karma = साराज्यम (a derivate of शयन), tasmin/
राज्यावन् 'ति निपात्याय साराज्ये गंगामाने
A form such as राज्यावन् is derived, via nipātana, when the signification is 
sाराज्या 'good governance; good rule of a king'.

Examples:

राज्यावन् देशाः 'a place with a good king'
राज्यावति पृथ्वी 'earth with a good king'

1. This rule derives राज्यावत + sU → राज्यावन when the derivate denotes 
शोभाना राजा यस्मिन 'a place where the king is good'. Note that v-deletion 
(8.2.7 naloPAḥ . . . ) is blocked here, via nipātana. Or else, augment nUT is 
introduced, via nipātana, after v-deletion has applied. Incidentally, affix matUP 
is introduced here in the sense of praise (prāsāmsā). Elsewhere, we will get 
राजावत + sU → राजावन 'royal'.

8.2.15 छद्दसीरः

चन्दसीरः
/चन्दसी 7/1 irah 5/1 = is ca raś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt/
(mator vah #9)

चन्दसी विशये विमानं तद रेप्हांतत्र coccāritisya mator vatum bhavati
A replacement in v comes in place of initial sound of affix matUP, in 
the Vedic, provided matUP occurs after a nominal stem which ends in 
i or r.

Examples:

त्रिती याज्यानुवाक्यभवति
हरिवो मदिन्म त्राय
चदिपतिवति जुहोति
स्वरु अग्निवान इवा
एरवान इतु मावीसत
सरस्वाशिवान
भाररावान
दधिवान्म सरुह

1. This rule replaces the m of matUP with v when matUP occurs after a 
pada which ends in i or r. Consider hari + (ma+nUT+t(UP)) → hari(m→v) 
an(t→ϕ) = harivan, where n gets replaced with rU (8.3.1 matuvaso ru . . . ).
This rU, when used before medinam, is replaced with u (6.1.113 haśi ca). The 
vocalic sequence of a+u is then replaced with o. Thus, hariva(n→rU→u) =
hariv (au→o) = harivo. Also refer to notes under 8.2.2 na mune. Recall here that deletion of a conjunct-final consonant, i.e., t of harivant, is treated as siddha in view of application of 6.1.113 haśi ca. If it was treated as asiddha then 6.1.113 haśi ca could not apply. For, a following t could not have been denoted by haŚ. A replacement in u would thus have been blocked.

Now consider revān where, given rayi + (ma+nUṬ+t(UP)) = rayi + mant, we get samprasāraṇa (vt: rayer mato bahulam; ad 6.1.37 na samprasāraṇe . . . ). Thus, ra(y→i) imant → ra(i+i→i) mant → ra + i + (m→v) anś → r(a+i→e) vant = revan(t→φ) → rev(a→a)n = revān. Refer to derivational details of pūḥ (III:758), under 3.2.177 bhrājabhāsa . . . A similarly derived dhūr, with matUP, will yield dhūrvān. We similarly get gīrvān and aśīrvān, both derivates of KuḷIP with a following matUP. These serve as examples of rephāntāt ‘after that which ends in r’. An ir (7.1.100 ṣī id dhātoḥ) as replacement for ṣī, where i of ir is further replaced with i (8.2.76 ruvar upadhāyāḥ), will yield gīr. Thus, gir + matUP → gīrvat = gīrvān. We similarly get aśī(ā→i)s + KuḷIP = aśī(i→i)s + matUP → aśī(s→r) + matUP = aśīrvat = aśīrvān.

2. It is stated that, in the Vedic, all operations can be considered optional (chandasi sarve vidhayo viṅkalpyante). Thus we do not get a v-replacement in saptarśimantam, ṛṣimān, ṛtimān and sūryam te dyāvāprthīvimantam.

8.2.16 अनो नुद

ano nūt
/anah 5/1 nuṭ 1/1/
(matoh #9 chandasi #15)
anantād uttarasya mator nuṭ āgamā bhavati chandasi viśaye
A matUP which, in the Vedic, occurs after a nominal stem ending in an is augmented with nUṬ.

Examples:

aṅkṣanvantah kāṅkṣanvantah sakāhāḥ
asthanvantāṁ yad nastahā bibhārtti
aṅkṣanvatā lāṅgalena
śirṣanvatī
mūrdhanvatī

1. Consider aksi + Ṭā, where anAÑs is introduced (7.1.76 chandasy aṅi drśyate) to yield (aṅkṣ(i→ an(AN) + Ṭā)) + matUP)) = aṅkṣan + (Ṭā→φ) + matUP → akṣa(n→φ) + mat(UP→φ) = aṅkṣa + (nUṬ + mat) = aṅkṣan(m→v) at → aṅkṣanvat + Ṭā → aṅkṣa(n→v)vat + (Ṭ→φ) ā → aṅkṣanvatā ‘by one who possesses eyes’. Recall that anAÑ replaces the final i of aksi, and n of resultant aṅkṣan goes through deletion by 8.2.7 nalopah prātīpadikāntasya. Note that nUṬ becomes asiddha ‘suspended’ in replacing the m of matUP with v. If nUṬ is not treated as asiddha, v will replace the n of nmatUP. This will happen because nUṬ will
then be treated as part of matUP. Kāśikā, therefore, remarks: \( \nu \nu t' \) siddhatvāt tasya ca vratvam na bhavati, tataḥ parasya ca bhavati nUṬ, as part of matUP, is not replaced with \( v \) on account of becoming asiddha ‘suspended; the \( n \) which follows is then replaced with \( v \). Refer to derivational details of asthanvantam under 7.1.76 chandasya api . . . . Recall here that śrṣan of śrṣaṇvati is derived, via nipātana, under rule 6.1.59 śrṣaṁś chandasi. Affix NiP (4.1.4 ugitaś ca) is then introduced to derive śrṣaṇvati.

8.2.17 नाद्वस्य

\( \text{nād ghasya} \)

\( / nāt 5/1 \) ghasya 6/1/

(chandasi #15 nūt #16)

nākarāntād uttarasya ghasamīṇakasya nuḍ āgamo bhavati chandasi viśaye

That which is termed a gha, and occurs after that which ends in \( n \), is augmented with nUṬ in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

\( \text{supathintarah} ‘\text{with a better road among two}’ \)

\( \text{dasyuhantamam} ‘\text{most killer of bandits among two}’ \)

1. Recall that affixes taraP and tamaP are termed gha (1.1.22 taraptamapau ghaḥ). Consider supathi + taraP = supathi(n→φ) + tara = supathi + tara, where 8.2.7 naloṭaḥ prātipadikāntasya deletes \( n \). Augment nUṬ is then introduced to produce supathi + nUṬ + tara = supathintara + sU = supathintarah. We similarly derive dasyuhantama + sU \( \rightarrow \) dasyuhantamah, where dasyuhaṃ is derived with KvIP, parallel to dasyuṃ hatavān ‘killed demons, bandits’.

Note that the rule which deletes \( n \) is also contained within the tripāti. The question is: \( n \)-deletion before nUṬ; or nUṬ before \( n \)-deletion. For, the condition of, ‘after that which occurs after \( n \) cannot be made after \( n \)-deletion’. It is for this reason that \( n \)-deletion applies first but is treated as asiddha for introduction of nUṬ.

2. The following are two vārttika proposals:

(i) Augment tUṬ is to be introduced to taraP and tamaP when they occur after bhūridāvan ‘a generous giver’ (vanIP, 3.2.74 āto maninkvuni . . . ). Thus, we get bhūri dadāti = bhūridāvattarah ‘comparatively better among two plentiful givers’.

(ii) The final of rathin ‘charioteer’ is replaced with a long \( i \) before affixes termed gha. Thus, rathi(n→φ) + tara = rath(i→i) + tara = rathītara + sU = rathītarihah ‘comparatively better charioteer’. It is also suggested that \( n \) itself can be replaced with \( i \) at the strength of 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya, thereby blocking \( n \)-deletion. The form rathi can still be derived via savarnadīrga. One can also introduce affix \( i \) after ratha in the sense of matUP, thereby deriving rathi (Kāś: rathaśabdād eva vā matvarthiyo‘ yam ikāraḥ).
8.2.18 कृपो रो लः:

$kṛpō$ ro laḥ
/kṛpāh 6/1 raḥ 6/1 laḥ 1/1/
kṛper dhāto repahṣya lakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in l comes in place of r of verbal root $kṛpā$ 'to be capable'.

EXAMPLES:

-kālptā 'nominative singular; one who will fashion'
-kālptārau 'nominative dual . . .'
-kālptārah 'nominative plural . . .'
-kālpāh 'capable . . .'
-kālpavān 'he became capable . . .'

1. This rule introduces l as a replacement for r of verbal root $kṛpā$. It is accepted that r also contains r. This r, in relation to r, is called rephāṣruti 'the r which is heard in r'. A replacement in l for purposes of this rule, comes in place of r in general. That is, the r which one gets in aras a guna replacement of r and the r which is contained within r (Kāś: tena yah kevalo rephāḥ yasya ca rkārah tayor dvayor api grahaṇam). Thus, we get kālptā, kālptārau, kālptārah, etc., where r of $kṛpā$ goes through a replacement in guna, i.e., ar, before the niṣṭā suffix Kṛta (1.1.26 kṛktavatū niṣṭā). Instances, such as kālpāh and kālpavān where we do not get a replacement in guna, involve a replacement in l for the r (rephāṣruti) of r. The r of $kṛpā$ thus gets replaced with l, via modification of the r part of r (Kāśikā: rkārasyāpi ekadeśavākhāradvārena ṭkārah). That is kālpā yields the form kālpa. Refer to derivational details of these examples under 1.3.93 lūci ca kālpāh (II:498-99).

2. Note that kālpāh of this rule does not include any reference to krapā 'to move' of kṛpā 'compassion'. Verbal root krapā is listed in the bhidādi group (3.3.104 śīdbhidādibhyo am), by way of its derived nominal kṛpā. Recall that kṛpā is derived from (krapā + aN), where ra of krapā is replaced with r, via samprasāraṇa (cf. Ganasutra: krapēh samprasāraṇaṁ ca, ad 3.3.104). This replacement in r, which derives kṛpā, should not create any confusion about reference to krapā of this rule. Why? Because the r of krapā results out of rule-application (lākṣanikatvā, Kāś . . . kṛtasamprasāraṇasya lākṣanikatvā iva kṛpā iti grahaṇam nāsti).

A proposal, in the Mahābhāṣya, accepts kṛpana ‘miserly’, kṛpīta ‘firewood’ and karpūra ‘camphor’, etc., as derivatives of krapā. If one insists on accepting these forms as derivatives of kṛpā, one must also accept that kṛpā is saved from a replacement in l on account of 3.3.1 unāda yo bahu lam. A vārttika (vt. bālamūlalaghasurālamānugulāṁ vā ra lam āpadyate) makes the replacement of r optional in words such as bālah ‘child’, mūlam ‘root’, laghuḥ ‘small, short’, asurah ‘demon’, alam ‘enough, able’ and angulīḥ ‘finger’. We thus also get mūram, bārah, raghuḥ, asulah, aram and anguriḥ. This op-
tional provision can be read also as: whatever $r$ or $l$ is there, it gets replaced with $r$ or $l$. Thus, $bālah \rightarrow bārah; bārah \rightarrow bālah$, etc.

Yet another värttika (vt. kapilādināṁ sanjñāchandasar vā ro lam āpadyate) proposal makes replacement optional in the Vedic, i.e., lomāni ‘hair, pores’, pāmsulam ‘dust, pollen’, etc., or in names such as kāplakā, tilpiśkham, etc.

Some, however, claim that $r$ and $l$ are the same. That is, these two share a general scope (sāmānya-visayatvam) of usage.

8.2.19 उपसर्गस्यायातः

$\text{upasargasyāyatau}$

$\text{/upasargasya 6/1 ayatau 1/2 = 7/1/}$

$(\text{ro laха #17})$  

$\text{ayatau parata upasargasya yo repha tasya lakāra ādeśo bhavati}$

The $r$ of an $\text{upasarga}$ ‘preverb’, when used with verbal root ayA ‘to go’, is replaced with $l$.

**Examples:**

- plāyate ‘goes away’
- palāyate ‘ibidem’
- palyayate ‘ibidem’

1. Note that $\text{upasargasya ayatau}$, when read with $\text{rah}$ of the anuvṛtti, is interpreted in two ways: (i) ayata is a qualifier to $r$. ayati parasya rephasya; sa ced upasargasya 'in place of $r$ followed by ayA, provided ris part of an upasarga; and (ii) ayata is a qualifier to upasargasya. ayatiparasya upasargasya yo rephas tasya . . . ‘the $r$ of an upasarga which (the upasarga) ayA follows’. We will get the following paraphrase with the first view: ayatau parato yo repha upasarga-sambandhi tasya: ‘$l$ comes in place of that $r$ which is part of an upasarga followed by ayA’. The second view will yield the following paraphrase: ayatau parato ya upasargas tasya yo rephas tasya . . . ‘$l$ comes in place of the $r$ of that upasarga which ayA follows’. Verbal root ayA is marked with anudātta as an it. Consequently, it is used with verbal endings termed ātmanepadam ‘middle’ (1.3.12 anudāttaṇita ātmanepadam). Then an objection: why do we get parasmaitpadam ‘active’ in udayati of udayati vitatordhvaramśirajtau ‘at the time when sun, who weaves over us a canopy of ray-threads, arises’? What purpose could be served by this question? Haradatta retorts, ‘what purpose could be served by this cleansing of a wild-elephant’ (PM: kim anena vanyagajaśaucaena). We are hear talking about two views of interpreting this rule, and not whether udayati should have an ātmanepada.

If ayati is treated as a qualifier to $r$, $r$ becomes the primary focus of operation (PM: kāryitvena pradhānātvat). This means that ayA must follow $r$ immediately. Given $\text{pra + ay}(A) + (LAT→tiP) → \text{pra + ay + (S) a(P) + ti(P) = pra + ay + a + l(i→) = pra + ay + a + te, we get} p(r→l) a + āyate → plāyate$. How could we get
a replacement in \( l \) when, in doing that, we get *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’ (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). This *sthānivadbhāva* will cause \( r \) to be intervened by \( a \) before *ay\( A \). But this intervention, since it is caused by a single whole specified as *upāsarga*, should not block the replacement in \( l \). Why? That (one sound segment) by means of which non-interruption is specified, an operation (such as a replacement in \( l \)) would still be performed when an interruption by that occurs’ (*Kāś. yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite pi vacanaḍprāmānīyāt*). A replacement in \( l \) will thus be accomplished when there is an interruption by one sound segment. This is done at the strength of the statement itself (*vacana-prāmānīyāt*). Now consider *pari-ay\( A \) + (*Śa\( P \) + (*LAT\( →\)te)) = *pari*(\( i → y \)) + *ayate → pa*(\( r → l \)) *yayate → palyayate*, where we get a replacement in \( l \), also when interruption of one sound segment is not realized, via *sthānivadbhāva*. It is realized, instead, via a sound segment, i.e., \( y \), which is actually heard in usage (*śrūyaṃnenaiva varṇena laukikam vyavadhānam*). The first interpretation thus accomplishes everything desired.

Now consider *prati-ay\( A \) + *Śa\( P \) + (*LAT\( →\)te) → *prati*(\( i → y \)) + *ay + a + te = pratyayate* where, according to some, \( r \) of *prati* can be replaced with \( l \) to yield *pratyayate*. This can be accomplished by accepting the second interpretation of *upāsargasyāyayatau*. Recall that *ayati*, in the second view, is treated as a qualifier to the preverb (*upāsarga*). Those who accept the first view will only accept *pratyayate*. Still others believe that *ay\( A \) with *prati* is not found in usage (*Kāś. prathamaṣaṃkṣaraṇābhinivitiśā tu pratyayata ity eva bhavati manyante. apare tu pratiśabdasyopasyāyateḥ prayogam eva necchanti*).

Recall that \( rU \) as a replacement (8.2.66 *sasaṃuṣu ruḥ*) for \( s \), of *nis* and *duś* in *ni*(\( s → ru \)) + *ay\( aṇ \)am = *nir\( aṇ \)am* and *du*(\( s → ru \)) + *ay\( aṇ \)am = *dur\( aṇ \)am*, will become *aśiddha* ‘suspended’. Consequently, \( l \) as a replacement for \( r \) could never be accomplished.

8.2.20 ग्रो यणि

*gro yaṇi*

/graḥ 6/1 yaṇi 7/1/

(\( ro lāḥ #17 \))

‘\( g \)’ ity etasya dhāto rephasya lakāra ādeśo bhavati yaṇi parataḥ

A replacement in \( l \) comes in place of \( r \) of verbal root *g* ‘to swallow’ when affix *yaN* follows.

**Examples:**

*nijegilyate* ‘third singular middle derivate of *yaN* in *LAT*; ‘swallows over and over again; swallows in a bad manner’’

*nijegilyete* ‘third dual . . .’

*nijegilyante* ‘third plural . . .’
1. This rule allows \( l \) as a replacement of \( r \) which, in turn, develops from \( \text{gṛ} \), especially when affix \( \text{yaN} \) (3.1.22 \( \text{dhātor ekāco} \ldots \)) 'intensive' follows. Consider \( \text{njegilyate} \), \( \text{njegilyete} \) and \( \text{njegiyante} \). Recall that 3.1.24 \( \text{lupasadacara} \ldots \) introduces \( \text{yaN} \) under the denotation of \( \text{bhāvagarhā} \) 'censure of root-sense'. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.24 \( \text{lupasadacara} \ldots \) (II:7.13-14) for derivational details.

Some state that \( \text{gṛ} \) must refer to both \( \text{girati} \) (the \( \text{tudādi} \) root \( \text{gṛ} \)) and \( \text{grṇāti} \) (the \( \text{krṣādī} \) root \( \text{gṛ} \)) in general. Others do not accept any reference to \( \text{krṣādī} \) roots. They argue that no usage of this \( \text{krṣādī} \) root with \( \text{yaN} \) is found.

2. Why do we state the condition of \( \text{yaN} \) 'when \( \text{yaN} \) follows'? Consider \( \text{nigīryate} \ldots \) is swallowed' where no replacement in \( \text{l} \) is allowed. For, \( \text{ya} \) is not affix \( \text{yaN} \). It is the \( \text{sārvadhātuka} \) affix \( \text{yaK} \) (3.1.67 \( \text{sārvadhātuka yak} \)), instead.

8.2.21 अचि विभाषा

\( \text{aci vibhāsā} \)
\( / \text{aci 7/1 vibhāsā 1/1/} \)
\( (\text{ro lah} \#18 \text{graḥ} \#20) \)
\( \text{ajādau pratayaye parato gro rephasya vibhāsā lakārādeo bhavati} \)

A replacement in \( \text{l} \) comes, optionally, in place of \( \text{ṛ} \) of verbal root \( \text{gṛ} \), when a vowel-initial affix follows.

Examples:

- \( \text{nigirati} \ldots \) swallows'
- \( \text{nigilati} \) 'ibidem'
- \( \text{nigaranāṃ} \) 'swallowing'
- \( \text{nigalanām} \) 'ibidem'
- \( \text{nigārakaḥ} \) 'he who swallows'
- \( \text{nigālakaḥ} \) 'ibidem'

1. Note that \( \text{aci} \), the locative singular form of \( \text{ac} \) 'vowel' (\( \text{aci} \)), is interpreted as: 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'. Commentators explain that \( \text{aci} \) is used to indicate an affix which may follow verbal root \( \text{gṛ} \). We get this indication from express use of verbal root \( \text{gṛ} \) in the ablative (\( \text{paṅcamī} \)). That is, \( \text{(PM): dhātoḥ svārūpagrahāne taipratayaye kāryavijñānāt pratyayaḥ sannidhāpitāḥ} \) 'an express mention of the form of a \( \text{dhātu} \) verbal root' indicates an operation relative to an affix introduced after it'. The word \( \text{aci} \) thus specifies an affix which, with the help of \( \text{tadādīndhi} \) 'interpreting a specification made with \( x \) as that which begins with \( x' \), refers to an affix beginning with a vowel (\( \text{(PM: tasyācā viśeṣanāt tadādīvidhir vijñāyate) \)}\).

Note that the optional provision of this rule is considered \( \text{vyavasthitavibhāsā} \) 'fixed option'. That is, we get \( \text{galaḥ} \) 'neck', obligatorily (\( \text{nītya} \)), when the derivate denotes a limb of living beings (\( \text{prāṇyaṅga} \)). This obligatory replacement in \( \text{l} \) is not found when the derivate denotes \( \text{garaḥ} \) 'poison' (\( \text{viṣa} \)).

2. Consider \( \text{ni-gṛ} + \text{a} + \text{ti = nigarati, niga(r→l) ati = nicalati; and nigaranām,} \)
nigalanam, where the second set of examples are derivatives of Lyuṭ (3.3.115 byut ca). Note that, given ni-gay + a + ti, it of the root does not go through a replacement in guṇa. Rule 7.1.100 ṇta id dhātoḥ replaces it with i (ir, 1.1.51 ur an raparot), instead. We also get nigārah and nigālakāh, derivatives of affix NyuL (3.1.133 nuyltycau), where the root goes through a replacement in vṛddhi (7.2.115 aco' īnnti).

Now consider (ni-gay → ar) + (NiC → φ) + yaK + (lAṬ → te)) = nigāryate and nigālyate, where r should not be replaced with l. For, the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel. This replacement is still made possible because deletion of NiCis treated as asiddha 'suspended'. But this asiddhatuva is negated by the interpretive convention, or vārttika proposal: pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivat 'a replacement is not considered as what it replaced with reference to the scope of 8.2.1 pūrvatrāsiddham'. This negation itself is not without exceptions (Kās: etad api sāpavādam eva). It does not hold good when operations relative to 'initial conjunct deletion' (samyogādīlopa), 'replacement in l' (lauv), and 'replacement in n' (atva; Kās: 'tasya dosaḥ samyogādīlopa-lauv-natvesu') are to be performed. One can also apply optional l-replacement first, since it will be internally conditioned (antarāgag) by NiC. The affix can then be subsequently deleted (Kās: anatrapag vā kṛte vikalpe niolo bhavisyati). Why do we not get l-replacement in the nominative dual and plural forms gira and girah? A specification of l-replacement made with express mention of the form of a root expects the affix to be introduced after the root (Kās: dhātoḥ svarūpagrahane tatpratyaye kāryavijñānam). What we have here are affixes introduced after a nominal stem.

8.2.22 परिच घांखयोः:

\[
\text{parēś ca ghāṅkayoh} \\
/parēḥ 6/1 ca φ gha-āṅkayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ/ \\
(ro laḥ #18 vibhāṣā #21) \]

'pari' ity tasya yo repahas tasya ghaṣabde' nkaṣabde ca parato vibhāṣa lakāra āydeśo bhavati

The r of pari is, optionally, replaced with l when gha (of han 'to kill') and anka 'curve' follow.

**EXAMPLES:**

- parighah 'iron bar'
- palighah 'ibidem'
- paryāṅkah 'bed, couch'
- palyāṅkah 'ibidem'

1. Note that anka refers to word-form anka. Consequently, gha, based on its associated (sāhacarya) specification with the form of the word anka (svarūpa-graṇa), should also be interpreted as referring to its word-form
gha. This gha is then interpreted as a replacement of verbal root han (3.3.84 parau ghaḥ). It does not refer to items assigned the term gha (1.1.22 tarapramapau ghaḥ).

Consider parighaḥ, where affix aP (3.3.84 parau ghaḥ) is introduced after verbal root han under the cooccurrence condition of pari as an upapada ‘conjoined pada’. Verbal root han is also concurrently replaced with gha, in toto (1.1.55 anekālīṣ sarvasya). The a of gha then goes through t-deletion (6.4.143 teḥ). We thus get parigha + sU = parighaḥ.

Note that anika is derived with affix aC (3.1.134 nandigrahapacāḍy...) introduced after verbal root akl. This root, since it is marked with l as an it, receives augment nUM. Thus, akl + aC → a+nUM+k(l→ϕ) + aC → anika. A compound with pari (2.2.18 kugatiḥprādayah) is then formed to yield pari(i→y) + anika = paryānka. An optional replacement of r with l will give us: palyanika.

2. A vārtti (vt: yoge ceti ca vaktasyam) proposal is made to allow this replacement also where pari is combined with yoga. Thus, pariyogah and paliyogah.

8.2.23 समयोगान्तस्य लोपः

\( \text{samyoğāntasya lopah} \)
\[ / \text{samyoğāntasya } 6/1 = \text{samyogo' nte yasya (bv.), tasya; lopah } 1/1 / \]
(padasya #1.16)

\( \text{samyoğāntasya padaṣya lopa bhavati} \)

A deletion by LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of a pada which ends in a conjunct (samyoga).

Examples:

gomān ‘rich in cows; that where the cows are’
yavamān ‘rich in barley; that where the barley is’
ḥṛtavān ‘... made’
ḥṛtavān ‘... carried’

1. Note that padaṣya is carried. A specification with saḿyoğasya, with no anta as part of this rule, could still give us the meaning of saḿyoğāntasya padaṣya. This will be possible by qualifying padaṣya with samyoğasya, via tadaṇtavidhi ‘interpreting x (pada), as also that which ends in x (samyoga)’. Why is the word anta used at the end of samyoga? For clarity (vispaṣṭārtham).

2. Consider gomant + sU → gomān and yavamant + sU → yavamān, where gomant derives from go + mat(UP) → go + ma + n(UM) + t = gomant. The final of the conjunct, i.e., t, goes through deletion to yield: goman + s. The penultimate vṛddhi of a in gomat is accomplished by rule 6.4.14 atvasantasya cādhātoḥ. The s of sU is, of course, subject to deletion of 6.1.68 hātīyābbhyo. . . Note here that n does not go through deletion. Refer to derivational details of many matUP examples already discussed. Augment nUM is, of course, intro-
duced by 7.1.70 ugid acām. . . The a of goman(t→φ) → gom(a→ā) n will be replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.14 atvasantasya cādhātoḥ). Refer to the appendix (II:337-39) for derivational details of examples with affix KtavatU.

Now consider śreyas + sU → śreyān, where śreyas derives with affix īyasUN, from praśasya + īyasUN → (praśasya→śra) + īyas(UN→φ) = sr(a+i→e)yas = śreyas, with a replacement in śra for praśasya (5.3.60 praśasyasya śraḥ) and application of 6.1.87 ād guṇāḥ. Augment nUM is then introduced to the anāga, i.e., śreyas + sU, before an affix termed sarvanāmasthāna (7.1.70 ugid acām. . .). Rule 6.1.68 habīyābbhyo . . then deletes sU to yield śreyans + (sU→φ) = śreyans. Rule 6.4.10 sāntamahataḥ sanyogasya then applies to replace the penultimate short a with its long counterpart before the conjunct. We thus get: śrey(a→ā) ns = śreyāns. One may here think of applying rule 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruḥ to replace the final s with ruḥ. But this application of ruḥ, even though subsequent, is blocked because of asiddhatva ‘suspension’ (Kāś. iha ‘śreyān, bhīyān’ iti ruṭvam param api asiddhatvāt sanyogāntasya lopaṃ na bādhate). Our present rule then applies to delete the final s of śreyāns. We thus get śreyān(s→φ) = śreyān.

Now consider yet another instance of a replacement in ruḥ. Given payas + sU, we get paya(s→ruḥ) = payar after sU-deletion (6.1.68). Rule 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśo nte will here require the final s of payas to be replaced with a sound denoted by jaŚ. This replacement in jaŚ is blocked by ruḥ. It can be argued here as to why a subsequent ruḥ cannot block jaŚ in a manner similar to its not blocking sanyogānta-lopa ‘deletion of a conjunct final consonant on the basis of asiddhatva’. That is, one must apply a replacement in jaŚ in payas and yasas, against ruḥ. It is explained that this provision of replacement in ruḥ (ruṭva) is made irrespective of whether conjunct deletion obtains (as it does in śreyān, etc.) or does not (as it does not obtain in payas). It is noted that ruṭva is initiated in view of jaśva obtaining everywhere (sarvatra). That is, if this ruḥ (ruṭva), even though subsequent in order, does not block conjunct deletion on grounds of suspension (asiddhatva), it, on similar basis, should also not block a replacement in jaŚ (jaŚ). Thus, we must get jaŚ, as against ruḥ, as a replacement in payaḥ ‘milk’ and yasaḥ ‘fame’. But this will run us into problems. It is explained that the rule which replaces s with ruḥ is formulated irrespective of whether, or not, deletion of the final consonant of a conjunct obtains. Thus, it obtains in śreyān but does not in payaḥ and yasaḥ. It is appropriate then that ruḥ does not block conjunct deletion. The rule which offers a replacement in jaŚ is formulated based upon its application everywhere (sarvatra), including the scope of ruḥ. Consequently, ruḥ, in order for carving out its domain of application, should block a replacement in jaŚ (Kāś. jaśte tu nāpṛāte tad ārabhyata iti tasya bādhakam bhavati ‘that which (ruḥ) is proposed under the obligatory replacement condition of that (a sound denoted by jaŚ), that (ruḥ) blocks that (jaśva)’.
Why is the final of a conjunct, i.e., \( y \), not deleted in *dadhy atra* 'yoghurt (is) here' and *maddhu atra* 'honey (is) here'? This deletion of the final of a conjunct is blocked because of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' provision of externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) replacement in *yaNy*. Deletion of the final of a conjunct, because of a single *pada* as its locus, is treated as internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*).

**8.2.24 रास्सस्य**

\[ rāt sasya \]
\[ / rāt 5/1 sasya 6/1 / \]
\[ (padasya #1.16 samyogāntasya lopah #23) \]
\[ samyogāntapadasya yo rephas tasmād uttarasyāntasya sakārasya lopo bhavati \]

A final *s* which, in a *pada* ending in a conjunct, occurs after *r* goes though deletion by *LOPA*.

**Examples:**

- mātuḥ 'genitive singular of māṭr (mother)'
- pītuḥ 'genitive singular of pīṭr (father)'
- gobhir aksāḥ '... wandered with cows'
- pratyāṅcam atsāḥ '... moved behind'

1. This rule deletes a final *s* which, in a *pada* ending in a conjunct, occurs after *r*. Note here that *samyogāntam padam* is a qualifier to *r* (*repha*). That is why *r* is treated as part of the *pada* which ends in a conjunct. The *r* itself is construed as a qualifier to *s*. That is why *s*, construed as occurring after *r*, in view of 1.1.52 *alo* ntasya, goes through deletion as final of the conjunct-final *pada*. Recall that this deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rule. This new formulation, against one already made available, is here made for restrictive purposes (*Kāś: siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthah*). *Nyāsa* reminds that this restrictive provision should not be understood inversely as *rād eva sasya* *s*-deletion should occur only after *r*. For, rule 5.4.151 *uraḥprabhṛṭiḥhyaḥ* ... enumerates *pumān*, after accomplishing *s*-deletion in *pumāns*, in the list headed by *uras* 'chest'. If *s*-deletion could only be accomplished after *r* we could not get *s*-deletion in *pumāns* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: rād eva sasya ity esa tu viparītaniyamo* tra nāṣaṁkaniyah; *uraḥprabhṛṭisu* *pumān iti kṛtasamyogāntasya lopasya pumśābdasya pāthāh*).

Note that this deletion cannot apply to the *KuLP*-derivate *urk* (of *ūṝṇ*), where *k*, and not *s*, occurs after *r*. It can similarly not apply to *ṭ* which occurs in the *LUN*-derivate of verbal root *mṛṭ* 'to wipe', namely *amṛṭ*.

Refer to *huter* (6.1.110 *ṛ ut*) for deriving *mātuḥ* and *pītuḥ* from *māṭr + ņas* and *pīṭr + ņas*. Recall that a sequence of *r* and *a* of *māṭr + ņas* and *pīṭr + ņas* is replaced with *uT*, followed by *r* (*rapara; 6.1.110 *ṛ ut; 1.1.51 ur an raparā*).
The s of mātr (r+a) → ur) s = mātr̥s is then deleted by this rule. The next two examples, i.e., aksāh and atsāh of gobhir aksāh and pratyāṅcām atsāh, are derivates of LAN. Given ksar + (LAN→tiP) → aT + ksar + sIC + tiP, a of ksar goes through a replacement in vṛddhi (7.2.2 ato bhāntasya). Additionally, tiP goes through deletion of 6.1.68 halivābbhīyo. . . . Given a(T) + ks(a→ā) r + s(IP→ϕ) + (tiP→ϕ) = aksārs, this rule deletes s, and riḥ is subsequently replaced with h (8.3.15 kharavatānapayor . . ). We thus get aksā(r→h) = aksāh. Deriving atsāh from tsar + LUN should not be difficult. Note that iT is blocked in these examples in accord with 7.3.97 bahulaṃ chandasi. These forms can be derived only when there is a long replacement (Kāś: dirge sati rūpam etai). Incidentally, Kāśīka's statement with dirge sati does not make much sense. It should be vṛddhaḥ satyām 'when vṛddhi is accomplished'.

8.2.25 धि च
dhi ca
/dhī’7/1 ca ϕ /
(lopaḥ #23 sasya #24)
dhakārādau pratyaye parataḥ sakārasya lopo bhavati
A s is deleted by LOPA when an affix beginning with dh follows s.

Examples:

alavidhvaṃ 'second person plural middle LUN-derivate of lū ‘to cut’;
‘you all cut’
alavidhvaṃ ‘ibidem’
apavidhvaṃ ‘second person singular middle LUN-derivate
of pūN ‘to cleanse’; ‘you all purified’
apavidhvaṃ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows s-deletion when an affix beginning with dh follows. Consider a(T) + lū + i(T) + s(IC) + dvama = alavidhvaṃ and a(T) + pū + i(T) + s(IC) + dvama = apavidhvaṃ, both second person plural derivates of LUN in the middle (ātmānepada), where the root-final vowel ā is replaced with av, via its gəṇa counterpart a. The s of s(IC) can now be deleted before dh of dvama. This gives us al(ū→o→av) + i(T) + dvama = alavidhvaṃ. We similarly get apavidhvaṃ. We will get (a(T) + (lū→o→av) + (CI→sIC→ϕ))(dh→
dh) vama = alavidhvaṃ and apavi(dh→dh) vama = apavidhvaṃ if dh is optionally replaced with dh (8.3.79 vibhāsetaḥ). If this deletion of s was not accomplished, we may not hear dh, even when the option of replacing it with dh is not accepted. For, s will then be replaced with s (8.3.59 ādeśāpratyayayoh). This s will then go through a replacement in a (jaśvā, 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaśī). This, in turn, will replace dh with dh (sṛtva; 8.4.41 sṛtāḥ sṛh). The s is deleted here so that dh is heard, even when the option of retroflex (mūrdhanya) replacement is accepted.
Kāśikā offers an īṣṭi ‘desideratum’ whereby deletion of s of sīC, and not any other, becomes desired (Kāś: itaḥ prabhṛti sicaḥ sakārasya lopa isyate). Consider cakāddhi of cakāddhi palitaṃ śirāḥ ‘the bald head glowed’. Thus, s cannot be deleted in cakāś (R) + si(P) = cakāś + (ŚaP→φ) + si → cakāś + (si→hi) → cakās + (hi→dhi) → cakā(s→d) + dhi = cakāddhi ‘second person singular LOT-derivate of cakāśy ‘to glow’. Recall that ŚaP after cakāś(R) is deleted because of its listing as adāḍi (2.4.72 adiṇprabhṛtitihyaḥ śapaḥ). The si is replaced with dhi (6.4.101 hujhālyo her dhīḥ), via hi (3.4.87 ser hy apīc ca). The s of cakās also goes through a replacement in d (jaśṭva; 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaśi). This deletion of s will also not be available in payaḥ of payo dhāvati, etc. Note that deletion of s in sagdhiḥ and babdhām is chāndas ‘Vedic’ (2.4.39 bahulaṃ chandasi). Refer to derivational details of sagdhiḥ and babdhām under the appendix of 1.1.58 na padāntadāvivacana ... (II:410-12).

The author of the Mahābhāṣya notes that cakāddhi is a regular form. That is, s-deletion should be offered as a general provision. This requires some special efforts whereby it can be made available also to payo dhāvati, etc. It is explained that a replacement in rU, since its locus is a single pada, is internally conditioned (antaraṅga). Deletion of s, due to its dependency on two padas, is externally conditioned (bahiranaṅga). Consequently, because of the asiddhatva of s-deletion, replacement in u alone will apply. This rU, in the absence of sthānivadbhāva, and also because of alvidhi ‘operation relative to a sound segment’ (1.1.56 sthānivad ādēso’ nalvidhau), cannot be deleted. Consider the following ślokavārttika which summarizes this all:

dhi sakāre sico lopaś cakāddhīti pryojanam/
āśādhvam tu katham jaśtvam sakārasya bhavisyati//
sarvaṃ evaṃ prasiddhāṃ syāc churniś câpi na vidyate/
lunaś câpi na mūrdhanyā grahāṇaṃ seti duṣyati//
ghasibhasor na sidhyeta tasmāt sīgrahāṇaṃ na tat/
chāndaso varnalopo vā yatkeśkarśtāram adhvare//

‘this rule is intended for deletion of s of sīC before dhi so that s of cakāddhi could be saved; how would you then derive āśādhvam? By (not deleting, but) replacing s with d (jaśtvā); if this is so then let this replacement in jaŚ be made generally applicable; this, however, will shorten 8.3.78 inaḥ sidhvam ... with no mention of LUN; jaŚ cannot be made general since it will create difficulty in roots with i7 (se7) in LUN; derives with ghasI and bhas (sagdhiḥ/babdhām) cannot be derived if s-deletion is limited to sīC; s-deletion in sagdhiḥ and babdhām is chāndas; for, a sound segment can be dropped, as n of niśkāram in īṣkarśtāram’

2. According to the author of the vārttikas, rule 8.2.25 dhi ca accomplishes deletion of s of sīC (cf.: dhisakāre sico lopaḥ ‘deletion of s, via LOPA, when dhi follows’). This deletion applies only to the s of sīC, and not to any other s. The purpose of this statement is to facilitate derivation of cakāddhi. Thus,
cakās 'to glow', when introduced with LOT→siP, produces the string: cakās + (siP→hi) → cakās + ŚaP + hi → cakās + (ŚaP→LUK) + hi (6.4.101 hujhalyon her dhiḥ). We thus get cakās + (hi→dhi) = cakā (s→ṣ) + dhi = *cakādhi, if there is s-deletion of a non-sIĆ. We will get cakā (s→d) + dhi = cakādhi, the correct form, if there is no s-deletion of a non-sIĆ. The s is then replaced with d by 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaśī.

If it is accepted that s of sIĆ alone is deleted, we run into problems in deriving āsādhvam. Thus, āN + sās + (LOT→dhwam) = āsās + dv(am→e) = āsās + dhve (3.4.79 tīt ātmanepadānām . . . ). This string goes through a change, again, with application 3.4.91 savābhyaṃ vāmau, thereby producing: āsās + dhve (e→am) = āsās + dhwam. If we accept s-deletion of a non-sIĆ, we will get āsādhvam. A non-deletion of non-sIĆ will produce the form āsāsdhvam, where s can then be replaced with d. The result will be āsāddhvam. There is yet another possibility. What if, for example in cakās + dhi, the d-replacement of s goes through doubling of d by 8.4.47 anaci ca. This will produce cakāddhi, with two d sounds. This problem of two d sounds can be described as śrutibhedā 'difference in the hearing one of two sounds'. Thus, cakāddhi/cakāddhi, āsāddhvam. It is claimed that no special difference results in articulation of one or two sounds before a consonants.

There is an added benefit in replacing s with d. The use of lūn in the wording of rule 8.3.78 ināḥ śidhvam lūn liṭā dhoṅgāt is no longer needed. Consider the derivation of acyodhvam from a-cyu-s-dhwam where s is replaced with its retroflex counterpart s (8.3.59 ādesapratrayayayoh). The retroflex s will then be replaced with d (8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaśī). The dh of dhvam will then be replaced with dh of 8.4.41 stūnā stūh. The u of cyu will then go through a replacement in ānu and yield acyodhvam. We will similarly get aplodhvam. If there is a deletion of s, we will have to make a specification with LUṆ in order for replacing dh with dh. Those who favor this view state that if LUṆ is not used in the wording of rule 8.3.78 ināḥ śidhvam . . . , 8.3.79 vibhāṣetāh will block optional replacement with dh of dh of LUṆ, occurring after in followed by īT. For, LUṆ is carried over to 8.3.79 vibhāṣetāh from 8.3.78 ināḥ śidhvam . . .

How could one carry over LUṆ when LUṆ is not present in the earlier rule. This lack of anuvṛtti of LUṆ could yield only one form: alavidhvam. We will not be able to derive alavidhvam. The form is derived from (aT + (lū + (LUṆ→dhwam)) → (aT + (lū + s + dhvam)) → a + lū + iT + s + dhvam = alū + i + s + dhvam. The s will be replaced with d via s subsequent upon ū→o→av change of lū. We thus get alavidhvam after dh of dhvam is replaced with dh. Why can we not derive alavidhvam by not replacing dh with dh of 8.3.79 vibhāṣetāḥ? This is not a good argument. For, a replacement in dh can be gotten by stutva (8.4.41 stūnā stūh) even when 8.3.79 vibhāṣetāḥ has not applied. It is therefore necessary to state that 8.2.25 dhī ca accomplishes deletion of s of sIĆ. Similarly, we should include sIĆ in the wording of rule 8.3.78 ināḥ śidhvam. . .
Now yet another problem. If the $s$ of $sIC$ is deleted by 8.2.25 $dhi ca$ we will not be able to derive $sagdhi$ and $babdhām$. The kārikā, therefore, states: 

$ghasibhasor na siddhyeta tasmāt sījgrahanaṃ na tat 'it will not be possible to accomplish $s$-deletion of $ghasl$ and $bhas'$. It should be stated that $s$-deletion by 8.2.25 $dhi ca$ is not limited only to $s$-deletion of $sIC$. Consider $ghṣati$ derived from $ad + KtiN$ where 2.4.39 bahulaṃ chandasi replaces $ad$ with $ghas$. The $a$ of $ghas + ti$ goes through penultimate deletion (upadhālopā) of 6.4.100 ghasibhasor hali ca. The $s$ of $ghṣti$ will then be deleted based on Vedic anamoly (bahulaṃ chandasi). The $t$ of $ti$ will then be replaced with $dh$ of 8.2.40 $jhaṣas tathordho' dhaḥ$. The $gh$ will also be replaced with $g$ of 8.4.53 $jhalāṃ jaś jhaśī$. This will get us $gdhi$. A karmadhāraya compound with replacement of $samāna$ with $sa$ can then be formed to produce $sagdhi$.

Now refer to $babdhām$ (appendix, II:411-12) which is derived from $bhas + (LOT→tas→tām)$. The $t$ of $tām$ is here replaced with $dh$. It is through replacement of $bh$ with $b$ and reduplication that we finally get $babdhām$. It is stated that whether $s$ of $sIC$ is specified in 8.2.25 $dhi ca$, or not, $s$-deletion in $sagdhi$ and $babdhām$ will have to be accomplished on the basis of usage seen in the Vedic (chandasa; drśṭānuvidhi-prayoga), similarly to iṣkāṭāram adhvare. Nyāsa notes that vā of chandaso varnalopo vā indicates yet another derivational source. That is, $gdhi$ is not derived from $ghas$. It, instead, is derived from $ṣadh$ used with the signification of himśā 'to harm'. Similarly, $babdhām$ is derived from $bandh$ used in the sense of bandhana 'to tie'. The kārikā verse thus does not favor any $s$-deletion of $ghas$ and $bhas$. Consequently, no specification with $sIC$ should be made. That is, $sagdhi$ and $babdhām$ should be derived from different roots. In conclusion, $s$-deletion of 8.2.25 $dhi ca$ aims on deletion of $s$ of $sIC$. This is what the verses establish. This is what the view of the author of the vārttikas is.

8.2.26 झलो झलि

$jhalo jhali$

//jhalah 5/1 jhali 7/1/

(lopolah #23 sasya #24)

$jhala uttarasya sakārasya jhali parato lopo bhavati$

The $s$ which occurs after a sound denoted by $jhaL$ (Śs. 8-14) is deleted by LOPA when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term $jhaL$ follows $s$.

Examples:

-acchita ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of chid ‘to cut’’
-accitthāh ‘second singular middle . . .’
-abhita ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of bhid ‘to pierce’’
-abhittthāh ‘second singular middle . . .’
avāttām ‘third singulr active LŪN-derivate of vas ‘to dwell’
avātta ‘second person plural active LŪN-derivate . . .’

1. This rule allows s-deletion when s is preceded and followed by a sound
   denoted by jhal. Thus, we get a(T) + bhid + (sIC→ϕ) + (LŪN→ta) = a + bhid
   + ta = abhitta and a(T) + chid + (sIC→ϕ) + ta → a(T) + t(UK) + chid + ta = a +
   (t→o) + chid + ta → acchitta, where d→t in abhitta is accomplished by 8.4.54
   khari ca. Augment t(UK)s introduced in acchitta by 6.1.73 che ca. A replacement
   in efor t (ścutva; 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuh) then follows. We similarly get derivates
   such as abhitthāh and acchitthāh where LŪN is replaced with thās (3.4.78
   tiptasji . . .).

   The tas (active third dual) is replaced with tām (3.4.101 tasthastha . . .) in
   a(T) + vas + (sIC→ϕ) + (LŪN→tas→tām) = avas + tām. A vṛddhi-replacement
   (7.2.3 vadavraja . . .) for the a of vas gives us: av(a→a)s + tām = avās + tām.
   The final s of avās is then replaced with t (7.4.49 sah syād ārdhadhātuke).
   This replacement is not possible because tām, as 7.4.49 must demand, does not
   begin with s. The sIC-deletion is treated as asiddha in view of application of
   7.4.49 sah syād . . . We can similarly derive avas + (LŪN→thas→ta) →
   av(a→a)s + ta → avā(s→t) + ta = avāttā.

2. Why do we state the condition of jhalah ‘after a sound denoted by jhal?
   Consider aT + mana + sIC + (LŪN→thas→ta) = aman + s + ta → aman(n→n)sta
   = amanṣta, where deletion of s cannot be accomplished because s occurs
   after n which is not a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal. We
   similarly do not get s-deletion in amanṣṭhā, a derivate with verbal ending
   thās.

   Why do we have the condition of jhali ‘when a sound denoted by jhal
   follows’? Consider aT + bhid + sIC + (LŪN→atām) → abhi(d→t) + sātām =
   abhītsātām and abhītsata where s-deletion is blocked again since what follows
   is not a sound denoted by jhal.

   The s-deletion of this sūtra again refers only to deletion of sIC. Conse-
   quently, we do not get deletion of s in somasut stotā and dṛṣṭat sthānām where
   the final t of somasut and dṛṣṭat precede the initial jhal of stotā and sthānām.
   Besides, they are not part of a single word. Haradatta (ad Kāś) rightly remarks
   that this application requires s and two required jhal sounds, all three, within
   a single pada (PM: tvayānām apy ekasambandhatve vidhir iyam). This deletion
   can also not be accomplished in a compound such as somasutsthīthā where tis
   not a part of the pada which begins with s and th (PM: samāse pi na bhavati.
   kim kāraṇam? sakārathakārābhhyām yat padaṃ ārabdhām tat prati takārasiyā
   vayavābhāvāt).

8.2.27 नस्मादांगात्  

hrasvād aṅgāt

/ hrasvāt 5/1 aṅgāt 5/1/
(lopaḥ #23 sasya #24 jhari #26)
hrasvādh aṅgād uttarasya lopo bhavati jhari parataḥ
The s which occurs after an aṅga terminating in a short vowel (hrasvād) is deleted by LOPA when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL follows s.

**Examples:**

- *akṛta* 'third singular middle LUN-derivate of kr 'to do'
- *akṛthāḥ* 'second singular middle . . .'
- *ahrta* 'third singular middle LUN-derivate of hr 'to carry'
- *ahrthāḥ* 'second singular middle . . .'

1. This rule allows s-deletion after an aṅga which ends in a short vowel and when this s is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL. Refer to the appendix (II:437) under 1.2.12 us ca for derivational details of akṛta and aḥṛta. Deriving examples with thās should not be any difficult.

2. Why do we state hrasvād 'after an aṅga which ends in a short vowel'? Consider acyōṣṭa and aploṣṭa where the aṅga ends in o, a non-short vowel. Note that a guṇa-replacement for u of cyō 'to drip, fall' and plu 'to float' is accomplished first under the condition of asiddhatva 'suspension' of sIC-deletion. Deletion can no longer apply here since this resultant final vowel of the aṅga, i.e., o, removes the condition of deletion (PM: salopasyāsiddhatvāt pūrvam guṇāh, tato vihitanimittavāl lopābhāvāh).

Why do we have the condition of angāt 'after an aṅga'? Consider aT + (lū→au→āu) + iT + sIC + tām = alāviṣṭām and alāviṣuh (cf. III:776) where s does not occur after the aṅga. It, instead, occurs after the aṅga intervened by iT.

The condition of jhali 'when a sound denoted by jhaL follows' is still there. Consider akṛṣṭām and akṛṣtata, third person dual and plural forms of kṛṣ 'to draw, drag', where guṇa of r is blocked because of K as an it (1.2.12 us ca).

This deletion also refers to deletion of sIC. We thus do not get it in dvīṣṭarām and dvīṣṭamām, where comparative-superlative suffixes taraP and tamaP are introduced with the signification of excellence after dvīs ending in sUC (5.4.18 dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc). The s is then replaced with ś (8.3.101 hrasvāt tādau taddhite). Note that ām after taraP and tamaP is introduced by 5.4.11 kimeltin. . . .

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8.2.28 इट इटि

*iṭa iṭi*

/iṭa/ 5/1 iṭi 7/1/

(lopaḥ #23 sasya #24)
iṭa uttarasya sakārasya lopo bhavati iṭi parataḥ
A s which occurs after iT is deleted by LOPA when iT follows.
EXAMPLES:

adevīt ‘he sported’
asevīt ‘he served’
akośīt ‘he dragged’
amośīt ‘he stole’

1. This rule deletes s after an īT when īT follows. Consider aT + div + (LUN → tiP) = adevīt ‘he sported’, where 7.2.4 neṣi blocks the vrddhi of i of div. We get a short-penultimate replacement in guna, instead. Augment īT is introduced by 7.3.96 astisico’ ṭṛkte. . . . We similarly get asevīt ‘. . . served’, akośīt ‘. . . dragged’ and amośīt ‘. . . stole’, the derivatives of sev ‘to serve’, kuṣ ‘to draw, extract’ and muṣ ‘to steal’, respectively. Refer to alāvīt (II:333-34) for additional derivational details.

Let us consider the third singular active LUN-derivate, i.e., āṭ, of verbal root at ‘to move continually’. Given āT + at + s + t → ā + āt + iT + s + t → (ā + a→ā) t + i + s + t = āt + is + t, where 6.4.72 āḍ ajādinaḥ introduces augment āT. Augment iT is introduced by 7.3.35 ārdhadhātukasayaḥ valade. A single vrddhi replacement for ā-vā is accomplished by 6.1.90 āṣaṣ ca. Rule 7.3.96 astisico’ ṭṛkte now introduces iT to yield āt + i + s + iT + t → āt + is + īt. Our present rule then applies deletion by LOPA to s thereby yielding: āt + i(s→φ) + īt = āt + i + īt. Rule 6.1.100 akah savarne ārghah then replaces the vocalic sequence of i+i with a single long ī. We thus get āt + īt = āṭit. Recall that 6.1.100 akah savarne ārghah is placed outside the tīpādi. Rule 8.2.28 ita īṭi is obviously contained within the tīpādi. Given 8.2.1 pūrvatāśiddham, the s-deletion of 8.2.28 ita īṭi is considered suspended in view of the application of 6.1.100 akah savarne ārghah. This becomes a problem in deriving āṭit with a single homogeneous long vowel replacement (savarne-ekādaśa). The Mahābhāṣya proposes a vārttika on rule 8.2.28 ita īṭi: (vt. siulpā ekādaśe siddho vācyah ‘a deletion of s(IC) should be considered siddha in view of a single replacement’). We can now apply 6.1.100 akah savarne ārghah to derive āṭit.

2. Why do we have the specification made with īṭah ‘after īT’? Consider akāṛṣit and ahāṛṣit (II:332-33), the two derivatives of kr and hr offered here as counter-examples, where s does not occur after īT.

Why do we state the condition of īṭi ‘when īT follows’? Consider alāvistām and alāvishuḥ, the two derivatives of lūN ‘to cut’ offered here as counter-examples, where īT does not follow.

8.2.29 स्त्रोः समयोगाधोरते च

skoḥ samyogādhyor ante ca
/skoḥ 6/2 = saṣ ca kaṣ ca = skau (itar. dv.), tayoḥ, samyogādyoh 6/2 = samyogasya āḍī (ṣaṣ. tat.), tayoḥ; ante 7/1 ca ϕ/
(padasya #1.18 lopah #23 jhali #26)
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padasyānte yah samyogah jhali parato vā samyogah tad ādyoh sakārakāravyor lopo bhavati

The initial s and k of a conjunct which occurs at the end of a pada, or is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhali, is deleted by LOPA.

EXAMPLES:

lagnah ‘derivate of (Olasj + Kta) + sU’
lagnavān ‘derivate of (Olasj + KtavalU) + sU’
sādhulak ‘pleasantly shy’
magnah ‘cleansed from (masj + Kta) + sU’

1. This rule deletes the initial s and k of a conjunct which occurs at the end of a pada, or which is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhali. Consider lasj + Kta → (lagn) + sU → lagnah and lasj + KtavalU → lagnavān + sU → lagnavān, where s of the conjunct goes through deletion by LOPA. Augment iT cannot be introduced since Olasj is a root marked with i as an it (idita; 7.2.14 śvūdito niśṭhāyām). The t of the niśṭhā (1.1.26 kwałata niśṭhā) suffix is replaced with n (8.2.45 oditaś ca). The j of the root goes through a replacement in k (kutva; 8.2.29 coh kuḥ). A replacement in n for t of the niśṭhā suffix is, for purposes of replacement in kU ‘consonant of the k-series’, considered asidha ‘suspended’ (8.2.1 śvūdītrasiddham). Note that (sādhu + sU) + (lasj + (KuIP→ϕ))) = sādhulasj + (sU→ϕ) = sādu(s→ϕ)j → sādhula(j→k) = sādhulak has the conjunct sj at the end of the pada. Other rule applications remain the same.

Now consider masj + Kta, where T is blocked because masj consists of a single vowel (7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe . . .). Augment nUM (7.1.60 masjinaśor jhali) is then introduced before j at the strength of a vārttika: masjer antyāt pūrvo νum vācyah ‘nUM is to be introduced prior to the final of masj’. Thus, ma(s-nUM)j + (K)ta → mas (n→ϕ)j + ta = ma(s→ϕ)j + (t→n)a → ma(j→g) + na = magnah + sU → magnah. The n of nUM is subsequently deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hala. . . . We similarly get examples of k-deletion in derivatives of niśṭhā: take (Kta) → ta(k→ϕ)j + ta → ta(k→t)j + a + sU = taṣṭah and (taks + KtavalU) + sU → taṣṭavān, with t as a replacement for t (8.4.41 śunā śuḥ). Recall here that rule 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā blocks introduction of augment iT. Now consider (kāṣṭha + am) + (taks + KuIP) → kāṣṭhata(k→ϕ)j → kāṣṭhata(s→d→t) = kāṣṭhatat, paraphrased as kāṣṭhama takṣajoti ‘he who planes wood’. Note that s of taks is replaced with d (jaśva; 8.2.39 śhalaṃ jaśo nte). This d then goes through a replacement in t (cartva; 8.4.55 vā’ vasāne).

2. A vārttika proposal (vt. jhali sarīti vaktarvīyam) is made to specify jhali as jhali sanī, ‘jhaliL included within the abbreviatory term sanī, formed with sa of saN (3.1.5 guptiākhyah san) and N of māhīN (3.4.78 tīptaśjī . . . ; Kāś: sanah praḥṛti mahino nakārena pratayahāraḥ). This abbreviatory term will then represent all affixes introduced after verbal roots. The vārttika is proposed to
facilitate blocking of several rule applications in deriving girah (optional l by 8.2.2 gro yani), abhodhih (non-deletion of s of abhas by 8.2.25 dhi ca), dviṣṭarāṁ (8.2.27 hrasvād anāgāt), dṛṣṭasthāḥ (8.2.26 jhalo jhalī), kāṣṭhaṣakṣīthirah (8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor ante ca), kruṇcā (8.2.30 coh kuḥ), dhuryah (no lengthening; 8.2.77 hali ca). Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for additional details on:

giro' bhodhīr dviṣṭarāṁ ca dṛṣṭasthāḥ kāṣṭhaṣakṣīthirah/
kruṇcā dhuryeti mā smaiṣu satvādini bhavantu iti///

3. Why do we state skoh ‘in place of s and k’? Consider narnarti and varvarti, derivatives of deleted yaN introduced after nṛtl ‘to dance’ and vrīt ‘to choose, like’ where we do not find the conjunct at the end of a pada followed by a sound denoted by jhal.

Why do we state samyogādyoh ‘at the beginning of a conjunct’? Consider payahsak, where the conjunct is not at the end of a pada. Besides, a pada which ends in a Kulp, and is combined with a cooccurring pada, is impossible to find.

8.2.30 चो: कृ:

coh kuḥ
/coh 6/1 kuḥ 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 jhalı #26 ante ca #29)
cavargasya kavargādēsō bhavati jhalī parataḥ padānte ca

A sound denoted by cUis replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by kU when cU, either occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal.

Examples:

paktā ‘he will cook’
paktum ‘for cooking’
paktavyam ‘... ought to be cooked’
odanpak ‘he who cooks rice’
vaktā ‘speaker’
vaktum ‘for speaking’
vaktavyam ‘... ought to be said’
vāk ‘speech’

1. Note that jhalı and padānte are both individually construed with coh ‘in place of that which is denoted by a consonant of the c-series’. This rule then allows a consonant of the c-series to be replaced with a corresponding consonant of the k-series (kU) when a consonant of the c-series occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhal. Consider (pa(c→k) + tr(O)) + sU → paktā, (pa(c→k) + tavyaT) + sU = paktavyam, and (odana + pa(c→k)) + (Kulp→∅)) = odanapak. We similarly
get \((\text{vāc} + \text{trC}) + \text{sU} = \text{vāktā}, \text{vaktavyam}\) and \(\text{vāc} + \text{sU} \rightarrow \text{vāk}\). Recall that \(\text{sU}\) is deleted by 6.1.68 \(\text{halhyābbhyo} . . .\). The \(\text{c}\) is then replaced with \(\text{g}\) (\(\text{kutva}\)) of 8.2.39 \(\text{jhalām jaso' nte}\). Our present rule then replaces \(\text{g}\) with \(\text{k}\). Incidentally, \(\text{vāk}\) derives from \(\text{vāc} + \text{KvIP} \rightarrow \nu(a\rightarrowā)\ c + (\text{KvIP} \rightarrow \phi) = \text{vāc} + \text{sU} = \text{vāk}\) at the strength of a \(\text{vārttika}\) (\(\text{ad} 3.2.178 \text{anyebhyo' pi ārṣyate, vt: kvib vacipracchyā-yatastu . . .}\). This \(\text{vārttika}\) also offers a long replacement for the short \(\text{a}\) of \(\text{vāc}\).

Why is \(\text{n}\) of \(\text{kruṇcā} \text{‘a female swan’ not replaced with \(\text{n}\) before \(\text{c}\)? For those who accept the root as \(\text{kruṇc} \text{‘to be curley, crooked’, the answer is twofold:}\)

(i) this rule applies only when an affix denoted by \(\text{saN}\) follows (see note 2 under the preceding rule); (ii) \(\text{Pāṇini himself uses it, via nipātana, in rule 3.2.59 rtvi}d\text{adhṛk}. . .\). One can also accept the root as \(\text{kuc}\), with no \(\text{r}\) and no \(\text{n}\). I omit any further discussion for fear of expatiation (\(\text{prapañca}\)).

8.2.31 हो छः:

\(\text{ho dhah}\)

\(/\text{hah} \ 6/1 \ \text{dhah} \ 1/1/\)

(\(\text{padasya} \ #1.16 \ \text{jhal} \ #26 \ \text{ante ca} \ #29\))

\(\text{hakārasya dhakārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca}\)

A \(\text{h}\) is replaced with \(\text{dh}\) when it occurs at the end of a \(\text{pada}\), or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \(\text{jhal}\).

Examples:

- \(\text{sodhā} \text{‘he will endure’}\)
- \(\text{sodhum} \text{‘for enduring’}\)
- \(\text{sodhavyam} . . . \text{ought to be endured’}\)
- \(\text{jalāsāt} \text{‘name of Indra’}\)
- \(\text{vodhā} \text{‘he will carry’}\)
- \(\text{vodhum} \text{‘for carrying’}\)
- \(\text{vodhavyam} . . . \text{ought to be carried’}\)
- \(\text{turāsāt} \text{‘name of Indra; he who endures water’}\)
- \(\text{prāsthavāt} \text{‘a bull who can carry a prastha in weight’}\)
- \(\text{dityavāt} \text{‘a calf of two years’}\)

1. This rule requires a \(\text{h}\) to be replaced with \(\text{dh}\) when \(\text{h}\) occurs at the end of a \(\text{pada}\), or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \(\text{jhal}\). Refer to notes under 6.3.112 sahivahor . . . for derivational details of \((\text{sah} + \text{trC}) + \text{sU} = \text{sodhā}\) and \((\text{vah} + \text{trC}) + \text{sU} = \text{vodhā}\), where this rule replaces \(\text{h}\) with \(\text{dh}\). We can similarly derive \(\text{sodhum, sodhavyam, and vodhum, vodhavyam}\) with affixes \(\text{tumUN}\) and \(\text{tavyaT}\). Note here that augment \(\text{iT}\) can be optionally introduced after verbal root \(\text{sah}\) when an \(\text{ārdhadhātuka}\) affix beginning with \(\text{t}\) follows (7.2.48 \(\text{ti}sasaha . . .\)). That is, we can also find forms such as \(\text{sodhitā, sodhitum and sodhitavyam}\), respectively. Derivatives where \(\text{h}\) is replaced with \(\text{dh}\).
at the end of a pada are: turāsāt, prāṣṭhavāt and dītyavāt. Refer to derivational
details of turāsāt ‘Indra’ under the appendix of 3.2.63 chandasi sahaḥ (II:739).
The NoI of prāṣṭhavāt is introduced after vah ‘to carry’ by 3.2.64 vahaś ca.
The penultimate vṛddhi is accomplished by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyah.

2. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: cuhoḥ
kudhau? Rule 1.3.10 yathāsamkhyaṃ . . . would have then required assignment
of equivalency of replacements in accord with equal number of enumerated
items (samkhyaṭānudeśa). That is, a replacement in kU would have applied
before an affix beginning with a jhāL sound (jhalādau kutvam). A replace-
ment in dh would have similarly applied at the end of a pada (padānte
dhatvam).

Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule by reading a at the end of h in the
genitive: hasya dhaha? This simply indicates variety in his choice.

Thus, (sa(h→dh) + tṛ(C)) → (saḍh + (t→dh) ṭ) → (saḍh + (dh→ḍh) ṭ) →
sa(ḍh→ḍ) + ṭ + ṭhr → s(a→o) + ṭhr = sodhr + sU = sodhā, where this rule replaces
h with ḍh. The t of affix tṛC is also replaced with dh (8.2.40 jhaṭastathordho
dhaha). This dh is then replaced with dh (ṣṭutvā; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). Rule 8.3.13
ṛho dhaṃ lapah then applies to delete dh of saḍh. Finally, the a of saḍh is re-
placed with o to produce sodhā. This same applies to (vah + tṛC) + sU = vodhā.
Refer also to note #2 under rule 6.3.112 sahivahor . . . Also refer to deriva-
tional details of jalāsāt ‘he who endures water’ and prāṣṭhavāt ‘a calf under
training for ploughing’.

8.2.32 दादेशातीर्थ:

dāder dhātor ghah
/ḍādeḥ 6/1 = dakāra ādir yasya (bv.), tasya; dhātoḥ 6/1 ghah 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 jhalī #26 ante ca #29 hah #31)
dakārāder dhātor hākārasya ghakārādeśo bhavati jhalī parataḥ padānte ca
The h of a verbal root which begins with d is replaced with gh when h
occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by
the abbreviatory term jhāL.

Examples:

dagdhā ‘he will burn (something)’
dagdhum ‘for burning’
dagdharyam ‘. . . ought to be burned’
kāṣṭhadhak ‘he who ignites the firewood’
dogdhā ‘he will milk’
dogdhum ‘for milking’
dogdharyam ‘. . . ought to be milked’
godhuk ‘he who milks cows’
1. This rule replaces the \( h \) of a root with \( gh \) when the root begins with \( d \), and \( h \) occurs at the end of a \( pada \), or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \( jhāL \). Consider \( dagdāhā, dagdhum \) and \( dagdhāvrayam \), where \( h \) of \( dah \) is replaced with \( gh \). Thus, \( da(h→gh) + (t→dh) r(C) \rightarrow da(gh→g) + dhr = dagdhr \), where \( gh \) is replaced with \( g \) \((jaśtva; 8.4.53 jhālām jaś jhaś)\). We can similarly derive \( dogdāhā, dogdhum \) and \( dogdhāvrayam \) with affixes \( trC, tumUN \) and \( tavyaT \), where \( u \) of \( duh \) will be replaced with \( o \) \((guna; 7.3.84 sārvedhātukārdhā . . .)\). Now consider \( (kāṣṭha + am + dah + KuP) = kāṣṭhada \((h→gh)\), where \( d \) of \( dah \) is replaced with \( dh \) \((bhaśbāva; 8.2.37 ekāco baśo . . .)\). The \( gh \) of \( kāṣṭha + dha(gh→g→k) = kāṣṭhadhak \) is first replaced with \( g \) \((jaśtva)\) and then with \( k \) \((cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca)\).

2. Why do we state the condition of \( dādeh \) ‘of a verbal root which begins with \( d' \)? Consider \( lih + trC = leḍhā, leḍhum, leḍhāvrayam \) and \( guḍa + am + lih + KuP \rightarrow guḍalih(h→dh→t) = guḍalit, where \( h \) of non-duh verbal root \( lih \) ‘to lick’ is not replaced with \( gh \). It is replaced with \( dh \), instead \((8.2.31 ho dhah)\).

3. It is stated that the genitive in \( dhātoḥ \) does not denote a coreferentiality relationship \((sāmānādhihkaranya)\) with the genitive of \( dādeh \). It, instead, is a qualifier to \( dādeh \). What difference does this make? We get a qualifier and qualified relationship also where coreferentiality is denoted. Actually, \( dhātoḥ \) will become a qualified \((viśesyā)\) if its qualifier \( dādeh \) if we accept coreferentiality. We interpret \( dhātoḥ \) as a qualifier ending in the genitive denoting \( avayava ‘part of a whole’\). This will facilitate us to interpret \( dhātor avayavo yo dādiḥ sabdas tadavayavasya hakārasya ‘in place of a \( h \) which is part of the \( d'\)-initial part of a root’\). What does one accomplish by this interpretation of genitive as denoting \( avayava ‘part of a whole’\)? We get a replacement in \( gh \) in \((duh + (LUN→tiP)) \rightarrow duh + (ŚaP→ϕ) + tiP \rightarrow aT + duh + (tiP→ϕ) \rightarrow a + (d(u→a) h \rightarrow a + do(h→gh→g→k) \rightarrow a(d→dh) ok \rightarrow adhok \((cf. kāṣṭhadhak)\). But this kind of \( avayava ‘part of a whole’\) interpretation of genitive will create difficulty in replacing \( h \) with \( gh \) in \( dogdāhā \) and \( dogdhum \).

For, \( h \) is not any part of \( d'\)-initial part of the root. It, instead, is a part of the whole which is \( d'\)-initial. It is claimed that \( d'\)-initial part of the root of which \( h \) is a part will be accepted as the whole on the basis of \( vyapadesivadhāvva ‘treating secondary as principal’\). That is, \( d'\)-initial part of the whole verbal root will be treated as the whole. Such a special treatment even when there is no difference in the two entities is also witnessed in the outside world. Thus, we get expressions such as: \( silāputrakasya śarīram ‘rock-son’s body, where ‘rock’s son’ itself is the ‘body’ and \( rākoh śirah ‘head of Rāhu’, where ‘head’ itself is Rāhu’. In summary, the genitive is introduced with the understanding that there is no difference \((bheda)\) between the whole and its part.

Or else, one can also accept \( dādiḥ as ‘that \( d'\)-root’ (verbal root) which is initially cited as \( d'\)-initial in the \( Dātupātha\). It will thus not yield a \( gh \) in \( dāmalihām icchati = dāmalihya ‘wishes to lick the rope’, where \( dāmalihya \) is a derived verbal root which begins with \( d \) but is not a root with \( d \) at the begin-
ning in its original citation (*upadeśa). The root in initial citation begins with \(l\) (lih). We can also not get gh in *dāmalīṭ ‘a calf (who licks the rope)’ which ends in a KvIP. Consequently, we do not get *dāmalīk.

8.2.33 वा द्रवमुखणुष्णिणिहाम्

\(\text{vā druhamuḥasṇuhasṇihām}\)
\(\text{vā ṣ druha-muha-ṣnuha-ṣnihām 6/3 (utar. dv.), teṣām/}\)
\(\text{(padasya #1.16 jhāli #26 ante ca #29 hāḥ #31 dhātoḥ ghaḥ #32)}\)
\(\text{‘druha, muha, ṣnuha, ṣniha’ ity eteṣām dhāṭūnāḥ hakārasya vā ghaḥārādeo}\)
\(\text{bhavati jhāli paratāḥ padānte ca}\)

The \(h\) of verbal roots druḥA ‘to wish harm to’, muḥA ‘to be confounded, infatuated’, ṣnuḥA ‘to vomit’ and ṣniḥA ‘to love’ is, optionally, replaced with gh when \(h\) occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL.

Examples:

drodhā ‘he will harm’
drodhā ‘ibidem’
mitradhruk ‘he who wishes to harm a friend’
mitradhrut ‘ibidem’
unmogdha ‘confounded (feminine)’
unmogdha ‘ibidem’
umuk ‘confounded’
umut ‘ibidem’
utnogdha ‘one who will vomit’
utnogdha ‘ibidem’
utnuk ‘vomiting’
utnūt ‘ibidem’
snegdha ‘he will love’
snegdha ‘ibidem’
snik ‘loving’
snīt ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional replacement, in gh, for \(h\) of verbal roots druḥ ‘wish harm to’, muḥA ‘to be sad, distraught, confounded’, ṣnuḥA ‘to vomit’ and ṣniḥA ‘to love’, when \(h\) occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL. Thus, we get drogdhā, drodḥā; (mitra + am + druḥ + KvIP) \(\rightarrow\) (mitra + (d→dh) ruḥ (KvIP→ṣ)) \(\rightarrow\) (mitra + dhrut\(\rightarrow\)gh\(\rightarrow\)g→h) = mitradhruk, where KvIP is introduced by 3.2.61 satsādviduṣadrūhā. . . . We similarly get mitradhrut. Note that druḥ begins with a \(d\) in its initial citation. Consequently, a replacement of its \(h\) with gh is obligatorily made available (prāpta) by the preceding rule. Other roots, since they do not begin with \(d\), did not have this replacement available to them.
(aprāpta). This rule makes an optional provision (Kāś. druher dāditvā ghatvam
nityam prāptam, itaresām aprāptam eva ghatvam vikalpyate). If the option of
replacing h with gh is accepted, we will get dr(u→o) h + (t→dh) rC →
(dro(h→gh→g) + dhṛ) + sU = drodghā. If h is replaced with dh (8.2.31 ho dhaḥ),
instead, we will get (dro(h→dh) + (t→dh→dh) ṛṛi) → dro(dh→φ) + dhṛ = (drodhṛ)
+ sU = drodghā. We will get similar forms of other roots. Thus, unmoṅghā,
unmoṅdhā; and umuk and unmut, etc. Examples with pada-final replacements
are all derivates of KuIP (3.2.76 kvip ca). A replacement in ś for s of śnuḥA
and śniḥA is accomplished by 6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ śaḥ saḥ. The n which was gotten
on account of its proximity with ś will be changed back to n.

2. Note that verbal roots druḥ, etc., are enumerated in the class of roots
headed by div ‘to play, sport’. They are listed in this same order also in a
subset headed by radh ‘submit, surrender’ (radhādi). It is because of their
membership in the radhādi class that augment iT can be introduced after
them only optionally (7.2.45 radhādibhyaś ca). If all roots enumerated here
beginning with druḥ are listed in this same order within the divādi class,
then they can all be mentioned here as druḥādi. This way, the rule could also
be formulated as vā druḥādīnām ‘optionally of roots enumerated beginning
with druḥ’ But Pāṇini chose a longer formulation of this rule, perhaps to
indicate its application also to contexts where affix yaṅ goes though deletion
(yañluki). Thus, we get dodhruk and dodhrut. A listing by groups, such as
druḥādi, etc., may have blocked application of this rule to individual verbal
roots (PM ad Kāś. tara ‘vā druḥādīnām’ iti vaktavye pratipadaṇṭho yaṅluky āpi
yathā syāt, dodhruk, dodhrut; anyathā ‘nirdiśṭaṃ yadgaṇena ca’ iti na syāt). Also
refer to my notes under rule 7.1.6 śino rt.

8.2.34 नहो थः:

naho dhaḥ
(padasya #1.16 jhali #26 ante ca #29 haḥ #31 dhātoḥ #32)
naho hakārasya dhakārādēśō bhavati jhali pare padānte ca

A replacement in dh comes in place of h of verbal root nahA ‘to tie’
when this h occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound
denoted by the abbreviatoery term jhaL.

Examples:

naddham ‘tied’
naddhum ‘for tying’
naddhavyam ‘... ought to be tied’
upānat ‘sandals, shoes’
pariṃnat ‘tied around()’

1. Note that nah refers to verbal root nahA ‘to tie’ where n is replaced
with n (6.1.65 no nah). This rule replaces the h of nah with dh when h occurs
at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL. Consider nah + (K)ta → nah + (t→dh) a → na (h→dh→d) + dha = naddha + sU = naddham, where t of Kta is replaced with dh (8.2.40 jhasasthator ...). The dh-replacement of h is further replaced with d (jaśtvā; 8.4.52 jhalāṁ jaś jhaśi). We similarly get (nah + tumUN) + sU → naddham and (nah + tavyAT) → naddhavyam. Refer to derivational details of (upa + nah) + KviP → upānat, under 6.3.116 nahiṛtiṃśi ... , whereby we get the short a of upa replaced with its long counterpart. Similar rules apply in deriving the KviP-derivate (pari + nah) + Kta → pariṇat, where short i of pari is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.116 nahiṛtiṃśi ... . Rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse’ pi ... replaces n with n (natva). Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā) notes that a replacement in dh, as against the more econominal d, is preferred so that in deriving naddha we can get dh as a replacement. If d was offered as a replacement, we could not get dh. For, d is not included within the denotatum of the abbreviatory term jhaŚ (8.2.40 jhasasthator ...; Nyāsa: naddhety atra ‘jhaśastathordho’ dhaḥ ‘iti dhatvam yathā syād ity evam artham’). This replacement in dha is also intended for application of radābhyaṁ nīsthāto nah.

8.2.35 आहस्यः

āhas thāh
/āhaḥ 6/1 sthaḥ 1/1/
(jhali #26 hah #31 dhatoḥ #32)
āho hakārasya thakāraḍēsa bhavati

The h of āh (brū; 3.4.84 bruvaḥ paṁcānām ...) is replaced with th when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL follows.

EXAMPLES:

idam āthta ‘you are saying this’
kim āthta ‘what are you saying’

1. This rule replaces the h of (brū→āh) + thāL. = āh + tha with th when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL follows. Refer to derivational details of āṭhva, under 3.4.84 bruvaḥ paṁcānām ādita ... (IIII:781-82), whereby āh comes as a replacement of brū. The th of this rule is further replaced with t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca).

2. Why did he not formulate a single rule: āhanahor dhaḥ, thereby facilitating the replacement of h, of āh, with dh. An application of 8.4.55 khari ca could then have yielded āṭhva. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule simply as āhas tāh? That is, if he wanted a replacement in t. Why is he offering a different replacement? It is stated that a different replacement is offered so that an application of 8.2.40 jhasasthator ... could be blocked (Kāś: ādesāṇ-tarakaraṇām ‘jhaśasthaordho’ dhaḥ ‘ity asya niviṛtyartham’). That is, the th of
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thaL (3.4.82 parasmaipadānām ...) would then have been replaced with dh of 8.2.40 jhasastathor. ... An application of 8.2.39 jhalām jaśo’ nte could then have yielded: āṭṭhāh. If t was given as a replacement, 8.4.47 anaci ca would have doubled it up. For, t will be considered non-suspended in view of 8.4.47 anaci ca. If a replacement in th will go through a replacement in t (cartua; 8.4.55 khari ca), t will be considered suspended in view of 8.4.47 anaci ca. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā) states that evam api takāra eva kartavyah ‘even then, t alone should be specified as a replacement’. This is not appropriate.

Recall that this replacement is valid only when jhaL follows. This is why we get counter-examples: āha / āhatūḥ / āhuḥ.

3. A proposal (vt. hṛgrahor bhaś chandasi hasyeti vaktavyam) is made to replace the h of hṛ ‘to carry’ and grah ‘to seize’ with bh, in the Vedic. Consider sambharati, grabhitā, udgrābhām and nigrābhām as examples.

8.2.36 चर्च्युक्तस्मृतमृजयजराजश्राक्ष्ठशास्त्रम्

vraścabhrasajamrajayajaranbhṛajacchaśāṁ saḥ
/vraśca-bhrasja-srja-mrja-yaja-rāja-bhrāja-cha-sāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣāṁ; saḥ
1/1/
(padasya #1.16 jhali #26 ante ca #29 dhātoḥ #32)
‘vraśca, bhṛasja, srja, mrja, yaja, rāja, bhṛāja’ ity eteṣāṁ chakārāntānām, šakārāntām ca sakārā ādesō bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca

A replacement in s comes in place of the final sound segment of verbal roots vraśA ‘to cut’, bhrasja ‘to roast’, srjA ‘to project, create’, mrjA ‘to wipe, cleanse’, yajA ‘to sacrifice’, rājA ‘to shine, rule’, bhrājA ‘to shine’, and also of roots which end in ś and ch, when what is replaced with s occurs at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL.

Examples:

vraṣṭā ‘he will cut’
vraṣṭum ‘for cutting’
vraṣṭavyam ‘... ought to be cut’
mulavṛt ‘he who cuts roots’
bhṛasṭā ‘he will roast’
ḥṛasṭum ‘for roasting’
bhṛasṭavyam ‘... ought to be roasted’
dhānabhṛt ‘he who roasts grains’
sraṣṭā ‘... will create’
sraṣṭum ‘for creating’
sraṣṭavyam ‘... ought to create’
rajjusṛt ‘he who braids a rope’
māṛṣṭā ‘he will cleanse’
mārṣṭum 'for cleansing'
mārṣṭavyam '... ought to be cleansed'
kamṣaparimt 'he who fully cleanses the drinking vessel'
yāṣṭā 'sacrificer'
yāṣṭum 'for sacrificing'
yāṣṭavyam 'sacrifice ought to be performed'
upayaṭ 'a sacrifice'
samrāt 'emperor'
svarat 'self-ruler'
virāt 'huge'
praṣta 'he will ask'
praṣṭum 'for asking'
praṣṭavyam 'ought to be asked'
sabdarāṭ '... asks about words'
leṣṭā 'he will move'
leṣṭum 'for moving'
leṣṭavyam 'ought to move'
liṭ 'mover'
veṣṭā 'he will enter'
veṣṭum 'for entering'
veṣṭavyam 'ought to be entered'
vit 'entering'

1. This rule offers ś as a replacement for the final (1.1.52 alo' ntyasya) sound segment of verbal roots Ovraścū' to cut, pierce', bhraśjA 'to cook', srjA 'to discharge, emit', mṛjŪś 'to cleanse, wipe', yajA 'to perform a sacrifice', rājR 'to glow' and TUbhrājR 'to glow', and also of roots which end in ś and ch, when their final sound occurs at the end of a pada, or is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaL. Verbal roots rājR and TUbhrājR are specified here for padānā 'end of a pada'. This is why no example before a jhaL sound is offered for them. The initial jhaL of what follows them is separated by augment iT (Kāś: rājabhrājoh padāntārtham grahaṇam, jhalādir ābhīyām iṭā paryāvapadyate). The first four roots are set 'used with augment iT', only optionally (7.2.44 svaratisūtisyati . . . ). The remaining roots cannot be used with iT (7.2.10 ekāca uṭpadeṣe . . . ).

Now consider some examples:

(i) vraśc + tr(C) = vraṣṭā, vraśc + tum(UN) = vraṣṭum and vraśc + tavya(T) = vraṣṭavyam where, after c is replaced with ś, the preceding ś is changed back to s. This s is then deleted by 8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor ante ca. The t of trC, tumUN and tavyaT then goes through a replacement in t (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). We similarly derive bhraṣṭā, bhraṣṭum and bhraṣṭavyam, etc. Note that mārṣṭā, mārṣṭum and mārṣṭavyam have r of the root replaced with its vṛddhi counterpart
är \((7.2.114 \text{ mrjer vr̥ddhiḥ})\). Refer to derivational details of sraṣṭā, sraṣṭum and sraṣṭavayam under 6.1.58 sṛjadrśor jhaly am akiti.

(ii) Examples such as (mūla + am) + vraśc + KuIP = mūlaṇṛṇand dhānābhṛṇ involve samprasāraṇa of vraśc and bhrasj (6.1.16 grahiyāva-yiyadhi . . . ). They also involve s-deletion.

(iii) This rule offers s as a replacement for j of sam + rājR + (KuIP→φ) = sam-rā(j→s→d→t) = samrāt, for which see notes under 6.4.19 cchvoh śud. . . . The m of sam escapes a replacement in anusvāra (8.3.23 mo' nusvāraḥ) at the strength of 8.3.25 mo rāji samaḥ kuau. One can similarly derive virāt and svarāt. Refer to derivational details of upayaṭ in the appendix (III:741).

(iv) Examples such as (liṣ + tṛC) + sU → leṣṭā, liṣ + tumUN → leṣṭum and (liṣ + tavyaT) + sU → leṣṭavyam derive with guṇa, s→s and t→t like many other forms already discussed. Follow similar rules to derive liṣ + KuIP → lī(s→s→d→t) = liṭ, through śatva (8.3.36 vraśca-bhrasj . . . ), jaśṭva (8.3.39 jhalām jaśo' nte) and cartva (8.4.56 vāvasāne). One can similarly derive vesṭā, veṣṭum, veṣṭavyam, and viṭ.

2. A question is raised against using cha in this rule. Why use cha when it can be replaced with s of 6.4.19 cchvoh śud anunāsike, and prṣṭah, etc., can be replaced by replacing s at the end with s of this rule. That is, cch of 6.4.19 cchvoh śud . . . will serve the purpose of this cha. It is stated that, in that rule, cch is specified because anunāsikasya kvijjaloḥ kniṭi is carried there. This is how prasṭā and praṣṭum could be derived, in addition to prṣṭah and prṣṭavān. For, a replacement in s would, otherwise, not be possible in derivates of tṛC, tumUN and tavyaT; i.e., prasṭā / praṣṭum / praṣṭavayam, with no affix marked with K and N as an it. This is the view of the author of the sūtras (Nyāsa: etac ca sūtrakāramatenoktam). Some, however, refute the use of cha in that rule. They, instead, carry over the anusvṛti of kniṭi there. This facilitates the application of 6.4.19 cchvoh śud anunāsike in prasṭā / praṣṭum / praṣṭavayam. We thus do not need to specify cha in this rule.

8.2.37 एकाचो बशो भष्म जपत्नस्य रथ्वो:

ekāco baśo baḥṣ jhaṣantasya sdbhvoh
/ekācaḥ 6/1 = eko' c yasmin (bv.), tasya; baśaḥ 6/1 baḥṣ 1/1 jhaṣantasya
6/1 = jhaṣ ante yasya (bv.), tasya; sdbhvoh 7/2 = saś ca dhvaś ca (itar. dv.),
tayoh/
(padasya #1.16 jhali #26 ante ca #29 dhātoḥ #32)
dhātor avayaavo ya ekāc jhaṣantah tadavayavasya baśaḥ sthāne baḥṣ ādeśo
bhavati jhali sakāre dhvaśabde ca parataḥ padānte ca
A sound which, denoted by the abbreviatory term baŚ, forms part of a
monosyllabic part of a verbal root ending in a sound denoted by the
abbreviatory term jhas, is replaced with a sound denoted by bhas, when this sound denoted by bas occurs before s, dhva, or occurs at the end of a pada.

Examples:

bhotasyante 'third singular middle LRT-derivate of budh 'to comprehend' 
abhudhvam 'second plural middle LUN-derivate of budh'
arthabhat 'derivate of artha + am + budh + KviP'
nighoksyaite 'third person singular middle LRT-derivate of verbal root guh 'to cover, hide' used with the preverb ni'
nyaghüdhvam 'second person plural middle LUN-derivate of verbal root guh used with the preverb ni'
parnaghut 'derivate of parna + am + guh + KviP'
dhoksyaite 'third singular middle LRT-derivate of duh 'to milk' 
adhughdhwam 'second plural middle LUN-derivate of verbal root duh used with the preverb ni'
godhuk 'derivate of go + am + duh + KviP'
aajarghāḥ 'second person singular active LAÑ-derivate of jar-grdh (grdh + yaN)'
gardhāp 'derivate of (deleted) causal NiC, ending in KviP'

1. This rule replaces a sound denoted by bas with a sound denoted by bhas, when bas forms part of a jhas-final monosyllabic part of a verbal root and occurs either at the end of a pada, or occurs before s or dhva. Note that four sound segments, namely b, d, dh and g are denoted by bas. These are to be replaced with an equal number of sound segments denoted by bhas, namely bh, gh, dh and dh. If one follows samkhyaśānudeśa 'assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration' (1.3.10 yathāsamkhyaṁ anudeśaṁ samānām), dh cannot be selected as a substitute for d. For, it is impossible to find d at the beginning of a monosyllabic part of a root. A selection of substitutes is then made on the basis of close proximity (ānantarya).

Haradatta (PM) quotes the following verses:

catvāro bhāṣa ādeśāḥ sthāninas tu baśas trayāh/
daśārasya tu na kvāpi sambhavo’ sti kathaṅcana/ //1//
'replacements of bhas are four; but the bas items which they replace are only three. Since it is not possible to find d as a substituendum (sthānin), dh cannot be selected as a substitute’

śāstra-pravṛttivāyāṁ samkhyaśāmyasya sambhavāt/
pravṛttite yathāsamkhyaṁ anuśṭhāne tu asambhavāḥ//
'equivalency in accord with equal number of enumerated items is possible at the time when rules are comprehended; but it becomes impossible when rules are to be applied'
2. Note that dhātoḥ, in the genitive (sasthi), is carried over from 8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghar for qualifying ekācaḥ. The word jhasantasya is also a qualifier in syntactic coordination with ekācaḥ. However, there is no syntactic coordination between dhātoḥ and ekācaḥ jhasantasya. For this will give us the sense of: a root which is monosyllabic and ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaś. This interpretation will not allow a replacement in bhas where the root is not monosyllabic. This, however, should not mean that bhaś is intended as a replacement without the qualification of ekācaḥ ‘monosyllabic’. For, if the specification was not made with ekācaḥ, replacement in bhaś will apply to dh of dāmalidh after h of līh is replaced with dh.

We will encounter difficulties in replacing baś with bhaś, if dhātoḥ and ekācaḥ jhasantasya are interpreted as qualifier-qualifiers in syntactic coordination. Consider gardabha + NiC → gardabhaya from which we derive gardabh by introducing KvIP, dubbed apraya ‘non-affix’ because of its total deletion, with the denotatum of kartr ‘agent’. The bh of dabh of gardabh is monosyllabic, but it is not a root. Consequently, it cannot be replaced with p. Commentators, therefore, interpret ekācaḥ jhasantasya as part (awayaya) of dhātoḥ. This way, the baś of a root’s monosyllabic part ending in jhaś, is replaced with bhaś. The bh of dabh which ends in jhaś, and is a monosyllabic part of the root, is replaced with p, a sound denoted by baś.

3. Now consider some examples:

3.1 bhotsyate
(a) budh + (LR7→te) → (3.1.33 syatasi ...)
(b) budh + sya + te → (7.3.86 puganta ...)
(c) b(u→o) dh + sya + te → (8.2.37 ekaco ...)
(d) (b→bh) odh + sya + te → (8.4.53 jhalam jaś jhaśi)
(e) bho(dh→d) + sya + te → (8.4.55 khari ca)
(f) bho(d→t) + sya + te = bhotsyate

3.2 abudhvam
(a) budh + (LUIN→dhvam) → (3.1.43-44 cli luṇi-cleḥ sic)
(b) budh + (CLĪ → s(IC) + dhvam → (6.4.71 luṇaṇīṇi ...)
(c) aT + budh + (s→ϕ) + dhvam → (8.2.25 dhi ca)
(d) a + (b→bh) udh + dhvam → (8.2.37 ekaco ...)
(e) a + bu(dh→d) + dhvam → (8.4.52 jhalam ...) = abudhvam

3.3 arthabhut, where KvIP (3.2.76 kvip ca) is introduced after budh in conjunction with artha + am. Thus, artha + (am→ϕ) + (b→bh) udh → arthabhut(dh→d→t) = arthabhut

3.4 nighoksyate
(a) ni-guh + sya + te → (8.2.37 ekaco ...)
(b) ni-(g→gh) uh + sya + te → (7.3.86 puganta ...)
(c) ni-gh(u=o) h + sya + te → (8.2.31 ho dhah)
3.5 nygüdhvam
(a) ni+guh + (LUÑ→dhvam) →
(b) ni + guh + CLI + dhvam → (3.1.45 śala . . .)
(c) ni + guh + (CLI→ksa) + dhvam →
(d) ni + a( 때문) + guh + ksa + dhvam → (7.3.73 lug vā . . .)
(e) n(i→y) + a( 때문) + guh + (ksa→φ) + dhvam → (8.2.37 ekāco . . .)
(f) ny + a( 때문) + (g→gh)uh + dhvam → (8.2.31 ho ḍhāh)
(g) ny + a( 때문) + gh(u→ū)h + dhvam → (8.4.40 𑂃unftā stuh)
(h) ny + a( 때문) + ghudh + (ḍh→ḍh)vam → (8.3.13 ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ)
(i) ny + a( 때문) + ghudh + (ḍh→φ)vam → (6.3.109 dhralope . . .)
(j) ny + a( 때문) + gh(u→ū)d + vam = nyagḥuḍhvam

3.6 parnaghùt, a derivate of guh with Kulp, introduced in conjunction with para + am. The g of para + guh + (Kulp→φ) is similarly replaced with bhaṣ to produce: para + (g→gh)uh = parnaghūt. The h, through a replacement in dh, then goes through a replacement in t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca) via d (jaśva; 8.2.39 jhalām jaśo'nte). Thus, we get: parṇaghūt(h→ḍh→d→t) = parṇaghūt.

3.7 dhokṣyate
Derives from duh + (LRT→te) → duh + sya + te→ doh + sya + te, where h of duh is replaced with gh (8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghāh). The d itself get replaced with ḍh of this rule. Thus, (d→ḍh) o(→gh) + sya' + te. We get doh(gh→k) + sya + te → dhok(s→s) yate = dhokṣyate, with application of rules already made familiar.

3.8 ajargāh
acikamad yo na jānāti yo na jānāti barbarīti/
ajargā na vijānāti tasmai kanyā na diyaṭām//
'he who does not properly understand acikamat, barbariti and ajargāh, to him one should not give one's daughter away in marriage.'

grdher yalohe laṇi serilope
bhaṣbhāva vacarce ca bhavaty ajargāh

(a) grdḥ(U) → (1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ); (3.1.22 dhātor ekāco
halādeḥ . . .)
(b) grdḥ + ya(N) → (2.4.74 yaṇo'ci ca; 6.1.9 sany añoḥ)
(c) grdḥ + (ya(N→φ)) → grdḥ + grdḥ → gr + grdḥ (7.4.66 ur at; 7.4.66
kuhoṣ cuḥ)
(d) gar + grdḥ → (g→j) ar + grdḥ → (7.4.60 halādi šeṣaḥ; 7.4.91 rug rikau
ca luki)
4. Why do we have the condition of ekācaḥ ‘... monosyllabic’? Consider 
dāmaliham icchati = dāmalihiyati; dāmalihiyati + KuIP = dāmali‘ he who likes to 
lick the rope; a calf’, where, if ekācaḥ was not specified, baŚ alone could be 
qualified with dhātoḥ. Since it is impossible to get a baŚ which ends in jhaŚ, 
jhāsandasya could only qualify dhātoḥ. This will give us the following meaning: 
jhāsandasya dhātor yo’ vayavo baŚ tasya bhas iti ‘a baŚ which ends in jhaŚ and is 
part of a verbal root; a bhaŚ comes in place of that’. This will cause application 
of this rule on dāmalidhih (see supra, note 2).

Why do we have the specification made with baśaḥ ‘in place of baŚ’? Con-
sider kroṣyati, a derivate of kruḍh ‘to be angry’, where k cannot be replaced 
with gh because it is not a baŚ.

Why do we state the condition of jhāsandasya ‘of that which ends in a 
jhaŚ’? Consider dāṣyati, where dā does not end in jhaŚ.

Why do we state the condition of svdhvoh ‘when s or dhva follows’? Consider 
boddhā, boddhum and boddhavayam, where no s or dhva follows.

Why was this specificaton made with dhva, and not just with dh? Consider 
dādaddhi, a form of (dadh + (yaN→LUk) + (LOT→si→hi→dhi))), where 
the root goes through reduplication and si (3.4.87 ser hy apic ca) is replaced 
with dhi, via hi (6.4.101 hujhalyor her dhii).
A replacement denoted by bhaṣ comes in place of one denoted by baŚ, of dadh (dhā) ‘to bear, support’ ending in jhaL, when the substituendum occurs, either at the end of a pada, or occurs followed by t, th, s or dhva.

**Examples:**

- dhattah ‘third person dual active LAT-derivate of dhā’
- dhattaha ‘second person dual active . . .’
- dhatsa ‘second person dual middle . . .’
- dhatsva ‘second person singular middle LOT-derivate . . .’
- dhadhvam ‘second person plural middle LOT . . .’

1. This rule offers a replacement in bhaṣ, for the baŚ sound of verbal root dadh when ending in jhaṣ, provided a s or dhva preceded by jhaL follows. Note that dadh ends in dh (jhaṣ) and is a form of verbal root DuhāN resulting from its reduplication (6.1.1 ekāco dve . . .), i.e., dhā + dhā, shortening (7.4.59 hrasvaḥ; dh(a→a) and (dh→d)a = da (jaśva)). This gives us dadh(a→ϕ) = dadh, where 6.4.112 śnābyastayor ātah deletes the a of dhā. Note that this deleted ā cannot be treated as ā, via sthānivadbhāva, at the strength of this rule formulation. A replacement in jaś in the abhyāsa ‘repeated syllable’ is also treated as suspended (asiddha; Kāś: vacanasāmarthyāt lopasaya sthānivadbhāvo na bhavati. abhyāṣajātvasya cāsiddhatvam).

We derive dhattah from (dadh + (LAT→tas) = dadh + (ŚaP→ϕ) + tas → dadh + tas. Our present rule will replace the initial d of dad with dh. The final dh will be replaced with t (8.4.54 khari ca), thereby producing (d→dh) dh + tas → dha(dh→t) + tas = dhattas. An application of rutva-visarga will derive dhatta(s→rU→h) = dhattah. We will similarly get dhattah from dhā + LAT if thas is selected to replace LAT. We will similarly get the second person singular middle (ātmaneṇa) form dhats when the second singular thās is further replaced with se (3.4.80 thāsaḥ se). We can also derive dhatsva from dad + (LOT→thās→se), where e of se will be replaced with va. Thus, (dadh + s(e→va) → (d→dh) adh + sva → dha(dh→t) + sva → dhatsva. Deriving dhadhvam should not pose any problem.

2. Why do we have the condition of tathoh ‘when t and th follow’? Haradatta states that tathoh should not be stated in the rule. He argues that jhali and jhasantasya are both carried. A jhaL which may follow is not any different from t and th of tathoh. Besides, if tathoh was not used in this rule, s and dhva would be desired to be carried, via ca, anyway. Thus, d of dadh can be replaced with dh of the preceding rule. This change of dh could have been accomplished by this rule without tathoh (PM: ‘jhali’ iti vartate, ‘jhasantasya’ iti ca; na ca takārathakahābhīyam anyo dadho jhal asti, sdhvov tāvad iṣṭam eva. tasmāt tathor iti na vaktavyam).

The condition of jhasantasya ‘in place of that which ends in a sound denoted by jhaṣ’ will still be valid. Consider dadhāti where this rule does not apply since it does not get the form dadh subsequent to deletion of ā.
8.2.39 झांस जशोउन्ते

jhalām jaśo‘nte
/jhalām 6/1 jaśah 1/3 ante 7/1/
(padasya #1.16)
jhalām jaśa ādesā bhavanti padasyānte vartamānānām

A sound which is denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL (Śs. 7-14), and occurs at the end of a pada, is replaced with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term jaŚ (Śs. 10).

Examples:

vāg atra
śvaliḍ atra
agnicid atra
tristub atra

1. This rule replaces a pada-final sound denoted by jhaL with a corresponding sound denoted by jaŚ. Consider śvaliḍ(h → dh → d) → śvaliḍ atra, where āśtuva (dh → d) applies after h is replaced with dh. Other derivatives have similar applications.

The word anta here denotes avasāna ‘end’. It does not denote avayava ‘(terminal) part of a whole’ (PM: antasabdo’ vasānavacanaḥ; na tv avayava- vacanah). It is also used here to cancel the anuvṛtti of jhali (Kāś. antagraparaigāmanām jhilāty etasya niśtyarthaṃ). Why use anta when the same could have been carried from 8.2.29 skoḥ saṃyogāder…? This anuvṛtti is associated with jhali. If one is carried the other must also be carried. Consider (vas + tṛc + sū) → vastā and (vas + tavyaT + sū) → vastavyam, where a jaŚ-replacement cannot be accomplished because anta does not mean avayava ‘part of a whole’.

8.2.40 झस्तथोषाः

jhaśas tathor dho‘ dhaḥ
/jhaśaḥ 6/1 ta-thoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; dhaḥ 6/1
a-dhaḥ 5/1 (nañ. tat.), tasmāt/
jhaśa uttarayos takārathakārayoh sthāne dhakāra ādeso bhavati dadhātim varjayaivā

A dh comes in place of t or th which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by jhaŚ (Śs. 8-9) with the exception of verbal root DUdhāN ‘to place’.

Examples:

labdhā ‘derivate of labh ‘to obtain’ + tṛc + sū
labdhum ‘derivate of labh + tumUN’
labdhaivyam ‘derivate of labh + tavyaT’
labdha ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of labh’
alabdhaḥ ‘second singular middle LUN . . . ’
dogdhaḥ ‘tṛC-derivate of duḥ ‘to milk’
dogdhum ‘tumUN-derivate of . . . ’
dogdharvam ‘tavyaT-derivate of . . . ’
addugdaḥ ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of duḥ’
adugdhaḥ ‘second singular middle LUN . . . ’
ledḥaḥ ‘tṛC-derivate of līḥ ‘to lick’
leḍhum ‘tumUN-derivate of līḥ’
leḍharvam ‘tavyaT-derivate of līḥ’
alaḍhaḥ ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of līḥ’
alaḍdhaḥ ‘second singular middle LUN-derivate of . . . ’
boḍḍhaḥ ‘tṛC-derivate of budh ‘to comprehend’
boḍḍhum ‘tumUN-derivate of budh’
boḍḍharvam ‘tavyaT-derivate of budh’
abuddhaḥ ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of budh’
abuddhahaḥ ‘second singular middle LUN-derivate of budh’

1. This rule replaces a t or th with dh when the same occurs after a jhaṣ sound. Commentators state that the negation stated by adhaḥ applies to verbal root Duddāḥ. This should not be construed as a negation applying to dh, per se. If this negation was intended to apply to dh per se, a t and th which occurs after dh could not be replaced with dh. Consequently, specifications made with buddhi (1.4.52 gatibuddhi . . . ) and vṛddhi (1.1.73 vṛddhir yasyācām . . . ) could not be justified.

Consider (labh + tṛC + sU) → labh + (t→dh) rC( sU)) → labdhaḥ, (labh + (t→dh) um)) = (labh(bh→b) + dhum)) = labdhum and (labh + tavyaT) + sU → labdharvam. Refer to derivational details of abuddha (II:437). Similar rules apply in deriving alabdaḥ. A similar derivate with thās will be alabdhaḥ. Derivatives such as adugdaḥ, adugdhaḥ; alaḍhaḥ and alaḍdhaḥ are derived under 7.3.78 lug vā duradihalha . . . . These forms could be easily comprehended because scores of tṛC, tumUN, tavyaT, and also middle derivates of LUN, have already been discussed.

2. Why do we state adhaḥ ‘not after dhā? Consider dhattaḥ and dhatthaḥ where this replacement does not apply because the root is constituted by dhā.

8.2.41 खं: क: सि

sadhoḥ kaḥ si
/ sadoḥ 6/2 = sas ca dhās ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; kaḥ 1/1 si 7/1/
sakāraḍhakārayoh kakārāḍeso bhavati sakāre parataḥ
A replacement in k comes in place of s and dh when s follows.

Examples:

peksyati ‘derivate of (piṣ + (LRT→tiP))’
apeksyat ‘derivate of \((\pi\tilde{s} + (LR\tilde{N}\rightarrow tiP))\)’
\(\pi\tilde{paksat}\)i ‘derivate of \((\pi\tilde{s} + saN) + (LAT\rightarrow tiP))\)’
leksyat ‘derivate of \((lih + (LRT\rightarrow tiP))\)’
aleksyat ‘derivate of \((lih + (LR\tilde{N}\rightarrow tiP))\)’
lilik\(\tilde{s}\)at ‘derivate of \((lih + saN) + (LAT\rightarrow tiP))\)’

1. This rule replaces a \(s\) and \(dh\) with \(k\) when \(s\) follows. Thus, \(\pi\tilde{s} + (LRT\rightarrow tiP)\) → \(p(i\rightarrow e)\tilde{s} + sya + ti \rightarrow \tilde{p}e(s\rightarrow k) + sya + ti \rightarrow \tilde{p}ek + (s\rightarrow \tilde{s})ya + ti = \pi\tilde{ksyati}\). We similarly get \(aT + \pi\tilde{s} + sya + (LRT\rightarrow tiP) \rightarrow a\tilde{pksyat}\). A derivate of \(saN\) with \(LAT\), where 1.2.10 halant\(\tilde{ac}\) ca blocks gu\(\tilde{n}\)a, will be derived as \(\pi\tilde{piksati}\) ‘wishes to powder’. Similar examples of \(lih(h\rightarrow dh)\), where \(dh\) gets replaced with \(k\), are: leksyat, aleksyat and lilik\(\tilde{s}\)at.

Why do we have the condition of \(si\) ‘when \(s\) follows’? Consider \(\pi\tilde{s} + (LAT\rightarrow tiP) \rightarrow pi + \tilde{S}naM + \tilde{s} + (LAT\rightarrow tiP) = \tilde{p}\i\tilde{n}as + (t\rightarrow t)i = \i\tilde{n}as\(\tilde{t}\)i, where \(\tilde{s}\) does not occur before \(s\). A similar example is ledhi where \(dh\) cannot be replaced with \(k\). Incidentally, \(\tilde{S}aP\) goes through LUK-deletion because \(lih\) is a root of the \(ad\tilde{a}di\) group (2.4.72 ad\(\tilde{p}\)rabh\(\tilde{t}\)ibhy\(\tilde{a}\)h . . . ). The \(h\) of \(lih\) is, of course, replaced with \(dh\) of 8.4.31 ho \(\tilde{d}h\ah\).

8.2.42 रदाभ्याम निष्ठातो न: पूर्वस्य च दः:

rad\(\tilde{a}bh\)y\(\tilde{a}\)m ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\)to na\(\tilde{h}\) p\(\tilde{u}\)r\(\tilde{v}\)as\(\tilde{a}\)ya ca da\(\tilde{h}\)
/ra-d\(\tilde{a}bh\)y\(\tilde{a}\)m 5/2 = ra\(\tilde{s}\) ca da\(\tilde{s}\) ca (itар. du.), t\(\tilde{a}\)bh\(\tilde{y}\)ām; ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\)tāh 6/1 = ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\)yās tākārah = ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\)t (\(\tilde{s}\)a\(\tilde{h}\) tat.), t\(\tilde{a}\)s\(\tilde{y}\)a; na\(\tilde{h}\) 1/1 p\(\tilde{u}\)r\(\tilde{v}\)asya 6/1 ca φ
dāh 6/1/
rephadakār\(\tilde{a}\)bh\(\tilde{y}\)ām utt\(\tilde{a}\)ras\(\tilde{y}\)a ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\)takār\(\tilde{a}\)r\(\tilde{a}\)s\(\tilde{y}\)a nakāra ādeśo bhavatī p\(\tilde{u}\)r\(\tilde{v}\)as\(\tilde{y}\)a
cā dākā\(\tilde{a}\)ras\(\tilde{y}\)a

The \(t\) of a ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\) suffix which occurs after \(r\) and \(d\) is replaced with \(n\), with an additional provision that \(d\) be also replaced with \(n\).

Examples:

āstīr\(\tilde{n}\)am ‘derivate of (ā\(\tilde{N}\)-st\(\tilde{f}\)\(\tilde{N}\) + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
viṣīr\(\tilde{n}\)am ‘derivate of (vi-st\(\tilde{f}\)\(\tilde{N}\) + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
viṣīr\(\tilde{n}\)am ‘derivate of (vi-\(\tilde{s}\)h + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
ni\(\tilde{g}\)īr\(\tilde{n}\)am ‘derivate of (ni-\(\tilde{g}\) + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
avagūr\(\tilde{n}\)am ‘derivate of (ava-\(\tilde{g}\)ur + ,Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
bhīn\(\tilde{n}\)ah ‘derivate of (bhid + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
bhīn\(\tilde{n}\)vā\(\tilde{a}\)n ‘derivate of (bhid + K\(\tilde{a}\)vatU) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
chīn\(\tilde{n}\)ah ‘derivate of (chid + Kta) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’
chīn\(\tilde{n}\)vā\(\tilde{a}\)n ‘derivate of (chid + K\(\tilde{a}\)vatU) + s\(\tilde{u}\)’

1. This rule replaces the \(t\) of a ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\) suffix with \(n\) when \(t\) occurs after \(r\) and \(d\). Additionally, the \(d\) which precedes \(t\) is also replaced with \(n\). Note that ni\(\tilde{s}\)th\(\tilde{a}\) suffixes begin with \(t\) and are introduced after a root. If \(t\) of these suffixes is to occur after \(r\) and \(d\), the root must end in \(r\) and \(d\). Thus, ā-st\(\tilde{f}\)\(\tilde{N}\) +
\[ Ktā → āst(̄i→ir) + ta → āst(i→ir) + ta → āstir + (t→n)a → āstir + (n→n)a = āstirnā 'strewn around', where ̄i is replaced with ir. Refer to derivational details under 7.1.100 rt id dhātoḥ. Our next two derives, viśirmam 'decayed, shattered' and nigīrnam 'swallowed', follow similar rule applications. What is different in (ava-g(u→ū) r + ta) + sU → (ava-gūr + (t→n)a) + sU → avagūrnām is the availability of iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ). This iT is, however, negated by 7.2.14 śvīdito niśthāyām. Refer to derivational details of bhinnah in the appendix of rule 1.1.5 kniti ca (II:337). Deriving chinnaḥ from (chid + Ktā) + sU → chi(d+t→nn)a) + sU → chinnaḥ is easy.

2. Why do we have the condition of radābhyaṁ 'after r and d'? Consider kṛ + Ktā → kṛta + sU → kṛtah and kṛ + KtavatU → kṛtavat + sU → kṛtavān, where this rule does not apply since t does not occur after r. It is argued that this rule must apply since r is generally accepted as including r. However, since r of r is not followed immediately by t of Ktā, this rule does not apply. What intervenes between r of r and t of Ktā is the vocalic part of r. This rule refers to ras a consonant (Kāś: . . . vṛyaṁjana-mātram, rephasāmāṇyāntirdesē' pi sati rephāt parā yā' jbhaktis tadvyavadhānāṃ na bhavati). Besides, the r which results out of the application of vṛddhi is accepted here as externally conditioned (bahiraṅga).

Why do we have the condition of niśthā ' . . . of niśthā? Consider kartā and haratā where what follows is the non-niśthā suffix trC.

Why do we have the condition of tahr 'in place of t of niśthā'? Consider (car + iT + ta) + sU → caritam and (mud + iT + ta) + sU → muditam, where t follows r, intervened by i. This rule thus does not apply.

Why do we state pūrvasya 'in place of that which precedes'? So that a replacement in n cannot apply to d which follows (Kāś: parasya na bhavati). Consider (bhid + tavat) + bhyaṁ = bhinnavadbhyām and (bhid + tavat) + bhis = bhinnavabdhīḥ, where d which precedes t, and not that which may follow by way of being a replacement of t (jaśtou), can be replaced with n.

Why is this replacement not applied in kṛtasāpyataṃ = kārttih 'son of Kṛta', where r precedes t. This is part of the vṛddhi-replacement of r of kṛta. Since this replacement is externally conditioned (bahiraṅga) by the taddhita affix iN (4.1.95 ati in), it will become asiddha 'suspended: in view of the application of n-replacement (Kāś: iha kṛtasāpyataṃ kārttirītī vṛddher bahiraṅgalakṣaṇāyā asiddhatvāt natve kartavyre rephasāsiddhatvām' since the externally conditioned vṛddhi of kṛtasāpyataṃ kārttih is considered suspended, r is considered suspended in accomplishing a replacement in n').

8.2.43 सम्योगादेशातो धातोर्यणवतः:

samyogāder āto dhātob yanvataḥ
samyogāde 5/1 = samyoga ādir yasya (bv.), tasmāt; ātah 5/1 dhātoḥ 5/1
yanvataḥ 5/1 = yan asyaṣṭiti = yanvān (bv.), tasmāt/
(niṣṭhāto nah #42)
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sañyogādir yo dhātur ākārānto yanvān tasmād uttarasya niñṭhātakārasya nakāra ādesō bhavati

The t of a niñṭhā suffix introduced after a verbal root which begins with a conjunct, ends in  DataTypes, and contains a sound denoted by yaN, is replaced with n.

Examples:

pradrānah ‘derivative of ((pra-drā + Kta) + sU)’
pradrānavān ‘derivative of ((pra-drā + KtavatU) + sU)’
mlānah ‘derivative of ((mlai + Kta) + sU)’
mlānavān ‘derivative of ((mlai + KtavatU) + sU)’

1. This rule replaces the t of a niñṭhā suffix with n when this suffix occurs after a root which (i) begins with a conjunct, (ii) ends in  DataTypes, and (iii) contains a sound denoted by yaN. Thus, (pra-drā + Kta) + sU → pradrāh + (t→n) + sU → pradrānah, where drā before Kta qualifies as a root ending in  DataTypes, beginning with a conjunct and containing a yaN sound. The n is here replaced with n (nava; 8.4.29 krty acah). Note that verbal roots glā and mlai yield glā and mlā, after their ai is replaced with ā (6.1.44 ādeca upadeṣe . . . ). Thus, we also get this replacement in mlānah and mlānavān.

2. Why do we have the condition of sañyogādeḥ ‘after that which begins with a conjunct’? Consider (yā + Kta) + sU = yātāh and (yā + KtavatU) + sU = yātavān, where yā does not begin with a conjunct and this rule does not apply.

Why do we have the condition of ātāh ‘after (a root) ending in  DataTypes’? Consider (cyuN + Kta) + sU = cyutāh ‘. . . has dripped’/ (cyuN + KtavatU) + sU = cyutavān ‘dripped’; and (plu + Kta) + sU = plutāh ‘. . . has moved’ / (plu + KtavatU) + sU = plutavān ‘moved’, where the roots end in u.

Why do we have the condition of dhātoḥ ‘after a verbal root’? Consider nir-yā + Kta = niryāta ‘gone outside’, where the root ends in  DataTypes but does not begin with a conjunct. The unit formed by the conjunct with  DataTypes, i.e., nyā, is not a root. The conjunct results out of combination of the preverb and root. Our present rule can thus not apply here.

Why do we have the condition of yanvataḥ ‘after that which contains a yaN sound’? Consider (snā + Kta) + sU = snātāh ‘bathed’ and (snā + KtavatU) + sU = snātavān, where the root ends in  DataTypes and begins with a conjunct. However, this root does not contain any yaN sound. Here again, our present rule cannot find any application.

8.2.44 त्वादिव्यः:

luḍdisbhah
/luḍdisbhah 5/3 = lū ādir yeṣām (bv.), tebhah/
(niñṭhāto nah #42)
lvādibhya uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādesō bhavati

The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the group headed by lūṆ ‘to cut’ is replaced with n.

Examples:

lūnāḥ ‘a derivate of (lūṆ + ṛta) + sU’
lūnavaṆ ‘a derivate of (lūṆ + ṛtavaU) + sU’
dhūnāḥ ‘a derivate of (dhūṆ + ṛtavaU) + sU’
dhūnavaṆ ‘a derivate of dhūṆ + ṛtavaU) + sU’
jyānāḥ ‘a derivate of (jyā + ṛta) + sU’
jyānavaṆ ‘a derivate of (jyā + ṛtavaU) + sU’

1. Note that lvādibhayaḥ refers to an enumeration of roots within the kṛyādi class, beginning with lūṆ ‘to cut’ and ending with viṇ ‘to choose’. Thus, lūṆ(Ṇ) + (K) tā → lūṆ + (t→n) a = lūnā + sU = lūnāḥ; (lūṆ + ṛtavaU) + sU → lūnavaṆ. We similarly derive jyā + (K) tā → j(y→i) ā + tā → j(i+a→i) + tā → j(i+i) + tā → jī + (t→n) a = jīnā + sU → jīnāḥ and (jyā + ṛtavaU) + sU → jyānavaṆ, etc. Recall that an application of samprasāraṇa (6.1.16 grahiyā- vayiyadhi . . .), i.e., replacement in i for y of jyā (1.1.45 ig yanāḥ samprasā- raṇam), and a single replacement application in i (6.1.107 samprasāraṇāc ca) for the resultant vocalic sequence of i+a must be made now. A long replace- ment in i, for this short i, is then accomplished by 6.4.2 halah. The t of the niṣṭhā suffix is, of course, replaced with n.

2. The following vārttika proposals are also made:

(i) The t of affix KtiṆ, similar to that of affixes termed niṣṭhā, is to be replaced with n when occurring after a root ending in r (short or long), or after roots specified here as lvādi (vt: ykārālvādibhayaḥ ktin niṣṭhāvad bhavatī vaktavyam). Consider kṛ + KtiṆ → kṛnī + sU → kṛnīḥ, sṛnīḥ, lūnīḥ and Ṙnīḥ.

(ii) The short final u of du ‘to be afflicted’ and gu ‘to void solid matter from the body’ should be replaced with its long counterpart, in addition to n-replacement of t of niṣṭhā (vt: dugvor dīrgaḥ ceti vaktavyam). Thus, ādūnāḥ and viγūnāḥ.

(iii) The t of a niṣṭhā should be replaced with n after pūṆ ‘to destroy’ (vt: pūṇo vināśa iti vaktavyam). Thus, pūṇā yavaḥ ‘barleys are destroyed’. Why do we state the condition of vināśe ‘when the signification is ‘destruction’? Consider pūtam dhānyam ‘grains are cleansed’.

(iv) The t of a niṣṭhā suffix is replaced with n when it is introduced after si ‘to bind’ and the denotatum is grāṣa ‘morsel’, an object turned agent (karmakartr, sinoter grāṣakarmakarṭkasyeti vaktavyam). Thus, sino grāṣaḥ suvayeṣa ‘morsels rolled up by themselves’.

Why do we state the condition of karmakarṭkasya ‘of an object turned
agent'? Consider sitā pāśena sūkāri 'the (female) pig was caught by snares'. Or else, sito grāso devadattena 'Devadatta made the morsel'.

8.2.45 ओदिततरंच

oditaś ca
/oditaḥ 5/1 = ot it yasya (bv.) = odi, tasmāt; ca φ/
(niśṭhāto naḥ #42)
okāreto dhātor uttarasya niśṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The t of a niśṭhā suffix which occurs after a verbal root marked with O as an it is replaced with n.

Examples:

lagnah ‘derivate of (Olasī + Kta) + sU’
lagnavān ‘derivate of (Olasī + KtavātU) + sU’
udvignah ‘derivate of (Ovaīī + Kta) + sU’
udvignavān ‘derivate of (Olasī + KtavātU) + sU’
āpīnah ‘derivate of (Opyāī + Kta) + sU’
āpīnavān ‘derivate of (Opyāī + KtavātU) + sU’

1. This rule replaces the t of a niśṭhā suffix with n when the same occurs after a root marked with O as an it. Refer to derivational details of lagnah and lagnavān under 7.2.14 śūdīto niśṭhāyām and 8.2.29 skoh saṃyogādyor . . . The pyāy of Opyāī is, optionally, replaced with pī (6.1.28 pyāyah pī). Thus, (āpyāyā→āpi) + (K) ta → āpi + (t→n) a = ā-pīna + sU → āpīnah. We similarly get āpīnavān, a derivate with KtavātU.

2. The following verbal roots are also considered marked with O as an it. Thus, sūN = sūnah/sūnavān; dūN = dūnah/dūnavān; dīN = dīnah/dīnavān; dīN = dīnah/dīnavān; dīN = dīnah/dīnavān; mīN = mīnah/mīnavān; rīN = rīnah/rīnavān; tīN = tīnah/tīnavān; vṛN = vṛnah/vṛnavān.

8.2.46 क्षीयो दीर्घात

kṣiyō dirghāt
/kṣiyah 5/1 dirghāt 5/1/
(niśṭhāto naḥ #42)
kṣiyō dhātor dirghād uttarasya niśṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The t of a niśṭhā suffix which occurs after the long vowel of verbal root kṣi 'to decay' is replaced with n.

Examples:

kṣīnāḥ klesāḥ 'miseries are over'
kṣīno jālmah 'this wretched one is finished (anger)'
kṣīnas tapasvī 'this ascetic is thin (pity)'

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini
1. This specification of verbal root *ksi* is made with its *i* replaced with *iyA\~N* in *kṣiyāh*. Since this specification can easily refer to *ksi* ending in a long *i*, the use of the word *dīrghāt* is not necessary. If the specification intended a short *i*, Pāṇini should have said *kṣeh*, blocking *iyA\~N* with *guṇa* of 7.3.111 gher niti on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipraśīṣedhe* . . .). Since it is only appropriate to imitate a form which may facilitate lengthening, a short thus must be the form of reference with *iyA\~N*. Kāśikā states that *iyA\~N* refers here to *ksi* ending in a short *i*. How come such a short specification for *ji*, made with *jeh*, was not made with *jīyah* in 1.3.19 *viparābhyyām jēh*? That rule refers to *ji* in general, and not to an imitation of its form in particular (Kāś: . . . jirūpasāmānyānuka-raṇām draṣṭavyam).

Note that, in the absence of any qualification (*viśesānupādānāt*), *ksi* refers to both *ksi* ‘to decay’ and *ksi* ‘to move, dwell’. Incidentally, *t* is replaced with *n* when *i* of *ksi* is replaced with *dīrgha* ‘long’ (6.4.60 *niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe*). This, of course, happens when the *niṣṭhā* suffix does not denote the sense of *NyaT*, i.e., *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karman* ‘object’.

2. Why do we have the condition of *dīrghāt* ‘after a long vowel’? Consider *aksitām*, of *aksitām asi māmekṣēṣṭhāh*, where *aksita*, combined after the negative *na\~N*, is a derivate of *Kta* introduced after *ksi* signifying *bhāva* ‘root-sense’.

8.2.47 न्योत्स्पर्शः

**śyō’ sparśa**

/śyāh/ 5/1 asparśe 7/1 = na sparśaḥ (nañ. tat.), tasmin/

(niṣṭhāto nañ #42)

śyāyate utsarṣaya niṣṭhātakārasyāsparśe nakāra ādesa bhavati

The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *śyāi\~N* ‘to be coagulated’ is replaced with *n*, provided *sparṣa* ‘touch’ is not the signification.

**Examples:**

śīnāṃ ghṛtam ‘coagulated ghee’
śīnāṃ medah ‘coagulated marrow’
śīnā vasā ‘coagulated fat’

1. Note that the *ai* of *śyāi\~N* goes through a replacement in *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). The *y* then goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.24 *dravamūrtti-sparśayoh śyāḥ*). Thus, *śyai\~N* + (K) *ta* → *śy(ai→ā)* + *ta* → *ś(y→i)ā* + *ta* = *ś(i+ā) + ta*. Rule 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇa ca* then has the sequence *i+ā* replaced with *i* (*pūrāvūpa*). The short *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.60 *niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe*). Our present rule, of course, replaces the *t* with *n*. Thus, *ś(i+ā→i)* + (t→n) *a* = *śīna* + *sU* = *śīnah*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *asparśe* ‘when *sparśa* ‘touch’ is not the signification’? Consider *śītāṃ varṣate* ‘it is cold’ and *śītāṃ vāyuh* ‘wind has
cooled’, where the signification is either bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’, respectively. Note that, in śītaṁ vāyuḥ, the idea of sparśa ‘touch’ is secondary (gunaṁbhūtah). It still serves as the condition for blocking n-replacement of t (natva-pratisedha) and samprasārana. How could a secondary or non-principal (apradhāna) serve as a condition for an operational principal (pradhāna; (PŚ 106): pradhānāpradhānayoḥ pradhāne kāryasamprayayah)? The negation in asparṣe is not interpreted here as paryudāsa, i.e., sparśād anyad dravyam ‘something other than ‘touch’’. It is interpreted as prasajya, instead. Consequently, negation of n-replacement can be accomplished even when there is slightest possibility of ‘touch’ (Nyāsa: . . . prasajyapratisedhaḥ. tena yatra sparṣagandho’ sti tatra tadāśrayena natvapratisedhena bhavitavyam. asti ca guṇaṁbhūtah sparṣaḥ, tena tadāśrayo natvapratisedho bhavatī eva). Besides, Panini has disregarded the principle of 2.2.34 alpāc taram in placing sparṣa at the end in 6.1.24 dravamūrttisparṣayoh . . . This, in turn, indicates that negation can be blocked even when sparṣa is secondary.

3. Note that sparṣa is also used with the signification of roga ‘affliction’. However, negation of n-replacement (natva) applies only when the signification is ‘quality (of touch)’. That is why, we get the non-negation of natva in pratiśīnah, thereby meaning ‘affliction’.

8.2.48 अञ्चलपदाने

aṅco’ napādāne
/ aṅcāh 5/1 anapādāne 7/1 = na apādānam (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(niṣṭhāto naḥ #42)
aṅcater uttarapadasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakārādeo bhavati na ced apādānam tatra bhavati

The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root aṅcU ‘to bend, curve’ is replaced with n, provided an apādāna ‘ablative’ is not used in connection with it.

Examples:

samaknau śakunēḥ pādau ‘a bow-legged bird’
tasmāt pāsavo nyaknāḥ ‘that is why animals are bent’

1. This rule allows n as a replacement for t of a niṣṭhā suffix when the same occurs after aṅcU and there is no connection with any apādāna ‘ablative’. Note that there is no possibility of an apādāna in the context of aṅcU. Why? Because the possibility of a kāraka exists only in relation to an action denoted by the root (Nyāsa: na hy aṅcatau apādānatvam sambhavati, kim tarhi? tadarthe kriyāviśayatvāt kārakānām). Why do we then have the negation of anapādāne ‘when the context is not of an apādāna’? Consider udaktaṁ udakaṁ kūpāt ‘water was lifted from the water-well’, where udakta is a form of verbal root aṅḷU ‘to take out, draw’.
Note that nyakna is derived from ni-aṅc(U→ sécurité = n(i→γ) - aṅc + (K→ sécurité) ta → 
nyāṅc + ta, where ṇ of aṅc is deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hala... Our present 
rule then replaces the t of ny-a(ṅ→ sécurité) c + (t→ sécurité) a = ny-ac + na with n. Rule 
8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ then replaces c with k to yield ny-a(c→ sécurisé) + na → ny-ak + na = 
nyakna.

8.2.49 दिवोपविजिगीशायाम्

divo’ vijīgīsāyāṁ
/divah 5/1 avijīgisāyāṁ 7/1 = na vijīgīśā
(naṅ. tat.), tasyāṁ/(niṣṭhāto naḥ #42)
diva uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati avijīgisāyāṁ arthe
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root div’ to sport, play’
is replaced with n, provided vijīgīśā ‘wish to win’ is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ādyūnāḥ ‘savoring a meal by rubbing the belly’
paridyūnāḥ ‘sad, miserable; weak’

1. Consider (ā-div + (K) ta) + sU = ādyūnāḥ and pari-div + (K) ta) + sU = 
paridyūnāḥ, where augment uTH is introduced by 6.4.19 ccvoḥ śud anunāsike.
Thus, ā-di(v→u) (TH) + ta → ā- d(i→γ) u + ta → ā-dyū + (t→ sécurité) a → ā-dyūṇa + 
sU → ā-dyūnāḥ. We similarly get paridyūnāḥ.

2. Why do we have the condition of avijīgisāyāṁ ‘when desire to win is not 
denoted’? Consider div + (K) ta = dyūta in dyūtam vartate. We do not get a 
replacement in n since what is denoted here is ‘gambling with a desire to 
win’. Kāśikā states that it is the desire to win which makes a gambler to throw 
dice to fall the way they should.

8.2.50 निर्वाणोवाते

nirvāṇo avāte
/nirvāṇah 1/1 avāte 7/1 = na vātah (naṅ. tat.), tasmin/
(niṣṭhāto naḥ #42)
‘nirvāṇah’ iti nispruvād vāter uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāro nipātyate, 
na ced vātādhikarano vātārtho bhavati
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root vā, used with the 
preverb nis, is replaced with n to derive nirvāṇa, provided the derivate 
does not denote vāta ‘wind’.

EXAMPLES:

nirvāṇo’ gniḥ ‘the fire is extinguished’
nirvāṇah pradīpah ‘the lamp is extinguished’
esa nirvāṇa bhikṣuḥ ‘this ascetic is at peace
(with his worldly attachments, etc.); passed away’
1. Consider nirvānah pradipah where the action means upaśama ‘extinction’. Kāśīka explains avāte as na ced vātādhihikarano vātyartho bhavati ‘when vāta ‘wind’ is not the locus (adhihikaraṇa) of action denoted by verbal root vā’. That is, t of a niṣṭhā suffix used after vā cannot be replaced with n if vāta ‘wind’ serves as locus of action denoted by upaśama ‘control, extinction, tranquility’. Consider (nir-vā + (t→n)a) + sU→ nirvānah of nirvānah pradipah, where this replacement is allowed since pradipah ‘lamp’, and not the wind (vāta), is locus of upaśama. The ascetic’s tranquility in nirvāṇo bhikṣuh can be identified as ‘full control of senses’.

Now consider nirvāto vātaḥ and nirvāto vātena, where vāta ‘wind’ serves as locus of action denoted by verbal root vā. There is no replacement in n (nātva). But consider nirvānah pradīpo vātena ‘the lamp is extinguished by the wind’, where ‘lamp’ serves as locus of action denoted by vā ‘to move’. The ‘wind’ (vāta) serves as the karaṇa ‘instrument’. Consequently, we have a replacement in n.

8.2.51 शृङ्खळ: कः:

śuṣah kah
/śuṣah 5/1 kah 1/1/
(niṣṭhātah #42)
śuṣer dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeso bhavati
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root śuṣA ‘to dry’ is replaced with k.

Examples:

śuṣkah ‘derivate of (śuṣ + Kta) + sU ‘dry’’
śuṣkavān ‘derivate of śuṣ + KtavatU + sU’

1. This rule replaces the t of a niṣṭhā suffix with k when the same occurs after verbal root śuṣA ‘to dry’. Consider śuṣ + (K)ta → (śuṣ + (t→k)a) + sU)
śuṣkah and (śuṣka + KtavatU) + sU → śuṣkavān. Recall that t should have been replaced with t (stutva). This rule offers k, instead.

2. Why can this śuṣka not be accomplished by nipātana of 6.1.203 śuṣkadhṛṣṭau? A k-replacement, via nipātana, will make the i-replacement of (a→i) (7.3.46 udicām atāh . . .) of śuṣkikā optional before y or k of an affix. It will also cause negation of masculine transformation in śuṣkajaṅghā (pumvadbhāva) by 6.3.87 na kopadhāyāḥ. These two things do not happen if this k-replacement is accepted. It will be treated as asidṛha in consideration of śuṣkikā and śuṣkajaṅghā (Nyāsa: . . . iha tu kakārasya viḍhāne sati tasyāśidṛhathvād etad ubhayaṃ na bhavati).

8.2.52 पत्रो: वः:

paco vah
/pacah 5/1 vah 1/1/
(niṣṭhātah #42)
pacar dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya vakārādeśo bhavati
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root pac ‘to cook’ is replaced with v.

EXAMPLES:
pakvaḥ ‘derivate of (pac + Kta) + sU’
pakvaṇān ‘derivate of (pac + KtavatU) + sU’

1. Why can this replacement not be accomplished under the niṣpātana provision of rule 2.1.41 siddhaśuṣkapakvaḥandhais ca)? Our present rule is needed since pakvaṇān cannot be accounted for by the said niṣpātana. Why then include pakvaḥ as an example here? A rule formulated for something different, for example pakvaṇān, can also account for pakva (Nyāsa: anyārtham cāraḥhyamāṇaṃ pakva ity etad artharūpaṃ api bhavati . . . niṣpātanadvāreṇa tadvyutpattau pratipattigauravam syād ity abhiprāyah). That is, understanding pakvaḥ, via niṣpātana, and pakvaṇān by this rule will be prolix (gaurava).

8.2.53 क्षायो म:
ksāyo māh
/kṣāyaḥ 5/1 māḥ 1/1/
(niṣṭhātah #42)
ksaidhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya makārādeśo bhavati
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root ksai ‘to dry up, decay, be scorched’ is replaced with m.

EXAMPLES:
ksāmah ‘derivate of (ksai + Kta) + sU’
ksāmavān ‘derivate of (ksai + KtavatU) + sU’

1. Recall that ai is replaced with ā (ātva) of 6.1.45 ādeca utpadeśe śīti.

8.2.54 प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम्
prastyo nyatarasyām
/prastyah 5/1 = prapūrvah styaḥ = prastyāḥ (tat.), tasmāt, anuyatarasyām
7/1 /
(niṣṭhātah #42 mah #53)
prapūrvāt styaḥyater uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya anuyatarasyāṁ makārādeśo bhavati
The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal root styai ‘crowd together, noise’, used with the preverb pra, is replaced with m, only optionally.
Examples:

prastimah ‘derivate of (pra-stai + Kta) + sU’
prastitah ‘ibidem’
prastimavan ‘derivate of (pra-stai + KlavatU) + sU’
prastitavan ‘ibidem’

1. This rule optionally replaces the t of a niṣṭhā suffix with m when the same occurs after stai, used with the preverb pra. Here again, the ai of stai is replaced with ā (ātva) of 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe. . . . Refer to derivational details of examples under 6.1.23 styāḥ prapūrvasya.

Note that a replacement in n (8.2.43 samyogāder dhātor . . .) will if this optional replacement in m is not accepted. But this will then produce undesired forms *prastinah, *prastinavān, etc. How can one block the application of 8.2.43 samyogāder . . .? By treating it as asiddha in view of applying samprasāraṇa on styā. This will give us styā + ta → st(y→i)ā + ta → st(i+ā→i) + ta → st(i→i) + ta. Rule 8.2.43 samyogāder dhātor . . . will now have its condition of application removed. A replacement in n for t of ta is thus not possible (Kāś: yadā matvam nāsti tadā ‘samyogāder āto dhātor yaṇvataḥ’ ity asya pūrvarāsiddhatvāt samprasāraṇam prathamam kriyate. tatra kṛte rinītavāyāghātān natvam na bhavai). For, the condition of replacement, i.e., ending in ā and containing a sound denoted by yaN, is not met.

8.2.55 अनुपसर्गात् फुलक्षीबकृषोझापः:

anupasargāt phullakṣibakṛṣollāghāḥ
/anupasargāt 5/1 = na upasargah (naṁ. tat.), tasmāt, phulla-kṣiba-krśa-ullāghāḥ 1/3 (itar. du.)/
(niṣṭhāḥ #42)

‘phulla, kṣiba, krśa, ullāgha’ ity ete nipātyante, na ced upasargād uttarā bhavanti

Forms such as phulla, kṣiba, krśa and ullāgha are derived, via nipātana, provided they do not occur used after a preverb.

Examples:

phullah ‘blossomed’
kṣibah ‘drunk’
krśah ‘emaciated’
ullāghah ‘clever’

1. These forms should be accepted as derived. Obviously, there are problems in deriving them with regular rule applications. Thus, phal + (K)ta → ph(a→u)t + (K)ta → phul + (t→l)a → phulla, where u replaces the a of phal (7.4.88 ut parasyātah) and 7.2.16 āditas ca blocks augment iT. What is accomplished here, via nipātana, is l-replacement of t of (K)ta. We similarly derive
phullavān. Now consider kṣibR + (K) ta, kṛś + (K) ta, ut-lāgh + (K) ta, where kṣība is to be derived by deleting t of (K) ta and blocking augment iT (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed valādeh), again via nipātana. We thus get kṣib + (t→ϕ) a = kṣība. If one does not want to delete t and block iT, via nipātana, one then has to delete iT, via nipātana. Thus, kṣib + (K) ta → kṣib + i(T) + (K) ta → kṣib (i+t→ϕ) a → kṣib + a = kṣība. Similar applications can be seen in deriving kṛśāh and u(→d→l)-lāgh + (K) ta → uḷāgh + (t→ϕ) a = uḷāgha + sU → uḷāghaḥ.

2. Notice that uḷāghaḥ does not meet the condition of anupāsargat when not used after a preverb. An exception to the use of ut before lāgh is made so that uḷāghaḥ can be derived.

Why do we state this condition of anupāsargat? Consider praphultāh sumanasah, prakṛṣitāh and prollāghitāh, where t of (K) ta cannot be deleted because the roots are used with a preverb. Notice that augment iT is also introduced in these examples.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to also include utphullāḥ and samphullāḥ in the listing of words derived, via nipātana (vt. utphullasamphullayor iti vaktavyam).

How can one derive parikṛśāh where kṛś is used with the preverb pari. This goes against the condition of anupāsargat. Actually, pari is not an upasarga in relation to kṛś. It is a preverb in relation to another verbal root, namely gam ‘to go’, whose action is understood (gamanakriyā-nirūpita-upāsargatau). Thus, parigato kṛśāh = parikṛśāh (Kāś: parikṛśa ity atra yath pariśabadah sa kriyāntarayogat kṛśāṃ praty anupāsargā eva).

8.2.56 नुदविद्विद्वनाथप्राप्तविभ्योन्यतरस्यायम्

nudavidondatāgrāhāribhyo nyatarasyām
/ nuda-vidonda-trā-ghrā-ṛhibhyo 5/3 = nudaś ca vīdaś ca undaś ca trās ca ghrāś ca hrīś ca = nuda ... hrīyaḥ (itār. dv.), tebhyah; anyatarasyām 7/1/ (niśṭhāto nah #42)
‘nuda, vidā, undī, trā, ghrā, hrī’ ity etebhya uttarasya niśṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeso bhavati anyatarasyām

The t of a niśṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal roots nudā ‘to move, impel’, vidā ‘to consider’, undī ‘to be wet’, trā ‘to protect’, ghrā ‘to smell’ and hrī ‘to feel shy’ is, optionally, replaced with n.

Examples:

nunnaḥ ‘impelled’
nuttaḥ ‘ibidem’
vinnnaḥ ‘considered’
vitttaḥ ‘ibidem’
samunnaḥ ‘thoroughly wet’
samuttaḥ ‘ibidem’
trānaḥ ‘protected; protection’
trātaḥ ‘ibidem’
ghrāṇah ‘smelled; smell’
ghrātaḥ ‘ibidem’
hṛṇah ‘shy’
hṛtaḥ ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers n as an optional replacement for t of a niṣṭhā suffix when the same occurs after verbal roots nudA ‘to inspire, impel’, vidA ‘to consider, think’, undA ‘to wet, dampen’, trā ‘to protect’, ghrā ‘to smell’ and hṛṇ ‘to feel shy’. This replacement in n is not made available (aprāpta) to hṛṇ by any rule. The other roots have this made available to them obligatorily (niyam; 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto . . .; 8.2.43 samyogāder āto . . .). This rule makes it optional. A specification with vidA is made here for verbal root vida vicārane ‘to consider, think’. Consider the following verse:

vettes tu vidito niṣṭhā vidyater vinna isyate/
vinter vinnaś ca vittaś ca bhogavittaś ca vindateh/ 
‘vid ‘to know’, because of an obligatory iT, has vidita in niṣṭhā; a replacement in n is desired after vid ‘to exist’ to derive vinna; two forms, i.e., vinna and vitta, are desired for vid ‘to consider’ with optional n-replacement; vitta (of bhogavitta) is the desired form of vid ‘to gain’

8.2.57 न ध्याख्याप्रभुर्मुर्छिन्ददम्

na dhyākhyāpṛmūrccchimadām
/ na ś dhyā-khyā-pṛ- mūrcchi-madām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teśāṁ/
(niṣṭhāto naṭ #42)
‘dhyā, khyā, pṛ, mūrcchi, mada’ ity eteśāṁ niṣṭhātakārasya nakārādesio na bhavati

The t of a niṣṭhā suffix which occurs after verbal roots dhyā (dhyai) ‘to concentrate, meditate’, khyā ‘to relate, proclaim’, pṛ ‘to fill’, mūrcch ‘to solidify, congeal’ and madA ‘to be exhilarated, be happy’ is not replaced with n.

Examples:

dhyātāḥ ‘derivate of (dhyai + Kta) + sU’
dhyātavān ‘derivate of (dhyai + KtavU) + sU’
khyātāḥ ‘derivate of (khyā + Kta) + sU’
khyātavān ‘derivate of (khyā + KtavU) + sU’
pṛtāḥ ‘derivate of (pṛ + Kta) + sU’
pṛtavān ‘derivate of (pṛ + KtavU) + sU’
mūrtaḥ ‘derivate of (mūrcch + Kta) + sU’
mūrtavān ‘derivate of (mūrcch + KtavU) + sU’
mattāḥ ‘derivate of (mad + Kta) + sU’
mattavān ‘derivate of (mad + KtavU) + sU’
1. This rule negates a replacement in \( n \) for the \( t \) of a \( nīsthā \) suffix which occurs after \( dhyāi \) ‘to concentrate’, \( khyā \) ‘to relate, tell’, \( pṛ \) ‘to fill, nourish’, \( mūrct\)I ‘solidify, congeal, faint’ and \( mad\)I ‘to be happy, exhilarated’. A specification with \( khyā \) also includes references to \( khyā \), a replacement of \( caksūn\) (2.4.54 \( caksūn\)ah \( khyā\)). How could \( khyā \) also refer to \( khyā\)-replacement of \( caksūn\) against \( Panibhāsā \) (82): \( niranubandhakagrahane na sānubandhakasya \) ‘a specification made without an \( i\) it does not also refer to a form used with an \( i\)? No problem. This interpretive convention cannot apply here. Recall that a specification such as \( radābhyaṃ \) (8.2.42 \( radābhyaṃ nīsthāto \ldots \)) has appropiately been made with the ablative to indicate that \( t \) of a \( nīsthā \) suffix follows. A similar specification in the ablative should have also been made here. But we have the specification made here with the genitive. A specification made with genitive in the context of one made with the ablative thus denotes a relatum in general. The genitive of roots such as \( khyā \) must denote its relatum in general (\( Nyāsa\): \( tha hi nīsthātakārasya paratvapratipādane pañcamī yuktā, yathā radābhyaṁ iti. tatra pañcamāṁvirede kartavye yah saśṭhamāṁvirede kriyate sa sambandhasāmāṁvirede pratiṁpādayītum\)). The \( khyā \) of this rule must also denote the \( khyā\)-replacement of \( caksūn\).

2. This negation of \( n\)-replacement is made against positive provisions made by 8.2.42 \( radābhyaṃ nīsthāto \ldots \) and 8.2.43 \( samyojāder āto \ldots \) (\( Kāś\): ‘\( radābhyaṃ \ldots \)’, ‘\( samyojāder \ldots \)’ \( iti ca prāptaḥ pratiśidhyate\)). Consider \( dhy(\text{ai}→\text{a}) + (K)\text{t}a \rightarrow dhyāta + sU = dhyātah, dhyātavān, khyātah, khyātavān, etc. Note that augment \( iT\) is negated in \( (pṛ + (K)\text{t}a) + sU \rightarrow pūrttah \) by 7.2.11 \( sṛyukah kiti. A doubling of \( t \) is accomplished in consonance with 8.4.45 \( aco rahābhyaṃ dve \). The \( ī \), in turn, is replaced with \( u \) by 7.1.102 \( ud oṣṭyapūrvasya \). A long replacement (8.2.27 \( hali ca \)) for the short \( u \) then follows. Augment \( iT \) is similarly negated (7.2.16 \( ādītas ca \) in \( mūrtah \). The \( ch \) of murch is deleted by 6.4.21 \( rāl lopah\). This, in turn, makes 8.2.42 \( radābhyaṃ nīsthāto \ldots \) applicable. Augment \( iT \) is negated in \( mattaḥ \) by 7.2.14 \( svūdito nīsthāyām \).

8.2.58 विन्तो भोगप्रत्ययो:

\( \text{vīttō bhogapratyayayoh} \)
\( / \text{vīttā 1/1 bhoga-pratyayayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/} \)
\( (nīsthāto naḥ #42 na #57) \)
‘vīttō’ \( iti \) vīder lābhārthād uttarasya ktaśya natvābhāvo nipātye bhoge pratyaye cābhīdhīye

The word \( vīttō \) is derived, via \( nipātana, \) when \( bhoga \) ‘possession, consumption’ and \( pratyaya \) ‘knowledge, belief’ are denoted.

**Examples:**

\( \text{vīttam asya bahu ‘his wealth is bountiful’} \)
\( \text{vītto} \) \( \text{yaṃ manusyaḥ ‘this man is knowlegeable’} \)
1. This rule negates a replacement in \( n \) for the \( t \) of a \( niṣṭhā \) suffix which occurs after \( vid \) ‘to gain’. Of course, when the derivate is to denote \( bhoga \) ‘possession, consumption’ and \( praṇi \) ‘knowledge, belief’. This \( n \)-replacement was made available by 8.2.42 \( radābhyaṃ niṣṭhāto \) . . .

8.2.59 भित्तां शल्कम्

\( bhittam \) śakalam

\(/ bhittam 1/1 śakalam 1/1/

(niṣṭhāto naḥ #42 na #57)

‘bhittam’ ity nipāyate śakalam ced bhavati

The word bhitta is derived, via nipātana, when the signification is śakala ‘piece, chip, fragment’.

Examples:

\( bhittam \) tiṣṭhati ‘a piece is there’
\( bhittam \) prapatati ‘a piece is falling’

1. This rule negates a replacement in \( n \) for the \( t \) of a \( niṣṭhā \) suffix which occurs after verbal root bhidIR ‘to split’, provided the derivate denotes śakala ‘piece, chip, fragment’. This \( n \) was, again, made available as a replacement for \( t \), on account of occurring after \( d \) (8.2.42 radābhyaṃ niṣṭhāto . . .). How does bhitta ‘split’ mean śakala? It is synonymous with śakala ‘piece’ when used as a qualifier. Thus, bhittam śakalam ‘chipped’.

8.2.60 ओऽणामाधमणेः

\( rṇam \) ādhamarṇye

\(/ rṇam 1/1 ādhamarṇye 7/1 = adhamah rṇe = adhamarṇeḥ (sopt. tat.; rṇa postposed via nipātana by this rule); adhamarṇasya bhāvah = ādhamarṇeḥ, tasmin (a derivate of ŚyaN) /

(niṣṭhāto naḥ #42)

‘rṇam’ iti ‘r’ ity etasmād dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāro nipāyate ādhamarṇya viśaye

The word rṇa is derived, via nipātana, when ādhamarṇya ‘state of being in debt’ is signified.

Examples:

\( rṇam \) dadāti ‘. . . pays off a debt’
\( rṇam \) dhārayati ‘. . . incurs a debt’

1. This rule supports \( n \)-replacement for \( t \) of \( (K) ta \) to derive \( r + (K) ta \rightarrow r + (t→n) a → r(n→) a = rṇa \), via nipātana. The derivate must, however, signify ādhamarṇya ‘state of being in debt; debtor’. A \( n \)-replacement (nātva) of \( t→n = n \) is accomplished by a vārttika (vt. rvarṇe ceti . . .; 8.4.1 rasābhyaṃ no nah . . .).
Note that adhamah ṛṇe = adhamarnañh ‘he whose status is inferior in debt’ is a locative tatpurusa compound where its first member, i.e., adhamah ‘inferior’, does not end in the locative. This nipātana indicates that such compounds can still be formed.

2. Why do we have the condition of ādhāmarṇya ‘when state of being in debt is signified’? Consider ṛtam of ṛtam vakyāmi nāṛṭam ‘I speak truth, never non-truth’, where this replacement is not allowed. If the etymology of ṛna ‘debt’ will relate only to adhamarnañh then how would one derive uttamarnañh. We, in fact, should derive *uttamarṭta. We can derive uttamarnañh by way of exchange of the debt at some other time. That is, in a manner similar to: ṛnam dadāti = ṛnam dhārayati.

8.2.61

nasattanisattanutta pratūrtasūrtagūrūnī chandasi
/nasattanisattan-anutta pratūrtasūrtagūrūnī 1/3 (itar. dv.); chandasi 7/1/
(niśṭhāto naḥ #42 na #57)
‘nasatta, niṣatta, anutta, pratūrtta, sūrta, gūrtā’ ity etāni chandasi visaye nipātyante

Forms such as nasatta ‘not seated’, niṣatta ‘seated’, anutta ‘invincible, not cast down’, pratūrtta ‘rapid, swift’, sūrta ‘trodden’ and gūrtā ‘approved, strived’ are derived, via nipātana, in the Vedic.

Examples:

nasattam aṅjasā
niṣattamā vacarāh
anūttamā te mahavan
pratūrtam vājinam
sūrta gāvah
gūrtā amṛtasya

1. This rule derives na(NDER) + (K)ta → nasatta, niṣ-adI + (K)ta → niṣatta, an-undI + (K)ta → anutta, pra-(NDER) tvar + (K)ta → pratūrtta, sṛ + (K)ta → sūrta and gurī + (K)ta → gūrtta, via nipātana, in the Vedic. All examples qualify for a replacement in n for t of their Kṣa (cf. 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ ...). Recall that s of nadI ‘to sit’ is replaced with s by 6.1.62 dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ. The s of niṣatta is replaced with s (ṣatva) by 8.3.66 sadI aprateḥ. The n of verbal root undI ‘to be wet’ goes through deletion of 6.4.24 aniditām hala. ... Its d, as usual, will go through a replacement in t (cartva). The va of tvar ‘to hurry’ will be replaced with u ṬH (6.4.20 jvaratvāra ...). If one derives pratūrtta from turo(I) + (K)ta, v will be deleted (6.4.21 rāl lopaḥ) and u will be replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.77 hali ca). The r of sṛ ‘to move’ in sūrta is replaced with u, via nipātana. It is then replaced with its long counterpart.
Since this absence of \( n \)-replacement for \( t \) applies to the Vedic, we find examples such as \( nasanna, nisanna, anunna, praturna, s\tilde{r}ta \) and \( g\tilde{r}na \) in the classical language.

8.2.62 क्रिय-प्रत्ययस्य कृः:

\[
k\\text{vinpratyayasya kuh} \\
\text{/kvinpratyayasya 6/1 = kvin pratyayo yasmād dhātoḥ (bv.), tasya; kuh 1/1/} \\
\text{(padasya #16)} \\
\text{kvinpratyayasya padasyālo’ ntyasya kavargādeśo bhavati} \\
\]

The final sound segment of a \( pada \) which ends in affix \( KuIN \) is replaced with a sound denoted by a consonant of \( k \)-series (\( kU \)).

**Examples:**

- ghṛtaspṛk ‘touching ghee’
- halaspṛk ‘touching plow’
- mantrasṛk ‘invoking a mantra’

1. This rule requires a replacement in \( kU \) ‘consonant of \( k \)-series’ for the final sound segment (1.1.52 \( alo’ ntyasya \)) of a \( pada \) which ends in affix \( KuIN \). Refer to derivational details of \( ghṛtaspṛk \) under the appendix of 1.2.41 \( aprkta ekāl . . . (II:446-47) \). Other examples can be similarly derived. Thus,

\[
k\text{vinpratyayasya sarvatra padānte kutvam īsyate/} \\
k\text{vināhaḥ kur iti vaktavye pratyayagranahāṃ kṛtam/} \\
\]

‘a replacement in \( kU \) for affix \( KuIN \) is desired, everywhere, at the end of a \( pada \); the word \( pratyaya \) is used with \( KuIN \) in stating \( kU \) as a replacement for \( KuIN \)’

2. Why was the word \( pratyaya \) ‘affix’ used in \( k\text{vinpratyayasya} \) ‘of affix \( KuIN \)’? Why qualify \( KuIN \) with \( pratyayasya \) when there is no possibility of \( KuIN \) ever being anything different (\( Nyāsa: na hi kvin pratyayatvaṃ vyabhicarati \))? The word \( k\text{vinpratyayasya} \) is interpreted as a \( bahuvrīhi \) compound paraphrased as: \( k\text{vinpratyayah} yasmād dhātoḥ sa = k\text{vinpratyayah} ‘a root after which affix \( KuIN \) is introduced’; tasya dhātor \( alo’ ntyasya kavargādeśo bhavati ‘a consonant of the \( k \)-series comes in place of the final sound segment of that root (after which \( KuIN \) is introduced)’. One should not doubt here that this \( kU \)-replacement will block deletion of \( KuIN \) (6.1.67 \( ver aprktasya \)). That is, one should not understand that \( v \) of \( KuIN \) will be replaced with \( gh \), its counterpart denoted by \( kU \). It is to block this \( kU \)-replacement of affix \( KuIN \) that a \( bahuvrīhi \) with \( pratyayasya \) is used in this rule. A specification made without the use of \( pratyayasya \) would have replaced \( v \) with \( gh \). If this specification was intended for simply replacing \( v \) with \( gh \), its specification with a replacement in \( kU \) will then become useless. For, a specification such as \( kU \) is made in view of more than one substitute for more than one item to be replaced (\( PM: evaṃ hi \)
vargagrahaṇaṁ anarthakaṁ syāt. anekasya sthānino' nekādeśapratipattaye hi vargagrahaṇaṁ). To sum up, pratayahasa, is used for availing a bahuvrīhi interpretation.

This interpretational use of a bahuvrīhi compound also has other implications. As the bahuvrīhi compound citraguḥ of citragur āniyatām 'let one whose cows are brindled be brought' implies bringing of someone other than 'brindled cows', this same way a root ending in an affix different from affix KOLN can also form the focus of this replacement (Kāś: kviṇpratayo yasmād vihitastasmād anyasmin api pratyaye kutvam yathā syāt). Consider asrāk and adrāk of mā no (asrāk/adrāk), where verbal roots srj and drś are used with LŪN→tī. Thus, a(T) + srj + (CLI→sI) + tī → a + s(arM) j + tīP → a + s(r→r) aj + tī → asr(a→ā) j + tī → asrāj + (tī→φ) → asrā(j→k) = asrāk. Affix LŪN is introduced after srj in consonance with 3.3.175 māni tuṁ. Introduction of augment aM (6.1.58 srjideśor . . .), deletion of tī (3.4.100 Ģaś ca; 6.1.68 halīyābbhyo . . .) and uṛddhi of a of asrāj (7.2.3 vadaevajahalantasyācaḥ) are additional applications. Note that, in the Vedic, we find aT even when LŪN is not used in association with māN. We similary also do not get augment iT. This can be explained in view of bahulam chandasi 'variously in the Vedic'. The greplacement of j of asrāj is finally replaced with k (cartva) of 8.4.56 vāvasāne. Recall that k of asrāk cannot be replaced with s. For, k (kutva) cannot be treated as asiddha in view of replacement in s. For, this replacement in kU will then become useless. This same can be said about drgbyām and drgbyish where KULP occurs after drś and replacement in kU is accomplished. We need a counter-proposal (Kāś: pratividhānaṁ kartavyam) to facilitate blocking of undesired s-replacement of 8.2.36 vraścabhrasajstī . . ., in rajjusṛṇdbhyām.

8.2.63 नासवर्ण

naśer vā

/nāseḥ 5/1 vā φ/

(padasya #1.16 kūh #62)

naśeṇ padasya vā kavargādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of a pada constituted by naś is optionally replaced with kU.

EXAMPLES:

sā vai jīvanag āhutiḥ

sā vai jīvanad āhutiḥ

1. This rule optionally replaces the final (1.1.52 alō' ntyasya) sound segment of naś 'to perish' with a consonant of the k-series (kU). Consider naś + KULP = naś, where KULP is introduced (vt. (3.3.94): sampadādibhyah kvip) with the signification of bhāva. The ṣ is optionally replaced with k, or with s (8.2.36 vraścabhrasajstī . . .), after deletion of KULP. This ṣ is then replaced with ḍ (jaśtva;
8.2.39 jhalām jaśo' nte). An application of 8.4.56 vāvāsāne finally produces $na(\hat{s} \rightarrow \hat{d} \rightarrow \hat{t}) = na$. We will get $na(\hat{s} \rightarrow k) = nak$ if the optional $k$ is accepted as a replacement for $\hat{s}$. Note that jīvanak is a genitive tatpuruṣa compound paraphrased as jīvanasya nāśah = jīvanasya nak = jīvananā(\hat{s} \rightarrow k). We will get jīvanat if the optional replacement in $\hat{s}$ is not accepted. An optional $k$ (kutva) is offered in view of the optional $\hat{s}$ of 8.2.36 vraścabhrasjṛi. . .

8.2.64 मो नो धातोः:

mo no dhātoḥ
/mah 6/1 nah 1/1 dhātoḥ 6/1/
(padasya #1.16)
makārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya nakārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of a verbal root which constitutes a pada terminating in $m$ is replaced with $n$.

**Examples:**

praśān ‘tranquility’
pratān ‘creep’
pradān ‘restraint’

1. Note that padasya is also understood here. It is qualified with $m$ which, in turn, is in syntactic coordination with dhātoḥ. Thus, we get the interpretation: makārāntasya padasya dhātoḥ ‘of a verbal root constituting a pada ending in $m$’. This rule replaces $m$ with $n$. We thus get $pra-śa + KuIP = pra-śa(m \rightarrow n) + (KuIP \rightarrow \phi) \rightarrow pra-ś(a \rightarrow ā)n = praśān$. Similar rules apply in deriving (pra-dām + KuIP) → pradān and (pra-tām + KuIP) → pratān. Recall that a short vowel of these roots is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.15 annāsakṣaya kujjaloh. . . Why can we not delete the final $n$ by 8.2.7 nalopaḥ prātipadi-kāntasya. This $n$-replacement will be considered asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of $n$-deletion (Kāś: natvāsāsidhatriṇa nalopa na bhavati).

2. Why do we have the condition of mah ‘in place of the final $m$ . . . ? Consider bhid and chid where we do not get a final $m$.

Why do we have the condition of dhātoḥ ‘of a verbal root . . . ? Consider idam and kim which end in $m$ (mānta) but are not a verbal root.

The condition of padasya is still valid. Consider pratāmaḥ and pratāmah, as counter-examples, where $m$ is part of a pada but does not occur at the end.

8.2.65 म्वोऽ

mvoś ca
/mvoḥ 7/2 = maś ca vaś ca = mva (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ/
(mo no dhātoḥ #64)
makāravakārayoś ca parataḥ makārāntasya dhātor nakārādeśo bhavati
The $m$ of a verbal root which ends in $m$ is replaced with $n$ when affixes beginning with $m$ and $v$ follow.

**Examples:**

aganma tamasah pāram 'we went across the dark'
aganva 'we (dual) went . . .'
jaganzān 'first person dual LIT-derivate of gam in the Vedic'

1. This rule replaces the final $m$ of a verbal root with $n$ when affixes beginning with $m$ or $v$ follow. Consider $(aT + (gam + LAÑ→mas)) → (agam + (ŠaP→ϕ) + vas)) → (aga(m→n) + mas) → (aganma(s→ϕ)) → aganma and also aganva. Note that ŠaP here gets deleted by 2.4.73 bahūlaṃ chandasi. The $s$ of mas and vas is deleted by 3.4.98 sa uttamsaya. Refer to jakṣivān and papivān (II:745) for derivational details of jaganzān, a Vedic form where LIT is replaced with KvasU (3.2.107 kvasuś ca). Note that 'penultimate deletion' (6.4.98 gamahanajana . . .), optional i$T$ (7.2.68 vibhāśā gamahana . . .) and reduplication (in view of 1.1.59 dvirvacane' ci) are important operational steps. We get jaganzān from jaganzās when optional i$T$ is not accepted (Kāś: 'vibhāśā gamahanajnavaidavāśām' iti kvasāv idāgamasyābhāvāh).

2. This rule, unlike the one before, focuses on $m$ which does not occur at the end of a pada (Kāś: apadāntārtha ārambhāh).

8.2.66 ससजुषो रुः:

sasajuso ruḥ
/sasajusah 5/1 = saś ca sajuś ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ruḥ 1/1/
(padasya #1.16)
sakārāntasya padasya 'sajuś' ity etasya ca rur bhavati

The final $s$ of a pada which ends in $s$, and also the final $s$ of sajuś 'companion, together with', is replaced with $ru$. 

**Examples:**

agnir atra 'Agni here'
vāyu atra 'Vāyu here'
saJuṛ rśibhiḥ 'together with sages'
saJuṛ devebhṛḥ 'together with gods'

1. This rule replaces the final $s$ of a pada, or the final $s$ of sajuś, with $ru$. Consider agni + (sU→ru) atra + sU = agni atra and vāyu + (sU→ru) atra + sU = vāyu atra, where the $s$ of sU after agni 'fire' and vāyu 'wind' is replaced with $ru$. We similarly get saJuṛ rśibhiḥ, where sajuś is a compound termed upapada, with Kulp introduced after juś under the cooccurrence condition of saha 'with'. Thus, saha jūṣate = (saha + juś + Kulp → (saha→s) + juś = sajuś, where 6.3.73 sahāsya saḥ samjñāyāṁ replaces saha with sa. Given sajuś +
\(\text{rsibhīḥ} \rightarrow \text{sajū} (s \rightarrow rU) + \text{rsibhīḥ}\), the \(u\) of \(\text{sajū}\) is replaced with \(ū\) (8.2.76 \(\text{ru}v\) \(\text{upadhāyāḥ}\)). We similarly get \(\text{sajūr devebhīḥ}\).

2. A specification with \(\text{sajūs}\) is made here to enable this replacement to apply on forms which do not end in \(s\) (Nyāsa: \(\text{saju}śo \text{gra}hāṇam \text{asakārān-}\text{tārtham}\)). This rule is an exception to the \(jāŚ\)-replacement of 8.2.39 \(\text{jalāṁ jaśo}'nte\).

8.2.67 अवया: स्वेतवाह: पुरोदासः

\[\text{avayāḥ svetavāḥ purodāś ca} \]
\[/ \text{avayāḥ} 1/3 \text{svetavāḥ} 1/3 \text{purodāḥ} 1/3 \text{ca} \phi/\]
\[(\text{padasya} \#1.16)\]
\[\text{‘avayāḥ, svetavāḥ, purodāḥ’ ity ete nipātyante}\]
Forms such as \(\text{avayāḥ, svetavāḥ and purodāḥ}\) are derived, via \(\text{nipātana}\).

Examples:

\[\text{avayāḥ ‘those who share ritual oblations’}\]
\[\text{svetavāḥ ‘borne by white horses’}\]
\[\text{purodāḥ ‘a ritual oblation of rice balls’}\]

1. This rule is a \(\text{nipātana}\). One need not show what rule applications are involved in deriving these examples. These are forms of \(\text{sambuddhi ‘nominative singular denoting address’}(2.3.49 \text{ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ})\). Thus, \(\text{avayāj, sveta-vah, puras + dāś (3.2.71 mantre śvetavahoktha . . . ; 3.2.72 aveh yajah) receive affix } νuIN\). A derivate which anticipates its status as a \(\text{pada}\) receives \(\text{dās}\) as an exception to \(\text{nuIN}\) (cf. \(\text{ut ad (3.2.71 mantre śvetavahoktha . . . )}\). A nominative singular \(\text{sU}\) is then introduced with the denotaum of address (\(\text{sambodhana; 2.3.47 sambodhane ca}\)).

Refer to derivational details of examples (III:740) under 3.2.71 \(\text{mantre śvetavahoktha . . . ; 3.2.72 aveh yajah}\). Note, however, that derivate under that rule are all non-\(\text{sambuddhi}\) nominative singulareas. They had penultimate \(\text{vrddhi}\) available to them from 6.4.14 \(\text{atvasantasya . . . }\). Our present rule will offer that lengthening to these derivatives of \(\text{sambuddhi}, \text{via nipātana}\).

2. Why do we have to use \(\text{nipātana}\) when \(\text{rU}\) can be gotten from the earlier rule and lengthening is made available by 6.4.14 \(\text{atvasantasya . . . }?\) Lengthening is made available by 6.4.14 only in the context of non-\(\text{sambuddhi}\). This rule offers it in the context of \(\text{sambuddhi}\). Thus, \(\text{he avayāḥ, he śvetavāḥ and he purodāḥ}\).

3. The \(\text{ca}\) of this rule is used to account for what may have been left out (\(\text{cakārō’ nuktasamuccayārthaḥ}\)).

8.2.68 अहन्

\[\text{ahan}\]
\[/ \text{ahan (deleted genitive)}/\]
(padasya #1.16 ruḥ #66)
āhan’ ity etasya padasya rur bhavati
A replacement in rU comes in place of the final sound segment of a
pada constituted by ahan ‘day’.

EXAMPLES:

ahobhyām ‘instrumental-dative dual of ahan’
ahobhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of ahan’
dirghāhāh nidāghaḥ ‘summer with long days’

1. This rule offers rU as a replacement for the final n of ahan, especially
against n-deletion of 8.2.7 na lopah prātipadikāntasya. This specification with
ahan without n-deletion (or replacing its n with rU), is made to indicate that
this n is not deleted (Kāś. nalopam akṛtvā nirdesā jñāpakaḥ—na lopābhāvo yathā
syād iti). Consider aha(n→r(U) + bhyām → aha (r→u) + bhyām → ah(au→o)
+ bhyām = ahobhyām, where 6.1.113 hāṣa ca replaces r with u. Rule 6.1.87 ād
gunaḥ then replaces the vocalic sequence a+u with a single guna substitute o.
We thus get ahobhyām and ahobhiḥ.

The compound dirghāhāḥ, as a qualifier to nidāghaḥ of dirghāhāh nidāghaḥ
‘summer during which time days are longer’. We get dirgha + fās + ahan + fās
→ dirghāhan + sU → dirghāhā, where n is replaced with rU of this rule. The a
before rU, under the condition of asiddhatva ‘suspension’, is then replaced
with its long counterpart ā (6.4.8 sarvanāmaśthāne cāsamuddhau). The nomi-
nal ending sU also goes through deletion (6.1.68 hālīyābbhyo . . . ). Rule 8.3.17
bhobhagoagho . . . then replaces rU with y. We thus get dirghāh(a→ā)r
→ dirghāhār → dirghāhā(r→y) → dirghāhā(y→ϕ) = dirghāhāh nidāghaḥ. Note
that y goes through deletion of 8.3.22 halī sarveśām. The rU, for example of
dirghāhar atra, will be replaced with u of 6.1.112 ato ror apūtud. . . . Rule
6.1.87 ād gunaḥ will again offer a single substitute for a+u in o. An application
of rule 6.1.108 enaḥ padāntād ati will finally produce dirghāhā’ atra.

2. A vārttika proposal (vt. ahaḥ ruvidhau rūpātirrathantaresūpasaṃkhyānaṃ
kartavyam) requires n of ahan to be replaced with rU before rūpa, rātri and
rathantara. Thus, ahorūpam, ahorātraḥ and aho rathantaraṃ sāma. This vārttika
proposal is an exception to 8.2.69 ro’ supi. Some claim that this proposal
should be acceptable in all situations where ahan is followed by a word be-
inginning with r. Thus, aho ramyam ‘how beautiful’ and aho ratnāni ‘beautiful
jewels’.

8.2.69 रोपसुपि

ro’ supi
/rāh 1/1 asupi 7/1 = na sup (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(ahan #68)
‘ahan’ ity etasya rephādeo bhavaty asupi parataḥ
The final sound segment of ahan is replaced with rA when a sUP does not follow.

Examples:

ahan dadāti ‘the day offers enjoyment’
ahan bhunktē ‘enjoys (eats) the day’

1. This rule replaces the n of ahan with rA when what follows is not a sUP. It is an exception to the preceding rule. The a of rA is used to facilitate articulation (uccāraṇārthaḥ). Consider aha(n→rA) + (sU→φ) + dadāti → ahan dadāti and aha(n→r) + (am→φ) + bhunktē = ahan bhunktē, where the nominative and accusative singular nominal endings sU and am, used after ahan with the signification of atyantasa’myoga ‘close connection’ (in case of am), get deleted (7.1.23 svamor nāpumsakāḥ). Why can we not accept the deleted nominal endings still there to follow? That is, via 1.1.62 partayalopē pryatayalakṣanām ‘operations specific to an affix obtain even when the affix is deleted’. It is stated that ‘an operation characteristic of a deleted affix does not apply to the rU of ahan when what deletes the affix is a LUK, ŚLU or LUP (Kāś: ahna ruvidhau humātā lupte pryatayalakṣanām na bhavati). Recall here that sU and am after ahan are deleted via LUK.

A deletion of nominal ending after ahan, via LOPA, would qualify ahan for operations relative to affixal-deletion. Thus, consider he dirghāho’ tra and he dirghāho nidāghaḥ, where 6.1.68 halīyaṭbhyo . . . deletes the nominal ending sU after dirghāho. Refer to notes under the preceding rule for additional derivational details.

2. Why do we state the condition of asupī ‘when a sUP does not follow’? Consider ahobhīyām and ahobhīj where what follows ahan is a nominal ending. Our present rule will not apply here.

The negation in asupī ‘when a sUP does not follow’ is interpreted as an instance of prassajya-pratisedha. Consequently, this rule will apply when anything other than a sUP follows. If it is interpreted as a paryudāsa, this rule will apply only when, not a sUP but anything similar to a sUP, follows. A following affix other than sUP could thus mark the right condition. We will be able to get examples such as aharavān where an affix follows. But we will have problems in examples such as aharahaḥ where no affix follows.

8.2.70 अम्मरूढवारित्युभवय छन्दसि

amnarūḍharavar ity ubhayathā chandasi
/ amnarūḍharavar (deleted gen.) = amnaś ca uḍhaś ca avaś ca =
amnarūḍharavar (sam. dv.), tasya; iti φ ubhayathā φ chandasi 7/1/
(padasya #1.16 ruh #66 ṛuh #69)
‘amnas, uḍhas, avaś’ ity eteśāṃ chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati

The final sound segment of a pada in the Vedic, particularly one con-
stituted by *amnas* 'currently, unawares, a little', *ūdhas* 'udder' and *avas* 'downwards, below', is replaced either way (*ubhayathā*), with *rA* or *rU*.

**Examples:**

*amnar eva* 'just a little'

*amna eva* 'ibidem'

*ūdhar eva* 'udder alone'

*ūdha eva* 'ibidem'

*aivar eva* 'only downwards'

*aiva eva* 'ibidem'

1. This rule is formulated so that the obligatory *rU* of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* could be, hereby, made optional with *rA* (*repha*). A specification with *rU* is made after having the *s* replaced with *rU*. Thus, *ubhayathā* 'either way', we can get *rA* (*repha*), or its absence (*abhāva*), recognized as *rU* (*repha*). Consider *amna* (*s→rU*) + *eva* → *amna(rU→y)+eva→amna(y→ϕ)+eva=amna eva*, where *rU* gets deleted (8.3.19 *lopaḥ sākalyasya*), via its replacement in *y* (8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho...*; *Kāś: yadā rūtvaṃ taddā 'bhobhagoaghopruvasya yo’ śi’ iti yakāraḥ*). An optional *rA* (*repha*) will produce *amna(rU→r)+eva=amnar eva*. We similarly get derivatives. Note this replacement in *rU*, or *rA*, applies to the final sound segment.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt: chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca vibhāṣā pracetaso rājany upasamkhyānām kartavyam*) is made to offer a *rU*, or *rA*, as a replacement for the final *s* of *pracetas* before *rājan*. This proposal equally applies to the classical as well as Vedic usage. Thus, *pracetā rājan* and *praceto rājan*. Note that the *rA*-replacement in *praceta(s→rU→rA)* *rājan* is deleted by 8.3.14 *rni*. Rule 6.3.111 *dhraloḥ piṇuvasya...* then replaces the final *a* of *praceta* with long (*dirgha*). Thus, *praceta(r→ϕ)+rājan→pracet(a→ā) rājan=pracetā rājan*. If one accepts the option of *rU*, one will get it replaced with *u* (*utva*; 6.1.114 *hasī ca*). The final form *praceto rājan* can then be gotten via application of 6.1.87 *ād gunaḥ*. Thus, *praceta(s→rU→u)+rājan→pracet(a+u→o) rājan=praceto rājan*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *rU* to be optionally replaced with *r* of *ahar*, etc., before *pāti*, etc. (*vt: aharādiniṃ pattyādiśūpasamkhyānām kartavyam*). Thus, we get *aha* (*rA→rU*) + *pātiḥ → aharpatih and aha(*rA→r→h*) + *pātiḥ → ahaḥpātiḥ, gīrpatiḥ and gūhpatiḥ; dhūrpatiḥ and dhūhpatiḥ.

Note that *r* (*repha*) as a replacement of *r* (*repha*; of *rU*) is offered for blocking the *visarga*-replacement of 8.3.15 *kharavasānyayor visarjanīyāḥ* (*Kāś: visarjanīyabādhanārtham atra pākṣe rephayaiva repho vidhīyate*).

8.2.71 **भुवर्च महावायहेत:**

*bhuvasaḥ ca mahāvāyārteḥ*

*/bhuvah* (used without any *sUP*); *ca φ mahāvāyārteḥ 6/1* = *mahatī vyā̃śṛtīḥ*

= *mahāvāyārteḥ* (*karm. tat.), *tasyāḥ*
(padasya #1.16 ruḥ #66 raḥ #69 ubhayathā chandasi #70)
‘bhuvas’ ity etan mahāvyāhṛτeś chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati
The final sound segment of bhuvas is replaced with rU, or rA, in the Vedic, when bhuvas denotes mahāvyāhṛti ‘one of the seven great mantric utterances’.

Examples:

bhuvar ‘one of the seven mahāvyāhṛtis; ether, space’
bhuva ‘ibidem’

1. This relates to bhuvas used with the signification of a mahāvyāhṛti ‘great mantric utterance’. The s of bhuvas can then be replaced with rU or rA. We thus get bhuvas (s→rU→rA) ity antarikṣam → bhuvar ity antarikṣam ‘the second or middle of the three spheres’ and bhuvas (s→rU→rA) ity antarikṣam → bhuvas (rU→y→髋) ity antarikṣam = bhuvas ity antarikṣam.

2. Why do we have the condition of mahāvyāhṛteḥ ‘of a great mantric utterance’? Consider bhuvohi viśvasya bhuvaneṣu yajñīyāḥ, where we get a visarjanīya at the end of bhuvah because its bhuvas is not a mahāvyāhṛti ‘mantric utterance’.

3. Note that seven vyāhṛtis ‘mantric utterances’ are recognized as mahāvyāhṛtis. Literally, a mahāvyāhṛtti can be explained as an utterance about mahat ‘great; the supreme self’. Thus, bhūr, bhuvas, svar, mahas, janas, tapas, and satyam. The word bhuvas is an indeclinable and is used as a mahāvyāhṛti with the signification of antarikṣa ‘a region between heaven and earth, the second or middle sphere’.

8.2.72 वसुस्रमुष्वद्वावणनाजुधां दः:
vasusramṣudhvamsvananāduhāṃ daḥ
/vasu-suṃsau-dhvamsa-ananādahāṃ 6/3 (ibar. dv.), teṣām; daḥ 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 saḥ #66 (maṇḍukāpṛiti))
vastavantaśa padasya sakārāntasya ‘sramṣu, dhvamsu, ananādah’ ity eteṣām ca dakārādeśo bhavati
The final s of a pada which ends in vasU, or which occurs as final of sramṣU, dhvamsU and ananādah, is replaced with d.

Examples:

vidvadbhyāṃ ‘instrumental/ dative dual of vidvas ‘scholar’’
vidvadbhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of vidvas’
papivadbhyāṃ ‘instrumental/dative dual of papivaṭ’
papivadbhiḥ ‘instrumental plural of papivaṭ’
ukhāśraddbhyyāṃ ‘instrumental/dative dual of ukhāśrat’
ukhāśraddbhīḥ ‘instrumental plural of ukhāśrat’
pānadhvadbhyāṃ ‘instrumental/dative dual of pānadhvahat’
pānadhvadbhiḥ ‘instrumental plural . . .’
anaḍuddhīḥ ‘instrumental plural . . .’

1. Note that sāḥ which is carried over from 8.2.66 saṣaṇyo ṛuḥ can only be used as a qualifier to vasU, thereby meaning: ‘the s which comes at the end of a pada terminating in vasU’. The s at the end of vasU is not only possible (sambhava), but can also not be found (vyabhicārā ca) in vasU as a result of some rule application. It is based on this ‘possibility’ (sambhava) of occurrence and ‘possible absence’ (vyabhicāra) of s that it only qualifies vasU. It cannot qualify sraṃsU and dhvamsU since their s is not only ‘possible’ but can never abandon them (na vyabhicarati). It is for these reasons that sraṃsU and dhvamsU cannot be qualified with s. A qualifier must be capable of appearing and disappearing relative to its qualified. The s of sraṃsU and dhvamsU never leaves them. As far as anaḍuḥ is concerned, s is obviously impossible (asambhava) to find.

2. The word vidvas is derived from vid + (LĀT → SatR → vasU) = vidvas, where SatR is replaced with vasU (7.1.36 satur vasu . . .). The final s of vidvas + bhīyām, under the condition of vidvas assigned the term pada (1.4.17 svādiṣu asarvanāmasthāne), is replaced with d, by blocking ṛU. We thus get vidva(s → d) + bhīyām = vidvadbhīyām. Similar rules apply in deriving vidvadbhīhīh from vidva(s → d) + bhīs → vidvadbhīhīh. Refer to derivational details of papivān under 3.2.107 kuvasu ca (III:743). One can easily derive papivadbhīyām and papivadbhīhīh from papivas + bhīyām and papivas + bhīs. Derivational details of ukhāsrat and pāṇadhvaṭ can be found under 3.2.76 kuṣṭ ca (III:741-42). Deriving ukhāsradbhīyām, ukhāsradbhīhīh, pāṇadhvadbhīyām and pāṇadhvadbhīhīh from ukhāsras + (bhīyām / bhīs) and pāṇadhvās + (bhīyām / bhīs) offers nothing new. Rule 1.4.17 svādiṣu asarvanāmasthāne assigns the term pada. Note that the final sound segment of anaḍuḥ ‘ox’, i.e., h, is replaced with d. Thus, we get anaḍuddhīyām and anaḍuddhīḥ.

3. Note that the condition of sāḥ ‘in place of s’ must be met. This rule will not apply if the derivate of vasU does not end in s. Consider vidvān and papivān where the final sound segment is n.

This replacement in d applies before any other rule application. Thus, it will block a replacement in ṛU for the final s of vidvas in vidvad + bhīyām. How come this replacement in d does not block deletion of a conjunct-final consonant in vidvāns? That deletion is not directly relatable to this replacement. This d-replacement is treated as asiḍhā ‘suspended’ in accomplishing conjunct-final deletion (Kaś. rutve nāprāpte idam ārābhyaṣa iti tad bāḍhyate. samyogāntalopas tu naivam iti tenaitad eva datvam bāḍhyate’ since this application is initiated in the wake of the obligatory replacement in ṛU, that (ṛU) is blocked; this is not the case with the deletion of the final of a conjunct; this replacement in d is blocked by that. The dh-replacement for the final h of anaḍuḥ (of 8.2.31 ho ḍhāḥ) is also blocked by this rule.

Why is the n of nUM not replaced with d in anaḍvān? Recall that nUM is
specified with reference to particular enumerations. If \( n \) is replaced with \( d \), \( nU\)M will be rendered without any scope of application (anavakāsā). Thus, a replacement in \( d \) is blocked at the strength of the express provision of \( nU\)M. As a replacement in \( d \) is ruled out at the strength of the express provision of \( nU\)M, this same way, the \( rU\)-replacement of \( n \) of anaḍvān atra, made available by 8.3.9 dīṛghād aṭī, will also be ruled out. An operation which renders another vacuous is blocked. Besides, an operation which does not have any consequence for another is blocked. That which has some consequence, such as \( rU \) of \( nU\)M, is not blocked.

8.2.73 तिघनस्ते:

tipy anasteh
/tipy 7/1 anasteh 6/1 = na astiḥ (naṅ. tat.), tasya/
(padasya #1.16 saḥ #66 (maṇḍūkapluti ‘frog’s leap’); daḥ #72)
tipy paratāḥ sakārāntasya padasya anaster dakāra ādeśo bhavati

The final \( s \) of a pada constituted by a verbal root ending in \( s \), with the exception of \( as \) ‘to be’, is replaced with \( d \) when the third singular active verbal ending \( tiP \) follows.

Examples:

acakād bhavān ‘you, sir, glowed’
anvasād bhavān ‘you, sir, instructed’

1. This rule replaces a pada-final \( s \) with \( d \), though with the exception of \( s \) of verbal root as ‘to be’. Consider cakās(\( R \)) + (LAṆ→tiP) → cakās + (\( ŠaP→ϕ \)) + ti → cakās + \( t(i→ϕ) \) = a(\( T \)) + cakās + t, where \( ŠaP \) gets deleted because of the adādi listing of cakās\( R \) (2.4.72 adiṇprabhṛtyibhyo ṣaṭah). Our present rule then replaces \( s \) with \( d \). The \( i \) of \( tiP \), as usual, gets deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca. The remaining \( t \) then goes through deletion via LOPA of 6.1.68 halīyābbhyo. . . We thus get a\( T \) + cakā(s→d) → acakād. We can similarly get anvasād from anu + a\( T \) + śa(s→d) = anvasād.

2. Why do we have the condition of tipi ‘when tiP follows’? Consider cakāḥ where \( s \) of cakās + (KuP→ϕ) = cakās is first replaced with \( rU \), and then with \( h \).

Why do we have the condition of anasteh ‘when not of as’? Consider āpa evedaṃ salīṃṁ sarvam āḥ, where āḥ is a third singular imperfect (LAṆ) form of as ‘to be’. The \( s \) of ās is here replaced with \( h \), via \( rU \). Note that augment \( iT \) is not introduced here, largely in because of 7.3.97 bahulaṃ chandasi.

8.2.74 सिपिधातो रूवा

sipi dhāto rur vā
/sipi 7/1 dhātoḥ 6/1 ruḥ 1/1 vā ϕ/
(padasya #1.16 saḥ #66 (maṇḍūkapluti); daḥ #72)
sīpi parataḥ sakārāntasya padasya dhāto ‘ruḥ’ ity ayam ādesō bhavati, dakāro vā

The final s of a pada which is constituted by a root ending in s is replaced with rU, and also optionally with d, when the second singular active verbal ending siP follows.

Examples:

acakās tvam ‘you glowed’
acakāt tvam ‘ibidem’
anvasās tvam ‘you instructed’
anvasāt tvam ‘ibidem’

1. This rule replaces the final s of a root termed pada with rU, optionally with d, when the second singular active ending siP follows. Thus, (cakās(Ñ) + (LAÑ→si(P→ñ))) → a(T→ñ) + cakās + (SaP→ñ) + si → a + cakās + (si→ñ)
→ acakā(s→rU→ñ) = acakā(h→s) + tvam → acakās tvam and acakā(s→d→ñ) + tvam → acakāt tvam, where rU is first replaced with visarga (8.3.15 khara-vasānayor . . .). It is then replaced with s before tvam by 8.3.34 visarjanīyasya saḥ. We will get a replacement in d when optional replacement of rU is not accepted. This d will be replaced with t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca) before tvam. We can similarly derive anvasās tvam and anvasāt tvam.

2. Why do we state the condition of dhātoḥ ‘after a verbal root’ when r and d are given as replacements for a final s? Besides, what else, other than a dhātu, can occur before siP? It is stated that dhātoḥ and rU are given for use in subsequent rules. This use in subsequent rules finds its function in rules 8.2.75 daś ca and 8.2.76 ruv or upadhāyā dirgha ikāḥ. Since we will get rU at the strength of the option of d, anyway, rU is also explained as used for subsequent rules.

8.2.75 दस्च

daś ca
/ dah 1/1 ca ñ
(padasya #1.16 daḥ #72 sīpi dhāto rur vā #74)
dakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya sīpi parato rur bhavati dakāro vā

The final d of a pada constituted by a verbal root ending in d is replaced with rU, and also optionally with d, when the second singular active ending siP follows.

Examples:

abhīnat tvam ‘you split (it)’
abhīnas tvam ‘ibidem’
acchinat tvam ‘you pierced (it)’
acchinas tvam ‘ibidem’
1. This rule makes an optional provision of rU, against d, for the final d of a verbal root termed pada. Refer to abhinār in the derivational history of abhinātra (6.1.68 habhiyābbhyo . . . ). The r of abhinār will be replaced with s, via ḥ, before tvam to produce abhinās tvam. We will get abhinā(r → d → t) → abhinat tvam if the option of rU is not accepted. Similar application of rules is involved in deriving acchinas tvam and acchinat tvam.

2. The ca ‘and’ of this rule is used to attract d. Consequently, d is not carried over to subsequent rules (cānuṇṛṣṭam nottaratraya).

8.2.76 बौद्धमया दीर्घ दृकः

rvor upadhāyā dīrgha ikah
/rvoh 6/2 = raś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; upadhāyā 6/1 dīrghah 1/1
ikah 6/1/
(padasya #1.16 dhātoḥ #74)
rephavakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati
A penultimate sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol iK of a pada
constituted by a verbal root ending in r and v, is replaced with its long
counterpart.

Examples:

gīḥ ‘nominative singular of gir ‘speech’’
dhūḥ ‘nominative singular of dhur ‘forefront of a yoke’’
pūḥ ‘nominative singular of pūr ‘a town’’
āśīḥ ‘nominative singular of āśī ‘benediction’’

1. Note that the words padasya and dhātoḥ are both used here in syntactic
coordination. They both are then qualified with r and v (rvoh), thereby fa-
cilitating tadantavidhi ‘treating a form as ending in that which specifies it’. Thus, repavakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya . . . ‘of a verbal root termed pada
ending in r and v’.

This rule replaces the short penultimate vowel of a root with its long
counterpart, when the root ends in r and v and is also termed a pada. Consider
gīḥ and pūḥ which derive from (gī + KuIP) + sU and (pū + KuIP) + sU), where
ī is replaced with a short i, followed by r (7.1.100 rd id dhātoḥ; 1.1.51 ur an
rāparah). The r of gir and pūr is replaced with visarga and our present rule
replaces the short penultimate i with its long counterpart. We thus get gīḥ
and pūḥ. Similar rules apply in deriving dhūḥ from (dhurvi(t + KuIP) + sU) where 6.4.21 rāl lopah applies to delete the v which occurs after r. Deriving
dhūḥ offers nothing new.

2. Why do we not have any example with a verbal root ending in v? A root
termed pada which ends in v and has an iK vowel as its penultimate, is hard
to find (Nyāsa: vakārāntasya dhātor asambhāvāt). Why is v, then, used with rin
rvoh? For use in subsequent rules (uttarārtham).
Why do we have the condition of upadhāyāḥ ‘in place of the penultimate’? Consider abibhar of abibhar bhavān, a third person singular active derivate of bhṛṇ ‘to support, nourish, bear’ in LUN. This rule applies to the iK of a verbal root, and not of an abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūruṇ bhyāsāh).

Why do we have the condition of ikaḥ ‘in place of a vowel denoted by iK’? Consider abibhar bhavān, again, where the penultimate a of abibhar cannot be replaced with its long counterpart.

Note that conditions of dhātōḥ and padasya are still valid. Thus, this rule cannot apply to agnīḥ and vāyuḥ because no root is involved. We similarly get girau and girāḥ in view of condition of padasya.

8.2.77 हलि च

hali ca
/hali 7/1 ca φ/
(padasya #1.16 dhātōḥ #74 rvoor upadhāyā dirgha ikaḥ #76)
/ /hali ca parataḥ rephavakārāntasya dhātōr upadhāyā tko dirgho bhavati
A penultimate vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK, and forming part of a verbal root ending in r and v, is replaced with its long counterpart when a consonant follows.

EXAMPLS:

āṣīrṇam ‘strewn around’
visīrṇam ‘spread about’
viṣīrṇam ‘broken to pieces, withered’
dīvyati ‘. . . sports’
sīvyati ‘. . . sews’

1. This rule replaces the short penultimate i, u, r and l of a verbal root when the root is followed by a consonant (hali). Refer to derivational details of examples under 7.1.100 rd id dhātōḥ and 8.2.42 radābhyaḥ niṣṭhāto . . .
We, thus, get examples (ā-stṛ + Kta) + sU = āṣīrṇam, (vi-stṛ + Kta) + sU = viṣīrṇam, div + (LAT→tiP) = dīvyati and siv + (LAT→tiP) = sīvyati.

2. Note that the condition of dhātōḥ is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement for i and u of dīvam ‘heaven’ and catur ‘four’ in dīvam icchati → dīvyati and caturāḥ icchati → caturyati. These are non-root (adhātuḥ) nominal stems (prātipadikā).

The condition of ikaḥ ‘in place of an iK’ also carries. Consequently, smaryate and bhavyate do not get their a replaced with a corresponding long.

Recall that the earlier rule offered long replacements for roots ending in r and v. This rule is formulated for offering long replacements to roots which do not end in r and v (Nyāsa ad Kāś: ‘apadāntārtho yam ārambhaḥ’, pūruṇ rephavakārāntasya dhātōr dirghatvavidhānād arephavakārāntārtham idam).
8.2.78 उपधायां च

**upadhāyām ca**

/ upadhāyām 7/1 ca ϕ/

(падasya #1.16 dhātoḥ #74 ruor upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ #76)

dhātor upadhābhūtavau yau rephavakāravau halparau tayor upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati

A long vowel comes in place of the penultimate iK vowel of r and v which constitutes the penultimate of a root followed by a consonant.

**Examples:**

hūrchitā ‘derivate of hūrch ‘to be crooked’ with Kta in the feminine’

mūrchitā ‘derivate of mūrch ‘to faint’ with Kta in the feminine’

ūrvitā ‘derivate of urv ‘to harm’ with Kta in the feminine’

dhūrvitā ‘derivate of dhūrv ‘to injure’ with Kta in the feminine’

1. Note that ruor upadhāyāḥ is carried as a whole (sarvam). The upadhāyām ‘penultimate’ of this rule is used as a qualifier to ruoh, paraphrased as rephavakārayoh, in the genitive dual (saṣṭhi dvivacana). For this qualifier-qualified relationship, one would expect upadhāyām to have been given as upadhayaḥ, again a genitive dual. But we get locative singular in place of genitive dual by transmutation (vyatayya; PM: ‘ruor upadhāyāḥ ityādi sarvam anuvartate. idam upadhāgrahaṇam ruor viśesaṇam). But since we have the locative singular upadhāyām, instead, the genitive dual of ruoh can be replaced with the locative singular, in tune with upadhāyām. The upadhā of the earlier rule is interpreted as a qualifier to ikaḥ. This establishes the occurrence of iK before r and v. This is how the Kaśikārtti offers its paraphrase: dhātor upadhābhūtavau yau rephavakāravau halparau tayor upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati ‘the r and v which occur before a consonant and have become the penultimate of a verbal root; the penultimate iK of such r and v is replaced with a long’. Kaśikā interprets halparau ‘followed by a consonant’ as a bahuvrihi paraphrased as: hal paraḥ abhyām ‘the two after which there is a consonant’. This consonant is then understood as part of the root. Contexts where a consonant occurs after r and v of an affix are covered by the earlier rule (Nyāsa: yatra hi pratyayāvayavo rephavakārabhyāṃ halparas tatra pūrvenaiva siddhah).

Consider hūrch + iT + ta → hūrchitā of the feminine hūrchitā, where our present rule replaces the short u of the root with its long counterpart ū. We similarly get (mūrch + iT + Kta → mūrchitā and (dhūrv + iT + Kta) → dhūrvitā in their corresponding feminine forms. An objection is raised as to how r could be considered penultimate when 8.4.46 aco rahābhyaṃ due doubles up the ch. The r is still considered penultimate since 8.4.46 aco rahābhyaṃ due is treated as asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of this long replacement (Nyāsa: dirghatave kartavye dvivacanasyāsiddhatvāc chakāro’ taisa eva hal iti bhavaty evopadhātvau rephasya ‘since doubling is considered asiddha in the application
of replacement in long, a single ch, alone, is seen there as a consonant; this is how the penultimate status of r is established’).

Note that ca in this rule is used to attract halī of the previous rule (Nyāsa: cakāro halīty asāmkarsaṁarthāh). That is, r and v must be followed by a consonant (halī). We do not get this long replacement in ciri + Šnu + ti → cirinoti and jiri + Šnu + ti → jirinoti where verbal roots ciri and jiri have their penultimate r followed by a vowel.

Why do we not get this long replacement for the short i and u of the abhyāsa of riryatuḥ / riyuh and viryatuḥ / viyuh, the third dual and plural active perfect (LIT) forms of ni and vi ‘to go’ with replacements of LIT further replaced with atus and us. Note here that the final vowel of the root is replaced with y and v (yanādeśa). These replacements in y and v are considered bahiranga ‘externally conditioned’ since they are accomplished in the domain of ānga and hence, are conditioned by a following affix. This replacement in long is internally conditioned since it is accomplished in relation to the base (prakṛti). Since this replacement in y and v is considered asiddha, there will be no r and v followed by a consonant. The question of a long replacement, hence, does not arise.

Why do we not get this long replacement in (cutur + KyaC → (caturya + trC) + sU) = caturyītā, where, after the deletion of the final a (6.4.48 ato lopah) of caturya, before trC, we get a penultimate r occurring before a consonant. Note here that deletion of a is externally conditioned (bahiranga) because of being conditioned by the ārdhadvātuka affix trC. This long replacement is internally conditioned (antaranga). The externally conditioned deletion of d becomes asiddha in view of applying this long replacement. Now consider pratidīvānā where this consideration of ‘internally conditioned versus externally conditioned’ argument does not apply. For this paribhāṣā is non-obligatory (anītya), especially in the yathoddeśa view. The long replacement in pratidīvānā is questioned because, like caturyītā, we also do not get r as the penultimate sound of the root. This matter of non-application of lengthening is resolved in view of 1.1.58 na padāntadvirvacana . . ., where I also discuss derivational details of pratidīvāna and pratidīvime (II:409-10).

Kāśīkā further informs that this long replacement is also not found in jirī, kirī, where the stems are both non-derived nominal (‘unādayo vyutpānāni prātipadikān’ iti jivirī kirīho gīryor ity evam ādisu dīrgho na bhavati).

8.2.79 न भकुर्चुराम्

na bhakurchurām
/naµ bhakurchurām 6/3 bhaś ca kur ca chur ca = bhakurchurāḥ (itar. dv.),
tesām/
(dhātoḥ #74 rvor upadhāyā dīrgho ikah #76)
rephavakārantasya bhasya ‘kur, chur’ ity etayoṣ ca dīrgho na bhavati
The short vowel of a bha (1.4.18 yaci bham) which ends in r and u, and the penultimate vowel of verbal roots kur ‘to do, make’ and chur ‘to pierce’ as well, is not replaced with its long counterpart.

Examples:

\[ dhūram vaih = dhuryāḥ ‘he who carries the yoke; an ox’ \]
\[ dhuri sādhur yah = dhuryāḥ ‘he who is good in harness; an ox’ \]
\[ kuryāt ‘may he do!’ \]
\[ churyāt ‘may he pierce!’ \]

1. This negation (prātiśedha) of a long replacement is made against positive provision of 8.2.77 hali ca. Refer to derivational details of the benedictory LI/N-derivate kuryāt (III:784), under 3.4.103 yāsu parasmaiṣe. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving churyāt. Now consider dhuryāḥ, paraphrased as dhūram vaih, where affix yaI is introduced after dhura + am (4.4.77 dhuryādhamakau) with the signification of vaih ‘carries’.

Why is verbal root krN specified here as kur, with its vikarana, i.e., u (3.1.79 tanādikrūbhyā uḥ)? So that this negation does not apply to cikirṣati ‘wishes to do or make’, etc. (Nyāsa: karoter vikaraṇena nirdeśas cikirṣatity atra prātiśedha mā bhūd iti). This negation will apply only where the word-form kur is found.

2. Why should we qualify bha (1.4.18 yaci bham) with the requirement of ending in r and u? Consider the counter-examples: prātiśiṣṇā ‘instrumental singular of prātiśiṣṇ ‘sun’’ and prātiśiṣṇe ‘dative singular of prātiśiṣṇ’, where the stem which ends in u is not a bha, and the stem which is a bha does not end in v (II:409-10). It ends in n, instead.

8.2.80 अदसोसेवबद् तो म:

\[ adso’ ser dād u do mah \]
\[ /adasah 6/1 aeṣ 6/1 = avidyamānah siḥ sakāro yasya sa = asiḥ (bu.), tasya; dāt 5/1 u (1/1 deleted); dāh 6/1 mah 1/1 \]
\[ adaso’ sakārāntasya varṇasya dāt parasya uvāṃdēṣo bhavati dakārasya ca makārah \]

A sound segment which occurs after d of adas, when not ending in s, is replaced with u with an additional provision that d be replaced with m.

Examples:

\[ amum ‘accusative singular masculine of adas ‘he, that’’ \]
\[ amū ‘accusative dual masculine . . .’ \]
\[ amūn ‘accusative plural masculine . . .’ \]
\[ amunā ‘instrumental singular masculine . . .’ \]
\[ amūbhīyām ‘instrumental dual masculine . . .’ \]

1. Note that i of asi in aeṣ ‘of that which does not have s’ is used for ease of articulation. Consider amum which derives from adas + am, where s of
adas is replaced with a. The sequence of two vowels, namely a+a, is then replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows in the sequence (6.1.97 ato guṇe). Our present rule is treated as asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of application of rule 6.1.97 ato guṇe. Thus we get: adas(a→a) + am → ad(a+a→a)m → adam. Our present rule can now apply on adam to produce a(d→m (a→u)m) → amum. Refer to derivational details of amū under 1.1.12 adaso māt (II:348-49). Derivational details of amauṇā can be found under 8.2.3 na mune. Recall that a replacement in u, for example in amūḥhyām, can be determined on the basis of similarity in duration (pramāṇa; cf. 1.1.50 sthāṇe’ ntaratamāḥ). Note that s of Śas ‘accusative plural ending’ in amūn is replaced with n (6.1.102 tasmāc chaso naḥ pumṣi).

2. Why do we have the condition of aṣeh ‘of that which does not have s at the end’? Consider adah icchati → adasyati ‘wishes to get that for himself’, which derives from adas + am + KyāC (3.1.8 suṇa ātmanaḥ kyac). This could not be a valid example since padasya ‘of that which is termed a pada’ is carried over, and adas before KyāC cannot be termed a pada. This then indicates that a replacement in mu applies even when adas is not a pada (PM: namu ca ‘padasya’ iti vartate, na cedaṃ padam; ‘naḥ kye’ iti niyamāt. evam tarhy etad eva jñāpayati: apadasyāpy adasa etan mutvam bhavatīti . . .).

A vārttiṣa proposal (vt. adaso’ nosra iti vaktavyaṃ) is made to state anosra ‘of that which does not have a, s and r at the end’. This proposal is clearly a move to expand the scope of aṣeh. For, aṣeh only has the negation of s. The vārttiṣa adds on an additional negation of o and r (Nyāsa: okāra-sakāra-rephāṇām duṇḍvaḥ, avidyamānā osro’ syeti bahuvrihiḥ). Thus, we get counter-examples: ado’ tra and adah kulam. Given adas + slU, in ado’ tra, we get deletion of slU by 7.1.23 svamor naṇpurṇaṃkāt because of a neutral (naṇpurṇa). The s of adas then goes through a replacement in rU (rūṭva). This rU is then replaced with u (rūṭva; 6.1.113 ato ror aplatād . . .). Rule 6.1.87 ad guṇah then applies on adah + atra to replace its vocalic sequence a+u with o, a guṇa corresponding with u which follows in the sequence (paravārūpa). Finally, we apply a single replacement similar to what precedes (pūrvarūpa; 6.1.108 enah padāntād ati) on the vocalic sequence o+a of ad(o+a→o)tra = ado tra to obtain ado’ tra. The adah of adah kulam is an example of negation of r, where visarga comes as a replacement for rU (rūṭva; Nyāsa: etat tu rephāṇitdhasya (prayudāḥāraṇam); rūṭve kṛte visarjaniyāḥ). Some propose a change in the wording of the rule as: aḥ ser yasya sō’ yam asih’ aśi means that in which there is a in place of s’. So that negation of o and r could both be established. That is, replacements in u (rūṭva) and m (matva) are accomplished only where s is replaced with a. Put differently, utva and matva are blocked where adas yields a form ending in o, s and r (vt. adaso’ nosra iti vaktavyaṃ). Kaśikā initiates further discussion on this topic, which I omit for fear of expatiation (praṇa). The following verse sums it up:
8.2.81 एतं इत्य बहुवचने

etaḥ bahuvacane
/etaḥ 6/1 ʾī 1/1 bahu vacane 7/1/
(adaso’ ser dāt do māh #80)
adaso dakārāḍ uttarasya ekārasya ḫārāḍeśo bhavati dakārasya ca makāro
bahu vacane = bahūnām arthānām uktau

An eT (e) after d of adas, when adas does not end in s, is replaced with ī, with an additional provision that d of adas be also replaced with m, when the signification is many (bahu vacane).

Examples:

amī ‘nominative plural masculine of adas’
amībhīḥ ‘instrumental plural . . .’
amībhyaḥ ‘dative/ablative plural . . .’
amīṣām ‘genitive plural . . .’
amīṣu ‘locative plural . . .’

1. This rule replaces an e, which occurs after d of adas, with ī. Additionally, d of adas, in plural, is also replaced with m. The word bahuvacane is not used here in its technical sense of plural. A technical interpretation will give us the meaning: ‘when an affix with the signification of plural follows’. This will block the derivation of amī where no affix with the signification of plural follows.

It is to remove such difficulties that bahuvacane ‘in the sense of many’ is used in its etymological sense of bahūnām arthānām uktiḥ ‘expression of many meanings’ (Kaśīkā: ‘bahuvacane’ ity arthanirdeśo yam. pāribhāṣikasya hi bahuvacanasya ‘āgrahaṇe amī ity atra na syāt). Refer to derivational details of amī under 1.1.12 adaso māt (II:348-49). If one interprets the following Jaś in the technical sense of plural number, amī could not be derived. For, given ada + (Jaś → Śi) = ada + i → ad (aivering = ade, there will not be any Jaś to follow. The ī (śīva) in ade + bhīs → amībhīḥ = amībhīḥ, etc., is accomplished after e-replacement (etva) of 7.3.103 bahuvacane jhaly et has applied. Why can we not get *adaiḥ from ade + bhīs by applying 7.1.9 ato bhīs ais? Because
7.1.11 nedamadasorakoḥ negates it. Furthermore, given ada + am, we need augment sUT (7.1.52 āmi sarvanāmmah . . .) before other operations are performed. That is, when we want to derive the genitive plural form amisām.

Why is i specified with i? For ease of articulation (mukhasukhamāthah). Why is e specified with e? Specifying e with the genitive eh could confuse us about i as an item to be replaced (Nyāsa: ‘eh’ ity ucyamāne ikārasyāpi sīhāntivam āsāṅkhyeta).

8.2.82 वाक्यस्य ते: पल्लित उदात्तः:

vākyasya teḥ pluta udāttah
/vākyasya 6/1 teḥ 6/1 plutaḥ 1/1 udāttaḥ 1/1/
(padasya #1.16)
adhiṅkāro’ yam. ‘vākyasya te ṭiti, ‘pluta’ iti ca, ‘udāta’ iti ca, etat trayam apy
adhikṛtam veditavyam āpādāparyādamsāptah
A vowel termed ti (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ti) of an utterance is replaced with its pluta counterpart marked with udāta.

EXAMPLE:

abhivādaye devadatto’ ham! ‘I, Devadatta, salute (you, sir!’)
bho āyuṣmān edhi devadattas ‘O, Devadatta, (grow to) be long-living’

1. Since this rule is an adhiṅkāra ‘governing rule’, its anuvṛtti must, hereafter, be carried over through all rules contained within this quarter. The ti-vowel of the last word (pada) of an utterance (vākyay) is, hereby, replaced with a pluta vowel marked with udāta. Since hrasva ‘short’, dīrgha ‘long’ and pluta ‘extra-long’ are names assigned to vowels, this replacement will also come in place of a vowel which constitutes the ti of a pada. If the ti of such words is constituted by a consonant, this rule will apply to the vowel which precedes ti. This is what Kāśikā means by tigrahaṇām vyañjanāntasyāpi teḥ acah pluto yathā syāt-agničīḍd iti ‘a specification with ti is made so that the vowel before a consonantal ti can also be replaced with pluta, as in agničīḍ’.

Note that the use of vākyasya does not cancel the anuvṛtti of padasya. If vākyasya was not used, all pada in a sentence would have their ti-vowel replaced with a pluta vowel. A specification with vākyasya restricts this replacement in pluta to the ti vowel of the last pada of a sentence (Nyāsa: antyasāyiva hi padasya yaḥ tiḥ sa vākyasya tiḥ bhavati; Kāś: vākyagrahaṇaṁ anantasya padasya plutanirṛtyartham). Why could this rule not apply to the ti-vowel of a non-final pada in an utterance? Because that is not desired (anistatvāti). Consider 8.2.83 pratyaḥbhivade’ śūdre, whereby the ti vowel of an utterance, when used in response to the salutation of a non-śūdra, is replaced with a pluta vowel marked with udāta. A specification with ti is made so that the ti-vowel of a pada ending in a consonant could also avail this pluta. Thus, consider agničīḍ iti.
Kāśīkā explains: pratyabhīvādo nāma yad abhīvādyāmāno gurur āsīsam prayunike tatrāśūdravīṣaye yad vākyam vartate tasya teḥ pluta udātto bhavati ‘the ti vowel of an utterance which is used in response to a salutation as benediction by a saluted person, outside the context of a non-śūdra, is replaced with a pluta marked with udātta’. Thus, abhīvādaye devadatto ham ‘I, Devadatta, salute you (sir!)’; bho āyusmān edhi devadattaḥ ‘O, Devadatta, be long-living’.

8.2.83 प्रत्यभिवादेः

pratyabhīvāde śūdre

/pratyabhīvāde 7/1 = aśudre 7/1 = na śudrah (nañ. tat.), tasmin/

(padasya #1.16 vākyasya teḥ plutaḥ udāttaḥ #82)

pratyabhīvādo nāma yad abhīvādyāmāno gurur āsīsam prayunike, tatrāśūdravīṣaye yad vākyam vartate tasya teḥ pluta udātto bhavati

The ti vowel of an utterance which is used in response to a salutation as benediction, in the context of a non-śūdra, is replaced with a pluta vowel marked with udātta.

Examples:

abhīvādaye devadatto ham ‘I, Devadatta, salute (you, sir!)’
bho āyusmān edhi devadattaḥ ‘O, Devadatta, be long-living’

1. Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule. It is stated that a word which denotes a name and is used at the end of a benediction, generally receives this pluta replacement for its ti vowel. The word pratyabhīvāda is explained as a benedictive response, made to a person by his elders (teacher, etc.) in response to a salutation. This rule makes an injunction against using the pluta in response made to a śūdra ‘person of a lower caste’. Thus, the pluta-replacement is limited to a benedictive response made for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vāśya. It is noted that a brāhmaṇa should be addressed in response to his salutation with, āyusmān bhava saumya ‘be long-living, O, good man!’.

Why do we state the condition of aśudre ‘in the context of a non-śūdra’? Consider abhīvādaye tuṣājako ham ‘I, Tuṣājaka, salute (you, sir!)’; bho āyusmān edhi tuṣājaka ‘O, you Tuṣājaka, be long-living’, where this replacement is not made available.

2. A vārttika (vt: striyām api pratiṣedho vaktavyah) prohibits this replacement also in the context of a woman’. Thus, abhīvādaye gārgy aham ‘I, Gārgī, salute (you, sir!)’; bho āyusmaśī bhava gārgī ‘O Gārgī, be long-living’. Why was the final long vowel of āyusmaśī not replaced with its short counterpart? It is part of the predicate, the address is indeed limited to the subject.

Some also desire this prohibition in the context of asūyā ‘fault-finding, impudence; that which may irritate the teacher, etc.’, expressed in the salutation. Thus, abhīvādaye sthāly ahām bhoh ‘I, Sthāli (carrying a cooking pot) salute you, sir!’ The response: asūyakas tvam jālma, na tvam pratyabhīvā-
8.2.84  Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Two

\[ danam arhasi, bhidyasva vṛṣala sthālin ‘you are impudent, you wretched one, you do not deserve a benedictive response; may you burst (like a pot while cooking) O, lowly untouchable, Sthālin (carrier of a cooking pot)’. Note that the person who salutes here does not use his real name. He, instead, uses the name Sthālin (perhaps to annoy the teacher). Why this name? Because he must have been carrying a cooking pot at that time. It is stated that this vārttika proposal is unnecessary. For, a salutation will deserve response only till the time asūyā does not become known. Once asūyā is known, the question of a benedictive response does not arise. However, a response denoting anger cannot be ruled out.

This replacement in pluta is desired in the word which is repeated in a benedictive response. Thus, it cannot apply to devadatta kusaly asi ‘Devadatta, you are happy!’; devadatta āyusmān edhi ‘Devadatta, long-living, grow’. A vārttika (v.t. bhūrōjanyaviśām veti vaktavyam) makes this pluta optional in cases where bhoḥ follows a proper name, or when a kṣatriya and vaisya is the recipient of benedictive responses. Thus, bho abhiṣīdaye devadatto ‘ham; āyusmāna edhi devadatta bhoḥ; āyusmānedhi devadatta bhoḥ, etc. It is said that short and long vowels are used all the time (sārvakālika). A pluta is not used all the time (asārvakālika).

8.2.84 दूराधृते च

dūrādḥ hūte ca
/ dūrāt 5/1 hūte7/1 ca φ/
(padasya #1.16 vākyasya teh pluta udātah #82)
dūrādḥ hūte yad vākyam vartate tasya teh pluto bhavati sa codātah

The ti vowel of the final pada of an utterance, when used for calling out (hūte) someone at a distance (dūrāt), is also replaced with a pluta vowel marked with udātta.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta3! ‘come here (my) boy, Devadatta’
āgaccha bho māṇavaka yajñadatta3! ‘come hear (my) boy, Yajñadatta!’
saktun pība devadatta3! ‘Devadatta, drink saktu’
palāyasva devadatta3! ‘run, Devadatta’

1. The word hūta is explained as ‘calling out’. That is, addressing someone by means of words. Thus, āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta3; āgaccha bho māṇavaka yajñadatta3! Note that the condition of dūrāt ‘from a distance’ is important. How far is far? Since ‘far’ denotes a relative notion, and also since hūtam is here used in the sense of ‘calling out by means of words’, any comparatively non-regular extra speech-effort, such as voice modulation, will enable the context to meet the condition of dūrāt (Kāś: yatra prākṛtī prayaṇād yatnavīśās aśriyamāne sābdha śriyate tad dūrām). The ‘call’ must be
heard at a distance. The use of dūrāt is thus made relative to words used for calling out. A word which can be heard from a distance must be produced with some additional efforts and, likewise, must also be heard with additional efforts.

Why do we get a pluta-replacement in devadatta3 of saktun piba devadatta3! ‘drink saktu, Devadatta!’; palāyasva devadatta3! ‘run, Devadatta!’ This does not give us any clue that Devadatta is called at a distance. The word hūta must then be looked as a pretext for address in general (Kāś: hūtagrahānmaṃ ca sambodhanamātrpalaksanarārtham draṣṭavyam). Only a person, thus addressed, is engaged in the activity of drinking, etc. (Nyāsa: sambodhito hi puruṣo pāñādau vā niyuṣyate).

Note that 1.2.33 ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau assigns ekaśruti ‘monotone’ to sentences covered by this rule. Should this pluta be included within the scope of ekaśruti? Should this be considered an option (vikalpa)? Should this be considered an exception (bādhikā) to ekaśruti? It cannot be considered an exception since they both share a general scope (sāmānyaviṣayatvāt). It is also not appropriate to consider them optional. They must apply concurrently (sahaprāpteḥ). This pluta becomes suspended (asiddha) in accomplishing ekaśruti. In a way, this rule will be an exception to ekaśruti. How? The ti-vowel of a sentence will be marked with pluta. The rest of the sentence will be marked with monotone (ekaśruti). There may even be an inclusion of pluta within ekaśruti.

This pluta is desired in a word at the end of an address sentence used for calling someone at a distance.

8.2.85 हैहेप्रयोगेन हैहयोः:

haiheprayoge haihayoh
/ hai-he-prayoge7/1 = haiś ca heś ca = haihayoh, tayoh prayoge (saś. tat. with int. dv.); haihayoh 6/2 (tār. dv.), tayoh/
(padasya #1.16 pluta udāttah #82 dūrādd hūte #84)
haiheprayoge dūrādd hūte yad vākyam vartate tasya teḥ pluto bhavati sa codāttah

A pluta marked udāttah comes in place of hai and he alone when a sentence with them is used for calling (hūte) someone from a distance (dūrāt).

Examples:

hai3 devadatta!
devadatta hai3!
he3 devadatta!
devadatta he3!

1. This rule assigns pluta to hai and he alone, when they are used in an
utterance to call someone at a distance. This specification with repetition of hai and he is made so that hai and he could be assigned-pluta even when not occurring at the end of an utterance. Thus, hai3 devadatta, devadatta hai3; he3 devadatta, devadatta he3.

Note that the earlier rule assigns-pluta, primarily to the final word of an utterance used as means for calling out. This rule is formulated for offering-pluta to words which are used as means of drawing attention.

Why was this specification of haihe made with the word-prayoge‘when used’? So that this rule does not apply where more than one hai and he are used.

8.2.86 गुरोरन्त्याये-नन्त्याये-प्राचार्

guror anrito' nantyasāpya ekaikasya prācām
/guroh 6/1 anritoḥ 6/1 = na ṛt (naṅ. tat.), tasya; anantyasā 6/1 = na anrito' nantyah (naṅ. tat.), tasya; apiḥ ekaikasya 6/1 = ekaṁ ekaṁ = ekaikam (uṣṭā, treated as a bahuvrihi by 8.1.9 ekaṁ bahuvriḥivaḥ), tasya; prācām 6/1/

(padasya #1.16 vākyasya teḥ pluta udāṭtah #82)
rkāravajitasya guror anantyasā apiśabdād antyasyāpi tṛ ekaikasya sambodhane vartamānasā pluto bhavati prācāmācāryānām matena
A non-final, non-ṛ, guru (1.4.11 sanyoge guru, 1.4 12 dīrgham ca) vowel of an address (sambodhana), used in response to the salutation of a non-sūdra, or in response to a call from a distance, is, in the opinion of eastern scholars replaced with a pluta vowel.

Examples:

āyuśmān edhi deva3datta!
āyuśmān edhi devadatta3ta!
āyuśmān edhi devadatta3!
āyuśmān edhi ya3yādatta!
āyuśmān edhi yajñadatta3ta!
āyuśmān edhi yajñadatta3!

1. This rule replaces a non-ṛ, non-final guru vowel, or even the final guru vowel of the ti of an utterance, in turn, with a pluta vowel marked with udāṭta. Of course, when the sentence in focus is either used in response to the salutation of a non-sūdra, or is used for calling out from a distance. Thus, we get three replacements, in turn, in the address (sambodhana) form devadatta: de3vadatta!, deva3datta! and devadatta3!, etc. The word api is used in this rule to also include the guru vowel of the ti of an utterance (Nyāsa: anenāpiśabdas teḥ samuccayaṃ karoti). This replacement in a pluta marked udāṭta is intended for the guru of an address, and not for any guru of the sentence. Furthermore, it is intended to be applied in turn (ekaikasya). One can thus not apply it concurrently, as *de3va3datta3!
2. The word prācām is used for showing options (vikalpārtham). We can also then get devadattal, with no phuta vowel marked with udāṭta at all. Thus, āyuṣmān edhi devadattal. Patañjali (ad 8.2.92 agnītpresane parasya ca) declares all phuta-replacement rules optional. This goes against this limited optional provision made by prācām. Making this option applicable to all rules will be contrary to rules of grammar. Violating the authority of grammatical rules needs courage (sāhasa). Those who cannot muster courage must read prācām of this rule in all rules relating to a replacement in phuta (Mbh: sarva eva phutah sāhasam anicchatā vibhāśā kartavyah).

3. Why do we state the condition of guruḥ ‘in place of a vowel termed guru’? So that a short vowel (1.4.9 hrasvaṁ laghu) may not be replaced with a phuta vowel, marked udāṭta.

Why do we say antah ‘in place of a non-r’? So that a r vowel termed guru cannot be replaced with a phuta vowel, marked with udāṭta. Consider kṛṇaṁmitral and kṛṣṇamitraś, but not *kṛṣṇamitra!

8.2.87 ओप्यविदाने

om abhyādāne

/om o abhyādāne 7/1/

(padasya #1.16 phuta udāṭtah #82)

abhyaḍānām = prārambhah, tatra ya omṣabdaḥ tasya phuta bhavati

A phuta vowel, marked with udāṭta, comes in place of a pada which is constituted by om at the beginning (abhyaḍāna) of a Vedic hymn.

Examples:

om agnimōde purohitam

1. Why do we have the condition of abhyādāne ‘at the beginning . . .’? Consider om ity etad aksaram udgātham upāśita which, because it is a statement from the Chāndogypaṇiṣad, does not have a phuta replacing the o of om. The word abhyādāne is explained as prārambhah ‘the beginning’. At the beginning of what (kasya prārambhah)? Jinnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś) answers it with svādhyaśyadeh ‘at the beginning of recitation of the Vedic hymns, etc’.

8.2.88 ये यज्ञकर्मणि

ye yajñakarmanī

/yə (deleted genitive); yajñakarmanī = yajñasya karma (śaś. tat.), tasmin/

(padasya #1.16 phuta udāṭtah #82)

'ye' ity etasya yajñakarmanī phuta bhavati

A phuta vowel, marked with udāṭta, comes in place of y when the same is used as part of a sacrificial activity (yajñakarman).

Examples:

yeś yajamāhe . . . ‘we who sacrifice . . .’
1. Consider yeṣ yajāmahe, where e of yeṣ is a pluta, marked with udāṭta. The first plural middle present form of yaj clearly indicates the ritual activity context of the usage. We can thus not get this pluta in ye yajāmahe iti pañcāksaram ‘ye yajāmahe consists of five vowels (syllables)’. This clearly is not any ritual usage. It is, instead, an usage of the svādhyāya ‘recitation, study’ type. It is stated (Prajñādevī: III:544) that yeṣ yajāmahe is added at the beginning of a hymn which is used for offering oblations to fire by ritualists of the śrauta school.

2. Kāśikā cites a desideratum (iṣṭi), whereby this pluta is desired only in the context of yeṣ yajāmahe (Kāś: ye yajāmahe ity atraivāyam pluta isyate). This pluta is not desired, for example, in ye devāsa dīvya ekādesāsthaḥ. Nyāsa notes that this rule, with the anuvṛtti of prācām from 8.3.86 guror anyo . . . , can be interpreted as vyavasthita-ubhāṣā ‘fixed option’.

8.2.89 प्रणवठः:

pranavaḥ teḥ
/pranavah 1/1 teḥ 6/1/

(padasya #1.16 vākyasya pluta udāṭtah #82 yajñakarmani #88)
yajñakarmani teḥ pranavaḥ ādeśo bhavati

The ti of the final pada of an utterance is replaced with a pranava, a pluta marked udāṭta, provided the same is used as part of a sacrificial activity.

Examples:

apām retāṃsi jinvatōṁ
devān jīgāti sumnayoṁ

1. Note that yajñakarmani is still carried over. Questions have been raised about the true significance of the word pranavah? What does it refer to (Kāś: ka esa pranavo nāma)? This word is technically not used in the grammar. It is also not well known in the usage. The word pranava is here recognized as referring to the o of om, the famous mantra. What is called pranava is the o of the om, or a vowel equal to the duration of three moras (mātra), which is brought as a replacement for the ti vowel, or the ti of a quarter verse or hymn (Kāś: pādasya vā ardhahasya vā’ ntyam akṣaram upasamgrhyā tadādyakṣaraśeṣasya sthāne trimātram okāraṁ onkāraṁ vā vidadhāti tam pranavam ity ācakṣate). Thus, apām retāṃsi jinvaṭōṁ and devān jīgāti sumnayoṁ, where the final i and u of jinvati and sumnayus are replaced with oṁ.

It is clear from these examples that ti is replaced with om, in toto (Kāś: ṭigrahaṇaṁ saruvedēṣārtham. okāraṁ saruvedēśao yathā syāt). It also shows that om cannot be brought as a replacement where the final word of a hymn ends in a consonant (Kāś: vyañjanānte mā bhūt). Finally, this all must happen in the context of a ritual activity (Kāś: ‘yajñakarmani’ ity eva).
Prajñā (III:545) notes that om comes as a replacement only in some special hymns of the śrauta rituals. It is not brought as a replacement in all hymns used in ritual activities. She further adds that om is used as a replacement in special hymns, especially when svāhā and vauṣaṭ are not used.

8.2.90 याज्ञवल्ल:  

yājyāntah  
//yājyāntah 1/1 = yājyānām antah (śaṣ. tat) //  
(padasya #1.16 vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ #82 yajñakarmanī #88 teḥ #89)  
yājyā nām ye yājyākānde paṭhyante mantrāḥ, teśāṁ antyo yaśītih sa plavate  
yajñakarmanī  
A pluta, marked with udāṭta, comes in place of the ti of a yājyā-hymn when sacrificial action is signified.

Examples:  

stomairvidhemāgnāṣi  
jihvāmagne cakrṣe havyavāhāṃ  

1. Note that yājyā refers to a hymn (rk) whose second quarter contains the name of the divinity to whom the hymn is dedicated (Sūryakānta, p. 546: mantraṇapratipādyāya devatāyā nāmadheyam yasyām rci uttarārdhe bhavati sā yājyā). Thus, jihvāmagne cakrṣe havyavāhāṃ, with agni as the divinity. Kāśikā recognizes yājyā as a group of hymns recited in the yājyākānda of the samhitā recitations. Their final ti is replaced with pluta in ritual recitation.

2. Why do we have the condition of antah ‘at the end’. Some yājyā hymns are collection of sentences. We do not need to replace the final ti of every sentence with a pluta. The word antah is used so that only the ti of the last hymn is replaced with pluta (Kāś: tatra yāvanti vākyāni teśām sarvesām teḥ plutaḥ prāṇnoti; sarvāntyasayaśyate, tadartham antagrahaṇam).

8.2.91 बृहिग्रहस्थ्रोपवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचवाचv

Examples:  

agnaye' nubṛūṣhi 'make a pledge to Agni'  
agnaye gomayān preṣya 'offer cowdung (cakes) to Agni'
8.2.92 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Two

\[ \text{asto śrauṣṭaḥ} \]
\[ \text{somasyāgne vṛihī vauṣṭaḥ} \]
\[ \text{agnim āśvaha 'invoke the presence of Agni'} \]

1. This rule replaces the initial vowel of brūhi, presya, vauṣṭa and āvaha with a pluta, marked with udātta, when the context is sacrificial activity (yajñakarmanī). Thus, agnaye' nubṛūhi, etc. Note that āvaha devāny yajamānāya 'invite gods for the sacrificer' does not get this pluta-replacement, especially since sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante 'all operations are made optional in the Vedic'. Kāśikā, while citing āvaha devāny yajamānāya as optional, uses ity evam ādau. This expression is interpreted differently by Haradatta and Jinendrabuddhi. Haradatta interprets ādau 'et cetera' as indicating other possible examples: āvaha jātavedah, savyajā yaja, etc. Jinendrabuddhi interprets this ādau as indicating 'initial position in a sentence'. Thus, ādīgrahaṇam vākyāder mā bhūd iti 'ādi is used so that it does not apply at the beginning of a sentence'.

8.2.92 अग्नित्प्रेषणे परस्य च

\[ / \text{agnitpresaṇe parasya ca/} \]
\[ \text{agnitpresaṇe 7/1 = agnīdhah presaṇam = agnītpraṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin;} \]
\[ \text{parasya 6/1 ca ċ/} \]
\[ (\text{padasya #1.16 pluta udattah #82 yajñakarmanī #88 ādeḥ #91/} \]
\[ \text{agnīdhah presaṇe ādeḥ pluta udatto bhavei tasmāt parasya ca, yajñakarmanī} \]
\[ \text{A pluta vowel, marked with udātta, comes in place of the initial vowel of} \]
\[ \text{a pada, and also in place of the vowel which follows this initial vowel of a} \]
\[ \text{pada, when a sacrificial activity signifies commissioning of a high priest.} \]

**Examples:**

\[ āōśrāsvaya! 'announce; have them hear' \]
\[ oōśrāsvaya! \]

1. Note that agnītpraṇaṇa is analyzed as agnīdhah presaṇam 'commissioning, or entrusting a ritual high priest (ṛtvij), to preside over a sacrifice'. The word agnīdh refers to a priest who kindles the ritual fire. An utterance used for calling out the agnīdh to kindle the ritual fire gets the pluta as a replacement for its initial and next to initial vowels. The word parasya is interpreted relative to ādeḥ because of contextual proximity. Thus, āōśrāsvaya! and oōśrāsvaya!

This pluta is made available only in these examples. It does not obtain, for example, in agnīdagninviha ra barhistrinīhi. Some, to make this clear, like to bring vibhāṣā from the next rule and, thereby, turn this rule into a vyavasthitavaibhāṣā 'fixed option'. Others still maintain, 'sarva eva plutaḥ sāhasam anichchatā vibhāṣā vijñeyāḥ 'all pluta, for those who do not have courage to call the rule defective, must be known as optional'.
What is happening in uddhara3 uddhara1, abhihara3 abhihara2? This indeed is an illustration of diverse application (bākulaka) of Vedic rule.

The condition of yajñakarmaṇi ‘in sacrificial activity’, though, is still valid. Thus, we do not get pluta in ośrāvaya!

8.2.93 विभाषा पूष्टप्रतिवचने हैः

vibhāṣā prṣṭaprativacane heḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 prṣṭa-prativacane 7/1 = prṣṭasya prativacanam (ākhyānam; šas. tat.), tasmin; heḥ 6/1/
(padasya #1.16 pluta udāttah #82)
prṣṭaprativacane vibhāṣa heḥ pluto bhavati

A pluta vowel, marked with udātta, optionally comes in place of the final sound segment of hi, when used in the answer sentence to a question.

Examples:

akārśiḥ kātam devadattaḥ ‘did you make the mat, Devadatta?’
akārṣam hiḥ ‘I did’
akaṃṣam hi ‘ibidem’
alāviḥ kedāram devadattaḥ ‘did you harvest the patch, Devadatta?’
alāviṣam hiḥ ‘I did’
alāviṣam hi ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers a replacement in pluta to hi when hi occurs in response to a question (prṣṭa-prativacana).

2. Why do we have the condition of prṣṭa-prativacane ‘when in response to a question’? Consider kātam karisyati hi ‘he will indeed make the mat’, where one does not know whether this utterance is used in response to a question.

Why do we state the condition of heḥ ‘in place of hi’? Consider karomi nanu ‘I do!, never’, where nanu cannot qualify for this replacement.

8.2.94 निग्रहानुशयोगे च

nigrhyā’ nuyoge ca
/nigrhya ṣ añuyoge 7/1 ca ṣ/
(padasya #1.16 vākyasya pluta udāttah #82 teh #89 vibhāṣa #93)
svamatāpṛacāyavanam = nigraham, anuyogah = tasya matsyāviśkaranam;
tatra nigrhyānuyoge yad vākyam vartate tasya teh pluto bhavati vibhāṣa

The ti-vowel of the final pada of an utterance is, optionally, replaced with udātta, when an opinion, after having been successfully refuted, is brought to light (repeated) by way of reproach.

Examples:

anityaḥ śabda ity āṭtha3 ‘word is non-eternal’, thus you claim
anityaḥ śabda ity āṭtha
adya śrāddhaḥ ity āṭthaṁ 'today is śrāddha', thus you proclaim
adya śrāddham ity āṭtha
adyāmahāvāsyety āṭthaṁ 'today is the thirteenth day of the month (amāvāsyā)', thus you declare
adyāmahāvāsyē āṭtha

1. Note that nigraha, of nigrhya, is interpreted as svamatāt pracyāvanam 'making someone accept the opposite of his own stated opinion'. The word anuyoga refers to tasya matasyāvishkaranaṁ 'bringing that refuted opinion to light'. The ī vowel of an utterance which is used in this context of nigrhya-nuyoga 'reproach by repeating a refuted opinion' is optionally replaced with a pluta-vowel marked with udātta. Consider anityaḥ śabdaḥ 'word is not eternal (nitya)', an opinion which someone successfully refuted with logical arguments. The person who refuted this opinion can now, borrowing the same expression anityaḥ śabdaḥ, proclaim: anityaḥ śabdaḥ, ity āṭthaṁ 'word is not eternal, thus you say'. Notice that this utterance is repeated for expressing reproach. We will thus get optional pluta for the ī-vowel of the sentence.

8.2.95 आप्रेहिते भर्त्सने

āmṛeditam bhartsane
/āmṛeditam 1/1 bhartsanē 7/1/
(plutaḥ udāttāḥ #82)

bhartsane dyotye ya āmṛedita plavate udāttaḥ ca bhavati
A pluta vowel marked with udātta comes in place of (the ī-vowel of) an āmṛedita when bhartsana 'threat (with reproach)' is signified.

Examples:

cauracauraś, ghātayisyāmi tvā 'thief, thief, I will have you killed'
vrṣalavrṣalaś bandhayisyāmi tvā 'vrṣala, vrṣala, I will have you tied up'
dasyodasyaś ghātayisyāmi tvā 'bandit, bandit, I will have you killed'

1. Note that the use of āmṛeditam in this context of bhartsane 'when a threat (with reproach) is denoted' implies doubling of a pada. This is accomplished in consonance with 8.1.8 vākyāder āmantritasya . . . with the signification of bhartsana. The ī-vowel of an āmṛedita is thus replaced with a pluta-vowel, marked with udātta. Recall that the teh 'of the ī-vowel' here refers to the ī of an utterance. That is, the ī-vowel of the last pada of an utterance will become the focus of this replacement. But since an āmṛedita is gotten via reduplication of initial pada of an utterance, this rule applies to the āmṛedita at the beginning of a sentence. Thus we get examples such as cauracauraś! ghātayisyāmi tvā 'thief, thief, I will kill you', dasyodasyoś bandhayisyāmi tvā 'bandit, bandit, I will tie you up', etc., optionally, with cauracaura! . . ., dasyodasyo! . . ., etc.
2. A vārttika (vt: bhartsane paryāyeni vaktavyam) proposes that this replacement should apply in turn (paryāya) to an āmredita. That is, one can also apply this replacement to the original whose iterated counterpart the āmredita is. Thus, caura3caura! . . . and dasyo3dasyo! . . ., etc.

8.2.96 अङ्गुष्ठि तिन्नाखृष्म

aṅgayuktam tīnākāṃṣam
/aṅga-yuktam 1/1 = aṅga ity anena yuktam (tr. tat.); ākāṃṣam 1/1 = ākāṃṣati iti/
(pluta udāttaḥ #82 bhartsane #95)
‘aṅga’ ity anena yuktam tiṇantaṃ ākāṃṣam bhartsane plavate
A pluta vowel, marked with udātta, comes in place of the final vowel of a verbal pada (tiṇanta) which shares an expectancy relationship with something else, and is used in association with the word aṅga where the utterance denotes bhartsana ‘threat (with reproach)’.

Examples:

aṅga kūja3! aṅga vyāhara3! idāniṃ jñāyasi jālma!
‘chatter and wander, you wretch! pretty soon you will realize (the consequences of your actions)’

1. The word ākāṃṣam is explained as ‘that which expects (ākāṃṣati)’. Obviously, the pada which ends in a tiṇ with the denotatum of action expects something to follow as a consequence. Such expectancies generally point toward a meaning which is desired to be expressed but is literally not expressed (vivakṣitārthasyāparisamāptavāt). The word aṅga, as an address word, denotes amarsa ‘anger’. It denotes friendly persuasion in cited counter-examples (PM: aṅgāsabdo marse, pratyudāharaṇe tv anunaye).

2. Why do we state the condition of tiṇ? Consider aṅga devadatta mithyā vadasi ‘yes, Devadatta you are speaking non-truth’, where aṅga devadatta is one sentence and mithyā vadasi the other. The first sentence expects the second, where expectancy is not shared by a verbal pada.

Why do we state the condition of ākāṃṣam ‘that which expects’? Consider aṅga pacal ‘yes, you cook’, where pacal does not expect any other meaning to be expressed.

Finally, the condition of bhartsane is still valid. We thus do not get a pluta in adhiṣṭva of aṅgādhiṣṭva odanam te dāṣyāmi ‘yes, you study, I will feed you rice’.

8.2.97 विचार्यमाणानाम

vicāryamāṇānām
/vicāryamāṇānām 6/3/
(vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ #83 teh #89)
pramāṇena vastuparikṣaṇam = vicāraḥ, tasya viśaye vicāryamāṇāṃ vākyānām teḥ pluta udātto bhavati
A pluta vowel marked with udātta comes in place of the ti of utterances whose denotatum constitutes the focus of objective deliberation.

Examples:

hotavyam dīksitasya grhāṣi ‘should one offer oblations at the house of the initiate’
tiṣṭhed yūpāṣi ‘should the sacrificer stay guard at the ritual post’
anuprahared yūpāṣi ‘should the sacrificer stay guard at the ritual post’

1. Note that vicāryamāṇa refers to a careful scrutiny ‘of two categories (koti) of things (vastu) and standards (pramāṇa) by which things can be judged’. The knowledge which emerges from this scrutiny forms scope of current scrutiny. Thus:

koṭidvayasya vijñānāṃ vicāra iti kathyate/
vicāryamāṇas taj jñāna viśayibhūta ucyate/
‘special knowledge of two categories, both, is called vicāra ‘thought’; a knowledge which forms focus of thought process is considered the subject of its scope’

Consider hotavyam dīksitasya grhāṣi ‘should one offer oblation at the house of the initiate (dīksita)?’ and tiṣṭhed yūpāṣi / anuprahared yūpāṣi ‘should one gaurd, or strike at, the ritual post’? These are utterances under deliberation. These examples will have their e (of grhe and yūpe) replaced with a pluta vowel marked with udātta. It is required (8.2.107 eco’ pragrhyasya ādūrād . . .) that the preceding half of an eC which goes through a replacement in pluta be replaced with a. Its succeeding part is then to be replaced with i or u. The e of grhe and yūpe is thus represented as grhāṣi and yūpāṣi, respectively. Recall that e carries a duration of two moras (mātrā). The a and i carry one mora each.

8.2.98 पूर्व मु भाषायाम

pūrvam tu bhāṣāyām
/pūrvam 1/1 tu / bhāṣāyām 7/1/
(vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ #83 teḥ #89 vicāryamāṇāṃ #97)
bhāṣāyām viśaye vicāryamāṇāṃ vākyānāṃ pūrvam eva plavate
A pluta vowel marked with udātta, in the classical usage (bhāṣāyām), comes in place of the ti of preceding among utterances whose denotatum constitutes focus of objective deliberation.

Examples:

ahir nuṣ rajjur nu ‘is this a snake, or rope’
loṣṭo nuṣ kapoto nu ‘is it a stone-piece, or a gray pigeon’
1. This rule allows a *pluta* replacement for the *ti* of an utterance which precedes others constituting the scope of objective deliberation. Note that *nu* is a particle denoting a query with doubts. It receives a replacement in *pluta* because it constitutes the end of an utterance.

2. The use of the word *bhāśāyām* ‘in the classical usage’ limits the scope of the preceding rule to usage of the Vedic (*chandas*).

8.2.99 प्रतिश्रवणे च

//pratishravana 7/1 ca φ/
(pradasya #1.16 vākyasya pluta udāttah #82 teh #89)
pratishravanaṁ = ābhuyapagamaḥ, pratijñānam; pratishravana ca yad vākyam vartate tasya teh pluto bhavati

A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udāta*, comes in place of the *ti* of an utterance which signifies *pratishravana* ‘affirmation, pledge’.

**Examples:**

*gaṁ me dehi bhoh!* ‘give me a cow, please’
*aḥam te dādāmi3* ‘I shall give you (a cow)’
*dевадатта bhoh! kim āttha3* ‘what did you say, Devadatta!’

1. The word *pratishravana* is explained as ‘affirmation of a pledge’. It means *abhyupagama* ‘approaching with grant of a favor in the affirmative’. It can also mean simply the action of being attentive to what someone may have said (*śravanaṁ prati śravanaṁ*). Our second sentence here denotes ‘a pledge, or grant of a favor’. The third sentence simply shows how attentive the listener is to the content of earlier statement.

8.2.100 अनुदत्तं प्रश्ननाताभिपुजितयो:

/anudattam praśnāntabhīpūjītaḥ/ 1/1 praśnāntabhīpūjītaḥ 6/2 = praśnasya antah (ṣaṣ. tat.);
praśnāntaś ca abhipūjitaś ca (iṣṭar. dv.), tayoḥ/
(pradasya #1.16 vākyasya pluta udāttah #82 teh #89)
anudattah pluto bhavati praśnante, abhipūjite ca

A *pluta* vowel which replaces the *ti* of the final *pada* of an utterance is marked with *anudatta* when the same occurs either at the end of a question, or in a sentence used with the signification of *abhipūjita* ‘praised’.

**Examples:**

*agamāśaḥ pūrvāŚn grāmāŚn agniḥhūtāŚi paṭāŚu* ‘O Agniḥhūta!, O Paṭu! did you go to eastern villages’
agamāḥ3 pūrvā3n grāmā3n agnibhūtāi 'you went to eastern villages Agnibhūta!'
agamāḥ3 pūrvā3n grāmā3n paṭā3u 'you went to eastern villages Paṭu!'
sobhanah khālu asi mānavahā3 'you are indeed very good kid!'

1. This rule offers anudātta-pluta as a replacement for a pluta which is marked with udātta and occurs as the ī vowel of the last pada of a question, or occurs in an utterance used with the signification of someone praised (abhipujita). Note that 8.2.105 anantasyāpi praśnākhyānayoh offers a pluta vowel marked with svarita. It is offered as a replacement for the ī of a pada, even when the same is not used at the end of a question, and also when the utterance signifies a narration (ākhyāna). This rule offers a pluta marked with anudātta, against the udātta of 8.2.84 durād hūte ca. At the strength of Pāṇini’s own statement (vacana-prāmāṇya), this rule will offer a pluta vowel marked with anudātta at the end of a question. Rule 8.2.105 anantasyāpi . . . will offer a pluta marked with svarita, elsewhere. Recall that 8.2.107 eco' pragṛhyasya . . . will still apply to replace one half of the pluta with a and the other half with i or u. Thus, we will still get agnibhūtā3i and paṭā3u.

8.2.101 चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने

cid iti copamārthe prayuśyamāne

/cit i iti ph ca ph upamārthe 7/1 = upamāya arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/
(padasya #1.16 vākyasya plutah #82 teh #89 anudāttam #100)
‘cit ity etasmin nipāte upamārthe prayuṣyamāne vākyasya ter anudāttaḥ bhavati
A pluta vowel, marked with anudātta, comes in place of the ī of the final pada of an utterance when cit is used with the signification of comparison (upamā).

Examples:

agni cid bhāyāśt ‘may he glow like fire’
rāja cid bhāyāśt ‘may he glow like a royalty’

1. This rule offers a pluta to be marked with anudātta when cit, a particle, is used with the signification of ‘comparison’. The word iti, after cit, is used to denote that prayuṣyamāna ‘one which is in use’ is a qualifier to cit. One may interpret cit, itself, as pluta used in association with some other word denoting comparison.

2. Why do we have the condition of upamārthe ‘in the sense of comparison’? Consider kathaicid ahuh, where the sense of cit is kṛccha ‘a little’.

Why do we have the condition of prayuṣyamāna ‘when used in an utterance’? Consider agnī mānavako bhāyāt ‘may the kid glow like fire’, where, with no use of cit, this rule cannot apply.
8.2.102 उपरिस्विदासीदिति च

uparisvid āśid iti ca
/uparisvid φ asit (verbal pada) iti φ ca φ/
(vākyasya plutaḥ #82 teḥ #89 anudāttah #100)
‘uparisvid āśit ity etasya ter anudāttah pluto bhavati
A pluta vowel, marked with anudātta, comes in place of the ti of uparisvid āśit.

Examples:

adhaḥ svīdāśiṣṭ ‘was darkness underneath the creator’
upari svīdāśiṣṭ ‘was darkness above the creator’

1. This rule deals with particular Vedic utterances, namely adhaḥ svīd āśit ‘was it below (him)’ and upari svīd āśit ‘was it above (him)’. These utterances contain svīd, an indeclinable, which indicates doubts about their denotata. What is debated here is whether or not the expanse of darkness at the beginning of this creation was overwhelming enough for the creator. This rule then offers a pluta vowel, marked with anudātta, as a replacement for the ti of uparisvid āśit. We can get a pluta, marked with udātta, for adhasvid āśit by 8.2.97 vicāryamānānām. Note that both utterances get their pluta vowel marked with udātta by 8.2.97 vicāryamānānām. This rule replaces the udātta of the ti of āśit, of uparisvid āśit, with anudātta.

8.2.103 स्वरितमाप्रेडितंसूयासममतिकपकुस्तनेषु

svaritam āṃreḍite sūyāsammatikopakutsanēsu
/svaritam 1/1 āṃreḍite 7/1 asūyā-sammati-kopa-kutsanēsu 7/3 (itar. dv.),
teṣu/
(plutaḥ #82 teḥ #89)
svarito pluto bhavaty āṃreḍite parataḥ asūyāyām, sammatau, kope, kutsane
cā vartamāne
A pluta vowel, marked with svarita, comes in place of the ti of a preceding pada when a pada termed āṃreḍita follows and asūyā ‘fault-finding’, sammata ‘assent, praise’, kopa ‘anger’ and kutsana ‘blame, censure’ is denoted.

Examples:

māṇavakā! māṇavaka! abhirūpakā! abhirūpaka! riktaṁ ta ābhīrūpyam ‘O kid, the beautiful, gone is all your beauty’
māṇavakā! māṇavaka! abhirūpakā! abhirūpaka! sōhanaḥ khalu asi ‘O kid, the beautiful, you still are handsome’
māṇavakā! māṇavaka! avinītakā! avinītaka! idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma! ‘O kid, you impudent, now you will know (the consequence of what you did)’
śāktikā! śāktika! yāśika! yāśika! riktā te śaktih 'O you stick-wielding! you!, gone is your power'

1. Recall that 2.3.48 sā’ manritam assigns the term āmantrita to a pada which ends in prathamā and denotes address (sambodhana). Rule 8.1.8 vākyāder āmantritasya ... recommends iteration of a sentence-initial āmantrita when asūyā 'fault-finding; jealousy', sammati 'assent, praise', kopa 'anger', kutsana 'blame, censure' and bhartsana 'reproachful threat' is denoted. Our present rule directly refers to the context of rule 8.1.8 vākyāder āmantritasya ... and assigns a pluta vowel, marked with svarita, as a replacement for the ti vowel of an āmantrita, when an āmredita follows and when asūyā, sammati, kopa and kutsana are denoted. Notice that bhartsana, the subject matter of 8.2.95 āmreditam bhartsane, is excluded from these denotational conditions. Thus, the ti vowel of the first of an iterated sequence of padas is replaced with a pluta, marked with svarita. Of course, when the utterance denotes asūyā, etc.

2. A vārttika proposal (ut: asūyādiṣu vāvacanaṃ kartavyam) makes the provision of this rule optional.

8.2.104 śiṣṭaḥpadyakahalakāṃśaṃ

ksiyāśih praiṣeṣu tiṇ ākāṅksam
/ksiyāśihpraiṣeṣu 7/3 = ksiyā ca āśih ca praiṣaṣ ca(itar. dv.), teṣu; tiṇ 1/1
(ākāṅksam 1/1)
(plutah #82 teh #89 svaritam #10')
‘ksiyā, āśih, praiṣah’ ity eteṣu ganyamāṇesu tiṇantam ākāṅksam yat tasya svaritah pluto bhavati
A pluta vowel, marked with svarita, comes in place of the ti vowel of a pada which ends in a tiN and shares dependency relation with something else, provided when ksiyā ‘unbecoming conduct’, āśih ‘benediction’ and praiṣa ‘command’ is denoted.

Examples:

svayam rathena yāti3 upādhyāyam padātin gamayati ‘himself goes by chariot, but sends his teacher on foot’
svayam odanam ha bhunktē3 upādhyāyam saktin pāyayati ‘himself eats rice, but has his teacher drink a meal of saktu’
sutam āt lapsiṣṭhī3 dhanam ca tāta ‘may you receive sons, and also wealth, son!’
chando dhyesīṣṭhām vyākaraṇam ca bhadra ‘study the Vedas, and also grammar, O good one!’
kaṭam kurū3 grāmam ca gaccha ‘make the mat, and also go to the village’
yavān luniḥī3 saktūmī ca pība ‘harvest the barley, and also drink saktu’

1. This rule offers replacement in a pluta vowel marked with svarita to the ti-vowel of a pada ending in a tiN, under the condition that the utterance
denotes kṣiyā ‘unbecoming conduct’, āśih ‘benediction’ and praśā ‘command’, and the pada ending in tiN expects something else to complete the utterance. The pada which ends in a tiN in all these utterances shares an expectancy relationship (ākāṅksa) with what follows.

2. Why the condition of ākāṅksam ‘sharing an expectancy relationship’? Consider dirgham te āyur astu ‘may you live long’; agīn vihara ‘enjoy the fire’, where the padas which end in a tiN do not expect anything else for completion of their meaning. Why is no counter-example for kṣiyā is offered? The ‘expectancy’ in that case is obligatory (nitya).

8.2.105 अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नानवयोः:

anantyasā ‘pi praśnā’khyānayoh
/anantyasya 6/1 = na antyam (nañ. tat.), tasya; api praśnākhyānayoh 7/2 = praśnaś ca ākhyānam ca = praśnākhyāne (itar. dv.), tayoḥ/
(plutaḥ #82 teḥ #89 svartim #103)
anantytasā ‘pi antyasā ‘pi padasya teḥ pluto bhavati praśne ākhyāne ca
A pluta marked with svartim comes in place, also, of the ti of a non-final pada, and of a final as well, when praśna ‘question’ and ākhyāna ‘answer’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

agamām pūrvān grāmān
agnibhūtaśi paṭāšu
agamām pūrvān grāmān grāmān bhoh

1. Note that padasya and svartim are both carried over. The word api is used in this rule to make it also apply to what may not be a final pada. This rule then offers a pluta vowel as a replacement, marked with svartim, to the ti-vowel of a final, and also a non-final, pada when praśna ‘question’ and ākhyāna ‘narration, answer’ is denoted. All padas, in an utterance, will thus have their ti-vowel replaced with a pluta, marked with svartim. Of course, under the meaning condition of praśna and ākhyāna. The final pada will have its ti-vowel marked with anudāta, of course, at the strength of express Pāñinian statement (vacanasāmarthya; 8.2.100 anudātamm praśnāntābhūpitayoh). An anudāta of this rule will then become optional (Kāś: anudāta ‘ti pakṣe bhavati).

8.2.106 प्रत्ताविच इत्यतः

plutāv aica idutau
/plutau 1/2 aicaḥ 6/1 id-utau 1/2 (itar. dv.), tau/
(plutaḥ #82)
aicah plutarpasāṅge tadavayavabhūtvā iditau plutau
When a vowel denoted by aiC (ai/au) is to be replaced with its pluta counterpart, the i and u segments of ai and au are replaced with pluta.
Examples:

aiṣṭikāyana
auṣṭapagava

1. Recall that 8.2.84 dūrād hūte ca, etc., offer pluta as a replacement. If such a replacement in pluta involves ai and au, their i and u segments will be replaced with a pluta by this rule. Obviously, ai and au are accepted as combination (samāhāra) of a+i and a+u, respectively. Each sound in the combination generally carries one mora (mātrā) as its duration. The pluta replacement of the short i and u of the combined ai and au is assigned duration of two moras by this rule. The idea of a replacement in pluta is to enhance the duration of ai and au to three moras (Kāś: tāvatī ca sā plutir bhavati, yayā tāv ecau trimātrau sampadyete). Consider aiṣṭikāyanah and auṣṭapagavadh as examples where 8.2.86 guro anṛṭo . . . offers a pluta. Our present rule will enhance that with a pluta for i and u of ai and au.

This specification of pluta in the nominative dual, as against the expected genitive, is made with a focus on action. The word pluta thus denotes its non-technical meaning of vṛddhi ‘growth, enhancement’. What was consisting of two moras grows to become three. That is, if one accepts the duration of a single mora, each, for a, i and u of the combined ai and au. If one accepts individual duration of a, i and u, in combination, as half of one mora, the pluta of ai and au will carry a duration of three and a half moras (Kāś: yadā tv ardhamātrāvarṇasayādyahyamātrā ivarṇovarṇayoḥ tadā tāv ardhatṛīyamātrau kriyete).

Patañjali accepts that a pluta of ai and au carries the duration of four moras. That is, ai and au carry a total of two moras where a, i and u carry the duration of one mora each. A pluta enhancement of ai for its i, and of au for its u, will add three moras. Thus, a pluta corresponding to ai and au will have four moras. The maximum duration of a vowel is generally accepted as three moras. This view, if accepted, will raise that to four for a pluta of ai and au.

8.2.107 एकोप्रग्रह्यसाधुरादः पुर्वस्यादार्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्धस्यादुर्द्ध
context does not relate to calling out at a distance and eC is not a vowel termed prasṛṣṭhyā.

Examples:

\[\text{agama}āh \text{ pūrva}ān \text{ grāmā}ān\]
\[\text{agnibhūtā}śi \text{ paṭā}śu\]
\[\text{bhadram karosi māṇavaka}ā \text{ agnibhūtā}śi \text{ paṭā}śu\]
\[\text{hotavyāṃ dīkṣitasya grhāśi}\]
\[\text{āyuśmān edhi agnibhūtā}śy \text{ paṭā}śu\]
\[\text{uksānāya vaśānāya somapṛṣṭhāya vedhase}\]
\[\text{stomāir vidhemāgnayāśi}\]

1. This rule focuses on replacing a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term eC, with the exception of one termed pragṛhya (1.1.11 ṣūded dvivacanam pragṛhyam). Furthermore, the context of this replacement must exclude an utterance used for calling out at a distance. The first half of a vowel denoted by eC, and meeting the twin-conditions of apragṛhya ‘non-pragṛhya’ and adūṛād āhūte ‘not calling out at a distance’ is replaced with a āluta vowel, namely ā. The second half of such eC vowels is replaced with i and u, respectively. Recall that earlier rules (8.2.83 pratyabhivāde . . . , etc.) offer replacement in a āluta vowel marked with udātta, anudātta and svarita. Our present rule offers a similar ā marked with udātta, anudātta and svarita, whatever the case may be. As far as i and u of the second half of eC concerned, they are udātta anyway. For, the udātta of 8.2.82 vākyasya teḥ pluta udāttāḥ is carried over, via anuvṛtti.

A vārttika proposal is made to enumerate the scope of application of this rule (vt: viṣayaparigananam kartavyam). Another vārttika proposal enumerates the scope as follows: praśnāntābhīṣīta-vicāryamāṇa-pratyabhivāda-yājyāntasya vākartham. Thus,

(i) praśnānte (8.2.100): agamaāh pūrvaān grāmāan agnibhūtāśi / paṭāśu; abhiṣīta: bhadram karosi māṇavakaā agnibhūtāśi / paṭāśu
(ii) vicāryamāne (8.2.97): hotavyāṃ dīkṣitasya grhāśi
(iii) pratyabhivāde (8.2.83): āyuśmān edhi agnibhūtāśi / paṭāśu
(iv) yājyānte (8.3.91): uksānāya vaśānāya somapṛṣṭhāya vedhase stomāir-vidhemāgnayāśi

This kind of replacement in ā, a āluta, should, as per specifications, be understood as marked with udātta, anudātta and svarita. The i and u, indeed, will only be marked with udātta.

Why do we resort to enumeration (parigananam kim)? Consider viṣṇubhūte viṣṇubhūte ghatayiṣyāmi tvā / āgaccha māṇavaka viṣṇubhūte, where the example sentences are covered by 8.2.95 āmṛēṣitaṃ bhartsane and 8.2.84 dūṛādā āhūte ca, respectively. If the scope of this rule was not enumerated, this rule did not have to include adūṛādā āhūte as part of its wording.
This rule should include the specification of padānta ‘at the end of a pada’. Thus, it will not apply to: bhadram karosi gauh ‘you are doing great, bull!’ Note that go will not be a pada before sU, because of negation of 1.4.17 svādiṣv asarvanāmāstānē. It ends in visarjanīya and not in au.

Why do we state the condition of apragrhyā when not a pragrhyā? Consider sōhane khalu stāh khatve3 ‘you two cots are beautiful, indeed’, where khatve at the end is a pragrhyā.

A vārttika proposal states that this modification of a pluta vowel is limited, in the Vedic, to āmantrita ‘locative singular’. Thus, agnā3i patnīva3h sajur-devena tvāstrā somam pibā.

8.2.108  तयोवर्तविच संहितायामः

tayor yvāv acī samhitāyām
/tayō 6/2 yau 1/2 = yaś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.), tāu; samhitāyām 7/1/
(pluatā #82)
tayor idutor yakāra va kārāv ādeśau bhavato' ci samhitāyām visaye
A short i and u, which has been specified as a replacement for the second half of eC in the context of plutā, is replaced with y and v, respectively, when a vowel follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:
agnāśyāśā
patāśvāśā
tagāśyindram
patāsvudakam

1. This is an adhikāra and, hence, is carried over to all rules enumerated hereafter to the end of the Āṣṭādhīyā. This rule is similar in function to 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī. Why can we not have 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī account for replacement provision of this rule. This being the domain of 8.2.1 pūrvaṭrāsiddham, i and u of this rule remain suspended (asiddha) in view of application of 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī (Kāś.: idutor asidhatvāt ‘iko yaṇ acī’ iti na prāṇoity ayam ārambhah). Even if i and u of this context of pluta were somehow accepted as siddha in view of 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī, this rule will be required for blocking a homogeneous long vowel replacement (savarṇādīrgha; 6.1.100 akaḥ savarne dīrghaḥ). It is also needed to block the retention of, and a short replacement for, a vowel denoted by iK (6.1.126 iko’ savarne ...).

But still, 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī has a vārttika proposal (vt. ikah plutaṭpūrvasya savarṇadīrghaḥ bādhanārtham yanādēso vaktavyah ‘a statement about replacement in yaN should be made for blocking homogeneous long-vowel replacement when a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK is used before a vowel marked with pluta, made against savarna-diṛgha, in the context of a pluta vowel’. This rule is not needed because 6.1.77 iko yaṇ acī, along with its
accompanying vārttika proposal, can account for provisions of this rule. But
the accentual provision of svarita, made in place of an anudāta occurring
after a yaN-replacement in place of an udātta and svarita (8.2.4 udātta-
varitayor...), cannot be accomplished because of suspension (asiddhatva)
of replacement in yaN (Kāś: yaṇādeasyāsiddhatvāt ‘udātta-svaritayor yaṇah
svarito’ nudāttasya ‘ity esā svaro na bhavati). This rule formulation is
needed for blocking the accent relative to yaN of 8.2.4 udātta-svaritayor...

The following kārikā-verse summarize the issue with focus on replacement
in yaN (6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci), dīrgha ‘long vowel replacement’, and blocking of
accent of rule 8.2.4 udātta-svaritayor...

kintu yaṇā bhavatiha na siddham
yuvār idutor yad ayaṃ vidadhāti/
tau ca mama suvaramandhiṣu siddhau
sākaladīrghavaidhi tu nivartyau/ /
ik tu yadā bhavati phutapūrvas
stasya yaṇam vidadhāty apravādam/
tena tayoś ca na sākaladīrgho
yaṇsvarābādhhanam eva tu hetuḥ/ /

2. Pāṇini offers replacements in i→y and u→v before a vowel in examples
such as agnā3 i āśā and pata3 u udakam, etc. Since this replacement in yaN
can already be accomplished by application of 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci, no purpose
can be served by 8.2.108 tayor vāv aci sanḥitāyām. It can be argued that i of
agnā3 i āśā is brought about by 8.2.107 eco' pragṛhyasya... . This rule, in turn,
is contained in the tripādi, and hence, is suspended (asiddha) in view of
application of 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci. That is, 6.1.77 does not find its scope of
application here. Yet, there is a provision made for replacement in y and v.
It is then stated that i and u, in application of vocalic sandhi (svara-sandhi)
made available by 8.2.107 eco' pragṛhyasya... , is considered siddha ‘non-sus-
pended’. But it is non-applicational in sākala and dīrgha operations. For,
īkāh phutapūrvasya dīrgho vaktavyāḥ sākaladīrghavidhiniyāntyartham offers ex-
ceptions to operational provision of yaN.

Now the question: if i and u are suspended only in the context of sākala
and dīrgha operations, why can we not accomplish yaN. The answer is: ik tu
yadā bhavati phutapūrvari ‘when iKoccurs after a phuta then provision of yaN
becomes applicable’. This yaN will then not only become an exception to
prakṛtibhāva ‘non-sandhi’ of 6.1.125 phutapragṛhyāḥ ci nityam, but will also be-
come suspended in dīrgha made available in agnā3 i indraḥ by 6.1.101 akāh
savarma dīrgah. It will also become asiddha in the prakṛtibhāva provision of
agnā3 i āśā made available by 6.1.127 iko’ savarma sākalasya hrasvaś ca. When
iK cannot be seen due to suspension, application of lengthening and
prakṛtibhāva cannot be availed. If sākala and dīrgha operations are not applied
just on the basis of suspension, what is the purpose of offering yaN as an exception. The answer is:

\[ \text{yaṃśvariḥbādhanaṁ eva tu hetuḥ} \]

A provision of yaN is made for blocking the accent of yaN. The author of the vārtiṣṭas provides yaN for an iK which occurs after a pluta. An accent which has its locus in replacement of yaN is characterized as accent of yaN. Rule 8.2.4 udāttasvarītayor yaṇah . . . offers svārita to an anudāttta which occurs after a yaN coming in place of an udāttta and svārita.

PĀDA THREE

8.3.1 मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धी छन्दसिः

matuvaśaḥ 6/2 = matus ca vaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ru 1/1 (deleted)

sambuddhau 7/1 chandasi 7/1/

(padasya #1.16 saṃhitāyām #2.108)

matvantasya vasvantasya ca padasya 'ruḥ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati sambuddhau paraśah chandasi visaye

The final sound segment of a pada (1.4.14 suptiṇiṇam padam) which, in the Vedic, ends in mat (matUP) and vas (KvaṣU) is replaced with rU when a nominal ending termed sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ) follows in close proximity (saṃhitā).

EXAMPLES:

indrā marutva īha pāhi somam 'O Marutvan Indra, protect, here, the soma'

harivo medinaṁ tvā 'O Rudra, with beautiful horses . . .'

mūḍhvaśtokāya tanayāya mṛda 'O you who is capable of . . . our offspring'

1. This rule allows a pada-final t and s, of affixes matUP and KvaṣU, to be replaced with rU in the Vedic, when a nominative singular termed sambuddhi (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ) follows in close proximity. Note here that saṃhitāyām is also carried over. Obviously, this rule qualifies for application in the context of close proximity between sounds. Refer to derivational details of harivo medinam under 8.2.15 chandasīrāḥ. The final t of harivaṭ, before a nominative singular termed sambuddhi, is replaced with rU of this rule. Given hariva(t→rU) + medinam, we get r replaced with u (6.1.113 haṣi ca). Finally, we get the vocalic sequence of a+u of hariva+u + medinam replaced with o. We thus get: hariva(a+u→o) + medinam = harivo medinam with the application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah. One can similarly derive marutvaṭ from marut + matUP, with nUM (7.1.70 ucid acām . . .), replacement in m→n (8.2.10 jhayah), deletion of sU (6.1.68 haṇīyābbhyo . . .) and deletion of the conjunct-final conso-
nant (8.2.23 samyogântasya . . .) t. The n will again be replaced with rU. Given marutvan(t→ϕ) = marutva(n→rU) + iha, rule 8.3.17 bhobhago . . . will replace r with y. This y will be deleted (8.3.19 lopah sâkalyasya) to yield marutva(y→ϕ) iha. Refer to derivational details of mîdhvan where, given mîdhvan + (sU→ϕ) tokâya, this rule replaces the final n with rU. This rU then goes through a replacement in visarga (8.3.15 kharavasânayor . . ). It is this visarga which is then replaced with s before tokâya (8.3.34 visarjaniyasya saḥ).

Why do we need a specification with matuvasaḥ ‘of that which ends in matUP and vasU’? Consider brahman stosyāmah, where brahman is used with a nominative singular ending termed sambuddhi, but it does not end in matUP, or vasU. This n of brahman cannot be replaced with rU.

Why do we have the condition of sambuddhau ‘when a nominative singular ending termed sambuddhi follows’? Consider ya eva vidvâṃ aṅgim ādhatre ‘he who is knowledgeable, he alone heaps up the ritual fire’, where vidvâṃ is not used in the nominative singular termed sambuddhi. It is a nominative singular, but is not termed sambuddhi.

Why do we have the condition of chandasi ‘in the Vedic’? Consider the classical usage, i.e., he goman and he pâpiwan, which serve as counter-examples.

2. A proposal (vt: vana upasamkhyaṇam kartavyam) is also made to include affixes vanIP and KvanIP within the reference of this rule. That is, a pada ending in these affixes must also have its final sound replaced with rU before the nominal ending termed sambuddhi. Consider ṁrāta(h→r) + (i+UK+KvanIP) = ṁrātaritvan which produces ṁrātaritva(n→r→h) = ṁrātaritvah.

3. An optional proposal of rU is also made for the final of bhavat, bhagavat and aghahvat, both in the Vedic as well as in classical languages. The ava of these words is also, concurrently, replaced with o (vt: vibhâsa bhavadbhagavadaraghvatām oc cāvasya). Thus, he bh(a)(a→o) t + sU → bho(t→rU→h) + (sU→ϕ) = he bhoh, he bhag(a→o) t + sU → bhago(t→rU→h) + (sU→ϕ) = he bhagoh and he agh(a→o) t + sU → agho(t→rU→h) + (sU→ϕ) = he aghoh. If the optional replacement in rU is not accepted, we will get he bhavan, he bhagavan and he aghavan. Pāṇini himself uses these derivates in 8.3.17 bhobhagoagho. . . . One can also accept bhos, bhagos and aghos as indeclinable particles.

Note that this rule deals with sambuddhi which, in turn, is singular. However, we do find usage in the dual and plural: bho devadattaṃyāṇadattau and bho devadattaỵāṇadattavāṃśunitrāḥ! We also find examples in the feminine: bho brāhmaṇi!

Examples also show that samhitāyām is not followed as a condition. That is, the usage under this rule does not always show two sounds in close proximity. This condition, however, is considered valid in subsequent rules, especially those where sounds in close proximity are desired. An example is: 8.3.7 naś chaury aprasāṃ. Some still argue that samhītā ‘close proximity between sounds’ is always a valid condition within a single pada. Why need a qualifi-
cation such as saṃhitāyām when there is no deviation from rule of saṃhitā within a single word.

8.3.2 अत्रानुसासिक: पूर्वस्य तु वा

atrānunāsikah pūrvasya tu vā
/atra φ anunāsikah 1/1 pūrvasya 6/1 tu φ vā φ/
(ru sambuddhau #1)
adhikāro' yam. ita uttaram yasya sthāne rur vidhiyate ‘tataḥ pūrvasya tu varṇasya vā’ nunaśiko bhavati’

A sound segment which precedes a replacement in ruU is hereafter, in this context of ruI, optionally replaced with an anunāsika, provided close proximity between sounds obtains.

Examples:

sāskartṭā ‘tyīG-derivate of sam-skṛ’
sāsskartṭā ‘with two s, optionally’
sāskarttum ‘tumUN-derivate of . . .’
sāsaskarttum ‘with two s, optionally’
sāsaskarttavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate of . . .’
sāsaskarttavyam ‘with two s, optionally’

1. This rule allows an optional replacement in anunāsika ‘nasalized’ for a sound segment which precedes a consonant replaced with ruU. This is an adhikāra ‘governing heading’ which carries (anuvartate) over to all rules up to 8.3.12 kānāṃreṇite. The nominative ending of ruḥ which is carried over from rule 8.3.1 mātuvasam ru . . ., for purposes of this rule, is interpreted as pañcamī ‘ablative’, via vibhakti-viparītiṇāma ‘transposition of nominal endings’.

   Thus, Pāṇini states 8.3.5 samāḥ suṭi whereby ruI is introduced for m of sam in sa(m→ruI) + s(UT) + kartṭa → sa(r→h→s) + s + kartṭa = sāskartṭā. Recall that sUT is introduced by 6.1.137 sampanyuephyaḥ . . . The a before s which replaces ruI is now replaced with its anunāsika counterpart. Thus, we get sāskartṭā. We can also get sāskartṭā where one s of the conjunct will be deleted (8.4.64 jharō jhari savanē). Recall that a vārttiṇa (vt: sampankānāṃ so vaktavyah; ad 8.3.5 samāḥ suṭi) also desires m of sam to be replaced with s. The a before s which replaces m will now be changed to an anunāsika. We will thus get: sāsskartṭā. If an anusvāra is accepted as a vowel (aC), rule 8.4.46 anaci ca will introduce two s sounds in place of one after the anunāsika. This will give us sāssskartṭā with three s sounds. We can thus get one, two or three s sounds, optionally, via doubling and deletion of s. If the optional anunāsika is not accepted, rule 8.3.4 anunāsikāi . . . will introduce anusvāra. This will give us: samsskartṭā. Refer also to notes under 6.1.134 suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ.

2. Why do we have to use atra ‘here’? The word atra ‘here’ is used to specify the context as: ‘here in this context of concurrent application of ru
and anunāsika' (Kāś.: atragrahaṇam runā saha sanniyogaṃpratipatītāṃ). But this same could be accomplished in view of the fact that this is an adhikāra ‘governing rule’. There is no other adhikāra where rū and anunāsika are offered concurrently. If this specification was not made, the extent to which this adhikāra carries may not become fully understood. Since this anunāsika is here introduced concurrently within the scope of rū, it may, in the absence of atra, wrongly apply beyond the scope of rū. That is, it may apply in context of rules such as 8.3.13 ḍho ḍhe lopāh, where rū does not find any scope. One may be confused about the application of anunāsika there.

The word tu ‘indeed’ is used to indicate something special about what precedes. That is, that which follows receives rū, obligatorily. That which precedes receives anunāsika, only optionally (PM: tūsabdah parasmat kāryināḥ pūrvasya viñāyotanārtham: parasya nityaṃ rutvam, pūrvasya tu vānunāsikāh).

Why do we have to use vā ‘option’? Haradatta (PM) declares it useless, especially since such an option becomes indicated by the following rule. How? It is known from the fact that, in subsequent rules (8.3.4 anunāsikā . . . ), Pāṇini teaches anusvāra after that which precedes rū, and for which no anunāsika was applied. This clearly indicates that an option not to apply anunāsika is offered.

8.3.3 आतोढि नित्यम्

āto’ ti nityam
/ātah 6/1 āti 7/1 nityam 1/1/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 anunāsikāḥ pūrvasya #2)
āti parato roh pūrvasyākārasya sthāne nityam anunāsikādevo bhavati
An ā which occurs before rū is obligatorily replaced with its anunāsika counterpart when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol aT (Śs. 1.5) follows in close proximity.

EXAMPlES:

mahā asi ‘you are great’
mahā indro ya ojasā ‘Indra who is great by valor’
deva’v acchādāvrat ‘. . . gods sported’

1. This obligatory anunāsika is offered to an ā which occurs before rū when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aT (Śs. 1.6; vowels, and h, y, v, r) follows. Consider mahān + asi, where ā is replaced with its anunāsika counterpart ā. Note that the final n of mahān is replaced with rū (8.3.9 dīrghād aśī samānapāde), to be further replaced with y (8.3.17 bhohagoagho . . . ). This y then goes through deletion (8.3.19 lopāḥ sākalyasya). This obligatory anunāsika is offered against an optional provision already made available.

Some, followers of the Taittiriya school, consider this anunāsika as an anusvāra. This can be seen as a Vedic anomaly (vyatāya; 3.1.85 vyatayo bahulam; Kāś.: kecid anusvāram adhiyate sa ca cchāndaso draṣṭavyah).
8.3.4 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Three

2. Why do we state the condition of ātah ‘in place of ā’? Consider vanaspati (n→rŪ) + anu→vanaspaṭir anu, where no ā occurs before rŪ to be replaced with an anusāsika.

Why do we state the condition of aṭi ‘when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aT follows’? Consider bhavāmś carati ‘you wander’ and bhavāmś chādayati ‘you cover (protect)’, this rule cannot apply since c and ch are not included within the denotatum of aT.

3. Haradatta thinks that the use of the word nityam does not make any sense (PM: nityagrahaṇaṁ anarthakam). For, ārambyasāmarthyād eva niyo vidhiḥ siddhaḥ ‘that this operation is obligatorily established by the formulation of this rule, itself’. A provision made against one which already exits is made for restrictive purposes. What is the restrictive purpose: only in place of ā, and only when a sound denoted by aT follows rŪ. Not in place of any other sound, not when rū is followed by any sound other than aT. Jinendrabuddhi interprets the situation differently. He says that a restrictive provision is made when there is no predicate available. We have nityo ‘nunāśikārh ‘an anusāsika, obligatorily’ as the predicate. Consequently, what we have here is an operational provision, and not any restrictive. A specification with nityam is then made here for clarity (Nyāsa: nityagrahaṇaṁ vispaṣṭārtham. pūrvenaiva vikalpe siddhe saty ārambhāsāmarthyād eva niyo ‘yam vidhir vijñāsyate . . . asati hi vidheyo niyamo bhavati. iha tu asti videhym, kim tat? nityo ‘nunāśikāh).

8.3.4 अनुनासिकात् परोद्वर्त्तकाः:

anunāṣikāt paro’ nusvārah
/anunāṣikāt 5/1 parah 1/1 anusvārah 1/1/
(saṁhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 pūrvasaṇa #2)
anunāṣikād anyo yo varṇah roḥ pūrvah, yasyānunāsiko na kṛtaḥ, tataḥ paro’ nusvārah āgamō bhavati
An anusvārah comes after that which is other than an anusāsika, and which occurs before rū, provided close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

Examples:

samśkarī
samśkarāvyaṁ
puṃskāmā ‘desirous of a male’
bhavāmś carati ‘you are wandering about’

1. Commentators advise that the word anya ‘other’ must be brought here for properly interpreting this rule. If anya is not brought here, the paṃcami ‘ablative’ of anunāṣikāt will be interpreted in relation to parah ‘following’. For, there is no other word with which this ablative can be construed. If what is specified in paṃcami should be construed with what follows (cf. 1.1.67
tasmād ity uttarasya), para ‘following’ becomes useless. So that it does not become useless, pañcamā should be interpreted in view of what is specified with paraḥ ‘following’. This will lead us to two interpretations relative to para: (i) digvṛtti ‘operation relative to signification of dīś ‘direction’ and anṛthavṛtti ‘operation relative to signification’ of anya ‘other’ (2.3.29 anyārād . . .). The first interpretation will introduce anusvāra after the anusāsika before rŪ. It will not introduce anusvāra after rŪ. The second will interpret anusvāra as something other than anusāsika. In this case, the use of para will become useless. An anusvāra does not deviate from the status of something different (anyatva) in comparison with anusāsika. It is therefore suggested that the word anya should be paraphrased in the ablative in expectation of the specification of pañcamā ‘ablative’. This is what will give us the sense of ānunāsikād anyo yo varnah roh pūrvaḥ ‘the sound segment which precedes rŪ and differs from the anusāsika’. The sound segment which will thus be different from the anusāsika may also be one which was not replaced with an anusāsika. That is why Kāśikā reads: yasyānunāsiko na kṛtah ‘that for which an anusāsika was not introduced’. Some state that anya should not be read in this rule because para means anya. Thus, ānunāsikā paraḥ will mean ānunāsikād anyah ‘other than an anusāsika’. This also makes the anusvāra an augment and not a replacement (ādeśa). We will thus get anusvāra as an augment where there is no anusāsika. What receives this augment? That which precedes rŪ.

Consider samaskṛtā, samaskṛtum and samaskṛtavyam where anusvāra is introduced before r(Ū)→s after a non-anusāsika. Refer to notes under 8.3.2 atrānunāsikāḥ . . . and 6.1.134 suṭ kāṭ pūrvaḥ for derivational details. Refer also to 8.3.5 samāḥ suṭi, 8.3.6 pumaḥ khayy ampare and 8.3.7 naṣ chavy aprāṣān.

8.3.5 समः सुटि

samāḥ suṭi

/samāḥ 6/1 suṭi 7/1/

(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1)

‘sama’ ity etasya rur bhavati suṭi parataḥ samhitāyām viṣaye

A replacement in rŪ comes in place of the final sound segment of sam when sUṭ follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

sāśkarṭā
samśkarṭā
sāśkarṭum
samśkarṭum
sāśkarṭavyam
samśkarṭavyam
1. Note that \( r\bar{U} \) replaces the final \( m \) of \( \text{sam} \) in view of rule 1.1.52 \( \text{alo' ntyasya} \). The \( r\bar{U} \)-provision of this rule is offered against the \( \text{anusvāra} \)-provision made available by 8.3.23 \( \text{mo' nusvārah} \). Refer to preceding rules for derivational details. Note, however, that \( r\bar{U} \) is replaced with \( \text{visarga} \) (8.3.15 \( \text{kharavasānyor visarjaniyāḥ} \)). This \( \text{visarga} \) is then replaced with \( s \) (8.3.34 \( \text{visarjaniyasya saḥ} \)). Now consider 8.3.36 \( \text{vā śarī} \) which offers \( h \) (\( \text{visarga} \)) as an optional replacement for \( \text{visarga} \), when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol \( \text{āR} \) (Śs. 13-14) follows. But since \( \text{vā} \) of 8.3.36 \( \text{vā śarī} \) is interpreted as a ‘fixed option’ (\( \text{vyavasthita-vibhāṣā} \)), a \( \text{visarga} \)-replacement of \( r\bar{U} \) is replaced with \( s \), obligatorily (8.3.34 \( \text{visarjaniyasya saḥ} \)). Recall that this \( s \)-replacement is optional to \( \text{visarga} \) in view of 8.3.36 \( \text{vā śarī} \).

2. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā) also accepts this rule-formulation made against the provision of \( \text{anusvāra} \) made by 8.3.23 \( \text{mo' nusvārah} \). Consider \( \text{saṃskartā}, \) etc., where, after the introduction of affixes \( τC \), etc., after verbal root \( kṛ \) used with the preverb \( \text{sam} \), we get augment \( sUT \) of 6.1.135 \( \text{saṃparyutebhyo carotau bhūsane} \). The \( m \) of \( \text{sam} \) is first replaced with \( r\bar{U} \), in view of 1.1.52 \( \text{alo' ntyasya} \). The preceding vowel is then turned into an \( \text{anuṇāsika} \) ‘nasalized’. The \( r\bar{U} \) is then replaced with \( h \) (\( \text{visarjaniyāḥ} \)). Kāśikā invokes \( \text{vyavasthita vibhāṣā} \) ‘fixed option’ and shows how this \( \text{visarjaniyā} \), when faced with its optional replacement in \( s \) under the provision of 8.3.36 \( \text{vā śarī} \), is replaced with \( s \), obligatorily.

Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā) now returns to the question of how, in this rule, a specification is made with \( s \). He explains this in view of the position whereby, after replacing \( s \) of the nominal ending with \( \text{visarga} \), one does not replace the same with \( s \). Otherwise, this specification should have been made with three \( s \)-sounds: one \( s \) of the nominal ending \( sUT \); another of the \( \text{visarga} \) replaced with \( s \); and the third of augment \( sUT \). When this rule is read with three \( s \)-sounds, the word \( \text{dvī} \) ‘two’ of Kāśikā’s \( \text{dvisakāraḥ} \) ‘rule-formulation with two \( s \)-sounds’ must be interpreted in the sense ‘more than one’. If the \( \text{visarjaniyā} \) is replaced with \( s \), we will not get the \( \text{anusvāra} \) in \( \text{saṃskartā} \), etc. As a result, the word \( \text{atra} \) is here used to indicate concurrent application with \( r\bar{U} \). The \( r\bar{U} \) which is used in the earlier rule is thus intended for purposes of relating this \( r\bar{U} \) with it, by implication. We will, otherwise, not get \( \text{anusvāra} \) in \( \text{saṃskartā} \), etc.

Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā) goes into much finer details. He mentions how this \( r\bar{U} \) is explained in the previous rule. If one applies the \( s \)-replacement here then, because of suspension (\( \text{asiddhatvā} \)) of \( s \), and absence of \( rU, 8.4.47 \) \( \text{anaci ca} \) will apply to double up the \( s \)-sound. We will thus get three \( s \)-sounds. If optional deletion of \( s \) by 8.4.65 \( \text{jharo jhari savarṇe} \) is availed, we will get two \( s \)-sounds. If not, we will get three \( s \)-sounds. When one accepts \( \text{anusvāra} \) as a replacement of \( m \) (of \( \text{sam} \)), its consonantal status (cf. \( \text{ayogavāha} \), especially with reference to the abbreviatory term \( \text{aT} \)) will cause optional deletion by 8.4.65 \( \text{jharo jhari savarṇe} \). We will thus get two \( s \)-sounds, or even one. When,
parallel to consonantal status of anusvāra, one accepts its vocalic status, we can get three s-sounds, subsequent upon that, and in view of doubling of 8.4.47 anaci ca. We thus get five forms: two s-sounds if one accepts the option of anunāsika; two, one, or even three, if one accepts the option of anusvāra. These five, in view of optional doubling of k by sarah khayah (a vārttika), will yield ten forms.

Some scholars (PM ad Kāś: samo vā lopam eke) desire optional deletion of m of sam. Here, again, we find the twin views of anusvāra and anunāsika. Since they are both offered in this context of rŪ, we may perhaps end up with one s after doubling (8.4.47 anaci ca) and optional deletion (8.4.65 jharo jhari savarne). That is, in the anunāsika view. There, too, doubling of k will yield two forms. This will bring the totality of forms to twelve. Bhāttoji Dīkṣita extends this totality of forms to one hundred and eight, which I do not discuss for fear of expatiation. All this explains why samah suṣṭi is given with one s sound. Possibilities of two or three s-sounds (dvisakāraka-trisakāraka) present possibilities of s-sounds in the context of rŪ with reference to anunāsika (8.3.2 atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā) and anusvāra (8.3.25 mō nusvāraḥ), in addition to applications of 8.4.87 anaci ca and 8.4.65 jharo jhari savarne. Frankly, this is all justifiable expatiation.

3. Why do we have the condition of samah ‘in place of (m of) sam’? Consider upaskartā where this rule does not apply because skṛ is not used after sam.

Why do we have the specification made with suṣṭi ‘when sUT follows’? So that m is not replaced with rŪ in the context where sUT is not introduced. Consider samkritya where sUT does not follow sam.

Some demand (vt: sampumkānām so vaṣṭavyah) that s should be stated to, always, replace m and n of sam (8.3.5), pum (8.3.6) and kān (8.3.12). Thus we should get sampukartā, pumsskāmā and kāmsskān. This vārttika, though, suggests that s of sam, pum and kān should be accomplished when undesired forms result subsequently after replacement in rŪ (Kāśikā: rūvidhau hy anistra-prasāṅgaḥ).

8.3.6 पुमः खययमरे

pumah khayy ampare
/pumah 6/1 khayi 7/1 ampare 7/1 = am paro yasmāt (bv.), tasmin/
(padasya #1.16 samhītāyām #2.108 ru #1)
‘pum’ ity etasya rur bhavati ampare khayi pataḥ

The final sound segment of a pada constituted by pum ‘male’ is replaced with rŪ when a sound denoted by khaY (Śs.11-13), followed by yet another sound denoted by aM, follows, and the context is close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

punskamā ‘desirous of a male’
puṃskāmā
puśputraḥ ‘he whose son is a man; diligent person’
puṃsputraḥ
puśphalām ‘fruit of manhood’
puṃsphalām
puścali ‘a whore’
puṃścali

1. This rule replaces the m of puṃ with rŪ, in close proximity with a following sound denoted by the abbreviatory term khaY (Śs. 11-12) which, in turn, is followed by a sound denoted by aM (Śs. 1-7). Note that aM, especially because of its associated listing (sāhacarya), here with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term khaY, is interpreted as an abbreviatory symbol (pratvāhāra). It does not refer to the accusative singular nominal ending am. Consider (puṃs + am + kāml + Na) → puṃskāma + TāP → puṃskāmā, paraphrased as puṃāṃsaṁ kāmayate ‘she who longs for a man’. Affix Na is here introduced after kāml by a vārttika to derive puṃskāma (śīlākāmibhikṣacārabhyo no vaktvaryah; cf. 3.2.1 karmany an). A feminine counterpart of puṃskāma, i.e., puṃskāma, is then derived with the introduction of affix TāP (4.1.4 ajāyatas tāp). This compound can also be paraphrased as a bahuvrīhi: puṃsi kāmo syāḥ ‘she whose desire is (in) a man’.

Note that this specification with puṃ is made after accomplishing deletion of conjunct-final s (8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah). It is not a new word. Given deletion of conjunct-final s by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah, the anusvāra goes back to m, in view of nimitāpye naimittikasyāpāyah ‘an effect is removed when its conditioning cause is removed’. Now consider puṃskāmā which we get from: pu(m→r(Ū)) + kāmā → pu(r(Ū)→h) + kāmā → pu(h→s) + kāmā = puṃskāmā, through application of this rule. The rŪ will then be replaced with visarga (8.3.15 kharavāsanayor visarjaniyah). This visarga will then be replaced with s (8.3.34 visarjaniyasya sah). The u of puṃskāmā will then be replaced with an anunāsīka (8.3.2 atarununāsīkaḥ pūrvasya tu vā). We will thus get puṃskāmā. If the option of anunāsīka is not accepted, we will get an anusvāra (8.3.4 anunāsikā paro nusvāraḥ) before s, thereby yielding puṃskāmā. An optional doubling of s by 8.4.46 anaci ca will produce: puṃskāmā and puṃsskāmā. Forms with nasalization will similarly be: puṃskāmā and puṃsskāmā.

We will thus get four forms for all examples. The word puścali ‘a whore’, or its anusvāra counterpart puṃścali, is interpreted as a genitive tatpurūṣa compound ending in NiP (4.1.15 tīḍhāṇaḥ . . .). Commentators derive cala (of pūṃscala + NiP) by introducing affix aC after verbal root ca‘to move’ on account of its listing as caḷAT, in the pac-ādi group (3.1.134 nandigrahi . . .). Incidentally, s of puṃ(s→s) cali is replaced with s (8.4.39 stoh ścunā ścuḥ). Affix NiP is introduced based on T as an iT (titvāt; 4.1.15 tīḍhāṇaḥ . . .).

Note that 8.3.37 kupvoḥ . . . retains a visarjaniya, optionally to a jihvāṃśitya ‘a sound produced at the root of the tongue’ and upadhānīya ‘an unpre-
sented replacement of visarga followed by first or second consonant of the p-series', depending on whether a consonant of k or p-series (kU or pU) follows. This option is, however, interpreted as vyavasthita-vibhāṣā ‘fixed option’. Consequently, rU will be first replaced with visarga (h) and then with s, obligatorily. It cannot go through the visarjanīya option of 8.3.37 kupvoḥ. . . . If the formulation of this preceding rule is accepted as made with two s sounds, i.e., saṃah ssuti, then one s will be carried over here, via anuvṛtti. This will then not allow the visarga-replacement of rU to go through options of 8.3.37 kupvoḥ. . . . Note that the anuvṛtti of rU is also carried here. But to associate this with s and visarjanīya of rule 8.3.5 saṃah ssuti will not be appropriate. For, rU must be associated only with matusaṣoḥ (8.3.1 matusaṣa ru samuddhau chandasi). It cannot be associated with something else (Kāś: rutvaṃ tu anuvartamānam api nārābhishambadyate. sambandhānuvṛtti tasyeti).

2. Why do we state the condition of khayi ‘when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term khaY follows’? Consider pumādāśaḥ ‘man servant’ and pumagava ‘bull, best cow’ where d and gare not included within the denotatum of khaY. This rule can thus not apply.

Why do we state the condition of ampare ‘when am follows’? Consider puṃkṣirāḥ ‘man’s milk’ and puṃksurāḥ ‘man’s razor’ where k occurs followed by s, a sound not included within the denotatum of am.

Why should we simply not state khyayami ‘khaY followed by aM’? Why use an extra pare ‘followed by’? One may understand quite the opposite: ‘when khaY with a preceding, or following aM, follows’. This will lead to wrong applications in pumākhyāḥ ‘male name’ and pumācārāḥ ‘man’s conduct’ (Nyāsa: asati paragrahane ami khayi para iti vijnāyeta, tataḥ ca ‘pumākhyāḥ’, ‘pumācārāḥ’ ity atrāpi syāt). Haradatta states that, without pare, this rule will be interpreted as ‘. . . when aM followed by khaY follows’. That is, we will get paraphrases as: pumah khayi ami or pumah ami khayi. It will limit the application of this rule to pumākhyāḥ and pumācārāḥ (PM. . . . khayi parato yo’ m tatrey api vijnāyeta, tataḥ ca pumākhaḥ pumācārāḥ ity atrāva syāt). The wording of Haradatta’s statement is problematic.

8.3.7 नस्त्वयप्रशान्त

naś chavy apraśān
/nah 6/1 chavi 7/1 apraśān 1/1 (nañ. tat.; nominative used with the signification of saśthi/)
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 ampare #6)
nakārāntasya padasya praśānvarjītasya rur bhavati ampare chavi parataḥ
A pada-final n, except for n of praśān ‘extreme tranquility’, is replaced with rU when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term chaV (Śs. 11), followed by another denoted by aM, follows, and the context is close proximity between sounds.
Examples:

bhavās chādayati ‘you are covering’
bhavāṃś chādayati
bhavās cinoti ‘you are heaping’
bhavāṃś cinoti
bhavās ṭikate ‘you are moving’
bhavāṃś ṭikate
bhavās tarati ‘you are floating’
bhavāṃś tarati

1. This rule replaces a pada-final n with rU when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term chaV (Śs. 11), followed by another sound denoted by aM, follows. Consider bhavās chādayati / bhavāṃś chādayati; bhavās cinoti / bhavāṃś cinoti; bhavās ṭikate / bhavāṃś ṭikate, and bhavās tarati / bhavāṃś tarati. Note that n of bhavān ‘nominative singular of pronominal you (bhavān)’ is replaced with rU which, in turn, is replaced with h. The h is then replaced with s. This s will then be subject to a corresponding replacement in a retroflex (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh), or palatal (8.4.40 stōḥ ṛṣunā ṛṣuh). One can get a set of four forms each if s also goes through doubling in the two sets distinguished by anunāśika and anusvāra. Refer to notes under 8.3.2 atrāṇunāśikāḥ . . . , etc., for relevant details.

2. Note that rU is carried over, though its association with matuvasoḥ is canceled. The word na denotes the sound segment n which, in turn, becomes a qualifier to padasya. This relationship activates tadantavidhi, ‘treating n as denoting what ends in n’. The word apraśān is a nominative, used with the signification of the genitive (ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā).

3. Why do we have the condition of chavi ‘when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term chaV follows? Consider bhavān karoti ‘you are doing’ where k is not included within the denotatum of chaV.

Why do we state apraśān ‘not in place of the final n of praśān’? Consider praśān chādayati and praśān cinoti.

The condition of ampare is still valid. Consider bhavān tsarukāḥ ‘you are skilled’ where t, a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term chaV, follows n. But this t is followed by s which falls outside the denotation of aM.

8.3.8 उभयायस्मृः

ubhayatharkṣu

/ubhayathā ṛksu 7/3/

(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 ampare #6 naś chavi #7)
nakārāṅtasya padasya chavi parataḥ ampare ubhayathā ṛksu bhavati rur vā
nakāro vā

The final n of a pada, in a quarter of hymns (ṛksu), is replaced with rU; when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term chaV, followed by an-
other denoted by \( aM \), follows, and close proximity between sounds obtains.

**Examples:**

tasmīs tvā dadhāti
tasmīms tvā dadhāti
tasmin tvā dadhāti

1. The \( r\U \)-replacement for \( n \) which was made obligatorily available by the preceding rule is here made optional. Thus, a *pada*-final \( n \) which is part of the quarter of a Vedic hymn is replaced with \( r\U \), only optionally. That is, either \( r\U \) or \( n \). Prajñādevī (III:559) quotes Jaimini and notes that \( r\k \) does not simply refer to hymns of the *Rgveda*. It refers, instead, to an arrangement of hymns in quarters, especially in view of comprehending their meanings (yatārthārthavaśena pādāryavasthāḥ sā \( r\k \)).

2. Why state \( \k\kṣu \) ‘in the hymns’? Consider tās tvān khāda sukhāditavān where this option is not allowed.

8.3.9 दीर्घादि समानपादे

\[ \text{dīrghād aṭi samānapāde} \]
\[ /dīrghāt 5/1 aṭi 7/1 samānapāde 7/1 = \text{samānaś cāsau pādaś ca (karm.} \]
\[ \text{tat.), tasmin/} \]
\[ (\text{padasya} \#1.16 \text{samāhitāyām} \#2.108 \text{ru} \#1 \text{nah} \#7 \text{r̥ksu} \#8) \]
\[ \text{dīrghād uttarasya padāntasya nakārāntasya rur bhavati aṭi paratas tau cen} \]
\[ \text{nimittanimittinau samānapade bhavataḥ r̥ksu} \]

A replacement in \( r\U \) comes in place of a *pada*-final \( n \), used after a long vowel (dīrgha) in the quarter of a hymn, when \( aT \) follows and close proximity between sounds obtains, provided the nimitta ‘cause, condition’ and nimittin ‘affected element’ are both contained within the same pāda ‘quarter’.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{parīdhī rati} \]
\[ \text{devā acchādīvyaḥ} \]
\[ \text{mahā indro ya ojasā} \]

1. Note that \( n \) and \( r̥ksu \) are both carried over. The word samāna is used as a synonym of eka ‘one, same’ (PM: ekaparyāyaḥ samānasabdaḥ . . .). The compound samānapāda, itself, is explained as a karmadhāraya used in the locative: samāne ekasmin pāde nimittanimittinor ādhārabhūte when nimitta ‘condition, cause’ and nimittin ‘affected element’ both find their locus in a single hymn-quarter. Thus, a *pada*-final \( n \) which occurs after a long vowel is replaced with \( r\U \) when a sound denoted by \( aT \) (Śs. 1-5) follows. Commentators further explain that \( aT \), which conditions this replacement (nimitta), must occur in
close proximity of n, the sound which goes through replacement (nimmittin),
within the same hymn-quarter (Kāś: . . . tau cen nimittanimittinau samānapāde
bhavatah). Consider paridhiṁ rati → paridhī rati, etc., where the cause (nimitta)
and effect (nimmittin) of this replacement, both, must occur within the same
quarter of the hymn.

2. Why do we state the condition of dīrghāt ‘after a long vowel’? Consider
ahann ahim, where n is followed by aT but does not occur after a long vowel.

Why do we state the condition of aṭi ‘when aT follows’? Consider ibhyān
kṣattrīyān, where n occurs after a long vowel but is not followed by a sound
denoted by aT.

Why do we state the condition of samānapāde ‘in the same hymn-quar-
ter’? Consider yātudhānān upasṛśah, where n and the following u, a sound
denoted by aT, occur in different quarters of the hymn.

3. The word ubhayathā ‘either way’ also remains carried (Kāś: ubhayathā
ity eva) over. This rule is again optional. We thus find ādityān havāmahē,
where n is optionally not replaced with rU.

8.3.10 रूप०

nṛn pe

/nṛn 6/1 (deleted) pe 7/1/

(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 nah #7)

‘nṛn’ ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati paśabde paratah

The final n of nṛn is replaced with rU when pA follows in close proximity
of sounds.

Examples:

nṛḥ pāhi
nṛṅh pāhi
nṛḥ prīṇhi
nṛṅh prīṇhi

1. Note that nṛn has been specified here with its genitive deleted by 7.1.39
supāṃ suluk. . . Haradatta states that nṛn is specified with a nominative
used with the signification of a genitive (nṛn iti sāṣṭhyarthe prathamā).
Jinendrabuddhi states that this specification is made without any nominal
ending (Nyāsa: vibhaktir evātra nopapadyate). The a of pa is simply used for
ease of articulation (uccāranārthah). What is intended here is the condition
of p (PM: pakāramātraṇ nimittam).

Here again we find four examples for each derivate. That is, two distin-
guished by anusvāra and anunāsika; and two distinguished by visarjaniya (h;
8.3.15 kharavāsaṇayor visarjaniyā) and upadhmāṇiya (×8.3.37 kūpvoḥ . . .).
Recall that the rU-replacement of this n is replaced with visarjaniya. Furthermore,
it is either retained as a visarjaniya, or is optionally replaced with an
upadhmāṇiya, before p.
2. Why state *pe* 'when *pA* follows'? Consider *nën bhojavati* 'feeds men', where this replacement is not allowed since *n* is followed by *bh*.

Some also carry *ubhayathā* 'either way' to this rule so that they can also account for *nën pāhi* 'protect *yen!*' (Kāś: *ubhayathety api kecid anuvartayanti*).

8.3.11 स्वतवान् पायो

**svatavān pāyau**

/ *svatavān 1/1 pāyau 7/1/

(padaśya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 nah #7)

'svatavān' ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati pāyuṣabde parataḥ

The *n* of *svatavān* 'protector' is also replaced with *rU* when *pāyau* follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

**Examples:**

*svatavā pāyur agne* 'powerful protector, O Agni!'

1. This rule replaces the *n* of *svatavān* with *rU*. Refer to derivational details under 7.1.83 *dṛksvasas*. . . . Examples of *svatavān* with *anusvaśra* and *upādhamāniya* are hard to find.

8.3.12 कान्म्रेडिते

**kānāmreṇite**

/ *kān 6/1 (deleted) āmreṇite 7/1/

(padaśya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 ru #1 nah #7)

'kān' ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati āmreṇite partataḥ

The *n* of *kān* is replaced with *rU* when an *āmreṇita* 'repeated utterance' follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

**Examples:**

*kāṃskān āmantrapayate*

*kāskān bhojavati*

1. This rule replaces the *n* of *kān* with *rU* when an *āmreṇita* 'a repeated word' follows. Note that *kān* is an accusative plural form of *kim*. Given *kim* + (*Ś*) *as*, 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kah* replaces *kim* with *ka*. The vocalic sequence of *ka + as* is then replaced with a single long similar to the preceding (6.1.102 *prathamayoh pūrvasavarnah*). This gives us *k(a+a→ā)s* → *kās*. The *s* is then replaced with *n* of 6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso*. . . . The resultant *kā(s→n) → kān* then goes through iteration in the sense of viṃsā (8.1.4 *nitiyavīpśayoh*). This gives us *kān + kān* where this rule replaces the *n* of the first *kān* with *rU*. A replacement in *visarjaniya* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor . . .*), followed by *s* (8.3.54 *visarjaniyasya sah*), gives us *kā(n→rU→h→s) + kān → kāskān*. One gets *k(ā→ā)s kān → kāskān* if the option of *anusvāra* (8.3.2 *atrānunāsikasya . . .*) is accepted. If not, we will get an *anusvāra* which yields *kāṃskān*. 
2. Recall that the second kā is āmredita. What if it is not? The second kān could be interpreted as used for contempt (2.1.64 kim ksepe). We can thus get kān kān paśyati ‘what despicable ones you see’. It is stated that kāmskān is listed in the kaskādi group of nominals (8.3.48 kaskādisu ca). Consequently, the s which results from rU→h is replaced with s. That is, it cannot be replaced with the jihvāmūḍya of 8.3.37 kuvāh. . . . Why can we not carry s from 8.3.5 samah suti and thus get s. Carrying s from 8.3.5 samah suti will create problems. Since that s has its own contextual relation, and also since it is carried over to subsequent rules, we will get s in all preceding rules.

3. Why do we have the condition of āmredite ‘when an āmredita follows’? Consider kān kān of kān kān paśyati, where the second kān denotes ‘censure’. Consequently, this rule cannot apply.

8.3.13 दो दे लोप:

\[ \text{āho dhē lopah} \]
\[ /āḥaḥ 6/1 dhē 7/1 lopah 1/1/ \]
\[ (saṃhitāyān #2.108) \]
\[ dhakārasya dhakāre lopah bhavati \]

A deletion by LOPA comes in place of a dh when dh follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

**Examples:**

- ādham ‘licked’
- upagudham ‘embraced’

1. This rule allows deletion of dh when what follows is also a dh. The locative form dhē is used here to specify the dh sound (varṇa) as forming the right condition (nimitta) of deletion. That is, dhā of dhē does not denote a sequence of dh and a sounds (varṇa-samudāya). The a of dhā is used for ease of articulation (uccāraṇārthah). The specified sound is simply a consonantal dh as is clear from the first word of the rule, i.e., genitive singular dhāh. Why did he not use dhāgain in the second word? That is, he should have specified dh in the locative singular dhī. Afterall, he specified dh without a in 8.2.31 ho dhāh. This is the beauty of Panini’s stylistic variation (rucaṇām vaicitriyāt . . .).

Consider lih + (K) ta → li(h→dh) + ta, where h is changed to dh by 8.2.31 ho dhāh. The t of ta is also replaced: first with dh (8.2.40 jhasastathor . . .) and then with dh (8.4.41 śutnā śutā). We thus get li(h→dh) + (t→dh→dh) → liḍh + dhā. Our present rule then deletes dh before dh to yield liḍh + (dh→ā) a → liḍh + a. Rule 6.3.111 dhralope piirvasya . . . then replaces the i of liḍh with its long counterpart. We thus get l(i→i) dh + a → liḍha. We can similarly derive guhū + Kia → guḍha and mih + Kia → mīḍha. Note here that these forms can be derived even if one accepts dh of this rule as a group of sounds, i.e., dhā. But we will run into difficulty in deriving forms such as lih + Ktvā → liḍh +
dhvā → l(ḍh→ϕ) + dhvā → l(i→i) + dhvā = ṭ̄dhvā and mīdhvā. For, these derivates have their dh deleted under the condition of ḍha, and not ḍh. We will end up with wrong forms *ṭ̄dhavā and *mīdhavā.

How could we meet the condition of a following dh for deletion of this preceding when the dh-replacement of ḍh (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ) will be suspended (asiddha; 8.2.1 pūrvatāsiddham)? It will be impossible (asambhava) to apply this deletion if dh-replacement of dh is accepted as asiddha. Pāṇini’s formulation of this rule will become useless for lack of applicational scope (niravakāśatvā). It is therefore suggested that the dh-replacement of dh (ṣṭutva) will be treated as siddha, based upon the use of ḍhe as a condition (Nyāsa: tasmād ḍhakārasya nimittatvenāśrayanād eva ṣṭutvasya siddhatvam veditavyam; anyathā hy asya vacanasasya vaiyarthyaṁ syāt, anavakāśatvā).

Now consider śvalī + ḍhaukate → śvali(ḥ→dh) + ḍhaukate → śvali(ḍh→ḍ) + ḍhaukate → śvaliḍ ḍhaukate, where ḍh (8.2.31 ho ḍhāḥ) of śvali(ḥ→dh) = śvaliḍḥ is replaced with its counterpart ġ (jaśṭva; 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśo’nte). Why can our present rule not delete ḍh? Why does it have to be replaced with ġ? Since this replacement in ġ is internally conditioned (antarāṅga) within a single pada, and also since it cannot be considered asiddha ‘suspended’ on account of being placed prior to this dh-deletion, replacement in ġ must apply before dh-deletion of this rule. The question of dh-deletion does not arise once ḍh is replaced with ġ. Commentators recognize two sets of sounds which may be involved in a close proximity (ānantarya) situation of sounds:

(i) śastraṅkṛta: where ḍh of śvaliḍḥ is a replacement of ḍh. Consequently, it is treated as rule-derived (śastraṅkṛta).

(ii) śrutikṛta: where dh of ḍhaukate, for example of śvali(ḥ→dh) ḍhaukate = śvaliḍḥ ḍhaukate, is not derived by any rule application (śrutikṛta).

Appearance of these two sets of sounds in close proximity (ānantarya) can define two types of close proximities: śastraṅkṛta-ānantarya ‘rule-derived’ and śrutikṛta-ānantarya ‘originally heard’. The close proximity which we find between the two ḍh sounds of liḍḥ + ḍha → ʃḍha is recognized as śastraṅkṛta. Elsewhere, for example in śvaliḍḥ ḍhaukate, it will be śrutikṛta. There will be no proximity of either kind when ġ replaces dh in śvali(ḍh→ḍ) + ḍhaukate = śvaliḍ ḍhaukate.

This dh-deletion requires close proximity caused by application of a rule. Consequently, a dh which results out of a rule application is treated as siddha.

8.3.14 रो रि

ro ri
/rāḥ 6/1 ri 7/1/
(sāṃhitāyaṁ #2.108 lopāḥ #13)
rephasya rephe parato lopo bhavati
Deletion by LOPA replaces r when r follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

**Examples:**

niraktam
duraktam
agni rathah
indu rathah
punah raktam vaisah
prataha rajakrayah
ajargahah
apaspah

1. Recall that the anuvrtti of 8.1.16 padasya is still valid. Since the genitive of padasya is used here as a qualifier (visevana) to r, deletion by lopa can also apply to r at the end of a pada. If this genitive is interpreted as a qualifier denoting avayava 'part of a whole', it can apply to any r in a pada. If it is interpreted as sthana-sasthi 'in place of', deletion of r will be possible only at the end of a pada, especially in view of 1.1.52 alo nityasya. Refer to notes under 8.1.16 padasya and 8.1.17 padat. Remember, however, that we do not find r at the end of a pada. The question of its deletion at the end of a pada, thus, does not arise.

2. What does this r of rah refer to? Is this the r of rU, or r in general (repha-samanya). This question arises since rU with U as an it is offered by the context. Furthermore, (PS 82): nirunubandhakagrahane na sanunubandhakasya demands that a specification made without the use of an it cannot refer to something specified with an it. This paribhasa will thus rule out any reference to rU. For, rah specifies r with no it. This rule may be able to apply in (nir-raji + Kta) + sU → (ni(r→φ)) + rakta → n(i→i) + rakta = nirakta + sU → niraktam and (dur-rakta) + sU → duraktam. It will, however, run into problem in deriving agnir + ratha → agni ratha and indur + ratha = indu ratha where r of agnir and indur comes from rU (8.2.66 sasajuṣo ruh). No problem. This said paribhasa does not apply where specifications are made with sounds (PM: naisa dosah, varnagrahanesu naisa paribhasa pravarttate).

Refer to derivational details of examples under rule 6.3.110 dhralope purvasya. . . . Refer to derivational details of ajargahah under 8.2.37 ekaco bāso bhas. . . .

Now consider apaspah, a second person singular active derivate of LAN. Affix LAN is here introduced after pāsparddh, a derivate of yan introduced with subsequent deletion after sparddh 'to compete'. Thus, sparddh + yan → pas + parddh + (yan → φ) → p(a→ā) + sparddh = pāsparddh + yan, where yan is introduced with the denotation of kriyāsamabhīhāra 'intensive action' (3.1.22 dhator ekaco . . . ). Doubling and operations relative to abhyasa then follow. We get (s→φ) pa + sparddh + yan → pa + sparddh + yan with application of 7.4.61
śarpūrvah khayah. The a of pa is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.83
dīrgha' kitaḥ. The yaN itself is deleted by 2.4.74 yanO' ci ca. Affixes LAÑ, siP
and saP are then introduced after pāspardh. An introduction of augment aT
and deletion of both ŠaP (Gaṇasūtra: carhariṇa ca, under 7.4.53 yīvarnayor . . . )
and siP (6.1.68 halihābbhya . . . ) then produces apāspardh. Rule 8.2.39 jhalām
jaśo'nte applies to replace dh with d (jaśtva). The d is then replaced with rU
(8.2.75 daś ca). Our present rule then causes deletion of r before rU. We
thus get apāspar(dh→d→rU) = apāspa + r(U). The a of apāsp(a→ā) + r is
replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.110 dhralope pūrvasya . . . ). An appli-
cation of 8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjanīyah then produces apaspā(r→h) =
apāspāh.

8.3.15 खरवसानयोविरसर्जनीयः:

kharavasānayor visarjanīyah
/kharavasānayoh 6/2 = khar ca avasānām ca = kharavasāne (itar. dv.),
tayoh; visarjanīyah 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 rah #14)
rephāntasya padasya khari parato' vasāne ca visarjanīyādeśo bhavati
A replacement in visarjanīya (h) comes in place of the final sound
segment of a pada which ends in r, provided a sound denoted by khar,
or termination (of speech; avasāna), itself, follows and the context is
that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

vrksas chādayati
plakṣas chādayati
vrksas tarati
plakṣas tarati
vrksah
plakṣah

1. Note that paasasya is still carried over. Its genitive, however, is inter-
preted as sthānasaṣṭhi 'in place of'. For, if it is interpreted as 'part of a whole'
(avayava) qualifier to r, the r of arkah, etc., will also be replaced with h. An
'in place of' interpretation with padam qualified with r will, via taddantavidhi,
yield the meaning: repḥāntasya padasya 'of a pada ending in r'. Rule 1.1.52
alo' ntyasa will then facilitate the word-final r to be replaced with h. The
locative of khari meaning 'when kharR follows' cannot be associated with
avasāna 'pause, termination of speech'. For, virāma is explained as virāṭīḥ
'termination (of speech)'. Nothing can follow an avasāna. What is the
meaning of saptami of avasāne? Commentators explain that this single saptami
of kharavasānayoh is split into two interpretations: it denotes a right condition,
'when x follows', in khari; it denotes scope (visaya) in avasāne (PM: 'kharava-
sānayoh' ity ekāpi saaptami visyabhedād bhidyate-khari parasaptami, avasāne visayasaptami). Some believe in the parasaptamī interpretation (right condition) of both. They claim that paurvāparya 'sequential order', in avasāna, can be mentally created (buddhiviracitam).

2. This rule replaces r with h at the end of a pada, or before a sound denoted by khaR (Ss. 11-13). Thus, vrksa(s→h) + chādayati → vrksa(h→s) + chādayati → vrksa(s→s) + chādayati → vrksas chādayati, where h is further replaced with s (8.3.34 visarjanīyasya saḥ). This resultant s then goes through a replacement in ś (8.4.40 stoh ścunā śuḥ). Examples such as vrksa + (s→rU→h) = vrksah and plaksah illustrate h at the end of a pada.

3. Why do we not get h for the r before khaR in (mrkuṭi + Ni + bhava + sU) + aN = mrktutām bhavah = nārktah and (mṛpati + ṇas + apatya + sU) + ṇya → mṛpater apatym = nārpatah? We do not get a replacement in h since vrddhi of r which serves as locus for bringing about r is externally conditioned by the taddhita affix denoting the sense of bhava, etc. This r, since it is dependent upon rule-application of vrddhi, also thus becomes bahirāṅga. A replacement in visarjanīya is internally conditioned since it is only dependent upon the condition of khaR. Thus, in view of (PŚ 51): asiddham bahirāṅgam antaraṅge, r becomes asiddha 'suspended'. We thus, in the absence of r, do not get a replacement in visarjanīya.

4. Why do we state the condition of kharavasaṇayoh 'when r is followed by khaR, or occurs at avasāna'? Consider agnir nayati and vāyur nayati where n of nayati is not included within the denotata of khaR.

8.3.16 रो: सुषि

roh supi
/roh 6/1 supi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raḥ #14 visarjanīyah #15)
'ru' ity etasya rephasya supi parato visarjanīyādeśo bhavati

The r of a replacement in ru is replaced with visarjanīya when the locative plural nominal ending suP follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

payahsu
sarpiḥsu
yasahsu

1. This rule replaces a ru with visarga when suP follows. Note that suP refers here to the locative plural nominal ending. It is not the abbreviatory term sUP which denotes all nominal endings (4.1.2 svayjasmauṭ . . .). We understand this in view of the anuvṛtti of kharī. Why formulate this rule when the preceding can account for this visarga-replacement of r? A provision
which is made against one which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (siddhe saty ārambhō niyamārthāḥ). What is the restrictive purpose here? This replacement in visarga applies only to the r of rU, and not to any other r. Consider gir + su → girṣu and dhūṛṣu, where r is not the r of rU. A visarga as a replacement for this r is thus blocked. Recall that, in paya(s→rU→ṛ) + su = payaḥṣu, sarpiḥṣu and yasahṣu, the s is replaced with rU of 8.2.66 sasajūṣo ṛuḥ.

8.3.17 भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योजिते

bhobhagoaghōapūrvasya yo' śi
/bhobhagoaghōapūrvasya 6/1 = bhoś ca bhagōś ca aghōś ca aś ca = bhobhagoaghōāḥ (itar. dv.); bhobhagoaghōāḥ pūrvā yasya (bv. with int. itar. dv.), tasya; yah 1/1 aśi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 ṛah #14 ṛoh #16)
‘bhor, bhagor, aghor’ ity evam pūrvasya avarṇapūrvasya ca ro rephasya yakārādeśo bhavati aśi parataḥ
The r of rU which occurs after bho, bhago, agho and a is replaced with y when a sound denoted by aŚ follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

bho atra
bhago atra
agho atra
bho dadāti
bhago dadāti
agho dadāti
ka aśte
kay aśte
brāhmaṇā dadati
puruṣā dadati

1. This rule replaces the r of rU with y when rU occurs after bho, bhago, agho and a, provided a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aŚ (Ś. 1-10) follows. Consider bho(s→rU) + atra → bhor(U) + atra → bho(r→γ) + atra = bho(y→ϕ) + atra → bho atra, where this replacement in y is obligatorily (nitya) deleted by 8.3.20 oto gārgyasya. Note that gārgyasya in this deletion rule is used for respect (pūjā). A similar obligatory deletion of this y before a consonant is accomplished by 8.3.22 halī sarveśām. Thus, we get bhago(rU→y→ϕ) + dadāti → bhago dadāti, etc. Now consider (kim→ka) + sU → ka(s→rU→y) + āste → kay + āste, where y occurs after a and ā, and a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aŚ follows. Note that a also includes ā in its reference. Here again 8.3.22 halī sarveśām deletes y. Similar deletion occurs in brāhmaṇa + (j) as + dadati → brāhmaṇa + a(s→rU→y) + dadati → brāhmaṇa(a+a→ā)y +
dadati → brāhmaṇā dadati. Incidentally, bhos, bhagos and aghos can either be accepted as indeclinable particles, or they can be derived at the strength of a vārttika proposal (cf. under 8.3.1 matuvaso ruḥ . . .).

2. Why do we have this specification made with bhobhagoagh? Consider agnir atra and vāyur atra, where, in the absence of bho, bhago and agho, we do not get a replacement in y.

3. Why do we state the condition of aśi ‘when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term aŚ follows’? Consider vrksa + s(U) → vrksas and plaksa + s(U) → plaksas, where s is replaced with rU. This rU cannot be replaced with y since a sound denoted by aŚ does not follow. This rU occurs finally before pause. Consequently, 8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjanīyāḥ replaces r with visarga.

Questions have been raised against using aŚ as a condition. This condition does not make any sense, especially when it is made against khaR (8.3.15 kharavasānayor . . .). There is no way rU cannot be replaced with visarga. The y of this rule cannot be considered asiddha ‘suspended’ in view of replacing rU with h, via sthānivadbhāva. For, 8.3.2 atrānunāsikāḥ pūrvasya tu vā makes its specification without replacing visarga with y. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (jñāpaka) ‘a replacement in visarga made under the condition of khaR is not replaced with y’ (Nyāsa: visarjanīyasā khar yakāro na bhavati). This replacement of a visarga in y cannot even be accomplished at pause (avasāna). For, this being the domain of samhitā. Besides, there is no question of sthānivadbhāva in operations concerning sounds (PM: taśmād alvidhitvād api nāsti sthānivadbhāvah). This specification with aśi is meaningless. It is stated that aśi is then specified for subsequent rules (uttarānām). Consider 8.3.22 hali sarvesām where aśi is needed to qualify hali. That is, y (or v) will be deleted only before a consonant included within the denotatum of aŚ. This saves v of vrksav karoti from deletion. For, k is not included within consonants denoted by the abbreviatory term aŚ. Incidentally, vrksav derives from vrksam vṛscati = vrksa + am + vlC → vrksavit + NīC, etc. I omit further details of this derivation since it is very complex. Refer to Nyāsa and Padamaṉjarī for conflicting details.

If consonants denoted by aŚ are required to qualify haliL of 8.3.22 hali sarvesām, it would be better to formulate hali sarvesām as hasi sarvesām. Why not hasi sarvesām? The hali of 8.3.22 is needed for subsequent rule(s). This proposed hasi will greatly reduce the scope of consonants. Besides, aśi is also used here to block application of 8.3.18 vyuḥ laghu . . . and 8.3.19 lopaḥ śākalyasya on examples such as vrksav karoti.

Why did Pāṇini not use aśi in rules where needed. That is, why use here when the need is elsewhere. If aśi was used in association with hali, carrying hali to subsequent rules would have also required carrying aśi. This being the case, 8.2.23 mo’ nusvāraḥ could introduce anusvāra only where a consonant denoted by aŚ followed. I choose not to discuss this in detail. Patañjali does not consider this specification with aśi necessary.
4. Note that the condition of roḥ is still valid. Thus, we do not get the application of this rule on r of prātar atra and punar atra. For, their r does not have its source in rU.

8.3.18 व्योरः लघुप्रयातनातराः साक्षात्यानस्य

vyor laghuprayatnatarah śākaṭāyanasya
/vyor 6/2 = vaś ca yaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; laghu-prayatnatarah 1/1 laghu prayatno yasya (bv.); atiśayena laghuprayatnāḥ = laghuprayatnatarah; śākaṭāyanasya 6/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raḥ #14 roḥ #16 bhobhagoagho-a pūrvasya yo’ śi #17) vakārayakārayor bhobhagoaghovarnapūrvyoh padāntayor laghuprayatnatara ādeśo bhavati

A replacement articulated with a comparatively lighter articulatory effort (laghuprayatnatara) comes, in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, in place of a pada-final v or y which occurs after bho, bhago, agho, or after a or ā, provided when a sound denoted by aŚ follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

bhagoy atra
bhago atra
aghoy atra
agho yatra
kay āste
ka āste
asmāy uddhara
asmā uddhara
asāv ādityaḥ
asā ādityaḥ
dvāv atra
dvā atra
dvāv ānaya
dvā ānaya

1. Commentators explain laghuprayatnatara as sounds produced with a comparatively lighter articulatory effort. That is, where ‘place’ (sthāna) and ‘means’ (karana) of articulation are both in a relatively relaxed state (Nyāsa: tayor uccārane śaithilyam laghuprayatnataratvam). A slighter contact by the articulator with the place of articulation results in such sound qualities.

Note that v and y have three different articulations depending on where they occur in a word. A v or y at the beginning of a word (padādi) is articulated with slight articulatory effort. This effort is relatively slighter in the middle of a pada and slightest at the end. The Yājñavalkya-śīkṣā refers them as guru
'heavy', laghu 'light' and laghutara 'lighter'. Recensions of the Yajurveda have different conventions of marking these efforts. For example, v and y at the beginning of a pada were written twice.

2. This rule offers a slightly articulated v and y as a replacement for the pada-final v and y, when these occur after bho, bhago, agho or a. Of course, when a sound denoted by aŚ follows them. Note that 1.1.50 sthānē ntaratamaḥ will require v and y to be replaced only with their corresponding slighter articulations. Mention of Śākaśyana is made here to indicate option (vibhāṣā). Deletion of the following rules must apply if this option is not accepted.

Consider bhoy atra / bho atra, bhagoy atra / bhago atra and aghoy atra/ agho atra which illustrate slighter articulation, or deletion of y, gotten from the preceding rule. Examples such as kay āste / ka āste and kākay āste / kāka āste illustrate this same occurring after a. The v and y sounds of examples such as asmai uddhara → as(aɪ→āy) uddhara, as(aʊ→āv) ādityah, dv(aʊ→āv) atra and dv(aʊ→āv) ānaya result from application of 6.1.78 ecō yavāyāvah.

8.3.19 लोप: शाकल्यस्य

lopaḥ śakalyasya
/lopaḥ 1/1 śakalyasya 6/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 apūrvasya aśi #17 vyoh #18)
vakārayakārayoḥ padāntayor avarṇapūrvavoyor lopo bhavati śakalyasyācāryasya
matenāśi parataḥ

A pada-final v or y which occurs after a or ā is, in the opinion of Śakalya, replaced with LOPA when a sound denoted by aŚ follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

ka āste
kay āste
kāka āste
kākay āste
asmā uddhara
asmāy uddhara
dvāv atra
dvā atra
asāv ādityah
asā ādityah

1. Mention of śakalyasya is made here to denote option (vibhāṣā). This rule thus optionally deletes a pada-final v and y which occurs after a or ā, provided a sound denoted by aŚ follows. Thus, we get ka(y→ʌ) āste and kay āste, etc.

Note that this rule will yield three examples in a set: kay āste, kay āste and
ka āste, where the first two kāy āste will have one y with regular and the other with slight articulatory effort. The third form will show optional deletion. What is most likely deleted here is the regular one.

8.3.20 ओतो गार्ग्यस्य

oto gārgyasya
/ oṭaḥ 5/1 gārgyasya 6/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 apūrvasya aśi #17 vyoh #18 lopāḥ #19)
okārād uttarasya yakārasya lopo bhavati gārgyasya cāryasya matenāśi parataḥ
A pada-final y which occurs after o is, in the opinion of Gārgya, deleted by Lopa, provided a sound denoted by a Ś follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

bhō atra
bhagō atra
bhō idam
bhagō idam

1. Note that gārgyasya is used here to show respect to Gārgya. It does not denote any option. Why formulate this rule when desired deletion can be accomplished by the preceding rule. This rule is obligatory (nītya). A pada-final y which is optionally deleted by the preceding rule is here deleted obligatorily. Thus, we get bhō atra and bhōy atra, etc. Some, however, do wish deletion of all y sounds (Kāś: kecit tu sarvameva yakāram atra necchanti).

2. Examples of v after o are impossible to find. Hence, only y is associated with the wording of this rule (Nyāsa: okārād uttarā yakāro nāṣīt). The t of oṭaḥ (taparākaśana) is used for clarity. A specification with oh may confuse us whether the specified sound is u or o. Such confusion can be easily ruled out by using o with t in oṭaḥ.

It might not be a bad idea to summarize operational results of this sūtra, as compared with the preceding two. Śākaṭyāna (8.3.18), optionally after bhō, bhagō and aghō, or after a/ā, replaces a pada-final y and v with laghuṣprayatnatara ‘that which has a comparatively slighter articulation’. Others, however, will not allow a replacement. Śākalya (8.3.19) would apply deletion of y or v after a/ā at the end of a pada. Others, of course, will not apply the deletion. The y and v will be heard, especially when replacement of 8.3.18 has not applied. Our present rule offers deletion of y which is already made available by the preceding rule. But since that provision is optional, our present rule is needed to make the y-deletion obligatory (nītya).

8.3.21 उनी च पदे

uṇi ca pade
/uṇi 7/1 ca pade 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apūrvasya #17 vyoh #18 lopah #19)
avarnaṇapūrvayaḥ vyoh padāntayor lopo bhavati uṇi ca pade parataḥ.
A pade-final u or y which occurs after a, or ā, is deleted by LOPA when a pade constituted by uṇ comes follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

sa u ekāṁśatiḥ
sa u ekāgniḥ

1. Note that this deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rule. This rule is then stated for restrictive purposes (niyamārthaḥ). What is this restrictive purpose? This deletion should apply only when a pade constituted by uṇ follows. We know that uṇ after o is impossible to find. This rule then focuses on y when used after a and ā. Since a pade constituted by u marked with ā will always be one without ā when used, uṇ can also refer to a pade which earlier had ā as an it. Thus, consider saḥ u ekāgniḥ → sa(s→rU→y) u ekāgniḥ → sa(y→φ) u ekāgniḥ, where u has to be comprehended as uṇ. But this can be either interpreted as a particle, or as a form of verbal root veṇ subsequent upon application of samprasārana (6.1.15 vacisvaliyyajādīṇāṃ . . ).

2. A condition of pade is imposed so that uṇ could not refer to the verb form uṇ. It is argued that uṇ cannot refer to the form of verbal root veṇ. For, the form of veṇ which results from samprasārana is not uṇ. It is u, instead. Moreover, we already have the particle uṇ expressly given as original (pratipadotkta). If this non-samprasārana form of uṇ can be comprehended in this manner then we do not need the condition of pade. It is suggested that pade is used for subsequent rules (uttarārtham). Consider 8.3.32 nāmo hrasvād aci nāmun nityam, whereby a sound denoted by nAMuT (nUT, nUT and nUT) is introduced to a pade-final sound denoted by nAM (Ss. 7) and preceded by a short vowel. This, of course, happens at the word-boundary before a word beginning with a vowel. It is because of pade that paramadandin + (T) ā = paramadandinā does not get n introduced after n to yield *paramadandinnā. That is, what follows is a vowel-initial affix, and not a pade.

3. Why do we state the condition of pade? Consider tantra utam and tantray utam, where the e of tantré is replaced with ay (6.1.78 eco' yavāyavaḥ) before u ending in the niṣṭhā affix Ktha. This u is the uṇ of veṇ received via samprasārana. This rule does not apply here.

8.3.22 हलि सर्वेषाम्

hali sarvesām
/hali 7/1 sarvesām 6/3/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 bhbhagoaghoapūrvasya #17 vyoh #18 lopah #19)
hali parato bhobhagoaghooāpūrvasya yakārasya padāntasya lopo bhavati sarveśāṁ ācāryānāṁ matena

A deletion by LOPA comes, in the opinion of all scholars, in place of a pada-final y which occurs after bho, bhago, agho and a, provided a sound denoted by haL follows; and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

bho hasati
bhago hasati
aghō hasati
bho yāti
bhago yāti
aghō yāti
bālakā hasanti

1. This rule, as per all scholars, deletes a pada-final y which (i) occurs after bho, bhago and agho or (ii) occurs after a and ā, provided a pada beginning with a consonant follows. Recall that y alone is found occurring after bho, bhago and agho. We can find an example of v after a or ā in vṛkṣav karoti. This v cannot be deleted because aśi qualifies hali and aś of aśi does not include k of karoti. This rule only relates to deletion of y. Patañjali (on Śs. 6: na padāntā halō 'nah satiti) claims that a pada which ends in h, y, v, r and l, and occurs preceded by a, i and u, cannot be found in usage. This makes vṛkṣav of vṛkṣav karoti a suspect.

2. The use of sarveśāṁ also includes references to śakaṭāyanasya and śakaṭalyasya. One may be confused about its reference only to gārgyasya because of proximity (pratyāsattī). The laghuprayatnātara ‘articulated with slight articulatory effort’ of Śakaṭāyana can also not be saved from deletion (Kāś: sarveśāṁ grahaṇaṁ śakaṭāyanasyāpi lopo yathā syāt laghuprayatnātaro mā bhūd iti).

8.3.23 मोहानुसारः:

mo' nusvārah
/mahə 6/1 anuvārah 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitâyām #2.108 hali #22)
makārasya padāntasyānusvāra ādēsō bhavati hali paratah

A pada-final m, when occurring in close proximity with a following consonant, is replaced with m (anuvāra).

Examples:

kundaṁ hasati
vanaṁ hasati
kundaṁ yāti
vanaṁ yāti

1. This rule replaces a pada-final m with n (anusvāra) when a consonant follows. Note that the genitive of padasya denotes 'in place of' (sthāna-ṣaṣṭhi). We get a tadantavīdhī interpretation when maḥ qualifies padasya. A reading with 1.1.52 alo' nyasya offers the interpretation: makārantaṣya padasya alo' nyasya anusvāraḥ 'an anusvāra in place of m of a pada ending in m'. Thus, vana(m→n) hasati = vanaṁ hasati, etc.

2. Why do we state the condition of hali 'when a consonant follows'? Consider tvam + atra → tvam atra and kim atra, where m is not replaced with anusvāra since a vowel follows.

Why do we retain the condition of padāntasya 'of that which occurs at the end of a pada'? Consider gamyate and ramyate, where m does not occur at the end of a pada.

8.3.24 नसंकारानास्य ज्ञळिः

naś cāpadāntasya jhali
/nah 6/1 ca ṣ apadāntasya 6/1 = padasya antah (ṣaś. tat.); na padāntah (naṁ. tat.), tasmin; jhali 7/1/
(samhitāyāṃ #2.108 mo' nusvāraḥ #23)

nakārasya makārasya cāpadāntasyānusvārādēśo bhavati jhali parataḥ
A non-final n, and also m, of a pada is replaced with anusvāra when a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term jhaL (Śs. 8-14) follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

payāmsi
yāsāmsi
sarpiṁsi
dhanūṁsi
ākramṣyate
ācikramṣyate
adhiṣṭigāmsate

1. Note that the anusvṛtti of hali 'when a consonant follows' is canceled by the use of jhali 'when a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaL follows'. The ca 'and' is used here to attract m. This rule then allows a non-final n, and also m, to be replaced with an anusvāra when a sound denoted by jhaL follows in close proximity. Refer to derivational details of payas + Jas → payāmsi, under the appendix (II:384-85) of 1.1.47 mid aco' nyāt paraḥ. Similar derivational steps are followed in deriving yaśas + Jas → yaṣāmsi, sarpiś + Jas → sarpiṁsi and dhanuṣ + Jas → dhanūṁsi. What gets replaced here with anusvāra is a non-final n of augment nUM. Refer to derivational details of
adhyetum icchatī = adhirjāṁsate‘ . . . wishes to study’ in the appendix (III:700)
of 2.4.47 sani ca. The third singular ātmanepada ending (1.3.40 ānu udgamanē)
ta replaces LRT in ā-kram + sya + te → ākra(m→m) + sya + te = ākramsyate. Rule
1.3.62 pūrvavat sanaḥ introduces the same ātmanepada ending as a replacement
of LRT in ācikraṁsate, a derivate of (ā-kram + saN) + LRT), where kram
means to go. What is replaced here with anusvāra is the root-final m.

2. Why do we state the condition of apadāntasya ‘of the non-final of a
pada’? Consider rājan bhūksya where a pada-final n before bh cannot be
replaced with anusvāra.

Why do we state the condition of jhali ‘when a sound denoted by the
abbreviatory symbol jhaL follows’? Consider yamyaṭe and gAMYAtE where the
non-final m cannot be replaced with anusvāra since y is not a sound denoted
by jhāL.

8.3.25 यो राजि सम: क्री

mo rāji samaḥ kvau
/mah 1/1 rāji 7/1 samaḥ 6/1 kvau 7/1/
(padasya #1.16 saṁhitāyāṁ #2.108 mah #23)
samo makārasya makāra ādeśo bhavati rājatau kviṣ pratyayānte parataḥ
The m of sam when followed in close proximity with verbal root rājR,
terminating in affix Kvip, is replaced with m.

Examples:

samrāṭ
sāmrājyaṁ

1. This rule offers an anusvāra as a replacement for m of sam when verbal
root rājR ‘to glow’, terminating in Kvip, follows in close proximity. Consider
(sam + rāj(R) + Kvip) + sU, where Kvip is introduced after rājR by 3.2.61
satsādviśadrūḥ. . . . The j of this root is first replaced with ś (8.2.36
vraścābhrasṛṣṭī . . .). A replacement in ḍ (jaśṭva; 8.2.39 jhālaṁ jaśo’ nte) then
follows. A replacement in ṭ (cariṭva; 8.4.55 vāvasāne) finally derives sam-
ṛā(j→ś→ḍ→ṭ) = samrāṭ. Recall that sU goes through deletion of 6.1.68
halṇyābbhyo . . . . The word sāmrājayam is derived from (sam-rājR + Kvip) +
ŚyaN) + sU where ŚyaN is introduced by 5.1.125 gunavacana. . . . A replacement
in vrddhi before ŚyaN followed by am as a replacement of sU produces
sāmrājyaṁ. Note here that m as a replacement for m is given here to cancel
anusvāra of 8.2.24 mo’ nusvārah (Kāś: makārasya makāravacanam anusvāraṁ-
vyartham).

2. Why do we state the condition of rāji ‘when rājR follows’? Consider
(sam-yam + Kvip → sa(m→m)yad) = samyat, where m of sam is replaced with
anusvāra because verbal root yam occurs after sam. Incidentally, the m of yam
is deleted by 6.4.37 anudāttopdeśa. . . . Augment tUK is then introduced to a
(6.1.71 hravasya piti . . .).
Why do we state the condition of samah ‘in place of m of sam’? Consider kimrāt where m of kim is replaced with anusvāra.

Why do we state the condition of kuva ‘followed by KuIP’? Consider samrājitā, samrājitum and samrājitavyam where affixes Kta, KtvatU and tavyaT follow.

8.3.26 हे मपरे वा

he mapare vā
/ he 7/1 mapare 7/1 = mah para yasmāt sa (bu.), tasmin; vā φ/
(padasya #1.16 saṃhitāyām #2.108 mah #23 mah #25)
hakāre makārapare parato makārasya vā makāra ādeso bhavati
A pada-final m, when occurring before h followed by m in the context of close proximity, is optionally replaced with m.

Examples:

kim hmalayati
kim hmalayati
katham hmalayati
katham hmalayati

1. This rule optionally replaces m with m, when it occurs before h followed by m in close proximity. Consider kim hmalayati where m of kim is optionally replaced with m, before h of hmalayati followed by m. If this option of replacing m with m is not accepted, m of kim will be replaced with anusvāra (8.3.23 mo' nusvāraḥ). Incidentally, hmalayati is a form of the causal hma + NiC → hma, where the short penultimate a does not go through replacement in long because of 6.4.92 mitām krasvāḥ.

2. A vārttika proposal (vt yavalapare yavalā vā) is made to optionally replace a pada-final m with y, v and l, respectively, when h with a following y, v and l follows in close proximity. Thus, we get: kīy hyah / kim hyah ‘what is tomorrow’; kīv hvalayati / kim hvalayati ‘what is shaking’; kil hlādayati / kim hlādayati ‘what makes him happy’?

This vārttika proposal is controversial. Commentators explain that y/v/l are classed into two sets each based on their sound qualities of anusāsīka ‘nasalized’ and nirnunāsīka ‘non-nasalized’. Since we find y/v/l as replacements for m (a nasal), what replaces the nasal should be a nasalized y/v/l, in accord with 1.1.50 sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ. The tradition accepts that a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol an, used as a part of operational predication (vidhyā), does not denote sounds homogeneous with it (1.1.69 anudīt savarnasya cāpṛatyayah). The y/v/l of this rule is a part of operational predication. It is therefore argued that nasalized y/v/l should not be allowed as replacements. It is also attested by the Paninian practice of rule formulation. For example, he does not allow the nasalized m of matUP to be replaced with
the nasalized v of 8.2.9 mād upadhāyāś ca. Consider the following rules where I highlight the non-nasalized v with a capital letter: 1.2.45 arthavaddhātur apratyayah prātipadikam; 8.2.43 samyogāder āto dhātor yanvatāh; 4.4.125 tadvānāsāmundadhāno mantra itiśtikāsu. . . . But the tradition, from the Mahābhāṣya to the Laghukaumudi, accepts nasalized y/v/l as replacements. Some claim that predicative status of y/v/l is established, not by way of aN (antvena ‘aN-ness’), but by way of being y/v/l (vatvena ‘v-ness’; yatvena ‘y-ness’; latvena ‘l-ness’). How did we get vidvān likhati → vidvā l likhati? This is an instance of parasavarna ‘replacement similar to the homogeneous sound which follows’ of rule 8.4.60 tor lī. I skip other details of this discussion.

8.3.27 नपरे न:  

napare naḥ  
/napare 7/1 = nah paro yasmāt (bv.), tasmin; naḥ 1/1/  
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyāṃ #2.108 mah #23 he vā #26)  
nakārapare he para taḥ makārasya vā nakārādeśo bhavati  
A pada-final m, when occurring before h followed by n in the context of close proximity, is optionally replaced with n.

Examples:

kin hnumte
kim hnumte
kathan hnumte
kathāṃ hnumte

1. This again is an optional replacement in m for a pada-final m when what follows in close proximity is h followed by n. Thus we get: ki(m→n) hnumte → kin hnumte/ki(m→m) hnumte → kim hnumte and kathan hnumte/kathāṃ hnumte.

2. Note that para ‘that which follows’ is used so that m can be optionally replaced with n when h followed by n follows. A formulation as ne naḥ, without para, would allow m to be replaced with n only when n followed. A specification with ne is made to cancel the anuvṛtti of he, mostly because of incompatibility.

8.3.28 इणो: कुकुरण सरि

िनोह kukṭuk śari
/िनो 6/2 = ्niś ca ्nas ca = niṇau (itar. dv.), tayoh; kukṭuk 1/1 kuk ca ṭuk ca (sam. dv.); śari 7/1/  
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyāṃ #2.108 vā #26)  
nakāraṇaṅkārayoh padāntayoh ‘kuk, ṭuk’ ity etāv āgamaṇaḥ vā bhavataḥ śari parataḥ  
Augments kUK and ṭUK are introduced, optionally, to a pada-final ́ni
and \( \eta \), respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term \( \textit{sa} \textit{R} \) follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{prāṅk śete} \]
\[ \text{prāṅ śete} \]
\[ \text{prāṅ saśthaḥ} \]
\[ \text{prāṅ saśthaḥ} \]
\[ \text{prāṅ sāye} \]
\[ \text{prāṅ sāye} \]
\[ \text{vaṃ śete} \]
\[ \text{vaṃ śete} \]

1. This rule introduces augments \( kUk \) and \( tUk \), optionally, to a \textit{pada}-final \( \text{ṅ} \) and \( \eta \), in this order, when a consonant denoted by \( \textit{Sa} \textit{R} \) (Śs. 13) follows. Consider \( \text{prāṅ(}kUk\text{)} \text{ śete} = \text{prāṅ śete} \), \( \text{prāṅ śete} \) and \( \text{vaṃ(}tUk\text{)} \text{ + śete} \), \( \text{vaṃ śete} \), etc.

2. Why mark augments \( kUk \) and \( tUk \) with \( K \), thereby to introduce them at the end of \( \text{ṅ} \) and \( \eta \), in view of 1.145 \( \text{ādya} \text{ntau} \text{ ṭakītau} \)? It would not make any difference in the context of close proximity if they were introduced at the beginning of what follows. Commentators state that this view will create problems. Consider \( \text{prāṅk śete} \) where \( s \) of \( śete \) can be optionally replaced with \( \text{ch} \) (8.4.63 \( \text{sāś} \text{ cho} ^{\prime} \text{ ti} \)). This optional replacement in \( \text{ch} \) can apply when \( s \) occurs after a sound denoted by \( jhaY \) (Śs. 8-12), and \( s \) occurs followed by \( aT \) (Śs. 1-5). If \( k \) (of \( kUk \)), a sound denoted by \( jhaY \), is introduced at the end of \( \text{prāṅ} \), \( s \) of \( śete \), which occurs followed by \( e \), can be replaced with \( \text{ch} \). If, however, \( k \) were to be introduced to \( s \) of \( śete \), we cannot get this replacement. We cannot get \( \text{prāṅk chete} \). A similar problem of application is witnessed in \( \text{prāṅk sāye} \), where 8.3.59 \( \text{ādesa} \text{ pratyaśayoh} \) cannot replace \( s \) of \( sāye \) with \( s \). If, however, augment \( kUk \) is introduced at the beginning of \( sāye \), this replacement in \( s \) cannot be blocked by 8.3.111 \( \text{sāt} \text{ padādyoh} \). The result will be an undesired: \( *\text{prāṅ ksete} \). A similar replacement in \( s \) for \( s \) cannot be allowed in \( \text{vaṃ} \text{ sāye} \), because of negation of 8.4.42 \( \text{na} \text{ padāntā} \text{ for anām} \). If \( tUk \) was introduced to \( sāye \), we will get \( s \) of \( śsāye \) replaced with \( s \) (8.4.41 \( \text{ṣtunā} \text{ śtuḥ} \)).

8.3.29 द: सि धुर्

dāḥ si dhūṭ
/ dāḥ 5/1 si 7/1 dhūṭ 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 vā #26)
daśakāratāt padād uttarasya sakāraṇaḥ padasya vā dhūṭ āgamo bhavati
Augment \( dhUk \) is optionally introduced to a \textit{pada} which begins with \( s \) and occurs after a \textit{pada} ending in \( d \), provided the context is that of close proximity between sounds.
Examles:
śvalit tsāye 'dog-licker in the evening'
madhulit tsāye 'honey-licker in the evening'
śvalit sāye
madhulit sāye

1. Augment dhUT is optionally introduced to a pada which begins with s and occurs after a pada ending in ṭ. Consider śvalit sāye → śvalit (dh(_UT)) sāye → śvalit (dh→t) sāye → śvalit tsāye and śvalit sāye. We similarly get madhulit tsāye and madhulit sāye.

2. Note that ṭah of this rule is to be interpreted as specified with pañcamī 'ablative'. The locative specification of si, when transformed into its genitive (saṣṭhī) saḥ, will make the ablative specification comparatively more powerful (PŚ (71): ubhayaniṛdeṣe pañcamīnīrdeśo balīyāḥ). If this is what was intended, why did Panini make this specification with si in the locative? This he did for economy (lāghavārthah). A formulation such as nah si dhut would have been longer by one mora (Nyāsa: mātrādhikye gauravam syāt). Why can we not interpret the locative si as 'an operational specification made with a sound, here s, in the locative, applying to that which begins with that sound' (PŚ (34): yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe). This could have been accomplished even without using s of si in this rule. Why did he not state the rule with dhuk. This would have then blocked the negation of 8.4.42 na padāntāṭor anām.

Augment dhUT will then have to be introduced to s. Why is dhUT introduced at the beginning of that which follows? Why not introduce dhUK, instead, at the end of what precedes. We will not thus need tUK in the formulation of rule 8.3.31 si tuk. For, this dhUK can then be carried there. If dhUK was introduced at the end of the preceding pada, dh of dhUK will be replaced with ṭ (ṣṭuṭa; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). If introduced at the beginning of what follows, ṭ of śvalit will still be at the end of the pada. This can then be covered by the negation of 8.4.42 na padāntāṭor anām. The augment is thus introduced at the beginning of what follows (Kāś: paṟāḍikaranam 'na padāntāṭor anām' iti ṣṭutapratisedhārtham). Note that h of śvalit is first replaced with dh (8.2.31 ho dhah) and then with ṭ (8.2.39 jhalāṃ jāso' nte). The dh of dhUT, of course, goes through a replacement in ṭ (carṭva; 8.4.55 khari ca).

8.3.30 नश्च

naś ca
/nah 5/1 ca ṭ/

(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 vā #26 si dhut #29)
nakārāntād padād uttarasya sakārasya vā dhunā āgamo bhavati

Augment dhUT is optionally introduced to a s which occurs after a
pada ending in n, provided the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

Examples:

mahān tsāye
mahān sāye
bhavān tsāye
bhavān sāye

1. This rule optionally introduces augment dhUt, also to the initial s of a pada which follows a pada ending in n. Consider bhavān tsāye / bhavān sāye, and mahān tsāye / mahān sāye. Why do we not get the n of bhavān and mahān replaced with rU of 8.3.7 nas chavy apraśān? Since the t-replacement of dh of augment dhUt becomes asiddha ‘suspended’, n cannot be replaced with rU (Kāś: duṭaś cartvasya asiddhatvāt ‘nas chavy apraśān’ iti rutvaṁ na bhavatī). Haradatta objects against accepting t-replacement of dh as suspended (asiddha). He is in favor of making dhUt itself suspended (asiddha). He further argues that rU cannot be accomplished, even when dhUt, or t-replacement of dh of dhUt, is treated as non-suspended (siddha). For, 8.3.7 nas chavy apraśān will require n to be followed by chaV, in turn, followed by aM. We cannot find aM, here in this context of rU, coming as a replacement of n (PM: yady api duṭa apy asiddhah, tathāpi na tad ucyate, siddhe’ pi tasmin vinā cartvena rutvasyāprāpteḥ). Haradatta has his heart in tuT (against dhUt) as the augment (PM ad Kāś: tuṭo’ siddhatvād api ror aprasangah. tasmāī tuṭ eva vaktavyah; cf. 8.3.29 daḥ si dhut).

8.3.31 शि तुक्क

śi tuk
/si 7/1 tuk 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 vā #26 naḥ #30)
nakārasya padāntasya śakāre parato vā tāgamo bhavati

Augment tUKis, optionally, introduced to a pada-final n when ś follows in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

bhavān chete ‘you are sleeping’
bhavān echete
bhavān ēseṭe
bhavān ēte

1. This rule introduces augment tUK to a pada-final n when ś follows in close proximity. Consider bhvān + ēte → bhavān + t(uk) + ēte → bhavān + t + (ś→ch) ēte = bhavānt chete. The initial ś in ēte is here replaced with ch (chatva)
of 8.4.63 śas cha’ ṭi. Note that 8.4.63 śaś cha’ ṭi may also block introduction of tUK in favor of replacement in ch (chatva), on account of being para ‘subsequent’ in the tripaḍi ‘the last three quarter rules of this grammar’. This will give us bhavān (ś→ch) ete → bhavā(n→n) chete = bhavān chete as a result of suspension (asiddhatva) of tUK. Now consider 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ which will give us bhavān ṭete. But augment tUK can then be introduced by treating ch-replacement of 8.4.62 śas chaṭi as asiddha ‘suspended’. This will give us bhavānt + ṭete → bhavān(t→c) + ṭete → bhavā(n→n) c + ṭete → bhavān c(ś→ch) ete → bhavān + (ś→ch) ete → bhavān chete. Not availing the option of tUK will give us bhavān(n→n) ṭete → bhavān + (ś→ch) ete → bhavān chete. Note that 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ will replace t with c, and n with n, in all these examples. Rule 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ, a single sūtra, can be accepted as two in view of its two different goals of application. Thus, it replaces t with c before ś; it replaces n with n before c.

2. Note that tUK is introduced at the end of the preceding pada (purvāntah). But we can still get this t (of tUK) by introducing augment dhUT at the beginning of the following pada (parādih). This, however, will block ch-replacement of ś of ṭete. We run into another problem if tUK is introduced at the end of the preceding pada. That is, given kurvan + (ś→ch) ete → kurva(n→n) + chete = kurvān chete, the n of kurvan becomes subject to a replacement in n (8.4.2 aṭkuṅvaḥ . . . ). For, this n happens to be at the end of a pada. This should not pose any problem if the augment is introduced at the beginning of the following pada. For, this n-replacement will be blocked by 8.4.37 padāntasya.

A proposal for split-interpretation of 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ is made for negation of replacement in n (natva-pratisedha). The first split-rule will read as stoh ścunā, thereby s and tU, followed by ś and cU, will not allow n to be replaced by n. The next split-rule will simply be ścuḥ. This will replace a preceding s and tU with ś and cU ‘consonant of the c-series’, respectively. The n-replacement in kurvān chete will thus be blocked. This negation of replacement in n will be valid even when replacement in ch is treated as suspended (asidaha). How? At the strength of the split-interpretation of 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ (Nyāsa: yogavibhāga-karanānasmārthtyāt ścuvasyāsiddhatve ‘pi natvopratisedhō bhavatiṣyāy ādoṣaḥ). Some traditionalists do not accept this split-interpretative method of negating n-replacement. They argue that, given kurvan + c + chete, rule 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali will apply to replace n with anusvāra. For, n will then not be occurring at the end of the pada, and c, i.e., a sound denoted by jhal, will be forming the right condition. This anusvāra can then be replaced with n before the following homogeneous (parasavarnā) sound c. The result is: kurva(n→m→n) + c + chete. The question of a replacement in n does not arise since the n which is brought about by parasavarnā ‘a replacement homogeneous with what follows’ is treated as suspended (asidaha). This also shows why we do not need any split-interpretation of 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ.
Application of these rules is a little bit difficult. I therefore list all rules, and then show how one can derive all forms:

8.3.31 śi tuk (introduction of tUK)
8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ (t→c, n→ṅ)
8.4.63 śaś cho' ti (replacement in ch)
8.4.65 jharo jhāri savarne (optional deletion of c)

Applying rule 8.3.31 śi tuk will offer bhavān + tUK + śete. An application of replacement in ch (chatva) will produce bhavān (ś→ch)ete → bhavān + t + chete. An application of 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ will replace t with c, and n with ṇ, thereby yielding bhavān(n→ṅ) + (t→c) + chete = bhavāṅ cchete. An optional deletion of c will produce bhavāṅ (c→∅)chete = bhavāṅ chete. No optional application of replacement in ch will produce bhavāṅ csete. No optional application of tUK will produce bhavāṅ + śete. The idea is to work through general rules and then apply options.

8.3.32 डमो हरस्वादि डमुण् नियमम्

namo hrasvād aci namuṇ nityam
/ namah 5/1 hrasvāt 5/1 aci 7/1 namuṭ 1/1 nityam 1/1
(padasya #1.16 samhitaiyāṃ #2.108)
hrasvāt para yo nam tadantāt padāt uttarasyāco namuṭ āgamo bhavati nityam

An augment denoted by namuṭ, i.e., nUT, nUT and nUT, is, obligatorily, introduced to a vowel denoted by aC when the same occurs after a pada which ends in a sound denoted by nāM used after a short vowel.

Examples:

pratyāṅṅ āste 'sits facing east'
vann āste 'sits with a thud'
vann avocat 'speaks loudly'
kurvan āste 'sits doing'
kurvan avocat 'speaks while doing'
kṛṣann āste 'sits drawing'
kṛṣann avocat 'speaks while drawing'

1. Note that nāM (Śs. 7) is an abbreviatory term which denotes ñ, n and n. These individual sounds are also represented within nāM of namuṭ which, when read with ñ, n and n, individually with its UT, produce three augments nUT, nUT and nUT. These three are introduced at the beginning of a pada in view of yathāsāṃkhya 'assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration'. That is, nUT, nUT and nUT are introduced after a pada which ends in ñ, n and n, respectively. These ñ, n and n must occur at the end of a pada preceded by a short vowel. Augments nUT, nUT and nUT must be introduced at the beginning of the following pada, also beginning with a vowel.
The word *namah* is interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*). It is used as a qualifier to *padasya* whose genitive is transformed into the ablative singular in view of the qualifier. Thus, we get *hrasvāt namah padaṭ* where *hrasvāt* is construed as a qualifier to *namah*. This, in view of *tadantavidhi*, presents the interpretation: *hrasvāt para yo nam tadantāt padaṭ* 'after a *pada* which ends in a *naM* occurring after a short vowel'. The locative singular of *aci* is also transformed into genitive to facilitate introduction of *nUT*, *nUṬ* and *nUṬ*. Recall that a *pañcamī* 'ablative' specification (of *namah*) will be considered more powerful than one made by the locative of *aci* (*pbh. (71): ubhyāniṃrdeśe pañcamīṇirdeśo baliyaḥ*). Hence, *aci* is transformed into *acah*. A *saptamī* 'locative' specification is not only econominal (*lāghavārthah*) but is also intended for use in subsequent rules.

2. Consider *pratyāṇ āste/pratyāṇ nāste, van āste/ van nāste, van avocat/ van navocat, kurvan āste/ kurvan nāste, kṛṣṇ avocat/ kṛṣṇ navocat.*

Why do we have the condition of *namah* 'after *n*, *n* and *n*'? Consider *tvam āsse* where a nasal, other than one denoted by *naM*, occurs after the short *a* of *tvam*. An augment thus could not be introduced.

Why do we have the condition of *hrasvāt* 'after a short vowel'? Consider *prāṇ āste* where *n* occurs after a long *ā*.

Why do we have the condition of *aci* 'when a vowel . . . '? Consider *pratyāṇ karoti* 'makes (something) facing east' where the following *pada* begins with *k*, a consonant.

3. Why do we not get augment *nUṬ* in *paramadāṇḍin + au = paramadāṇḍinau* 'nominative dual, two best ascetics' and *paramadāṇḍin + (T) ā → paramadāṇḍinā* 'instrumental singular . . . '. This question arises since *n* of *daṇḍin* occurs after a short *i*, and *daṇḍin* can be accepted as a *pada*, especially in view of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* based on compound-formation. The instrumental singular vocalic ending can be accepted as satisfying the condition of *aci*. First of all, the second compound constituent, i.e., *daṇḍin*, cannot be accepted as a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'operation characteristic of a deleted affix', unless an operation relative to the initial of a *pada* is involved (*ut: uttarapadatve cāpadāśividhau pratiśedhah*). Secondly, the instrumental singular ending *Tā* then must constitute a *pada* which it does not. It is stated that *pade* of 8.3.21 *uṇi ca pade* should be carried over to ensure the meaning: *nāmantāt padaṭ uttarasya ajādeḥ padasya . . . to a *pada* which begins with a vowel and occurs after a *pada* ending in *naM*. Augment *nUṬ* can thus not be introduced to *au* of *paramadāṇḍin + au = paramadāṇḍinau* and ā of *paramadāṇḍin + ā = paramadāṇḍinā*, because they begin with a vowel but are not termed *pada*.

8.3.33 मय उजो वो वा

*maya uṇo vo vā*

/ mayaḥ 5/1 uṇaḥ 6/1 vah 1/1 vā/
(sanhitayam #2.108 aci #32)
maya uttarsasya uño vā vakārādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ
A replacement in vA comes, optionally, in place of uN when uN occurs after a sound denoted by maY and aC follows in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

śam u astu vedih 'the sacrificial receptacle is propitious'
śam v astu vedih
tad u asya paretaḥ 'he defeated him'
tad v asya paretaḥ
kim u āvapanam '... is the sowing well done?'
kimv āvapanam '... is the hair-cut well done'

1. This rule replaces uN, optionally, with vA when uN occurs preceded by a sound denoted by maY (Śs. 7.12) and followed by a vowel, in close proximity. Consider śam + u + astu = śam + (u→v) + astu → śam v astu of śam v astu vedih, where u is an indeclinable (uN). Recall that u, after i- deletion, is optionally assigned the term pragrhyā by 1.1.17 uṇah. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci could not apply since 6.1.124 phuta pragrhyā aci nityam blocks it. We now have an optional replacement in vA. Thus, śam v astu vedih and śamu astu vedih, etc. Can we get the m of śam v astu replaced with anusvāra of 8.3.23 mo' nusvārah? No. Because v will be considered asiddha 'suspended' in view of replacing m with anusvāra. It is stated that a replacement in vA is offered here in view of prakṛtibhāva 'a lack of sandhi; as it were' caused by assignment of the term pragrhyā. A replacement in anusvāra cannot be made because vA is treated as asiddha 'suspended' (Kāśikā: pragrhyatvād uṇah prakṛtibhāve prāpte vakāro vidhiyate, tasyāsidhātvād haśti mo' nusvārah na bhavati). That is, m cannot be replaced with anusvāra since there will not be a consonant to follow (haśti). Thus, the saying:

tripādiye vakāre tu nānusvārah pravarttate
'there is no application of anusvāra when v follows in the tripādi'

Note that uN is optionally termed pragrhyā (1.1.17 uṇ iti) when it occurs after maY and is followed by iti. This can then be replaced with u. A question is raised against formulation of this rule. It is stated that 6.1.77 iko yan aci can account for a replacement in yaN. Does this rule offer an option to the obligatory yaN of 6.1.77 iko yan aci? No. The anvṛtti of vā will be carried over from 6.1.76 padāntād vā. That will make it vyavasthita-vibhāṣā 'fixed option'. Consequently, u(N) is replaced with v (yaN), based on assignment of the term pragrhyā. This being the case, rule 6.1.124 phuta pragrhyācī nityam demands prakṛtibhāva (no application of sandhi), obligatorily. It is at this stage that v is assigned, instead, by this rule. It is still argued that uN should be replaced with v of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. This way, one does not have to specify
vaḥ in this rule. One does not even have to state va. The va will be carried over, via mandūkapluti, from 6.1.76 padāntād va. But that, i.e., v, when stated will become siddha 'established'. Consequently, because of being a following consonant, it will condition the replacement of m with anusvāra (8.3.23 mo' nusvāraḥ). This, however, is not desired. It is for this reason that v is given right here. An m does not get replaced with anusvāra because this v becomes suspended (asiddha).

It is argued that uṉ of this rule can still be replaced with v (6.1.74? iko yan aci) when the option of pragṛhya is not accepted. It can also be replaced with va of this rule. We can also get a replacement in anusvāra (8.3.23 mo' nusvāraḥ). Thus, we can get kim v iiti and kim v iiti. An optional substitute in ṛ will also get an optional replacement in ṍ. Thus, kim ṛ v iiti and kim ṛ iiti.

8.3.34 विसर्जनीयः सः:

visarjanīyasya saḥ
/visarjanīyasya 6/1 saḥ 1/1/
(sāṃhitāyām #2.108 khari #15)
visarjanīyasya sakāra ādeśo bhavati khari parataḥ
A visarjanīya is replaced with s when a sound denoted by khaR (Śs. 11-13) follows.

Examples:

vṛksaḥ chādayati
plakṣaḥ chādayati
vṛksaḥ thakāraḥ
plakṣaḥ thakāraḥ
vṛksaḥ thakāraḥ
vṛksaḥ cinoti
plakṣaḥ cinoti
vṛksaḥ ṭikate
plakṣaḥ ṭikate
vṛksaḥ tarati
plakṣaḥ tarati

1. This rule replaces a visarjanīya, i.e., h, with s when a sound denoted by khaR follows in close proximity. Recall that khaR includes 13 consonants within its denotatum: kh, ph, ch, th, c, t, k, p, ś, s, and s. A replacement in s is, however, offered only before the first eight. Different replacements are offered before the last five. Thus, vṛksa(h→s) tiṣṭhāti → vṛksas tiṣṭhāti, etc. This s is subsequently replaced with s (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ) and ś (ṣcutva; 8.4.40 stōḥ ścunā ścuh).

2. Note that the visarga which is here offered a replacement in s is gotten from 8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjanīyah. That is, r is replaced with h when a
khaR follows, or else, r occurs at the end before pause (avasāna). This may create a problem in replacing h, of vṛksa + (s→rU→h) → vṛksah, with s at the end before a pause. Mostly because samhitāyām ‘in close proximity’ is still carried over. A visarjanīya cannot be replaced with s if nothing follows. It is for this reason that khari is brought here, via anuvṛtti, from 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor... But this anuvṛtti gets canceled because of incompatibility presented by aci of the preceding rule. One would still bring khari, via mandūkapluti ‘frog’s leap’. One can also make kahri (of 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor...) understood because of its association with visarjanīya. It is also stated that our next rule (8.3.35 śarpare visarjanīyah) uses the bahuvrīhi compound śarpare to mark the right condition. That is, with implications of something (anupadārtha) other than a sound denoted by SaR which follows. What can be a sound other than ŚaR in this context? It is recognized as none other than a consonant denoted by khaR. Refer to Padamañjari for full implications of anuvṛtti of khari. I omit further discussion because of fear of expatiation (prapañca).

8.3.35 शार्पर विसर्जनीय:  
śarpare visarjanīyah
/sarpare 7/1 = śar para yasmāt sa (bv.), tasmin; visarjanīyah 1/1/  
(samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34)  
śarpare khari para to visarjanīyasya visarjanīyādeso bhavati  
A visarjanīya is replaced with visarjanīya when a sound denoted by khaR,  
itself followed by a sound denoted by śaR, follows in close proximity.  

Examples:

śaśah kṣuram ‘rabbit’s hoof’  
puṟuṣah kṣuram ‘man’s razor’  
adbhiḥ pśātam ‘eaten (having made the morsel) with water’  
vāsah kṣaumam ‘silk-garment’  
puṟuṣah tsaruh ‘sword-(brave) man’  
ghaṇāghahah koṣobhaṇaḥ carṣanīnām ‘a killer who kills again and again . . .’

1. Note that śarpare is a bahuvrīhi compound paraphrased as: śar para yasmāt saḥ ‘that after which a sound denoted by ŚaR (s, ś, s) occurs’. The antecedent of ‘that’ is here construed as khari, brought via anuvṛtti, from the preceding rule. The word para ‘subsequent’ is used in this rule so that ŚaR, alone, is not accepted as right condition of replacement. This could be true, especially in view of the use of śari, alone, in the following rule.

2. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as śarpare na ‘not when a sound denoted by khaR occurs followed by śaR’? That is, negating a replacement in s would have retained the visarga. Such a formulation could block s from replacing h (8.3.34 visarjanīyasya saḥ). It could, however, not block modified
(colored) replacements of 'h in a jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya (8.3.37 kuptvoh. . .). This rule expressly uses visarjaniya to also rule out application of 8.3.37 kuptvoh. . . Using na ‘not’ would occasion the application of paribhāṣā (PŚ.62): anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiśedho vā ‘an application, or negation, applies to the most immediate’. For, this negative provision must then apply only to s of the preceding rule. Replacements in jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya are blocked at the strength of this express mention of visarjaniya (Kāś: ‘na’ iti vaktarne visarjaniyasya visarjaniyādesavidhānāṁ vikāraniviṇṭyartham). The word visarjaniya is thus used to block any other replacement.

8.3.36 चा रारि

vā śari
/vā φ śari 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 visarjanīyah #35)
visarjanīyasya visarjanīyādeśo vā bhavati śari pare
A visarjaniya is replaced, only optionally, with a visarjaniya, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol śaR follows in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

vrksah śete ‘the tree sleeps’
vrksas śete
plaksah śete
plaksas śete
vrksah sande
vrksas sande ‘the tree is weak’
vrksah säye ‘the tree is strong’
vrksas säye

1. This rule replaces a visarga with visarga, only optionally, when ś, s or s follows. Thus, vrksa(h→h) + śete → vrksah śete and vrksa(h→s) + śete → vrksas śete. Note that a following ś, s and s will further condition replacement of a visarjaniya with ś, s or s, respectively.

2. A vārttika proposal (vt: kharpare śari vā lopo vaktavyah) is made to, optionally, delete a visarjaniya when a sound denoted by śaR, followed by another denoted by khaR, follows. Thus, vrksa(h→φ) + sthātārah → vrksā sthātārah and vrksaḥ sthātārah. We can additionally get vrksa(h→s) + sthātārah → vrksās sthātārah, when optional deletion is not accepted.

8.3.37 कुव्वोः ×क×पौ च

kuptvoh×karpau ca
/kuptvoh 6/2 = kuś ca puś ca = kuptů (itare. dv.), tayoh; ×k×pau 1/2 ca φ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 visarjanīyah #35)
kavargapavargayoh parato visarjaniiyasya yathasaṃkhyām ×k, ×p’ ity etāv ādesau bhavatāh, cakārād visarjaniiyāś ca
A replacement in ×k and ×p, respectively, and a visarjaniiya as well, optionally comes in place of a visarjaniiya, when a consonant of k (kU) and p (pU) group follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

vrKṣa ×karoti
vrKṣah ×karoti
vrKṣa ×khanati
vrKṣah ×khanati
vrKṣa ×pacati
vrKṣah ×pacati
vrKṣa ×phalati
vrKṣah ×phalati

1. A visarjaniiya when followed by a consonant of the k and p series, in close proximity, is replaced, respectively, with ×k and ×p. It is also replaced with a visarjaniiya at the strength of the use of the word ca ‘and’. We thus get vrKṣa (h→h) + karoti → vrKṣah karoti, vrKṣa (h→×) + karoti = vrKṣa ×karoti; vrKṣah khanati, vrKṣa (h→×) + khanati → vrKṣa ×khanati and vrKṣah pacati, vrKṣa (h→×) + pacati → vrKṣa ×pacati; vrKṣah phalati, vrKṣa (h→×) + phalati → vrKṣah phalati.

Recall that 8.3.15 kharavasānayor visarjaniiyah offers h (visarjaniiya) as a replacement for rU when a sound denoted by khaR follows. This rule offers jīhvāmūliya and upadhmāniya as replacements when consonants of the k (kU) and p (pU) groups follow. Since k/kh and p/ph are included within the denotatum of khaR, a visarjaniiya of 8.3.15 kharavasānayor . . . will be replaced with its jīhvāmūliya and upadhmāniya counterparts before k/kh and p/ph, respectively.

Commentators use jīhvāmūliya ‘articulated by root of the tongue’ and upadhmāniya ‘articulated at lips with aspirated explosion’, here, as adjectives to visarjaniiya. That is, such articulations are modifications added on to the articulation of a visarjaniiya. Since it is not possible to pronounce such visarjaniiyas without accompanying articulation of the consonants of kU and pU groups, they are represented here by the symbol ×, followed by consonants of the kU and pU groups (Kāś: kapāv uccāranārthau. jīhvāmūliyopadhmāniyāv etāv ādesau). The tradition represents them with ×. The jīhvāmūliya and upadhmāniya sounds are considered like half of a visarga (andhavisarga). They carry the duration of one-fourth of a mora.

2. This rule blocks the application of rule 8.3.34 visarjaniiyasya sah. That is, it will offer a jīhvāmūliya and upadhmāniya as a replacement against s of 8.3.34 visarjaniiyasya sah. Of course, when k/kh and p/ph follow. But it cannot block the application of rule 8.3.35 śarpare visarjaniiyah. Recall that s as a
replacement of *visarjanīya* has two sources: (i) that which is gotten when a sound denoted by *khaR*, followed by a sound denoted by *śaR*, follows (8.3.35 *śarpere visarjanīyāh*) and (ii) that which is gotten when a sound denoted by *khaR* follows at the end before pause (avasāna). What is to be replaced here with *jīhvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* must be a *visarjanīya* which covers the most general scope of being replaced with s. One cannot invoke *vipratisedha* (1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*) since *vipratisedha* ‘conflict among two rules of equal strength where the subsequent wins’ does not find its scope in the *tripādi* ‘last three quarters of rules’. Thus, *vāsah kṣaumam* and *adbhiḥ psātam*, which are covered by 8.3.35 *śarpere visarjanīyāh*, cannot come under the scope of this rule. Note that our present rule will be able to block 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasasya saḥ* in view of (PŚ: 58): *yena nāprōpte yo vidhīr āraḥhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati* ‘that against whose obligatory application an operation is started, that blocks that operation’. It will not be able to block 8.3.35 *śarpere visarjanīyāh* because it has its scope of application established by *adbhiḥ psātam* and *vāsah kṣaumam*. The scope of application of 8.3.37 *kupvoh* . . . will be established at the strength of blocking 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasasya saḥ*.

Some offer split-interpretation (yogavibhāga) of this rule to block it from blocking 8.3.35 *śarpere visarjanīyāh*. The two split rules are: (i) *kupvoh* and (ii) *kaḥ paun*. The first split rule will carry the *anuvṛtti* of 8.3.35 *śarpere visarjanīyāh*, thereby to ensure *visarjanīya*, alone, as a replacement for *visarjanīya*. The second rule will account for *jīhvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* replacements of *visarjanīya*.

8.3.38 सोपपदादी

*so’ padādau*  
/ saḥ 1/1 aPADādau 7/1 = padasya ādīh (sāṣ. tat.); na padādir ādīh (naṅ. tat.), taśmin/  
(saṃhītāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasasya #34 kupvoh #37)  
sakārādeso bhavati visarjanīyasya kupvoh aPADādyaḥ parataḥ pāśakalpa-  
kāmyesu  
A *visarjanīya*, when followed by a consonant of the *kU* and *pU* group not used at the beginning of a *pada*, is replaced with *s* in close proximity.

**Examples:**

*payaspāsam* ‘bad milk’  
*yasaṃpāsam* ‘infamy’  
*payaskalpam* ‘like milk’  
*yasaskalpam* ‘as if fame’  
*payaskam* ‘milk’  
*yasaskam* ‘fame’  
*payaskāmyati* ‘. . . desires milk’  
*yasaskāmyati* ‘. . . desires fame’
1. This rule is an exception to the preceding. It replaces a *visarjanīya* with *s* when a non-initial *kU* and *pU* of a *pāḍa* follows. Consider (*payah + pāsa(P) + su → (paya(h→s) + pās)a) + sU → payaspāsam*, where affix *pāsaP* occurs after the *visarga* of *payah* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāsap*) within the same *pāḍa*. Affix *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *iṣad asamāptau . . . *) similarly occurs after *payah* and *yaśas* of (*paya(h→s) + kalpa(P) + sU → payaskalpam* and (*yaśa(h→s) + kalpa(P) + sU → yaśaskalpam*). We get similar examples with affixes *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) and *kāmyac ca* (3.1.9 *kāmyac ca*) in *payaskam*, *yaśaskam*; and (*payas + am + kāmyaC + LAT*) in *payaskāmyati* and (*yaśas + am + kāmyaC + LAT* → *yaśaskāmyati*). This rule applies generally when we have affixes *pāsaP*, *kalpaP* and *kāmyaC*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *apadādau* ‘when not at the beginning of a *pāḍa*’? Consider (*paya(h→x) + kāmayate → paya x kāmayate* and *paya (h→x) + pibati → paya x pibati*, where the *visarjanīya* is replaced with *upadhānīya*, instead. For, the *p* which follows is occurring at the beginning of a *pāḍa*.

3. A vārttika proposal (*vt. so' padādv itty anavayayasyeti vaktavyam*) is made to clarify that ‘*s* is replaced with *visarjanīya* only when it occurs in a non-indeclinable *pāḍa*’. It is suggested that *vā* of 8.3.36 *vā śari* should be brought here to make this rule a ‘fixed option’ (*vyavasthitā-nibhāṣa*). This, in turn, will ensure a replacement only in a non-indeclinable *pāḍa*. Thus, the *visarjanīya* of *prātah ‘morning*’ and *punaḥ ‘again*’, in *prātaḥkālpam* and *punaḥkālpam*, will be saved from being replaced with *s*. Recall that *prātār ‘morning*’ and *punar ‘again*’ are indeclinables (*avyaya*).

Another proposal is made to restrict a *visarjanīya* which may be replaced with *s* before *kāmya ‘desired*’. It is stated that such a *visarjanīya* must have its origin in *rU* (*vt. roh kāmye niyamārtham*). We can thus get a replacement in *payaskāmyati* and *yaśaskāmyati*, but not in *ghīkāmyati* and *dhuḥkāmyati*. For, the *r* in *ghīkāmyati* and *dhuḥkāmyati* does not have its source in *rU*.

A third proposal (*vt. upadhānīyasā kavargे parataḥ sakārā ādeśo bhavati*) requires an *upadhānīya* to be replaced with *s* before a consonant of the *k*-series. Derivates of *ubj* ‘to be simple, straight’, i.e., *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgaḥ*, are offered as examples. It is generally accepted that *ubj* has a penultimate *upadhānīya* which is not heard, and is written as *b*. For, *ubj* is specified by replacing it with *jaś (kṛtajāstva-nirdēsah)*. Some consider the root as *udj*, again, used with the meaning of *ārjava ‘straightness, simplicity*’. If we accept the root as *ubj*, used with the preverbs *abhi* and *sam*, we will end up with wrong derivates of *GHaN: *abhyubgaḥ* and *samubgaḥ*. Thus, 3.3.121 *halaś ca* would introduce affix *GHaN*, and a velar replacement (*kutva*) in *g* for *j* will be accomplished by 7.3.52 *cajoh ku ghinnyatoḥ*. The *upadhānīya* of *ubj* will then be replaced with *b* by 8.4.53 *jhalam jaś jahāḥ*. It is stated that the *upadhānīya* of *ubj* should then be replaced with *s* before *k*. The *s* should then be replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*). This will give us the correct forms: *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgaḥ*. See *Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* for additional details.
8.3.39 इण: ष:

\[
\text{inaḥ ṣah}
\]
\[
\text{/ inaḥ 5/1 ṣah 1/1/}
\]
\[
\text{(sāṃhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyaśya #34 kuptvoh #37 apadādau #38)}
\]
\[
\text{in uttarasya visarjanīyaśya śakārādeśo bhavati kuptvṛ apadādyoh parataḥ}
\]
\[
\text{pāṣakalpakāmyesu}
\]

A visarjanīya which occurs after a sound denoted by \text{iN}, and is followed by a consonant of the \text{k} and \text{p} group not used at the beginning of a \text{pada}, is replaced with \text{s} in close proximity of sounds.

**Examples:**

- sarpiṣpāsam ‘bad ghee’
- yajusṭpāsam ‘incomplete recitation of Yajurveda’
- sarpiṣkalpam ‘ordinary ghee’
- yajuṣkalpam ‘ordinary recitation of Yajurveda’
- sarpiṣkām ‘bad ghee’
- yajuṣkām ‘bad recitation of Yajurveda’
- sarpiṣkāmyati ‘. . . wishes for ghee’
- yajuṣkāmyati ‘. . . wishes to recite Yajurveda’

1. This rule replaces a visarjanīya with \text{s} when (i) the visarjanīya occurs after a vowel denoted by \text{iN (Śś. 1)} and (ii) is followed by a non-initial \text{kU} and \text{pU}, in close proximity. Thus, \text{yaju(h→ṣ)pāsam → yajuṣpāsam, sarpi(h→ṣ)pāsam → sarpiṣpāsam; sarpiṣkalpam, yajuṣkalpam; sarpiṣkām, yajuṣkām; and sarpiṣkāmyati, yajuṣkāmyati.}

Note that apadādau is still carried over. Thus, we do not get a visarjanīya replaced with \text{s} in \text{agnih karoti ‘fire is burning (doing)’, vāyuḥ karoti ‘wind is doing (blowing); agnih pacati ‘fire is cooking’, vāyuḥ pacati ‘wind is cooking’; and sarpiṣ te ‘ghee to you’, yajuṣ te ‘your recitation of the Yajus hymn’}. Kāśiṅa remarks that \text{saḥ} and \text{inaḥ ṣah} are both carried over to subsequent rules. Consequently, a visarjanīya which occurs after \text{i} and \text{u} (\text{iN}) is replaced with \text{s}. A visarjanīya which occurs after any other vowel is replaced with \text{s} (Kāś: ita uttaram ‘saḥ’ iti ‘inaḥ ṣah’ iti ca varīte; tatra inaḥ paro yo visarjanīyas tasya śakāro bhavati, anyasya sakāro bhavati).

8.3.40 नमस्पुरसार्यो:

\[
namaspurasar gatyoh
\]
\[
/ namas-purasoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; gatyoh 6/2
\]
\[
(sāṃhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyaśya #34 kuptvoh #37 sah #38)
\]
\[
‘namas, puras’ ity etayor gatisajñakayor visarjanīyaśya sakārādeśo bhavati kuptvṛ parataḥ
\]

The visarjanīya of namas ‘obeisance’ and puras ‘in front’, when termed
gati, is replaced with s, provided a consonant of the kU and pU group follows in close proximity.

**Examples:**

namaskartā 'he will pay obeisance'

namaskartum 'for paying obeisance'

namaskartavyam 'should pay obeisance'

puraskartā 'he who presents'

puraskartum 'for presenting before'

puraskartavyam 'should present'

1. Note that the anuvṛtti of apadādau 'when not at the beginning of a pada' is canceled. This rule then replaces the visarjaniya of nāmas 'to bow' and puras 'in front' with s when a consonant denoted by kU or pU follows. Thus, \((nāma(h→s) + (kartyr) + sU) \rightarrow nāmas and puras are termed gati\) by 1.4.73 sāksāṭprabhṛtini ca and 1.4.46 puro' vyayam, respectively.

2. Why do we have the condition of gatyoh of nāmas and puras termed gati? Consider purah karoti 'he says purah', where pūh of purah is not a gati.

### 8.3.41 \(\text{इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य}\)

\(\text{idudupadhasya cāpratayasya}\)

\(/\text{id-ud-upadhasya 6/1 = ic ca uc ca = idutau (itar. dv.); idutau upadhe}
\(\text{yasya (b.v.), tasya; ca φ apratayasya 6/1 = na pratyayah (nañ. tat.), tasya/}
\(\text{samhitāyām #2.108 visarjaniyasya #34 kupvoh #37 sah #39) i̱kāropadhasya, ukāropadhasya cāpratayasya visarjaniyasya sakārādese}
\(\text{bhavati kupvoh parataḥ\)}

The visarjaniya of that which is not an affix, and has an i and u in its penultimate position (upadhā), is replaced with s when a consonant denoted by kU and pU follows in close proximity.

**Examples:**

nīṣkr̥tam 'expelled'

nīśpītam 'drunk up'

duṣkr̥tam 'badly done'

duspuṭam 'badly drunk'

bahiskṛtam 'expelled'

bahiṣpītam 'outside drinking'

āviṣkr̥tam 'invented, manifested'

āviṣpītam 'quietly drunk'

catuṣkṛtam 'made four-sided'

catuṣkapālam 'four bowls'

catuṣkāṇṭakam 'four pegs'
catuskalam 'fourfold, foursided'
prāduṣkṛtam 'made manifest, visible'
prāduspiṭam 'drunk in sight'

1. This rule replaces the visarjanīya of nīr, dur, bahir, āvis, catur and prāduṣ, i.e., id-ud-upadhasya 'that which has i and u in its penultimate position', with s before a consonant of the k and p series. Thus, we get ni(r→h→s) + kṛtam → niskṛtam, nispitam, dusktam, duspiṭam, etc.

2. Why do we have the condition of apratayasya 'of a non-affix'? Consider agniḥ karoti and vāyuḥ karoti, which serve as counter-examples because their visarga (h) is a replacement of the nominative singular affix sU (pratayav-visarga). Why do we not get a replacement in s of pituḥ karoti and mātuḥ karoti, where the visarjanīya does not have its source in an affix. It is stated that a visarjanīya which occurs after a single replacement (ekādesa), here u of (māτ(r+(N)a) → mātur(s→φ) → mātuḥ and pituḥ (6.1.111 rta ut, 8.2.24 rāt sasya), is not replaced with s. Note that this visarga does not have its source in an affix. This absence of replacement in s, in turn, is indicated by inclusion of bhrātusputraḥ, as an exception, in the kaskādi listing of nominals (8.3.48 kaskādiṣ ca). This listing of bhrātusputraḥ in the kaskādi group would serve no purpose if replacement in s could be accomplished with the application of this rule.

3. A vārttika proposal (vt: pummuḥusoh pratisedho vaktavyah) is made to negate a replacement in s of the visarjanīya of pum and muhus. Thus, pumskāmā and muhuskāmā.

There are two more proposals which I exclude here. For, an externally conditioned replacement in a urddhi, or a pluta vowel, cannot block a replacement in s. They will both be considered suspended (asiddha).

8.3.42 तिरसोहत्यतस्यायम्

tiraso’ nyatarasyām
/tirasah 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 kupvoḥ #37 saḥ #39 gatyoh #40)
tiraso visarjanīyasyanyatarasyām sakārādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ
The visarjanīya of a pada constituted by tiras ‘across’ is, optionally, replaced with s, when a consonant denoted by kU or pU follows in close proximity.

Examples:
tiraskartā ‘he who will despise’
tirāḥkartā
tiraskartum ‘to despise’
tirāḥkartum
tiraskartavyam ‘should be despised’
tiraḥkartavyam

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in $s$ to the visarjanīya of tiras when a consonant denoted by $kU$ or $pU$ follows in close proximity. Recall that tiras is termed gati by 1.4.72 vibhāṣā kṛṇi when the signification is antardhi ‘disappearance, hiding’ (1.4.71 tiro’ ntarbhau). This rule then accepts the anuvṛtti of gati, via manḍukapūrti ‘frog’s leap’. We will get visarjanīya as a replacement for visarjanīya when this option of $s$-replacement is not accepted. This rule is formulated to block application of 8.3.37 kuptvoh. . . . Thus we get: tiraskarē and tirāḥkaretā, etc.

2. Note that gateḥ ‘of a gati’ is understood here. That is why we do not get a replacement in $s$ of tiras kṛtvā kāṇḍam gatah ‘placing the log aside he left’. This tiras does not mean antardhi ‘hiding’, and hence, is not a gati (1.4.71 tiro’ ntarbhau).

8.3.43 द्विस्तिरिचतुरितिवृत्तोस्यः

dvistrīscatur iti kṛtvo’ rthe
/ dvish-triś-catur (sam. du.; used with no sUP); iti kṛtivvo’ rthe 7/1 = kṛtvasaḥ arthaḥ (sas. tā.), tasmin/ (padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 kuptvoh #37 saḥ #39) ‘dvis, tris, catur’ ity etesām kṛtvō rthe vartamānānām visarjanīyasva sakhāra ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyāṁ kuptvoh paratah

The visarjanīya of a pada constituted by dvis ‘two’, tris ‘three’ and catur ‘four’ with the signification of kṛtvasaUC (5.4.17 samkhyāyaḥ . . .), is replaced with $s$ when $kU$ and $pU$ follow in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

dvis karoti
dvīh karoti
triś karoti
triḥ karoti
catus karoti
catuḥ karoti
dvis pacati
dvīh pacati
triś pacati
triḥ pacati
catus pacati
catuḥ pacati

1. Note that saḥ is carried over. This rule optionally replaces the visarjanīya of dvis, tris and catur with $s$, when they are used with the signification of the taddhita affix kṛtvasaUC (5.4.17 samkhyāyaḥ kriyābhāvāvṛttigaṇe kṛtvasauc), and
a consonant of the k (kU), or p (pU) group follows in close proximity. This option of s is recognized as ubhayatra ‘both, made available (präpta) and not (apräpta)’. This rule makes s optional in case of catur, against one made available, obligatorily. That is, it is made available to catur under the non-affixal provision of 8.3.41 idupadhasya cäpratayayah. It has not been made available by any earlier rule to dvis and tris. The word iti ‘thus’ is used here to relate dvis, etc., with the visarjaniya. Such relations are generally made clear also with the use of the genitive (saśṭhi).

Consider dvih karoti → dvis karoti and dvih karoti, etc., as examples. Recall that affix sUC is introduced by 5.4.18 dvitrivatūbhayaḥ suc after dvri, tr and catur with the signification of krtvasUC. The s of dvri + sUC, etc., is replaced with rU and visarjaniya. The s of sUC, after catur, is deleted by 8.2.24 rät sasya. The r of catur is then replaced with visarjaniya. Incidentally, krtvasUC is used with the denotatum of kriyābhūtyāvr̥ttiganaṁ ‘counting repetition of an action’.

2. Why use dvis and tris when the rule already uses krtvo’ rthä? For, even without the use of dvis, tris, and only with krtvo’ rthä, this rule can be interpreted with the anuvṛtti of idupadhasya to yield the interpretation: ‘let there be an optional replacement in s of a non-affixal visarga with i and u in the penultimate position’. Note here that there are no words other than dvis, tris and catur with penultimate i and u ending in sUC. Their sUC is introduced with the signification of krtvasUC by 5.4.18 dvitrivatūbhayaḥ suc. Elsewhere, we get krtvasUC from rule 5.4.17 samkhyāyāh kriyābhūtyāvr̥ttiganaṁ. . . . This also indicates that a specification with krtvo’ rthä does not serve any purpose here.

If dvis, tris and catur are not stated in the rule, and the rule is simply formulated as krtvo’ rthä, the visarjaniya which is carried over via anuvṛtti will become the qualified (viśeṣya) of krtvo’ rthä. The rule will then be interpreted as: let there be an optional replacement in s of a visarjaniya which has penultimate i/u. This will then block the optional replacement in s of catur. For, the visarga of dvis and tris will be used in a form with the signification of krtvasUC, but catur cannot be considered used with the signification of krtvasUC. Given catur + s, 8.2.24 rät sasya will then delete s, and r will be obligatorily replaced with visarjaniya. This visarjaniya will not be relatable to krtvo’ rthä. This is what is stated by caturo na siddhyate . . .

3. Nyāsa asks: what is the purpose of specifying krtvo’ rthä in the context of optional replacement in s. The answer is: if this specification is not made, we will also have an optional replacement in s in catuskapaṭa. Note that an obligatory replacement in s is desired here. Our earlier rule 8.3.41 idudupadhasya cäpratayayah has already made available this obligatory replacement. If the specification with krtvo’ rthä is accepted, and optional replacement in s is availed, we will still get the replacement obligatorily by 8.3.41 idudupadhasya. . . . That is, the replacement will be heard obligatorily, whether or not optional replacement is availed. Even if krtvo’ rthä is not stated in this
rule, catur, because of its associated listing in this rule with dvis and tris ending in sUC, will avail the s-replacement when ending in sUC. Thus, s-replacement can be availed in the sense of kṛtvo' rtha even without making a specification with kṛtvo' rtha. But we still get a specification made with kṛtvo' rtha. Why? It is specified to indicate non-universality (anityatva) of the interpretive convention of sāhacarya 'association'. Notice that the r of catur, irrespective of whether sUCis introduced to it, must be replaced with visarga. This visarga, in both cases, will be non-affixal (apratyaya). Consequently, an obligatory replacement in s of 8.3.41 will remain applicable. It is therefore stated that lupe kṛtvo' rthye'after s-deletion of sUC, r in both sUC and non-sUC conditions must be replaced with visarga, this provision of replacement will be an exception to the obligatory replacement of s, by way of making an optional replacement.

4. Note that when the rule is formulated as dvistrīcaturiti kṛtvo' rthe, kṛtvo' rtha is made a qualifier to catur. For, kṛtvo' rtha, with its sense as a qualifier, may be present in catur, or it may abandon catur. The same qualifier cannot be used for dvis and tris because its sense will always be there with them. Since the sense of a qualifier will never abandon (na vyabhicarati) dvis and tris, the qualifier cannot be purposeful. That is why, only catur will be qualified to yield the meaning: an optional replacement in s comes in place of the visarga of catur, used with the signification of kṛtvo' rtha. The word catur will still be denoting the sense of kṛtvo' rtha even when sUC is deleted. This, on the basis of the maxim: yaḥ śisyate sa tu samānārthābhidhāyī 'that which remains (after deletion) also denotes the same meaning'.

The author of the vārttikas finds another fault. He states that pada should be used as a qualifier to visarjaniya to yield the meaning: 's should come as an optional replacement for the visarjaniya which has i and u in penultimate position, and is part of a pada used with the signification of kṛtvo' rtha'. This way, we will get the optional replacement in s of catur. For, after deletion of the affix we will still get catur as a pada used with the signification of kṛtvo' rtha. Now one does not need the use of dvistrīcaturiti. For, we will get all padas used with the signification of kṛtvo' rtha. In summary, the author of the vārttika has accepted kṛtvo' rthe as part of the wording of the rule. He has established that dvistrīcaturiti is not needed, and the rule should simply be stated as kṛtvo' rthe, made a qualified to pada.

5. The following kārikā-verses sum up the complexity of issues involved:

kṛtvasujarthe satvam braviṭṭi kasmāt catuskāpāle mā
satvam vibhāṣayā bhūn nanu siddham tatra pūrveṇa/

'Why is he stating replacement in s under the denotation of the sense of kṛtvasUC? So that an optional replacement in s could not apply to catuskāpāla where s-replacement can be accomplished obligatorily by the previous rule (5.4.41 idudupadhasya ca . . ).'
siddhe hy ayam vidhatte caturah satvam yadapi krtvo' rthe
lupte krtvo' rthiyre repahsy a visarjaninyo hi//

'If this replacement which is established by 8.3.41 but is, optionally
offered here, then, when affix sUC goes through deletion after catur
and its r is replaced with visarga, catuh will be ending in a non-affixal
visarga subject to replacement in ǝ, obligatorily (8.3.41).'

evam sati hy idanim dvistriscaturity anena kim karyam
anyo hi nedupadhah krtvo' rthah kascid apy asti//

'This being the case, what purpose is served by making a specification
with dvistriscatur? (The sutra could simply be formed as krtvo' rthe.) For,
there are no bases other than those which may have a penultimate i
and u.'

akriyamani graham visarjaninya tad vaiisyeta
caturo na sidhyati tathae repahsy a visarjaninyo hi//

'If these words are not specified in this rule then krtvo' rthe will be
interpreted as a qualifier to visarga, thereby yielding the meaning, 'a
visarga of an affix with the meaning of krtvasUCis replaced with ǝ'. This
will not apply to catur where the visarga has its source in r, and not in
affix sUC.'

tasmis tu kriyamane yuktam caturo viyasananam bhavati
prakrtam padam tadantam tasyapi viyasananam nyayyam, //

'Is it, therefore, proper to use dvistriscatur, so that krtvo' rthe could be
used as a qualifier to catur. Even without the use of dvistriscatur, krtvo'
rthe can rightly qualify the domain heading pada, interpreted via
tadanavidhi.'

It is feared that not mentioning dvis, tris and catur in this rule will make
krtvo' rtha qualify visarjaniya. That is, an affixal (replacement in) visarjaniya
used with the sense of krtvasUC will be optionally replaced with ǝ. This will
exclude catur where we do not get an affixal visarjaniya. Using dvis, tris and
catur will remove this difficulty. Patañjali insists that krtvo' rtha will not qualify
visarjaniya. It will qualify pada, instead. This, by means of tadanavidhi, will
mean: 'the visarjaniya of a pada which is used with the signification of krtvasUC
is optionally replaced with ǝ. Patañjali, therefore, does not see any need of
mentioning dvis, tris and catur in the rule.

Kāśikā still insists that dvis, etc., must be used. If not, catur will have its
visarjaniya, obligatorily, replaced with ǝ of 8.3.41 idupadhasya ca. I omit
discussion of asiddhatva 'suspension' and apavādatva 'exception' for fear of
expatiation (prapañca). Kāśikā seems to be supporting the view of the author
of these rules (siṭrakāra).

8.3.44 इसुसोः सामर्थ्यः

isusoah samarthye
/isusoh 6/2 = is ca us ca (itar. du.), tayoḥ; sāmarthyeye 7/1 = samarthasya bhāvah (a derivate of affix SyaŅ), tasmin/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyam #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 kūpvoḥ #37 ṣah #39 anyatarasyāṁ #43)
'is, us' ity etayor visarjanīyasyāṁ anyatarasyāṁ śakārādeśo bhavati sāmarthyeye kūpvoḥ parataḥ
The visarjanīya of a pada which ends in is and us is, optionally, replaced with ṣ when a sound denoted by a consonant denoted by kU and pU follows in close proximity, and the two padas, both, are syntactically related.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiś karoti
sarpiḥ karoti
yajuś karoti
yajuh karoti

1. The visarjanīya of a pada which ends in is and us is, optionally, replaced with ṣ when a consonant denoted by kU and pU follows, and the two padas are both syntactically related (sāmarthyeye). Consider sarpiś and yajuś which end in is and us, respectively. The visarjanīya of sarpiḥ and yajuh, when used before the k-initial syntactically related karoti, is optionally replaced with ṣ. We thus get sarpiśkaroti and yajuśkaroti.

2. Note that sāmarthyaya 'syntactic relation' has been defined in two ways: (i) ekārthibhāva, where two or more padas with different scope of usage are used together to yield a single integrated meaning (bhinnapraśvatinimīttāṁ śadbānāṁ ekasmīn arthe vṛitiḥ) and (ii) vyāfekṣā, where two or more padas are used together with mutual expectancy yielding no single integrated meaning. The first syntactic relation results into formation of compounds. Commentators accept the second interpretation of sāmarthyaya in this rule. Why accept one over the other? Why not accept them both? The second view of sāmarthyaya is desired (iṣṭa). This same can also be supported, though indirectly, by samāse 'in a compound' of the next rule.

2. Why do we have the condition of sāmarthyeye 'when in syntactic relation'?
Consider tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ pība tvam udakam 'let ghee be left alone, you drink water', where ṣ of sarpiḥ 'ghee' cannot be replaced with ṣ because pība 'imperative second person singular of pā' is not syntactically related to sarpiḥ'.

8.3.45 नियम समासेनुतरपदस्यां

nityam samāse' anuttarapadasthasya
/nityam 1/1 samāse 7/1 anuttarapadasthasya 6/1 = uttarapade tiṣṭhati (tat.);
a na uttarapadasthāḥ (naṅ. tat.), tasya/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 visarjanīyasya #34 kupvoh #37 saḥ #39 isusoh #44)

samāsaviṣaye isusor visarjanīyasyānuttarapadasthasya nityam satvam bhavati
kupvoh paratah

The visarjanīya of a pada which ends in is and us, and does not combine as final constituent of a compound, is obligatorily replaced with ष when sounds denoted by kU and pU follow in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

sarpīṣkundikā ‘pot for ghee’
dhanuṣkapālam ‘piece of a bow’
sarpispānam ‘drinking of ghee’
dhanuṣphalam ‘arrowhead’

1. This rule, obligatorily, replaces the visarjanīya of a pada which ends in is and us, and is combined as non-final constituent of a compound. The condition of a kU, or pU, to follow the visarjanīya is still valid. Consider sarpiḥ (h→ṣ) + kundikā → sarpiṣkundikā, dhanuṣkapālam; and sarpiṣpānam, dhanuṣphalam as examples.

2. Why do we have the condition of anuttarapadasthasya ‘of that which is not part of a final compound constituent’? Consider paramasarpīṣkundikā and paramadhanaḥkapālam, where the visarga occurs at the end of sarpiḥ and dhanuḥ. Since these two are final constituents of the compounds paramasarpīṣ and paramadhanaḥ, we do not get their h obligatorily replaced with ṣ. Why can we not accept sarpiḥ and dhanuḥ as non-final constituents of the compounds paramasarpīṣkundikā and paramadhanaḥkapālam? We cannot accept sarpiḥ and dhanuḥ as non-final constituents because they are considered final in relation to parama with which they combine. We cannot even get the optional ṣ of the preceding rule (Kāś: pūrasūtreṇa vikalpo’ py atra na bhavati).

A question is raised against using anuttarapadasthasya ‘of that which is not a part of the final pada’ in this rule, mostly in view of the Paribh. (24): pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitā vadādi tadantasya ca grahaṇam ‘a specification made with an affix refers to a form after which the affix is introduced, beginning with that and extending up to the end before the affix’ (tadādyan-tatva). The specification of this rule can refer to a form like paramasarpīṣ without any help from anuttarapadasthasya. The ṣ-replacement can then be, optionally, accomplished by the preceding rule. It is stated that anuttarapadasthasya is used as an indicator (jñāpaka). For what? To indicate that Paribh. (24) does not apply in connection with specifications made with affixes is and us. Secondly, the preceding rule, since its specification with sāmartkhye does not cover ekārthibhāva ‘single integrated meaning’, cannot apply to compound derivates. This rule would not even permit the optional ṣ-replacement of the preceding rule (Kāś: pūrasūtreṇa vikalpo’ py atra na bhavati).
अत: क्रक्मिकस्तुत्प्रतारकुशकर्णिन्यथा

 atasā kṛṣṇakāmaksakumbhaspātrakūśākarnīṣu anavyasāya
 / atasā 5/1 kṛ-kaṃsaka-kumbha-pātra-kūśa-karnīṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), tāsu;
anavyasāya 6/1 = na avayam (nañ. tat.), tasya/
(samhitāyām #2.108 visarjaniyasa #34 sah #39 nityāṃ samāse' nuttaratpadasthasya #44)
akārād uttarsāya anavyayavisarjaniyasya samāse' nuttaratpadasthasya nityāṃ
sakārādeśo bhavati 'kṛ, kaṃs, kumbha, pātra, kūśa, karnī' ity etesu
paratah
A visarjaniya which occurs after the a of a non-final, non-indeclinable
(anavyaya) compound constituent is replaced with s, obligatorily, when
kṛ, kaṃs, kumbha, pātra, kūśa, and karnī follow in close proximity
of sounds.

Examples:

ayaskāraḥ 'blacksmith'
payaskāraḥ 'ironsmith'
ayaskāmaḥ 'desirous of getting iron'
payaskāmaḥ 'desirous of milk'
ayaskāmsah 'iron goblet'
payaskāmsah 'milkpot'
ayaskumbhah 'iron pitcher'
payaskumbhah 'jar of milk'
ayaspātram 'iron pot'
ayaskusā 'iron peg'
payaskusā 'milk-vessel (made of wood),'
ayaskarnī 'iron rudder'
payaskarnī '... milk-white ears'

1. A visarjaniya which occurs after the a of a non-final, non-indeclinable
compound constituent is obligatorily replaced with s when kṛ 'to make', kaṃs
'to love', kāmsa 'goblet', kumbha 'pitcher', pātra 'pot', kūśa 'small piece
of wood, kūṣa grass' and karnī 'a kind of shaft, rudder' combine to follow. This
rule is an exception to 8.3.37 kṛṣṇoh ka... Thus, aya(h→s)kāraḥ = ayaskāraḥ,
aya(h→s)kāmaḥ = ayaskāmaḥ, aya(h→s)kaṃsaḥ = ayaskāmsah, paya(h→s)
kumbhah = payaskumbhah, etc. How do we get ayaskumbhī and payaskumbhī
where kumbhī, the feminine counterpart of kumbha, follows. This is in
consonance with pbh. (72): prātipadikagrahaṇe lingaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam 'a specifica-
tion made with a nominal stem also refers to its corresponding form in a
particular gender'. Why do we not get sunakarnṇah as an example here? It is
not included here since this specification is made with kaṛṇī, ending in a
long i. It is a kaskādi nominal for which refer to 8.3.48 kaskādiṣu ca.

2. Why do we state the condition of atasā 'after an a'? Consider gīhkarāh
‘one who creates words, Bṛhaspati’ and dhūḥkāraḥ ‘one who makes axles’, where the visarjaniya occurs after i and ū.

Why do we have the condition of taparakaṇa ‘making t to follow a’? So that a alone could satisfy the requirement of preceding visarjaniya. Consider bhākharaṇam ‘illumination’ where the visarjaniya cannot be replaced with s of this rule. What about bhāskaraḥ ‘sun’? It is included within the kaskādi group of nominals (8.3.48 kaskādisu ca).

Why do we have the condition of anavyayasya ‘of a non-indeclinable’? Consider svākhāraḥ and punākhāraḥ where svās ‘tomorrow’ and punar ‘again’ are indeclinables.

The condition of samāse is still valid. Thus, we do not get a replacement in s for the visarjaniya of yaśaḥ karoṭi ‘brings fame’ and yaṣaḥ kāmayate ‘desires fame’.

Why do we have the condition of anuttarapadasthasya ‘located within a non-final constituent’? Consider paramapayakāraḥ and paramapayakāmah, where the visarjaniya of payaḥ is located within the final constituent of the compound paramapayaḥ.

8.3.47 अथ: शिरसी पदे

adhaḥśírasī pade
/adhaḥśīrasī 1/2 (prathamā ‘nominative’ used with the sense of saṣṭhī ‘genitive’) = adhas ca śiras ca (itār. dv.); pade 7/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 visarjaniyasya #34 saḥ #39 nityam samāse’ nuttarapadasthasya #44)
‘adhas, śiras’ ity ētayor visarjaniyasya samāse’ nuttarapadasthasya sakāra ādēsō bhavati padāsābde parataḥ
The visarjaniya of adhas ‘below’ and śiras ‘head’ which combines as a non-final constituent before a pada in close proximity is replaced with s.

Examples:

adhaspadam ‘lower place’
śiraspadam ‘higher (upper) place’
adhaspadi ‘a lower place’
śiraspadi ‘a higher place’

1. Note that pada here refers to the word-form pada. It does not refer to the technical term pada. Note further that śiraspadam is a genitive tatpurāsa compound. A compound such as adhaspadam is formed in view of 2.1.72 mayūrvamakādayās ca.

The condition of samāse is still valid. Thus, adhaḥ of adhaḥ pādam cannot have its visarjaniya replaced with s.

The condition of anuttarapadasthasya ‘of that which is not a part of the following constituent’ is also valid. Thus, the visarjaniya of paramaśīraḥ ‘best head’ cannot be replaced with s before padam of paramaśīraḥpadam.
8.3.48 कस्कादिशु च

kaskādīṣu ca
/kaskādīṣu 7/3 = kaska ādir āyaṁ (bv.), teṣu; ca φ/
(padasya #1.16 samḥitāyām #2.108 visarjaniyasya saḥ #34 kupvoḥ #37 saḥ #99)
‘kaska’ ity evam ādiṣu ca visarjaniyasya sakāraḥ sakāro vā yathāyogaṁ ādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ

The visarjāṇiya of a pada listed in the group headed by kaska, etc., is replaced with s, or ś, when a consonant of the kU ‘velar’, or pU ‘labial’ series follows in close proximity.

Examples:

kaskāḥ ‘which of them’
kautaskutāḥ ‘from which place or direction’
bhrāṭṛṣpustraḥ ‘brother’s son’
sadyaskālaḥ ‘right now’

1. This again is an exception to 8.3.37 kupvoḥ. . . Note that a visarjāṇiya which occurs after i and u (8.3.39 ināḥ saḥ) of the kaskādi nominals will be replaced with ś. Elsewhere, we will get the visarjāṇiya replaced with s (Nyāsa: ināḥ paro yo visarjaniyas tasya sakāraḥ, yas tv anyas tasya sakāra itī). The word kaska is derived from kīm + sU where kīm ‘which, what’ is replaced with kā (6.2.103 kimah kah) to produce (kīm→ka) + s(U) → ka + s = kas. Rule 8.1.4 nityāvipsayoh is responsible for adding yet another kas, thereby producing kas + kas → ka(s→h→s)kas = kashas. We similarily get kautakutāḥ, where kutas goes through doubling of 8.1.4 nityāvipsayoh. Recall that kutas is derived by introducing affix tasII (5.3.7 paṇcamiyās tasī) after kīm, used in the ablative (paṇcamī). Rule 7.2.103 ku tihoḥ then replaces kīm with ku. Thus, (kīm + ŅasI + tasII → (kīm→ku) + tas = kutas. Affix aN (4.3.74 tata āgataḥ) is introduced after kautakutās to derive kautakutās through a replacement in vṛddhi and deletion of ī (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ī) of kautakutās + a(N) → k(u→au)taskut (as→ϕ) + a → kautaskuta + sU → kauta(s→h→s)kutas = kautakutā. The word bhrāṭṛṣpustraḥ is a genitive tatpurusa compound where the genitive ending is saved from deletion (aluk; 6.3.25 ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ).

Derivates such as sarpiśkundika, dhanuskaṇḍam, bharīśpūlam and yajuspatram are included within the kaskādi group to show that the visarjāṇiya of a non-final compound constituent can also be replaced with ś.

2. Why do we use ca ‘and’ in this rule? It indicates that the kaskādi listing is open ended (ākṛtigana). That is, ca is used to attract examples which may not be enumerated as part of this list.

Why do we not have this replacement in sūryaraśmi ‘sun’s ray’, harikesah pūrāstāt ‘brown hairs . . .’ and sa nah pāvakaḥ ‘that (is) our fire’? All operations, in the Vedic, are considered optional (sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante).
8.3.49 छन्दसिः वाक्रप्रसेदितयोः:

chandasi vā' prāmṛeditayoh
/ chandasi 7/1 vā φ aprāmṛeditayoh 7/2 = praṣ ca āṃreḍitam ca (itar. dv.) =
prāmṛedita, na prāmṛedita (nañ. tat. with int. dv.; tayoh)/
(padasya #1.16 saṃhitāyām #2.108 saḥ #34 kupvoh #37)
chandasi visaye visarjanīyasya vā sakārādeśo bhavati kupvoh parataḥ
praśabdam āṃreḍitam varjayitvā

The visarjaniya of a pada, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with s when a sound denoted by kU and pU, with the exclusion of p of pra, and that of an āṃreḍita, follows in close proximity.

Examples:

ayadhapātram
ayaspātram
viśvatahpātram
viśvataspātram
uruṇaḥkāraḥ
uruṇaskāraḥ

1. This optional provision of s as a replacement for visarga is made for the Vedic when a sound denoted by pU and kU, with the exception of p of pra, and an āṃreḍita, follows in close proximity. The visarga which was offered as an obligatory replacement for the s of the genitive-tatpurūsa compound ayaspātram (8.3.46 atāh kṛkami . . .) is here made optional. Thus, we get ayadhapātram and ayaspātram. We similarly get this option where a compound such as viśvatahpātram is formed. A non-combined viśvataḥ, as in viśvataḥ pātram, will not avail this option since viśvataḥ will then be an indeclinable (8.3.46 atāh kṛkami . . .).

Now consider uruṇaskāraḥ and uruṇaḥkāraḥ, where kāra is a derivate of GAHaN introduced after kr. The nas of uruṇas is a replacement of asmad (8.1.21 bahuvacanasya vasnasau). The n of uruṇas is replaced with n of 8.4.26 naś ca dhātushhoruṣubhyah. Thus, uruṇa(s→h) kāraḥ = uruṇaḥkāraḥ and uruṇaskāraḥ.

2. Why do we have the condition of prāmṛeditayoh ‘with the exception of pra and āṃreḍita’? Consider agnī pravidvān and paruṣahparuṣah pari, where we get pra in the first and doubling of paruṣah in the second.

8.3.50 कः करत्करतिक्रधिक्रेद्येव anaditeḥ
/ kah-kara-kara-kṛdhikṛteṣu anaditeḥ
( padasya #1.16 saṃhitāyām #2.108 saḥ #34 chandasi #49)
'kah, karat, karati, kṛdhī, kṛta' ity eteṣu parataḥ anidṣte visarjanīyasya
sakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *visarjaniya* of a *pada*, with the exception of one constituted by *aditi*, is replaced with *s* when *kaḥ*, *karat*, *karati*, *kṛdhi* and *kṛta* follow in close proximity.

**Examples:**

- *visvataskah*
- *visvataskarat*
- *payaskarati*
- *urunaskṛdhi*
- *sadaskṛtam*

1. This rule allows a replacement in *s* for the *visarjaniya* of a *pada*, other than *aditi*, when *kaḥ*, *karat*, *karati*, *kṛdhi* and *kṛta* follow in close proximity. Note that *kaḥ* is a third person singular active form of *kṛṇ* in *LUN* where its CLI is deleted by 2.4.80 *mante ghasahvara*. . . The third singular active verbal ending *i* goes through deletion, first of its *i* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and then of its *t* (6.1.68 *hālīyābbhyo . . .). Of course, after *r* of *kṛ* is replaced with its *guna* counterpart *ār*. Augment *aT* is blocked here by 6.4.75 *bahulam chandasya* . . .

The *r* of *kar* is then replaced with *visarjaniya*. Thus we get *kaḥ*.

We similarly get *karat*, a form of *kṛ* in *LAṆ*, where *aNī* is introduced after *kṛ* (3.1.59 *kṛmrṛrīruḥ . . .). We get *karat* from *kṛ + a(N) + (LUN→ti(P)) → k(r→ar) + a + t(i→f) = karat*, again by replacing *r* with its *guna* (6.1.58 *srijīrśor . . .) counterpart. Here again we do not get augment *aT*. Our next form *karati* is derived from *kṛ + SaP + tiP*, where *r* goes through *guna* and *SaP* is introduced against *u* (3.1.79 *tanādkṛṇbhya uḥ*). We have already discussed *urunah* (8.3.49 *chandasi vā . . .) of *urunaskṛdhi*, where *kṛdhi* derives from (*kṛN + (LOT→siP)*). Rule 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca* replaces *si* with *hi* which, in turn, is replaced with *dhi* (6.4.102 *sruśruṇu . . .). The *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *SaP*, itself is deleted by 2.4.73 *bahulam chandasi*. Now consider the other examples: *visvata(h→s) kaḥ = visvataskah*, *visvataskarat*, *payaskarati*, *urunaskṛdhi* and *sadaskṛtam*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *anaditeḥ* 'not of *aditi*'? Consider yathā *no aditiḥ karat*, where, because of this negation of *anaditeḥ*, we cannot get the *visarga* of *aditiḥ* replaced with *s*.

8.3.51 पञ्चम्यां: परावध्येः

*pañcamyāḥ parāv adhyarthe*

/*pañcamyāḥ 6/1 parau 1/2 adhyarthe 7/1 = adher arthah (saś. tat.), tasmin/
(padasya #1.16 saṃhidāyām #2.108 saḥ #34 chandasi #49)*

*pañcamīvisarjanīyaśasya sakārādeśo bhavati pa:au parataḥ adhyarthe chandasi viṣaye*

The *visarjaniya* of a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī*, in the Vedic, is replaced with *s*, provided *pari*, used with the signification of *adhi*, follows in close proximity.
Examples:

divasparī prathamam jājñe
agnirhimavatasparī
divasparī
mahisparī

1. Note that pari of example derives is used in the sense of adhi ‘over and above’. This rule uses adhyarthe ‘in the sense of adhi’ as a qualifier to parau ‘when pari follows’.

Why do we state the condition of pañcamyāḥ ‘of an ablative’? Consider ahir iva bhogaiḥ pary ēti bāhum where pari is used after the instrumental plural bhogaiḥ.

Why do we state the condition of parau ‘when pari follows’? Consider ebhyo vā etal lokebhyaḥ prajāpatisamairayat where pari is not used after any pada ending in the ablative.

Why do we state the condition of adhyarthe ‘in the sense of adhi’? Consider divah prthivyāḥ payorja udbhṛtam, where pari is construed as denoting the sense of sarvatobhāva ‘all over’. The sense of adhi which pari may denote is: uparibhāva ‘over and above’.

8.3.52 pātavī ca bahulam
/pātavī 7/1 ca ṣ ṣ bahulam 1/1/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 sah #34 (?) chandasi #49 pañcamyāḥ #51)
pātavī ca dhūtavī parataḥ pañcamivisarjanīyasya bahulaṁ sakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye

The visarjanīya of a pada which ends in pañcamī, in the Vedic, is variously (bahulam) replaced with s, when a form of pā ‘to protect’ follows in close proximity.

Examples:

divas pātu
rājñas pātu

1. This again is a Vedic rule, whereby a visarjanīya before a form of pā ‘to protect’ is, variously, replaced with s. Thus, we get diva(h→s) pātu = divas pātu and rājña(h→s) pātu = rājañas pātu. But we do not also get *pariṣada(h→s) pātu = *pariṣadas pātu.

8.3.53 pāṣṭhāṇa: patitputrapṛṣṭhapārapadapayasyoṣeṣu

saṣṭhyāḥ patiputrapṛṣṭhapārapadapayasyaṃ
8.3.54  Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Three

1/ saṣṭhyāḥ 6/1 pati-putra-prśtha-pāra-pada-payas-posāsu 7/3 (itar. du.), teṣu/
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 sah #34 (?) chandasi #49)
saṣṭhivisarjanīyasya sakārađeśo bhavati 'pati, putra, prśtha, pāra, pada, payas,
posa' ity eteṣu parataḥ chandasi viṣayē

The visarjanīya of a pada which ends in saṣṭhī 'genitive', in the Vedic, is replaced with s when pati 'lord, master, husband', putra 'son', prśtha 'back', pāra 'beyond, across', pada 'place', payas 'milk' and posa 'prosperity, nourishment' follow in close proximity.

Examples:

vācaspatīm viṣvakārmāṇam rtayé
dvāspṛṣṭhe dhāvamāṇam suparṇam
aganma tamāsas pāram
idaspade samidhyase
sāryam caṣṭurar divaspayah
rāyasposam yajamāṇesu dhattam

1. The visarjanīya of all padas which end here in saṣṭhī 'genitive' are replaced with s before putra, etc. Thus, vācaḥ patiḥ → vācaspatīm and divaḥ + putraḥ → divaspṛṣṭaḥ, etc.

2. Why do we state the condition of saṣṭhyāḥ 'of a genitive'? Consider manuḥ putrebhya dāyam vyabhajat, where putrebhya occurs after the nominative.

8.3.54  इडाया वा

iḍāyā vā
/iḍāyāḥ 6/1 va/ 
(padasya #1.16 samhitāyām #2.108 sah #34 (?) chandasi #49 saṣṭhyāḥ
patiputrapṛṣṭhapāra-padapayasposāsu #53)
iḍāyāḥ saṣṭhivisarjanīyasya vā sakārađeśo bhavati pātyādiṣu parataḥ chandasi viṣayē

The visarjanīya of a pada, namely iḍā in the Vedic, which ends in saṣṭhī 'genitive', is optionally replaced with s, when pati, putra, prśtha, pāra, pada, payas and posa follow in close proximity.

Examples:

iḍāyās patiḥ
iḍāyāḥ patiḥ
iḍāyās putraḥ
iḍāyāḥ putraḥ
iḍāyās prśtham
iḍāyāḥ prśtham
iḍāyās pāram
idāyāḥ pāram
idāyās padam
idāyāḥ padam
idāyās payah
idāyāḥ payah
idāyās posam
idāyāḥ posam

1. Note that the preceding rule makes an obligatory provision. This rule makes that provision optional. We thus get idāyāḥ putraḥ = idāyās putram ‘son of Idā’, etc.

8.3.55 अपदान्तस्य यूर्ध्यः:

apadāntasya mūrdhanyah
/apadāntasya 6/1 = padasya antah (saṣ. tat.); na padāntah (nañ. tat.),
tasmin; mūrdhanyah 1/1 (mūrdhani bhavah; a derivate of yaT (cf. 4.3.55 šarīravayavāc ca)) /
‘apadāntasya’ iti, ‘mūrdhanyah’ iti caitad adhikṛtaṁ veditaryam āpāda-
parisamāptēḥ.
A replacement in mūrdhanyā ‘retroflex’ comes in place of that which does not occur at the end of a pada.

Examples:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This is an adhikāra ‘governing rule’. That ‘a non-final xis to be replaced with a retroflex’ should be understood as given for all rules up to the end of this quarter (pāda). Consider 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh, which, when read with apadāntasya mūrdhanyah, inkah (8.3.56) and saḥ (8.3.56) means: ādesa yah sakāraḥ, pratayasya ca yah sakāraḥ inkor uttarah, tasya mūrdhanyo bhavaty ādesaḥ
‘a mūrdhanya ‘retroflex’ comes in place of s which occurs after a sound denoted by in (Śs. 1-6; i, u, ṛ, ṛ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l), and is either a substitute or is part of an affix.’ Examples are: agnisu, vāyuṣu, kartrṣu and hartrṣu.

2. Why do we state the condition of mūrdhanyah ‘retroflex’? It would be better to state the rule as apadāntasya (saḥ) where s comes, via anuvṛtti, and is also a mūrdhanya. This rule will be a lot simpler. This rule is formulated so that s as a replacement can be blocked in favor of dh in akrdhvam and cakrdhve (8.3.78 inah siddhantumunītiṁ dhoṅgāi).

3. Why does he state apadāntasya ‘of the non-final of a pada’? Consider agnis tatra and vāyuṣ tatra where s occurs at the end of a pada. This qualifier indicates that the anuvṛtti of 8.1.16 padasya is canceled. If apadāntasya is not stated, one will understand that this s-replacement is offered to a form which is not a pada. This, in turn, will block this replacement in karisyati, etc., where the s is that of a pada. Where should this rule apply? Where karisyati, etc., are
not termed a *pada*. Assignment of the term *pada* is here blocked in favor of the assignment of the term *bha*. Therefore, the word *apadāntaśta* must be used in this rule (Nyāsa: karisyaśātyādau yatra padasamjñā nāsti. atra hi bhasamjñā padasamjñāṃ bādheta. tasmād antagrahaṇaṃ kriyate).

8.3.56 सह: साड़: स:

sahēh sāḍah sah
/sahēh 6/1 sāḍah 6/1 sah 6/1/
(saṃhītāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55)
sahēh dhātoḥ sāḍṛūpasya yaḥ sakāras tasya mūrdhanya adēśo bhavati

The *s* of sāḍ, a form of verbal root *sah* 'to endure' is replaced with *s* (mūrdhanya 'retroflex') in close proximity of sounds.

**EXAMPLES:**

jalāsaṭ (that which / he who) endures water

turāsaṭ 'name of Indra'

pratnāsaṭ 'name of Indra'

1. This rule applies to the *s* of sāḍ, a form of *sah* 'to endure'. Refer to derivational details of turāsaṭ, under 3.2.63 chandasi sahāh (II:739), for derivational details of jalāsaṭ. Other examples are similarly derived. Recall that the final *a* of jala 'water' is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.135 anyeṣāṁ api...

2. Why do we state the condition of saheh of sah? Consider saha adena (vṛścikālaṅgalena) vartate = sāḍah; tasyāpaityaṃ sāḍih 'Sādi, a male offspring of Sāda'. This rule, without the use of saheh, could have applied also to sāḍih.

Why state sāḍ? So that this rule applies only where verbal root *sah* yields the form sāḍ. It will not apply to jalāsāham and turāsāham, where *sah* yields the form sāḥ.

Why do we state the condition of saḥ 'in place of s'? So that this mūrdhanya does not apply to ā of sāḍ, especially since its ā is already a retroflex (Kāś: ākārasya mā bhūt).

8.3.57 इनकोः:

incoh

/incoh 5/1 = in ca kuś ca = inku (sam. dv.), tasmāt/

‘incoh’ ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam

A non-final *s* is replaced with *s* (mūrdhanya) when the same occurs, either after *i* and *u*, or after a consonant of the *k*-series.

**EXAMPLES:**

Look under subsequent rules.
1. This is also an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. Hence, rules which follow must read *inkoh* for their proper interpretation. Consider 8.3.59 ṣaṁapravaya, which, when read with *apadāntasya mūrdhanyah, inkoḥ* (8.3.56) and *saḥ* (8.3.56) means: ṣaṁya yah sakārah, pratyasya ca yah sakārah inkor uttarah, tasya mūrdhanyo bhavaty ādesaḥ 'a mūrdhanya 'retroflex' comes in place of a *s* which occurs after *i, u*, and is either a substitute or, is a part of an affix’. Thus, *agni* + *su* → *agni*(*s→s*) *u* = *agnisu* and *vāyu* + (*s→ṣ*) *u* → *vāyuṣu*, which illustrates a *s* occurring after *i* and *u*, respectively. Examples such as *vāk* + (*s→ṣ*) *u* → *vāksu* and *tvāk* + (*s→ṣ*) *u* = *tvaksu* illustrate a *s* which occurs after *k*.

2. Note that *iN* is an abbreviatory symbol made with the second *N* of the Śivasūtra (Śs. 1-6) denoting *i, u, r, l, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l*. The *kU*, of course, refers to a consonant of the *k*-series (*kavarga*). Why is *iN* not interpreted as an abbreviatory symbol formed with the first *N* (Śs. 1)? It is known from *vyākhyāna* 'exposition of the learned' (*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ* . . .).

Why do we state the condition of *inkoh* 'when occurring after sounds denoted by *iN* and *kU*'? Consider *dāsya* and *adas* + *sU* → *asau* where *s* is preceded by *ā* and *a*, respectively. We cannot replace this *s* with its retroflex counterpart *ṣ*.

8.3.58 नृपविसर्जनीयशव्यायायेपि

*nmuvisarjaniyaśarvyavaye* *pi*

/ *num-visarjaniyaśar-vyavaye* 7/1 = *num ca visarjaniya ca šar ca = num-visarjaniya-śarāḥ* (itār. du.); *num-visarjaniyaśarbhiḥ vyavāyah* (trt. tat.), *tasmin; api φ/ (samhitāyām #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57)*

*nmuvisarjaniyaśa* *pi*, *visarjaniyaśa* *vyavaye* *pi*, *śarvyavaye* *pi* inkor uttarasya sakāraṣa mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *s* which, irrespective of whether intervened by n*UM, visarjaniya*, or a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *ṣaR* (*ś, s, s*), occurs after a sound denoted by *iN* and *kU* is replaced with *ṣ* (*mūrdhanya*).

Examples:

*sarpīṃsi*
*yajumśi*
*haviṃsi*
*sarpīṣu*
*yajusśu*
*haviśu*
*sarpīṣu*
*yajusśu*
*haviśu*

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ṣ* for a *s* which occurs after *iN* and *kU*.
even though intervened by augment nUM, visarjaniya and a sound denoted by śaR (ś, s, ś, Śś. 13). The word vyavāyaḥ, since it is used at the end of the dvandva compound numvisorjaniyaśar, is read with each one of its member constituents (dvandvaṁte śrīyamāṇam pratyekam abhisambhāhyate). Thus we get: num- vyavāye, visarjaniya-vyavāye and śar- vyavāye. The word vyavāya means 'separation, intervention'. An intervention caused by nUM (numvyavāya) is impossible to find. For, the n of nUM invariably gets replaced with anusvāra (8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhalī). This specification with nUM is made to refer to the anusvāra by way of nUM (PM: numgraḥaṇam anusvāropalakṣānam; numāvyavāyaśämbhavāt, naś cāpadāntasya jhalī ity anusvārasya vidhāṇāt). Why was this specification not made with anusvāra? So that this s-replacement only applies when n of nUM is replaced with anusvāra. Consider the s of pumṣu ‘locative plural of pum ‘male’ which, since m is a replacement of m, cannot be replaced with s (PM: anusvāragrahaṇam eva tu na kṛtam; numsthānīkenaivānuśvāreṇa vyavahārānātha syāt, iha mābhūt pumṣu iti).

This rule is formulated in view of the ablative specification of inkoḥ. A specification without any mention of vyavāya would have required s to be replaced with ś, only when s followed iN without any intervention (1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya).

Note further that this s-replacement applies when nUM, visarjaniya and śaR intervene, individually. It is not desired if any combination of them intervenes. An intervention by more than one of these three will block the replacement (PM: adhikavyavāye satvābhāvaḥ). A replacement in ś for the s of nimbse and nimsvse, cannot be accomplished. For, these forms of verbal root nisI’ to kiss’ have their s intervened by nUM and śaR, both at the same time (Kāś.: atra hi sakāraṇa śara ca vyavahānam).

Now consider sarpsi + Jas → sarpsiṇi, yajus + Jas → yajūṃsi and havis + Jas → havūṃsi, where Jas is replaced with Śi (7.1.20 jaśiṣaoḥ śi) and augment nUM is introduced (7.1.72 napumṣakasya khaly acaha). Rule 6.4.10 sāntamahathāḥ... then applies to replace i, or u, with their long counterparts. The n of sarpsi + nUM + (Jas→(Ś)ī) → sarpi + n(UM) + s + i → sarpi(i→ī) + n + s + i → sarpi + n + s + i is then replaced with anusvāra (8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhalī). Our present rule replaces the s with ś to produce: sarpin→m) s + i → sarpiṃ(s→ś) + i → sarpiṃśi. Similar rules apply in deriving yajūṃsi and havūṃsi.

Examples such as sarpsi + su → sarpsiṣu, yajus + su → yajuṣṣi and havis + su → havuṣṣu are somewhat different. The s of sarpsi, yajus and havis is optionally replaced with h (visarjaniyah; 8.3.36 vā śārī). Thus, we get sarpi(s→h) + su → sarpiḥ + su = sarpiḥṣu, yaujuṣṣu and havuṣṣu. We will get sarpsi + su, yajus + su and havis + su if the optional replacement of s is not accepted. A s which occurs after i and u, and is intervened by s (śaR), can be replaced here with ś. Thus, sarpsi + (s→ś) u → sarpsi + su, etc. The s after i and u of these examples will itself be replaced with ś (8.3.41 idhupadhasya cāpratayasya). We thus get: sarpi(s→ś) + su → sarpsiṣu, yaujuṣṣu and havuṣṣu.
8.3.59 आदेशप्रत्ययोः:

ादेशप्रत्ययोः
/ādeśa-pratyayayoḥ 6/2 = ādeśa ca pratyayaḥ ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ/
(saṁhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 iṅkoḥ #57
numvisarjaniyaśaranyāvaye' pi #58)
ādeśo yaḥ sakārah iṅkor uttarah tasya mūrdhanyo bhavyaṁ ādeśaṁ
A s which occurs at the end of a pada after iN and kU, and is either a
substitute (ādeśa) or part of an affix, is replaced with s, irrespective of
whether intervened by nUM, visarjanīya and sāR (ś, ś, s).

Examples:

siṣeva
suṣvāpa
aṃṣiṣu
vāyuṣu
kaṁṣu
hāṃṣu

1. Note that mūrdhanyah and saḥ are both carried over. Jinendrabuddhi
(Nyāsa ad Kāśika) shows four possible interpretations of this rule:

(i) ādeśāvayavo yaḥ sakārah pratyayāvayavo yaḥ sakārah ‘a s which is part
of a replacement (ādeśāvayavo sakārah); a sa which is part of an
affix (pratyayāvayavo sakārah)

This interpretation accepts ādeśapratyayayoh as ending in the genitive dual.
When construed individually with ādeśa and pratyaya, in relation to saḥ, it
denotes avayava ‘part of a whole’.

(ii) ādeśasya sakārasya pratyayasya sakārasety ādeśo yaḥ sakārah pratyayo
yaḥ sakārah ‘of the s of a substitute; of the s of an affix’, thus, a s
which is a substitute; a s which is an affix

This interpretation also accepts ādeśapratyayayoh as ending in the genitive
dual. When construed individually with ādeśa and pratyaya in relation with
saḥ, it denotes syntactic coordination (śāmāṇādhikaranya). Thus, the meaning:
‘of a s which is a substitute; of a s which is an affix (pratyaya)’.

(iii) pratyayo yaḥ sakārah ādeśāvayavo yaḥ sakārah

This interpretation accepts saḥ in syntactic coordination with pratyayasya,
thereby yeilding the meaning: ‘a s which is an affix’. It accepts the genitive
of the substitute (ādeśa) as denoting ‘part of a whole’, thereby yielding
the meaning: ‘a s which is part of a substitute’ (Nyāsa: pratyaye śāmāṇādhi-
karanādēsā vayavayogā).
(iv) *tasya viparyayo vā-ādeśo yah sakāras tasya; pratayāvayayo vas tasya* ‘of a s which is a substitute’; ‘of a s which is part of an affix’

This interpretation reverses the relational interpretation of ‘affix’ and ‘substitute’ given under (iii).

Accepting the first view will create problems in *bisam bisam* and *musalam musalam*. That is, a replacement in  $s$ will apply after doubling of *bisam* and *musalam* by 8.1.4 *nītyāvīpasyoh*. For, the *s* which occurs as part of replacement after *i* and $u$ will be replaced with $s$. Accepting the second view will block the $s$-replacement in *kariṣyati*, *harisyati*, etc. The *s* of *kariṣyati* and *harisyati* is not an affix by itself. What is an affix is the full form *sya*. Accepting the third view will also create problems, similar to the first two. It is to resolve problems of the first three interpretations that the fourth view is accepted (*PM: tasmād antyāḥ pakṣaḥ āśrīyate*).

It is indicated by the next rule that *saṣṭhi* of a substitute denotes *samānādhiKarana* ‘same locus of meaning’. It does not denote different loci. If it was not so, $s$-replacement in the next rule could have been accomplished by just using the replacement. The negation of *sātti* (8.3.111 *sāti padādyoh*) also indicates that the genitive of an affix denotes *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. It does not denote syntactic coordination. Otherwise, that negation will become vacuous. For, *s* will not be an affix and hence, the question of negating $s$-replacement would not arise. But since these two meanings of genitive cannot be denoted at the same time (*saha-vivaksā*), a *dvandva* compound such as *ādeśapratyayayoh* cannot be formed. Commentators state that such compounds will be formed in view of indications (*jñāpakas*) of these two rules. How do we accomplish two relata of a single genitive? It is stated that *tāṇtra* (see notes under 8.2.1 *puirvātṛsiddham*) would enable us to get the co-referentiality (*sāmānādhiKarana*) and ‘part of a whole’ relations of ‘$s$ as replacement’ (as in *siśeva/susvāpa*), and ‘$s$ of an affix’ (as in *agniṣu/vāyasyu*).

2. Now consider *siśeva*, a third singular active *LI{T}-derivate of *siuv*, where *tiP* of *LI{T}* is replaced with *NaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). The initial $s$ of the root is replaced with $s$ by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ*. Doubling (6.1.8 *līty dhātor* . . .) and retention of the unit formed with initial consonant (7.4.60 *halāḍiśaṇa*) then produce *siv + siv + a → si (v→ϕ) + siv + a*. A replacement in *guna* of the short penultimate (*laghūpadha*) will produce *s + s(i→e)v + a = siśeva*. We will get *si(s→$s$)eva = siśeva*, with the application of our present rule. Deriving *susvāpa* from (*N) *svap + LI{T} also involves similar rule applications. The *abhyāsa* of *s(v→u)a + svap + a = su+a + svap + a*, however, goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *līty abhyāsasyobhayesām*). The $u+a$ sequence is then replaced with $u$ to produce *su + svap + a = susvāpa* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇac ca*). The penultimate *a* of *susvap* will also be replaced with its *vṛddhī* counterpart (7.2.116 *ata upadāhyāḥ*). Our present rule will replace the *s of svap* with $s$. Thus, *susv(a→ā)pā → su(s→$s$)vāpa = susvāpa*. Note here that the $s$ which goes through a replacement in $s$ is a replacement (*ādeśa*) of the root-initial $s$. 
The ə-replacement in su of agni + su, vāyu + su, katr + su and hātr + su is accomplished by accepting ə as part of an affix.

3. How do we get this ə-replacement in vakṣat and yakṣat in indro mā vakṣat and sa devān yakṣat? These are the third singular active forms of LET introduced after verbal roots vac and yaj, where LET is replaced with tiP. Affix sIP (3.1.34 sib bahulaṃ leti) after the verbal root, and augment aT (3.4.94 leto dāta) to affix tiP, are then introduced. The i of tiP then goes through deletion (3.4.100 itaś ca). It is the s of sIP which gets replaced with ə. How could sIP be considered as part of the affix when it itself is the affix. Commentators explain that sIP can still be considered as its part while constituting the whole (PŚ (31): vyapadesīvad ekasmin). Thus, we get ə-replacement in yakṣat and vakṣat, third singular active forms of vah and yaj in LET.

8.3.60 शासितविषिसिंहवीणां च

śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca
/sāsi-vasi-ghasīnāṃ 6/3 (itar. du.), teṣām; ca ṣ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyakṣa #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57)
śāsi, vasi, ghasi ity teṣām ca inkoḥ uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyo bhavati
The s of śāsi ‘instruct, rule’, vasI ‘to dwell’ and ghasI ‘to eat’ which occurs after a sound denoted by iy and ku is replaced with ə in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

anvaśīṣat
anvaśīṣatām
anvaśīṣan
śīṣṭah
śīṣṭavān
uṣitaḥ
uṣitavān
uṣitvā
jakṣatuḥ
jakṣuh
akṣann amīdanta pitarah

1. Note that 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh cannot replace the s of these roots with ə since ə is not a replacement form. Refer to the appendix (III:7-23) under 3.1.56 sarttisāṣṭiyartibhyas ca for derivational details of anvaśīṣat, anvaśīṣatām, anvaśīṣan; and śīṣṭah/ śīṣṭavān under 6.3.4 śās id anhaloh. Derivational details of uṣitaḥ/uṣitavān can be found under 6.1.15 vacisvapiyajādīnām. . . .

Forms such as jakṣatuḥ / jakṣuh are discussed under the appendix (II:412-13), where 6.4.100 ghasibhasor . . . applies to delete the penultimate a of ghas + atus. Derivational details of akṣan can also be found there.
This rule is formulated for facilitating ś-replacement for a s which is not a replacement (anādesārtham vacanam). But how could ś-replacement in ghas be accepted as an example of anādesa ‘non-replacement’? We know that ghas is a replacement of ad. Still, s is not a replacement (Kāś: sakāras tv ādeso na bhavati). It is used here as part of ghasI, which, in turn, refers to ad and its replacement in ghasI, both.

Recall that the condition of inkoḥ is still valid. Thus, we do not get this ś-replacement in vasati and jaghāsa.

EXAMpLES:

tuṣṭūsati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root śtuN ‘to praise’ used with affix saN’
sise caiyasiati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root sic ‘to drip, water’ used with affix iC followed by saN’
siṣaṇjayaṇiṣati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root saṇj ‘to cling to’ used with affix iC followed by saN’
susuṇpayaṇiṣati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root swap ‘to sleep’ used with causal NiC followed by saN’

1. Refer to derivational details of tuṣṭūsati in the appendix of 1.2.9 iko jhal (II:434). Derivational details of susvāpayiṣati are offered under 7.4.67 dyutisvāpyoh samprasāranam. Derivatives such as sise caiyasiati and siṣaṇjayaṇiṣati are similarly derived from (sic + NiC + saN) + LAT) and (saṇj + saN) + LAT). Note that the ś-replacement in the abhyāsa of saṇj is accomplished by 7.4.49 saṇi atah.

2. Note that this ś-replacement applies to a ś which itself is a replacement of s. Rule 8.3.59 ādesapratyaśayoh can thus account for this replacement. Since this provision is being made against one already made available, this provision must then be accepted as restrictive (śiddhe saty ārambho niyamārtham bhavati ‘a provision made against one already established is made for restrictive purposes’). That is, if a replacement in s of this rule applies, it must apply only to a ś which occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol iN
of the abhyāsa of verbal roots stuñ and roots which end in affix NiC. Additionally, this replacement must occur when affix saN with a replacement in s follows (sañi paratah stauti nyeva . . .). There are two requirements this rule must meet for its application: (i) this replacement applies only in the context of stu and roots ending in NiC; (ii) this replacement applies only when affix saN with its s replaced with s follows. These requirements both are specified with the use of the word eva ‘only when’.

Why do we have to state eva ‘only, alone’, when the restrictive nature of this provision can be easily understood by siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthah. The word eva is necessary so that what is desired could be clearly understood (Kāś: iṣṭato’ vadhārānārtham). There will be two meanings to this restrictive provision if this rule does not use eva: (i) when stu, or a causative root alone, is followed by affix saN (stautinyor eva sañi) and (ii) when affix saN alone follows stu or a causative root (stautinyoh sañy eva). Accepting the second interpretation will block this replacement in the third person singular active LIT-derivate tuṣṭau. Accepting the first view will make this replacement applicable to the s of the abhyāsa in sisikṣati where saN occurs after verbal root siC. The use of eva is therefore necessary. What is wrong in understanding this restrictive provision as: stautinyoh sañy eva ‘only when affix saN follows after stu and roots ending in NiC’. This restrictive provision will facilitate replacement in s (satva) only before affix saN, and not before any other affix. This will block satva in the third person singular active LIT-derivate tuṣṭau. It will definitely apply in sisikṣati. For, exact delimitation of this restrictive provision is not exclusive of replacement in s (satva).

Why do we have the condition of sañi ‘when affix saN follows’. So that this restrictive provision does not apply elsewhere. If a replacement in s applied to the s occurring after the abhyāsa, it would apply only to the s occurring after the abhyāsa of stu and roots ending in NiC. Thus, it could not apply to siṣeca where s is that of a dhātu ‘verbal root’. As this replacement does not apply to the s which occurs after the abhyāsa in sisikṣati, it should also not apply in siṣeca before affix LIT. This restriction of saN is specified to block replacement where saN does not follow.

Why do we have to make this specification of saN with vinata, i.e., its s and n replaced with s and n (Kāś: ko vinate’ nurodhah). Note that the prātiṣākhyaś use the term vinata for replacements in s and n. So that this replacement does not apply where saN follows without (avinata) its s and n replaced with s and n. As a s-replacement, before s of saN replaced with s, does not apply in context of roots other than stu and causatives, so also here in susuṣpsati, it cannot apply before a saN with no replacement of its s with s (PM: satvabhuite sañi dhātvantarasya satvam na bhumvati evam ihāsatvabhūte’ pi na syāt). Refer to derivational details of susuṣpsati in the appendix (II.434), under 1.2.8 rudavidamusa. . .

Why specify saN with N? A specification with sa would have made this
restrictive rule to apply before any affix used with the word-form *sa.*

Why do we have the condition of abhyāsāt ‘after the abhyāsa of a root’? So that this replacement does not apply to the *s* of a root which occurs after *i* and *u* of the root, or its preverb. Consider pratifisati and adhisati as examples (Kāś. abhyāsād yā prāptis tasyā niyamo yathā syāt dhātor yā prāptir tasyā niyamo mā bhūt).

8.3.62 स: स्वदिस्वदिसहीनां च

*sāḥ svidisvadisahinām ca*

/sāḥ 1/1 svidi-svadi-sahinām 6/3 (itar. du.), teṣām; ca φ/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya #55 sāḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 neḥ śany abhyāsāt #61)

’svidi, svadi, sahi’ ity eteṣām nyātiṇām sani sabhūte āparato bhyāsād uttarasya sakārasya sakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *s* comes in place of *s* of verbal roots svīd ‘to perspire’, svād ‘to taste’ and sahi ‘to endure’ when ending in NiC, provided this *s* occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iN* of the abhyāsa, when affix saN with a replacement in *s* follows in close proximity.

Examples:

sisvedayīsati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root svīd ‘to perspire’ used with NiC ending in affix saN’

sisvādayīsati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root svād ‘to taste’ used with NiC ending in affix saN’

sisāhayīsati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root sāh used with NiC ending in affix saN’

1. Note that the initial *s* of these roots derives from *s* (6.1.64 dhātāvādah sāh saḥ). This *s*, in turn, is subject to a replacement in *s* of the preceding rule. Our present rule offers *s* as a replacement for *s* to cancel its replacement in *s* (Kāś. sakārasya sakāravacanam mūrdhanyaniyārtham). Refer to numerous examples with similar derivational history already explained.

8.3.63 प्रक्ष सितादिव्यवायेषि

/prāk sitād advyavāye ‘pi

/prāk φ sitā 5/1 advyavāye 7/1 = atā vyavāyah (trt. tat.), tasmin; api φ/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sāḥ #56 inkoḥ #57)

prāksitaṃsabdanād yān ita ʿurdhvam anukramisyāmas tatrād vyavāye ‘pi mūrdhanyo bhavaty evam tad vedītavyam

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya), from here on prior to sita (8.3.70 parinivibhayaḥ sevasita . . .), comes in place of an *s* which does not occur at the end of a pada, even when augment aT intervenes.
Examples:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This rule is operational (vidhi) in nature, though it can also qualify for an adhikāra ‘domain’. As indicated by prāk sitāt ‘prior to sita ‘bound’, it governs rules enumerated prior to 8.3.70 parinivibhyah sevasita. . . . The word aT here refers to augment aT. It does not refer to the abbreviatory symbol formed with a of the first Śivasūtra and T of the fifth. The word api ‘also’ is used so that this replacement can apply also where augment aT does not intervene between s, and what conditions this replacement.

8.3.64 स्वादिष्क्षभाष्येन चाभायासय

sthādīṣv abhyāsena cābhyaśasaya
/s thādīṣv 7/3 = sthā ādir yeṣām (bu.), teṣu; abhyaśena 3/1 ca φ abhyaśasya 6/1/

(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sitād advyāvāye’ pi #63)
sthādīṣv prāk sitasamsabdanađ abhyāsena vyavāye mūrdhanyo bhavati, abhyāsakārasya ca bhavatīty evaṃ veditaṇyaṃ

A mūrdhanya ‘retroflex’ replaces the s of verbal roots enumerated beginning with sthā ‘to stand, stay’, prior to sita, and also of the s of the abhyāsa of specified roots, even when the abhyāsa intervenes between s and what conditions this s to be replaced with s.

Examples:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. Note that sthā refers to sthā of the next rule. The word abhyāsa of abhyāsasya does not refer to the abhyāsa of any root. It refers to the abhyāsa of roots enumerated by rules beginning with 8.3.65 upasargāt . . . through rules prior to 8.3.70 parinivibhyah. . . . This specification would not be needed if abhyāsa of abhyāsasya is referred to as abhyāsa in general. Rule 8.3.65 upasargāt . . . could then have covered its provision. Thus, this use of abhyāsa is made for restrictive (niyama) purposes. That is, it applies only to the abhyāsa of roots which have been specified by this rule. This rule can be interpreted in two parts: (i) sthādīṣv abhyāsena vyavāye satvam bhavati ’s comes as a replacement in sthā, etc.’, when abhyāsa intervenes; (ii) abhyāsasya ca satvam bhavati teṣu eva sthādīṣv iti ’s comes as a replacement of s of the abhyāsa of those same sthā, etc.’ The first part of this rule is purely operational (vidhyartham). The second part is restrictive (niyamārtham).

2. Refer to derivational details of tasthau, under 7.1.34 āta au naḷah. We get abhitasthau from abhi-sthā + (L1T→tiP→NaL), where a of NaL is replaced with au (7.1.34 āta au naḷah). The s of tasthau could not be replaced with s
because it is preceded by a. Rule 8.3.59  ādeśapratyayayoh could account for this replacement only when s occurs after i and u (iN). This rule, with the specification of abhyāsasya ca, makes the replacement possible. Now consider pari-sthā + (LiT→tiP→NaL), where NaL is also replaced with au. The abhyāsa here intervenes between pari, the preverb which conditions this replacement, and s, the sound segment which is to be replaced.

This rule is formulated, also for roots which are not enumerated in the Dhātupāṭha with s to start with (Kāś: asopadesārtham ca). Consider senayā abhiyātum icchati = abhiśiṣenayisati ‘wishes to go about with the army’ and senayā paryātum icchati = pariśiṣenayisati ‘wishes to go all over the army’, where the causative root senaya does not begin with s (asopadesārthana ca).

This rule is also formulated to remove the restrictive provision of s-replacement applicable in the context of stu and causative roots, as per specification of sani of 8.3.61 stauti... Our present rule will allow a replacement in s when affix saN follows with its s replaced with s. Consider abhiṣiṣiksati and pariśiṣiksati as examples.

Recall that abhyāsasya is used here for only restrictive purposes (niyamārtham). A s replaces the s of the abhyāsa of only those roots which have been specified by 8.3.64 sthādiṣu abhyāsena... (Kāś: ‘abhyāsaya’ ity vacanam niyamārtham; sthādiṣu evābhīyāsasakārasya mūrdhanyo bhavati, nānyatra). Thus, consider abhisūsati and abhiśiṣāti.

Refer to derivational details of examples under the following rules.

8.3.65 उपसर्गान्तु सुनोतिसुवस्वस्वतिस्तोतित्वलिङ्गस्थित्वसंस्कृतस्वर्णान्र्यस्बम्

упसर्गाति sunotisuvatisyatistautistobhattisthāsenayasedhasicsanañjasvañjām /упасаргāti 5/1 sunotisuvati-stauti-stobhati-sthā-senaya-sedha-sic-sañja-svañjām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām/
(samhitāyām #2.108 aparādāntasa mūrdhanyo #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sītād adṛśayāye’ pī #63 sthādiṣu abhīyāsena cābhīyāsasa #64)

upasargasthān nimittaḥ uttārasya ‘sunoti, suvati, stauti, stobhati, sthā, senaya, sedha, sica, sañja, suñjā’ ity eteṣām sakārasya mūrdhanyādeo bhavati
A mūrdhanyo ‘retroflex’ replaces the s of verbal roots suN (sunoti) ‘press out’, su (suvati) ‘to impel’, so (syati) ‘to terminate’, su (stauti) ‘to praise’, stubh (stobhati) ‘to utter, chant’, sthā ‘stay, stand’, senaya ‘attack’, sedha ‘to order’, sica ‘to sprinkle’, sañja ‘to cling to’ and suñjā ‘to clasp, embrace’ when used after a preverb containing the cause of this replacement, and a mūrdhanyo also comes in place of the s of the abhyāsa of sthā, etc., even when at, or the abhyāsa of sthā, etc., intervene in close proximity.

Examples:

abhisunoti ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of verbal root suN used with the preverb abhi’
paryasunot 'third person singular active LAÑ-derivate of verbal root śuN used with the preverb pari'
abhiṣuvati 'third person singular active LAÑ-derivate of sū with uvAÑ'
paryasuvat 'third person singular active LAÑ-derivate of sū used with the preverb pari'
abhiṣyati
paryasyat
abhiṣauti
paryaśauti
abhiṣobhate
paryaśobhat
abhiṣhāsyati
abhyaśṭhāt
paroṣṭhau
abhiseṇayati
abhyaṇenayat
paṇiṣeṇayiṣati
abhiṣedhati
abhyaśedhat
abhiṣiṅcati
abhyaśiṅcat
paṇiṣisikṣati
paṇiṇirikṣati
abhisaṭati
abhyaṣajat
abhisaṇkṣati
abhisaṣajate
abhyaṣaṇajata
paṇiṣisvāṅkṣate

1. This rule replaces the s of śuN 'press out', sū 'impell, inspire', so 'to kill, finish', stuN 'to praise', stubhA 'to stop, arrest', sthā 'to stand still', senaya 'to attack', sidhA 'move, instruct', sīcA 'sprinkle', sāṇjA 'attach', svanjA 'embrace, clasp' when these roots are used with a preverb containing i and u (kU is impossible) as replacement conditions (nimitta). This replacement also applies to the abhyāsa of sthā, etc., even when aT, and the abhyāsa of sthā, etc., intervene in close proximity.

Note that suvati is specified here with Śa, the vikaraṇa of the tudādi class. It, therefore, does not refer to sūN 'to give birth' of adādi and dividī groups. Verbal root sidhA refers to both sidhA 'to move' and sidhU 'instruct' of the bhuvādi group. Recall that 8.3.113 sedhater gatau blocks s-replacement for the s of sidhA when its signification is gati 'movement'. This replacement in s, hence, does not apply when sidhA denotes gati 'movement'. Roots with s in upadeśa 'initial citation' are specified here against the negation of 8.3.111
sāt padādyoh, itself an exception to 8.3.59 ādesaprtyayayoh. Roots which do not have ś in upadeśa did not have this replacement available to them by earlier rules. A specification of sunoti, etc., with their vikarana and tī (stip) is made to exclude their forms which go through deletion of affix yaN. A specification of sedh with SaP is made to exclude any reference to sidh of sidhyati.

Note that a replacement in n (natva) may obtain in examples where s is replaced with ś (stava). This natva is accomplished in view of 8.4.1 rasāḥhyāṃ no nāḥ... and 8.4.2 aṭkupvān num... Notice that examples where augment aT intervenes are all derivatives of affix LAN. Deriving abhi-śu + (LAT→tīP) → abhi-(s→s)u + (Ś)nu + ti → abhi-su + n(u→o) + ti → abhi-(s→s) + (n→n) o + ti = abhisunotī and pari-su + Śnu + (LAN→tīP) → parisunotī, with replacements in o (guna), s (stava) and n (natva) offers no difficulty. Similar rules apply in deriving derivatives of LAN with aT. Thus, abhi-aT-su + Śnu + (LAT→tīP) → abhyasunotī(i→o) = abhyasunot and pari + aT + śu + Śnu + (LAN→tīP) → paryasunot, where i of tīP is obligatorily deleted (3.4.100 itaś ca). The LAT and LAN derivatives of śu 'to impell', where śu is used with the preverbs abhi and pari, are not difficult to derive. Note, however, that Sa will be introduced as the vikarana, and uvAN (6.4.77 aci śnudhātubhrvām...) will replace the ā of śu. Thus we get abhi-s(u→uv) + Śa + (LAT→tīP) → abhisuwaiti, parisuvati and abhy-aT-s(u→uvAN) + Śa + (LAN→tīP) = abhyasuvat and paryasuvat. Deriving abhi-śo + ŚyaN + (LAT→tīP) → abhisyati and pari-śo + ŚyaN + (LAT→tīP) → paryasyati involves deletion of root-final o by 7.3.71 otaḥ śyani. Derivatives of LAN, as usual, will involve aT and deletion of i of tīP. We thus get abhyasyat and paryasyat.

Note that 2.4.72 adispabhrtibhyah śapah deletes SaP after roots of the adādi group. Derivatives of stuN will endure this deletion, in addition to the vraddhi of u at the end of their presuffixal base (aṅga). A replacement in guna is blocked since deletion of SaP is accomplished via ŚLU (1.1.63 na lumatān-gasya). We thus get abhist(u→au) + ti → abhi(s→s) + tau + ti → abhis(1→t) au + ti → abhiṣṭauti and pariṣṭauti with LAT. Derivatives of LAN, namely abhyāṣṭaut and paryāṣṭaut, are derived with aT and similar applications. Derivatives of stubhA, since the root is marked with anudāta as an it, will be derived with middle endings (atmanepada): abhiṣṭobhate / pariṣṭobhate (LAT) and abhyāṣṭobhata / paryāṣṭobhata (LAN). Derivatives of abhi-sthā and pari-sthā with affix LRT will involve replacements in s (satva) and th (stutva), respectively. Derivatives with LUN will additionally involve aT and deletion of i (3.4.100 itaś ca). We thus get abhyāṣṭhāt and paryāṣṭhāt. Refer to 7.1.34 āta au nālah for details of LīT-derivatives abhiṭaṭhau and pariṭaṭhau. Refer to notes of the preceding rule for abhiṣṭenayati, etc. One should also refer to numerous NiC and saN derivatives already explained. Derivatives of sic will involve introduction of augment nUM (7.1.59 śe mukādinām). Refer to munctati for additional details (II:384). We thus get abisiṇcati and abhyāṣiṇcati, etc.
Note that $n$ of sañj is deleted by 6.4.25 saṃśasanj. . . . This is how we get abhiṣajati and abhyāṣajat, etc. This deletion will not apply when saN follows. We will get a replacement in anusvāra, instead (8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhālī). The $j$ of sañj will also be replaced with $g$ (kutva; 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ), to be subsequently replaced with $k$ (cartva; 8.4.54 khari ca). The anusvāra will then be replaced with a nasal similar to $k$ which follows (parasaṃvarṇa (8.4.57 anusvārasya yahī . . .)). We will thus get abhiṣāṅkaṅsaṭi. Similar rules apply in deriving parirāṅkaṭi. Derivatives of svañj will take the ātmanepada endings and will follow rule applications similar to derivatives of sañj.

2. Why do we have the condition of uṣpadargāṭi 'used after a preverb'? Consider dadhi siṅcati and madhu siṅcati where $s$ of siṅcati is not replaced with $s$ because no preverb is used. Note that nirgatā secakā asmād deśāt = niṣeṣeke doṣāh 'a place which people who irrigate fields have left' does not have niṣ as a preverb. We do not get the preverbal relation of abhi with suN in abhiṣāvaṅkaṭi. What abhi relates to is sāvakīya. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in $s$. This $s$-replacement is available in abhiṣāvaṅkaṭi since abhi directly relates to suN.

8.3.66 सदिर्प्रते:

sadir aprateh
/sadih/1/1 (prathama, used with the signification of 6aṭhi); aprateh 6/1 = na pratiḥ (naṃ. tat.), tasmāt/
(ṣamhitāyaṁ #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sitād aḍyavāye' pi #63 sthādiṣv abhyāśena cābhīśasya #64 upasargāṭ #65) sadēh sakārasya upasargasthān nimittād aprater uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) sound replaces the $s$ of verbal root saṣ 'to sit down', used after a non-prati preverb containing the cause of this replacement, even when aṬ and abhyāsa intervene in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

niṣṭadati 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of sad used with the preverb ni'
viṣṭadati 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of sad used with the preverb vi'
nyaṣadati 'third person singular active LAN-derivate of sad used with the preverb ni'
nyaṣadati 'third person singular active LAN-derivate of sad used with the preverb vi'
niṣṭadāda 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of sad used with the preverb ni'
viṣasāda ‘third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of sad used with the preverb vi’

1. This rule offers a replacement in ṣ for the s of verbal root sad, when used after a preverb other than prati. This replacement obtains even when aT, or an abhyāsa intervenes between the preverb and the verbal root. Thus, niṣidati, viṣidati, ny-a-ṣidat, vy-a-ṣidat, where sad is replaced with sid (7.3.78 pāghrādhmā . . .). Note that sid cannot replace sad if no affix marked with Š follows. We thus do not get sid in niṣasāda and viṣasāda, the third singular LIṬ derivates of sad with nis and vis.

This replacement in ṣ is offered against the negation of 8.3.111 sāṭ padādyoh. A replacement in ṣ, for a s which occurs after an abhyāsa, is blocked in view of the negation of 8.3.118 sadeḥ parasya liṭi.

2. Why do we have the condition of aprateḥ ‘when not used after prati’? Consider pratiṣidati where we do not get this replacement in ṣ.

8.3.67 सन्धे:

stanbhēh
/ stanbhēh 6/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sitād advayāvīye’ ā#63 sthādiṣa abhyāsena cābhāyāsasya #64 upasargāt #65 stambhēh sakārasya upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya mūrdhanyādeso bhavati A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanyā) replaces the s of stanbhU ‘to prop up’, used after a preverb containing the nimitta of replacement, even when aT, and also an abhyāsa, intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

abhiṣṭabhnāti ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of stanbhU used with the preverb abhi’
pariṣṭabhnāti ‘third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of stanbhU used with the preverb pari’
abhyāṣṭabhnāt ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of stanbhU used with the preverb abhi’
paryāṣṭabhnāt ‘third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of stanbhU used with the preverb pari’
abhitāṣṭambhma ‘third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of verbal root stanbhU used with the preverb abhi’
paritāṣṭambhma ‘third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of stanbhU used with the preverb pari’

1. Note that stanbhU is a root found in grammatical rules only. The vikarana which is introduced after it is: Śnā (3.1.82 stanbhustunbhu . . .). Rule 6.4.24
aniditāṁ hala . . . deletes its nasal, thereby yielding abhi-stanbh + Śnā + (LAT→tīP) → abhista(n→ϕ) bh + nāti → abhi(s→s) tabhnāti → abhiś(t→t) abhnāti = abhiśtabhnāti and pariṣtabhnāti. Forms of LUN with aT can be similarly derived as abhy-a-ṣtabhnāt = abhyaṣtabhnāt and paryaṣtabhnāt. Derivatives of LIṬ go through doubling of the root where khaY (Śs. 11-13) of the abhyāsa alone is retained (7.4.61 sarpūrvāh khayāh). Thus, abhi-ta-stanbh + (LIṬ→NaL) → abhita(s→s) + (t→t) a(n→m→m) + bha = abhita-ṣtambha and pari-ṣtambha.

2. Recall that aprateḥ 'but not after prati' is not carried over here. Consequently, there is no negation of forms with prati. We will thus also get forms with prati: prati-ṣtabhnā-ti = pratiṣtabhnāti, praty-a-ṣtabhnā-t = pratyasṭabhnāt and praty-a-ṣtambh-a.

8.3.68 अवाचालमनाविदगुष्योः:

avaśc cālambana-avidūryayoḥ
/ avāṭ 5/1 ca ph ālambana-āvidūryayoḥ 7/2 = ālambanaṃ ca āvidūryaṃ ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 aparāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sitād advayaviyāpi #63 sthādisv abhyāsena cābhvyāsya #64 upasargāt #65 stanbhē #67)
avaśabbdād upasargād uttarasya stanbhē sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati, ālambane' rthe avidūrye ca
A corresponding reflex (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of verbal root stanbhU, also when used after the preverb ava, provided derives denote ālambana 'resorting to, taking recourse to' and avidūrya 'proximity'.

Examples:

avaśṭabhya āste ' . . . stays on the support of . . . '
avaśṭabhya tiṣṭhati 'ibidem'
avaśṭabdha senā 'army stays closeby'
avaśṭabdha śarat 'autumn is approaching'

1. This replacement in s focuses on stanbhU, when used after the preverb ava, provided derives denote ālambana 'support, resort' and avidūrya 'proximity'. We thus get avaśṭabhya tiṣṭhati, avaśṭabhya āste, avaśṭabdha senā and avaśṭabdha śarat.

2. Why do we have the condition of ālambana 'support, resort' and avidūrya 'proximity'? Consider avaśṭabdho śutena ' . . . is stiff with cold'.

This rule is formulated for derivatives where a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term iK (here i or u) may not be part of a preverb to condition this replacement in s (Kāś: anigartha ārambahah). This replacement may now be conditioned by a sound other than one denoted by the abbreviatory symbol iK (Kāś: anigartha ārambahah).
8.3.69 बैश्च स्वनो भोजने

veś ca svan o bhojane
/ veh 5/1 ca o svanah 6/1 bhojane 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoh #57 prāk
siṭād adṛvavāye’ pt #63 sthādiṣu abhyāsenā cābhyaśasya #64 upasargāt #65
avāt #68)
ver upasargād avāc cottarasya bhojanārthe svanateḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo
bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) comes in place of the s of verbal
root svan ‘to sound’ when the same is used after the preverb vi, and
ava as well, with the signification of bhojana ‘eating’, even when aṭ
and, also its abhyāsa, intervene in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

viśvanati ‘third person singular active LĀṬ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb vi’

vyāsvanat ‘third person singular active LĀṅ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb vi’

viṣaśvāna ‘third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb vi’

avaśvānati ‘third person singular active LĀṬ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb ava’

avaśvānati ‘third person singular active LĀṅ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb ava’

avaśāsvāna ‘third person singular active LIṬ-derivate of verbal root svan
‘to sound’ used with the preverb ava’

1. Note that this replacement is possible where verbal root svan abandons
its own meaning and denotes the particular meaning of eating with a smacking
noise (abhyavahārakriyāviśesāḥ). Thus, vi-śvan-a-ṭi = viśvanati, vy-a-ṣṇava-
āṭi = vyāsvanat and vi-śvaśvān-ā → viṣaśvāna, derivatives of third singular LĀṬ,
LĀṅ and LIṬ, respectively. Similar derivational pattern applies to avaśvānati,
avāśavāvat and avāśāsvāna, where the preverb is ava.

2. Why do we have the condition of bhojana ‘eating’? Consider visvanati
mṛdaṅgaḥ ‘the Mṛdaṅga drum is sounding’.

8.3.70 परिनिविभ्य: सेवितसिवासिवुसंहसुङ्कुस्तुङ्कृतं

parinivibhyah sevasitasayasyasahasahstustusvaṇjām
/ pari-ni-vibhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; seva-sita- saya-sivu-saha, suṭ, stu,
svaṇjām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoh #57 prāk
siṭād adṛvavāye’ pt #63 sthādiṣu abhyāsenā cābhyaśasya #64 upasargāt #65)
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

8.3.70

'pari, ni, vi' ity etebhya upasargēbhya uttaresāṁ seva, sita, saya, sivu, saha, sut, stu, svāṇja' ity eteśāṁ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of verbal roots seva 'to serve', sita 'be bound', saya 'be binding', sivu 'to sew', saha 'to endure', suṭ 'an augment', stu 'to praise' and svāṇja 'to embrace', when used after the preverbs pari, ni and vi, even when aṭ, and also an abhyāsa, intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

pariśēvate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb pari'

nīsevate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb ni'

vīsevate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb vi'

paryāsevata 'third person singular middle LAṆ-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb pari'

nyāsevata 'third person singular middle LAṆ-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb ni'

vyaśeavata 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb vi'

pariśiśevisate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb pari and the causal affix NiC followed by saN'

vīśevisate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb vi and the causal affix NiC followed by saN'

nīśevisate 'third person singular middle LAT-derivate of verbal root sev used with the preverb ni and the causal affix NiC followed by saN'

pariśītaḥ 'derivate of (pari-sīṆ + Ktvā) + sU'

vīśītaḥ 'derivate of (vi-sīṆ + Ktvā) + sU'

nīśītaḥ 'derivate of (ni-sīṆ + Ktvā) + sU'

pariśayāyaḥ 'derivate of (pari-sīṆ + aC) + sU'

nīśayāyaḥ 'derivate of (ni-sīṆ + aC) + sU'

vīśayāyaḥ 'derivate of (vi-sīṆ + aC) + sU'

pariśīvayati 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root sivu used with the preverb pari'

nīśīvayati 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root sivu used with the preverb ni'

vīśīvayati 'third person singular active LAT-derivate of verbal root sivu used with the preverb vi'

paryāśīvayat 'third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of verbal root sivu used with the preverb pari'

nyāśīvayat 'third person singular active LAṆ-derivate of verbal root sivu used with the preverb ni'
vyaśīvyat 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sivU used with the preverb vi'

paryāśīvyat 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sivU used with the preverb pari'

nyāśīvyat 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sivU used with the preverb ni'

vyaśīvyat 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sivU used with the preverb vi'

pāriṣahate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb pari'

niṣahate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb ni'

viṣahate 'third person singular middle LAṬ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb vi'

paryāṣahata 'third person singular middle LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb pari'

nyāṣahata 'third person singular middle LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb ni'

vyaṣahata 'third person singular middle LAṉ-derivate of verbal root sah used with the preverb vi'

pāriṣkaroti 'third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of verbal root krṉ used with the preverb pari and augment sUT'

paryāṣkarot 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root krṉ used with the preverb pari and augment sUT'

pāriṣtauti 'third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb pari'

niṣṭauti 'third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb ni'

viṣṭauti 'third person singular active LAṬ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb vi'

paryāṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb pari'

nyāṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb ni'

vyaṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb vi'

paryāṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb pari'

nyāṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb ni'

vyaṣṭaut 'third person singular active LAṉ-derivate of verbal root stu used with the preverb pari'
1. Note that șevṛ is read in the bhvādi group of roots with anudātta as an it. It is thus used with middle (ātmanepada) endings. A specification of verbal root șiN is here made with its absolutive (Kta) form sita ‘bound’. This same root is also specified as saya with affix aC of 3.3.56 er ac. That is, the aC and Kta-derivatives of verbal root șiN, alone, will avail this replacement in s. Recall that a replacement in s, prior to sita of this rule, also obtains when aT and abhyāsa intervene. These examples have already been discussed. Examples such as pari-și-șev-īs-a-te = pariśevisate, visiseviṣate and nisiseviṣate are LAt-derivatives of verbal root șiN used with NiC ending in affix saN.

Rule 8.3.71 sivādīnām vāḍ vyavāye’ pi offers optional s-replacement to roots enumerated beginning with sivU’ to sew’, when augment aT intervenes. Thus, we get pary-a-șev-yat = paryāṣiyat and paryāṣiyat, etc. Examples of augment sUT are given only with the preverb pari. For, 6.1.135 sampari-bhyām . . . allows sUT only when sam and pari are used as preverbs. We thus get parișkaroti and paryāṣkarot. Recall that this s-replacement is already made available to verbal roots șiN and svanī by rule 8.3.65 upasargat sunoti . . . . They are here included for availing optional s-replacement of the next rule, even when there is intervention of augment aT. For, it would have become obligatory (niṣya) under the earlier provision (Kāś: pūrvedative siddhe stusvaṇñjagrahaṇam uttarārtham, advyavāye vibhāsa yathā syāt). The deletion of n, in pariṣvañjate, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.25 dāmsasanaṃsvaṇjaṃ śaapi.

8.3.71 सिवादिनाम वाइव्याये’पि

/sivādīnām vāḍ vyavāye’ pi
/siv-ādīnām 6/3 = siv ādīryeṣām (bv.), teṣām; vā ṣadvyavāye 7/1 = atā vyavāyaḥ (trt. tat.), tasmin; api ṣa/

(sanmhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 prāk sitād ṣadvyavāye’ pi #63 sthādiṣu abhyāṣaṇa cābhīṣyasya #64 upasargat #65 parinivibhyah #70)
sivādīnām ad.ṣadvāye’ pi parinivibhya uttarasya sakārasya vā mūrdhāyadeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of verbal roots enumerated beginning with sivU and prefixed with pari, ni and vi, only optionally, even when aT intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

Examples:

Look under rule 8.3.70 parinivibhyah . . .

1. Note that this specification with sivādīnām refers to roots enumerated by rule 8.3.70 parinivibhyah . . . . It does not refer to group of roots enumerated elsewhere. For, the specification of . . . sivusahasūstusvaṇjām (8.3.70) is contextually proximate (Kāś: anantararūtra sivusahasūstusvaṇjām iti sivādayaḥ).
2. The *anuvṛtti* of *vā* runs through rule 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor*. . .

8.3.72 अनुविपयानिभिन्याः स्यान्दतेप्राणिणाः

*anuviparyabhinibhayāḥ syandater aprāṇisu*

/ anu-vi-para-abhi-nibhyāḥ 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ, syandateḥ 6/1 aprāṇisu 7/3 = na prāṇināḥ (naṇ. tat.), teṣu/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 upasargāt #65 vā #71)

‘anu, vi, pari, abhi, ni’ ity etebhya uttarasya syandater aprāṇisu sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A replacement in mūrdhanya comes, optionally, in place of *s* of verbal root *syandU* ‘to flow, run’ when it is used prefixed with *anu, vi, pari, abhi* and *ni*, and the usage does not relate to *prāṇin* ‘living’.

**Examples:**

These examples are all third person singular middle *LAT*-derivates of verbal root *syandU*, used with the preverbs *anu/ vi/ pari/ abhi/, and with *s* replaced optionally with *ṣ*.

*anu-syandate*  
*anu-syandate*  
*vi-syandate*  
*vi-syandate*  
*pāri-syandate*  
*pāri-syandate*  
*abhi-syandate*  
*abhi-syandate*  
*ni-syandate*  
*ni-syandate*

1. This rule offers *ṣ*-replacement for *s* of *syandU* when the root occurs prefixed with *anu, vi, pari, abhi* and *ni*, provided the action does not relate to any living being (*prāṇin*). Note that the root is marked with *anudātta* as an *it*. It will thus take middle endings (1.3.12 *anudāttanīta ātmanepadām*). This rule is formulated so that *ṣ*-replacement could be made available to this root. For, this root is not listed with *ṣ* in *upaḍēṣa* ‘initial citation’.

Note that *vā* is carried over from the earlier rule. Why did we also not carry *pari, ni* and *vi*. This would have shortened this rule formulation to: *anuvibhyāṁ ca syandater aprāṇisu*. The *ca* could have thus attracted *pari, ni* and *vi* (*PM: iha paryādigrahaṇaṁ sakyam akartum. evam vaksyāmi: ‘anuvahibhyāṁ ca’*).

2. Questions have been raised against the compound formation of *aprāṇin* ‘non-living’. If the negation of *aprāṇin* is interpreted as *prasajya*, we will get the paraphrase: *prāṇisu na bhavati* ‘does not apply in case of *prāṇin* ‘living’.
A replacement in $s$ will be blocked where even the slightest indication of prāṇin is involved (Nyāsa: prasajyapratiṣedhe hi yatra prāṇigandho' sti tatra mūrdhanyena na bhavitaṁyam). If, on the other hand, the negation of aprāṇin is interpreted as paryudāsa, we will get the paraphrase: prāṇibhyo nyatra bhavati 'applies, elsewhere, in contexts similar to, but other than, that of a prāṇin'. That is, this interpretation will accept aprāṇin as 'something similar to yet different from prāṇin'. Kāśikā offers anusyandete matsyodake 'fish and water flow'. The integration of matsyodaka, with the denotatum of one (eka-vadbhāva), is based on the paraphrase: matsyaṁ ca udakaṁ ca ‘fish as well as water’. Rule 2.4.6 jātir aprāṇināṁ allows matsyodaka to carry this denotatum if aprāṇin is interpreted as paryudāsa. A grouping of prāṇin ‘living’ and aprāṇin ‘non-living’ will thus become something other than prāṇin. A paryudāsa interpretation of aprāṇin is thus accepted.

3. Why do we have the condition of aprāṇiśu? Consider anusyandate matsya udake ‘fish is floating in water’, where matsya is prāṇin ‘living’.

This optional replacement in $s$ does obtain where both prāṇin and aprāṇin are denoted as one. Thus, anusyandete matsyodake and anusyandete matsyodake.

8.3.73 वे: रक्ष्यदेशित्स्वायम्

veh skander aniṣṭhayām
/veh 5/1 skadeh 6/1 aniṣṭhayām 7/1 = na niṣṭhā (naṅ. tat.), tasyām/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoṅ #57
upasargāt #65 và #71)
ver upasargād uttarasya skandeḥ sakārasya và mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
aniṣṭhayām

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanyah), optionally, replaces the $s$ of verbal root skandI ‘to move’, when the root occurs in combination after the preverb vi and a niṣṭhā suffix does not follow.

Examples:

viṣkantā 'trk-derivate of verbal root skandI, used with the preverb vi'
viṣkantā 'ibidem (with no $s$-replacement')
viṣkantum 'tumUN-derivate . . .'
viṣkantum 'ibidem (with no $s$-replacement')
viṣkantavyam 'tavyaT-derivate . . .'
viṣkantavyam 'ibidem (with no $s$-replacement'

1. This rule allows an optional replacement in $s$ when skandI is used after vi and a niṣṭhā suffix does not follow. Here again we find that skandI is not specified with $s$ in initial citation (upadesā). The $s$-replacement which was not available is here made available, optionally. We thus get viṣkantā and viṣkantā, etc.

2. Why do we have the condition of aniṣṭhayām 'when not used in niṣṭhā'?
Consider *viskannah*, where, since verbal root *skandI* is used with the *niśṭā* (1.1.26 ṯtakatavatū *niśṭā*) suffix *Kta*, we do not get a replacement in ś. Incidentally, the *n* of *skandi* is deleted by 6.4.24 aniditām hala upadhāyāh. Rule 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ *niśṭāto*... then replaces the *d* of *skad* and *t* of *Kta*, both with *n*. Thus, *viska*(n→φ)*d* + (K)*ta* → *viska*(d→n) + (t→n)*a* = *viskanna*.

8.3.74 फ़रेच

/pareś ca
    pareh 5/1 ca φ/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 upasargāt #65 vā #71 skandeh #73)
pariśabdāc cottoarasya syandeḥ sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhāvati

A corresponding reflex (mūrdhanya), optionally, replaces the *s* of verbal root *skandI*, also when the root occurs after the preverb *pari*.

Examples:

pariśkantā ‘derivate of pari-skand + tṛC’
pariśkantā ‘ibidem (with no ś-replacement)’
pariśkantum ‘derivate of pari-skand + tumUN’
pariśkantum ‘ibidem’ (with no ś-replacement)’
pariśkantavyam ‘derivate of pari-skand + tavyaT’
pariśkantavyam ‘ibidem (with no ś-replacement)’

1. Note that *ca* ‘and’ is used in this rule to attract *skandI* from the preceding rule. Why did Pāṇini not include the provision of this rule within the scope of the preceding rule? That is, why did he not formulate this rule as: *vīparābhyaṁ skander aniśṭhāyāṁ*? He would have preferred this formulation if he did not intend optional ś-replacement for the *s* of *skandI* when used in combination after *pari* and no *niśṭā* suffix followed (Nyāsa: yadi parer uttarasya skander niśṭhāyāṁ mūrdhanyo nābhimaṁ syat, tataḥ ‘vīparābhyaṁ skander aniśṭhāyāṁ’ ity ekayogam eva kuryād ity abhiprayaḥ). Since this rule is formulated separately from the preceding rule, and derivates are supposed to go through optional replacement in ś when a *niśṭā* affix follows, *aniśṭhāyām* is not carried over from the earlier rule. We get the *niśṭā* examples: *pariśkannyaḥ* and *pariskannyaḥ*.

8.3.75 परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु

pariskandāḥ prācyabharatesu

/pariskandāḥ 1/1 prācyabharatesu 7/3 = prācyāś cāmī bharataś ca (karm. tat.), tesi/
pariśkanda ity mūrdhanyābhāvo nipātyate prācyabharatesu prayogavīṣayesu

A corresponding reflex (mūrdhanya) does not, via nipātana, replace
the s of *pariskanda* when the usage relates to the country of eastern Bharatas.

**Examples:**

*pariskandaḥ*

1. This rule blocks the s-replacement made available by the preceding rule. The word *pariskanda* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigraha* . . . ; *pari-skand + aC*). Or else, it is a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (*pari-skand + Kta*), where *t* of *Kta* gets deleted via *nipātana*.

Note that *bharata* is used here as a qualifier to *prācyā* ‘eastern’ (*Kāś: bharatagrahaṇam prācyaviśeṣaṇam*). We thus get *pariskandah* ‘side-guard’ with no s-replacement in the usage of the eastern Bharatas. Elsewhere, we get *pariskandaḥ*.

**8.3.76 स्फुरतिस्फुल्वोनिनिनिनिनिव्यः:**

*sphuratisphulatyoh nirniviblyah*

/*sphurati-sphulatyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; nir-ni-vi-bhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.),
tebhyaḥ/*

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57
upasargat #65 vā #71)

*sphuratisphulatyoh sakārasya ‘nis, ni, vi’ ity etebhya uttarasya vā mūrdhan-yādeiso bhavati*

A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), optionally, replaces the s of verbal roots *sphur* ‘to move, quiver, throb’ and *sphul* when they are used in combination after the preverbs *nis, ni* and *vi*, in close proximity of sounds.

**Examples:**

*nis-sphurati*
*nis-sphurati*
*ni-sphurati*
*ni-sphurati*
*vi-sphurati*
*vi-sphurati*
*nis-sphulati*
*nis-sphulati*
*ni-sphulati*
*ni-sphulati*
*vi-sphulati*
*vi-sphulati*

1. This again is an optional rule. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* are roots of the *tudādi* group. They did not have this replacement in s previously made avail-
able. A specification with śīpt (vikaraṇa and iiP) is made here for correct identification of roots. It is not made here to deny s-replacement where affix yaN gets deleted (yañluki). A s after nir, etc., is not possible, especially after the khaY (7.4.61 śarpūrvāḥ khaYaḥ) sound of the abhyāsa is retained subsequent to deletion of yaN (Nyāsa: na hi yañluky abhyāsasya khaYaḥ seṣe kṛte nirādibhyāḥ uttaraḥ sakāraḥ sambhavit). Notice how the s of nis also gets replaced with s, via śūtva (8.4.41 śūnā śūh).

8.3.77 वे: स्काभनातेनित्यम्

veh skabhnāte nityam
/veh 5/1 skabhnāteh 6/1 nityam 1/1/
(sañhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyak #55 sah #56 inkoh #57 upasarga #65 vā #71)

ver uttarasya skabhnāteh sakārasasya nityam mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya), obligatorily, replaces the s of verbal root skanbhU when the same is used in combination after the preverb vi and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

Examples:

viskabhnāti
viskambhitā
viskambhitum
viskambhitaryam

1. Note that this obligatory provision applies to vi-skanbhU which, in turn, is a root only found in grammatical rules. It has been cited in rule 3.1.82 stanhustunbhU . . ., without s in upadesa. Consequently, a non-available replacement in s is made available to the initial s of skanbhU. That Śnā is selected as the vikaraṇa is also known by rule 3.1.82 stanhustunbhU . . .

The word nitya is used to make this provision obligatory. A specification with śīpt is again made for clearly identifying the root.

8.3.78 इण: बीणवलुलितां धोवजाति

ināh śīdhvaṃluṇālītāṃ dho’ ngāt
/ināh 5/1 śīdhvaṃluṇālītām 6/3 = śīdhvam ca luni ca lit ca = śīdhvaṃluṇālītah
(itar. du.), teśām
(sañhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyak #55)
inantād āṅgād uttaraṃ śīdhvaṃluṇālītāṃ yo dhakāras tasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

The dh of śīdhvam, and of a replacement of LUN and LIT, is replaced with its retroflex counterpart dh when the same occurs after an aṅga ending in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term iN.
EXAMPLES:

cyoṣidhvam ‘second person plural middle benedictive \textit{LIN}-derivative of verbal root \textit{cyu}’

\textit{ploṣidhvam} ‘second person plural middle benedictive \textit{LIN}-derivative of verbal root \textit{plu}’

\textit{acyodhvam} ‘second person plural middle \textit{LUN}-derivative of verbal root \textit{cyu}’

\textit{aploṣdhvam} ‘second person plural middle \textit{LUN}-derivative of verbal root \textit{plu}’

\textit{cakṛdhuve} ‘second person plural middle \textit{LIT}-derivative of verbal root \textit{krN}’

\textit{vauṛdhv}e ‘second person plural middle \textit{LIT}-derivative of verbal root \textit{vrN}’

1. This rule replaces the \textit{dh} of \textit{ṣidhvam}, and of replacements of \textit{LUN} and \textit{LIT}, with \textit{dh} when \textit{ṣidhvam}, etc., occur after an \textit{aṅga} ending in \textit{i} and \textit{u}. This rule is formulated such that an \textit{aṅga} ending in \textit{iN} could be made a qualifier to \textit{ṣidhvam}. . . A separate specification of \textit{dh} is intended to focus on what gets replaced with a retroflex (\textit{mūrdhanya}). The \textit{si} of example derivates has its source in \textit{siy}uT (3.4.102 \textit{liṅhaḥ siyut}).

Consider \textit{cyu + siy(UT) + (LUN→dhvam)} → \textit{cyu + siy + dhvam} → \textit{cyo + siy + dhvam} and \textit{plo + siy + dhvam} → \textit{plo + siy + dhvam}, where \textit{y} is deleted by 6.1.66 \textit{lopo nyor vali}. We get \textit{cyo + (s→ś) i + dhvam = cyo + ṭidhvam} and \textit{plo + ṭidhvam} after 8.3.59 \textit{aṇeṣapratayayayoḥ} replaces the \textit{s} of \textit{ṭidhvam} with \textit{ś}. Our present rule can now replace \textit{dh} with \textit{ṭdh} to yield: cyoṣṭidhvam and \textit{ploṣṭidhvam}.

Now consider \textit{a(T) + cyu + (LUN→dhvam)} → \textit{a + cyu + s(IC) = dhvam} → \textit{a + cy(u→o) + s + dhvam} → \textit{a + cyo + (s→ϕ) + dhvam} → \textit{acyo(dh→ṭdh)vam = acyoṣṭidhvam}, where \textit{sIC} gets deleted and \textit{dh} gets replaced with \textit{ṭdh}. We similarly get \textit{aploṣṭidhvam}. Note that augment \textit{iT} is blocked in these derivates by 7.2.10 \textit{ekācā upadeśe}. . . Derivates of \textit{LIT} will, as usual, involve doubling. We will get \textit{kr + (LIT→dhvam)} → \textit{ka + kr + dhvam} → \textit{(k→c) a + kr + dhvam}, where \textit{ti} of \textit{dhvam} will go through a replacement in \textit{e} (etva: 3.4.79 \textit{tīt ātmmapadānāṃ ter eḥ}). Our present rule will then replace \textit{dh} with \textit{ṭdh} to produce: cakṛṭ(iṭ(e→e)) → cakṛṭ(ṭdh→ṭdh)ve = cakṛṭdhve. Similar rules apply in deriving \textit{vṛdh + (LIT→dhvam)} → \textit{vauṛdhve}.

2. Why do we have the condition of \textit{luṇiliṁ} ‘of \textit{LUN} and \textit{LIT}? Consider \textit{ṣṭudhve} which, because of being a derivate of \textit{LUN}, does not get its \textit{dh} replaced with \textit{ṭdh}.

Why do we have the condition of \textit{aṅgāt} ‘after an \textit{aṅga}? Consider \textit{parivṛṣṛṣidhvam} where we get \textit{ṣidhvam} by combining \textit{s} of the root with \textit{idhvam}. This \textit{ṣidhvam} cannot be accepted as occurring after an \textit{aṅga} ending in \textit{i} and \textit{u}.

Why is \textit{iN} used expressly when it is already available via \textit{anuvṛtti}? An express mention of \textit{iN} is made to cancel the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{ku}. Thus, we cannot get the \textit{dh} of \textit{paksidhvam} and \textit{yaksidhvam} replaced with \textit{ṭdh} before \textit{k}.
8.3.79 विभाषेत:

\[ v\text{ibh\text{a}se\text{t}ah} \]
\[/vibh\text{a}s\text{a} 1/1 it\text{ah} 5/1/\]
(samhit\text{ay\text{a}m} #2.108 apad\text{\=a}ntasya m\text{\=u}rdhanya\text{\=a} #55)
\[ i\text{nah parasm\text{\=a}d it\text{a} uttaress\text{\=a}m \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\text{\=u}nilit\text{\=a}m yo dhak\text{\=a}ras tasya m\text{\=u}rdhan-
\text{\=ya}de\text{\=s}h bhavati \]

A corresponding retroflex (m\text{\=u}rdhanya), optionally, replaces the \(dh\) of \(\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\), and of derivates of \(\text{\=L}UN\) and \(\text{\=L}IT\), when \(s\text{\=i}dh\text{vam}\) occurs after \(i\text{\=T}\) introduced after a sound denoted by \(i\text{\=N}\).

EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{lavi\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam} \text{second person plural middle } \text{\=L}IN\text{-derivate of } \text{l\text{\=u}} \text{to cut} \]
\[ \text{lavi\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam} \text{ibidem; with no } dh \]
\[ \text{pavi\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam} \text{second person plural middle } \text{\=L}IN\text{-derivate of } \text{\=p\text{\=u}} \text{to cleanse} \]
\[ \text{pavi\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam} \text{ibidem; with no } dh \]
\[ \text{alavi\text{\=d}h\text{vam} second person plural middle } \text{\=L}UN\text{-derivate of } \text{l\text{\=u}} \]
\[ \text{alavidhvam} \text{ibidem; with no } dh \]
\[ \text{lulu\text{\=v}idhv\text{e} second person plural middle } \text{\=L}IT\text{-derivate of } \text{l\text{\=u}} \]
\[ \text{lulu\text{\=v}idhv\text{e} ibidem; with no } dh \]

1. This rule makes the obligatory replacement of the preceding rule optional, especially when \(i\text{\=T}\) follows a form ending in \(i\) and \(u\). Note, however, that some replacements which were not made available earlier are also optionally made available here. K\text{\=a}\text{\=s}ik\text{\=a} paraphrases the vrti as: \(i\text{nah parasm\text{\=a}d it\text{a} uttaress\text{\=a}m \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\ldots \text{after } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\text{ which occurs after an } i\text{\=T}, \text{in turn, occurring after that which ends in } i\text{ and } u\). That is, \(i\text{\=N}\) is used as a qualifier to \(i\text{\=T}; \text{i\=T}, \text{in turn, is used as a qualifier to } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam, \text{etc. Additionally, } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam, \text{etc.}, \text{are used as qualifiers to } dh.\)

It is argued that \(\text{\=s}id\text{h}vam, \text{as well as a replacement of } \text{\=L}IT, \text{is not possible to follow } i\text{\=T}. \text{For, } i\text{\=T} \text{is introduced to } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam. \text{How could } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam \text{follow } i\text{\=T} \text{when it is already a part of } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam (\text{ tadgra\text{\=a}h\text{\=a}nena gra\text{\=a}h\text{\=a}n\text{\=a}? \text{This argument is well taken, especially in view of grammar (}\text{\=s}a\text{\=stra\text{\=k}\text{\=r}ta). \text{That is, } x \text{becomes } y \text{if } x \text{is introduced to } y. \text{In this sense, } x \text{cannot be accepted as followed by } y. \text{But since } i\text{\=T} \text{is still heard in the utterance (}\text{\=s}rutik\text{\=r}ta) \text{before } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam, \text{it can be accepted as followed by } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam.\}

Consider \(\text{l\text{\=u} + i\text{\=T} + si\text{\=yU}\text{\=T} + (\text{\=L}IN\\rightarrow dh\text{vam}) } \rightarrow \text{l\text{\=u} + i + \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\text{, where 8.3.78 } i\text{nah } \text{\=s}id\text{h}vam\ldots \text{can apply to replace } dh \text{with } dh, \text{obligatorily. This rule replaces } dh \text{with } dh, \text{optionally, against that. Incidentally, } \=u \text{of } \text{l\text{\=u} goes through a replacement in } gu\text{\=a, followed by a replacement in } av \text{before } i\text{\=T}. \text{We thus get } \text{\=l(\text{\=u}→o→av) + i + si(y→Ø) + (dh→dh) vam = lavi\text{\=s}idhvam. Similar rules apply in deriving } \text{\=p\text{\=u} + i\text{\=T} + si\text{\=yU}\text{\=T} + dh\text{vam} \rightarrow pavi\text{\=s}idhvam. \text{We will get } lavi\text{\=s}idhvam \text{and pavi\text{\=s}idhvam if the option of } dh\text{-replacement for } dh \text{is not}
accepted. Forms of LUN and LIT, i.e., aT+l(ʊ→o→av) + iT + (sICΦ) + dhvam = alavidhvam/alavidhvam and lʊ + (LIT→dhvam) → l(ʊ→u) l(ʊ→u)AN + iT + dhv(am→e) → luluvi(dh→dh)ve = luluvidhve/luluvidhve, do not offer anything new in their derivation. Refer to examples of 8.3.78 inah śidhvamunidām . . . for further details. Note that 6.4.77 aci śudhātu . . . introduces uAN as a replacement to the root-final vowel of a derivate of LIT.

2. The condition of inah is still valid. We thus do not get dh replaced with dh in (ās→ā+āś→āś) + iT + sīyUT + (LIN→dhvam)) = āśiśidhvam. Note that the s of verbal root āś is not included within the denotatum of īN. How could iT then be accepted as occurring after īN?

Why do we not get this replacement in dī + (LIT→dhvam) → upa + d(i→i) + dī + y(UT) + iT + dhv(am→e) = upadidī + y + i + dhve = upadidıydhve? Some claim that dh cannot be replaced with dh since yUT (6.4.63 dīṇo yud aci kniti) intervenes between īN and iT. Others claim that the anuvṛtti of aṅgāt has been canceled. Consequently, we do not have any intervening sound. That is, dh should be replaced with dh, optionally.

8.3.80 समासेः इनुगुळे: सङ्खः:

samāse ‘ṅugule saṅgaḥ
/samāse 7/1 aṅgule 5/1 saṅgaḥ 1/1 (nominative used for genitive by transposition (vyayata)/
(sanhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjaniyāsāravyavāye pi #58)
saṅgasaṅkārasya aṅgule uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of saṅga ‘attachment, contact’ when the same combines after aṅguli ‘finger’ in a nominal compound.

Examples:

aṅgulisāṅgā yavāgūḥ ‘finger-sticking barley-gruel’
aṅgulisāṅgo gāḥ sādayati ‘. . . has cows run with touch of his finger’

1. This rule facilitates a replacement in s against the negative provision of 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh. Note that saṅga is used in the nominative with the sense of genitive. It is here interpreted as samśleṣa ‘contact’. We thus get aṅgulisāṅgah.

2. Why do we state the condition of samāse ‘in a compound’? Consider aṅgule saṅgam paśya, where, because of a non-compound sequence, s of saṅgaḥ cannot be replaced with s.

8.3.81 भीणे: स्थानम्

bhīroḥ sthānam
/bhīroḥ 5/1 sthānam 1/1/
(sāṁhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjaniyāsārvyavāyē' pi #58 samāse #79)
sthānasakārasya bhīroh uttarasya mūrdhanyakādeso bhavatī samāse
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of sthāna ‘place, location’ when the same combines in a compound after bhīru ‘fearful, timid, coward’.

**Examples:**

bhīruṣṭhānam = bhīroh sthānam ‘home of a coward’

1. Note that bhīruṣṭhānam is a genitive tatpurusa compound where bhīru combines with sthāna denoting locus (Nyāsa: adhikaraṇasādhanaṇena sthānaśabdena saśṭhisamāsaḥ).

8.3.82 अग्निः: स्तुतस्तोमसोमः:

agnēḥ stutstomasomāḥ
//agnēḥ 5/1 stut-stoma-somāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.), te/
(sāṁhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjaniyāsārvyavāyē' pi #58 samāse #79)
agnēr uttarasya ‘stut, stoma, soma’ ity eteśām sakārasya mūrdhanyakādeso bhavatī samāse
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of stut, stoma and soma, when these combine in a compound to follow agni.

**Examples:**

tagntuṭ ‘a sacrifice where Agni is the divinity’
agniṣṭomah ‘the initial of the seven categories of Soma sacrifices’
agniṣomau ‘Agni and Soma’

1. This rule offers s as replacement for s at the beginning of a pada. This again is an exception to 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh. Refer to derivational details of agnicit in the appendix (II:421-23). Similar rules apply in deriving agnistut.

2. An istic ‘desideratum’ (Kāś: agner dīrghāt somasyeṣyate) notes that s of soma is to be replaced with s when soma combines after agni. Obviously, this reference is to a devatā-dvandva ‘a dvandva compound with constituents denoting divinity’. For, that is where we get this long replacement (PM: devatādvandve śatvam ity arthaḥ; tatraiva dīrghasya vidhānaḥ).

2. Note that this replacement applies only in a compound. It cannot apply in a sentence: agne somāḥ.

8.3.83 ज्योतिर्युषाः: स्तोमः:

jyotirīyusāḥ stomaḥ
//jyotir-īyusāḥ 5/1 = jyotis ca āyuś ca = jyotirīyuh (sam. dv.), tasmāt; stomaḥ
1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjanīyaśarvavyāyeḥ pi #58 samāse #79)

'jyotis, āyus' ity etābhyām uttarasya stomasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of stoma when this same combines in a compound after jyotis 'light' and āyus 'life-span'.

Examples:

jyotistomah ‘name of a sacrifice’
āyuṣṭomah ‘name of a sacrifice’

1. These two derivates both are genitive tatpurusa compounds. The final s of jyotis and āyus is first replaced with h (8.3.15 kharivasānayor visarjanīyāḥ). An optional s then replaces h before stoma (8.3.66 vā śan). The s of stoma, when replaced with s, causes its preceding s and following t to be replaced with s and t (ṣtuva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh). Thus, jyotistomah/āyuṣṭomah and jyotiḥṣṭomah/āyuḥṣṭomah.

2. The condition of samāse ‘in a compound’ is still valid. We cannot get this replacement in jyotih stomam darśayati.

8.3.84 mātṛpitṛbhyaṁ svasa
/mātṛ-pitṛbhyaṁ 5/2 (itar. dv.), tābhyām; svasa 1/1/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjanīyaśarvavyāyeḥ pi #58 samāse #79)

'mātṛ, pitṛ' ity etābhyām uttarasya svasaśakārasya samāse mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of svasa ‘sister’, when this same combines in a compound after mātṛ ‘mother’ and pitṛ ‘father’.

Examples:

mātṛsvasā ‘mother’s sister’
pitṛsvasā ‘father’s sister’

1. This rule replaces the s of svasa ‘sister’ when this same combines in a compound after mātṛ ‘mother’ and pitṛ ‘father’. We thus get mātṛsvasā and pitṛsvasā. This s-replacement is offered for a swch itself is not a replacement. Note that mātṛ and pitṛ are placed first in the compound because of respect (vt: abhyarhitam pāruvam nipataḥ; cf. 2.2.34 ṛṭunaksatrāṇāṃ . . .).

8.3.85 mātuḥpitṛbhyaṁ anyatarasyām

mātuḥpitṛbhyaṁ anyatarasyām
/mātuh-piturbhyām 5/2 = mātuṣ ca pituṣ ca = mātuḥpitaraṇ (ītā. dv.),
tābhyaṃ; anyatarasyāṃ 1/1/
(samhitāyāṃ #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjan-
niyasyāṣarvyavāyē ītī #58 samāse #79 svasa #84)
‘mātur, pitur’ ity etābhyaṃ uttarasya svasaśabdasasyānyatarasyaṃ mūrdhanyā-
dēsō bhavati samāse

A corresponding reflexive (mūrdhanya) replaces the s of svasa, only optionally, when this same combines after mātur and pitur.

**Examples:**

mātuḥsvasa
mātuḥsvasa
pituḥsvasa
pituḥsvasa

1. Note that mātuḥ and pituḥ are here interpreted as genitive singular forms of māṭr and pitṛ. This specification of form is made as principal (tantra). That is, forms of mātur and pitur which end in r are in focus for this replacement in s. The visarga of mātuḥ is also accepted as r, because of associated listing of mātuḥ with pitur. If this specification is not accepted as made with mātuḥ and pituḥ ending in r, they both must be accepted as ending in visarga. A specification accepted as made with h at the end will lead to problems. This h will then be replaced with an optional h (8.3.36 vā śari). If this optional h is not accepted, it then will be replaced with s. We can thus not get a replacement in s for the s of svasa. Accepting the forms as ending in the visarga will create further problems, especially before bhyaṃ. It is to remove this difficulty that mātuḥ and pituḥ are both accepted as ending in r.

It is stated that a replacement in s can be gotten with both mātuḥ and pituḥ ending either in h or s. This will be in consonance with the PS (38): ekadesavikṛtam ananyavat ‘one place modification in forms does not make them different’. It is in view of this that mātuḥ and pituḥ are accepted as specified here with r at the end (Kāś. mātuḥpituḥ iti repaṃtanayor etat grahaṇam. ekadesavikṛtam ananyatvād visarjanīyāntaṃ sakārāntaḥ ca satvaṃ bhavati).

Note that non-deletion (aluk) of saṣṭhi ‘genitive’ is made possible by 6.3.22 vibhaṣaṃ svasaśpatyoḥ. The optional s of 8.3.36 vā śari will also be replaced with s (ṣṭutva). Thus, we will get mātuḥsvasa/mātuṣsvasa and pituḥsvasa/pituṣsvasa.

8.3.86 अभिनिषिः: स्तन: शब्दसंज्ञायाम्

abhinisaḥ stanaḥ śabdasamjñāyāṃ

/abhi-nisaḥ 5/1 (sam. dv.), tasmāt; stanaḥ 6/1 śabdasamjñāyāṃ 7/1 = śabdasya samjñā (saṣ. tat.), tasyāṃ/
(samhitāyāṃ #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjan-
niyaśarvyavāyē ītī #58 anyatarasyāṃ #85)
‘abhi, nis’ ity etasmād uttarasya stanatisakārasya mūrdhanyādēso bhavaty
anyatarasyāṁ sabdasamjñā gamyamānāyāṁ
A mūrdhana ya replaces the s of verbal root stan ‘to sound’, only optionally,
when stan is prefixed with abhi and nis, and the derivate identifies a
particular sound.

Examples:

abhiniṣṭāno varṇaḥ
abhiniṣṭāno visarjaniyāḥ
abhiniṣṭāno visarjaniyāḥ

1. Note that sabdasamjñā, in the context of abhi-stan and nis-stan, identifies
abhiniṣṭāna and abhinistāna. Commentators identify abhinistāna or abhinistāna
as a name for visarjaniya (Kāś: abhinistāno visarjaniyaḥ).

2. Why do we state the condition of sabdasamjñā ‘name of a sound’? Con-
sider abhinistana mṛdaṅgaḥ ‘the Mrdaṅga drum is sounding’. It is the name
of a sound, and not just the sound which conditions this replacement.
The anuvṛtti of samāse is now canceled.

8.3.87 उपसर्गप्रदुर्ध्रांसितिवर्चयः:
upasargaprādurbhhyāṁ astir yaçparaḥ
/ upasarga-prādurbhhyāṁ 5/2 = upasargaś ca prāduś ca = upasargapradusau
(iter. dv.), tābhhyāṁ; astiḥ 1/1
yaçparaḥ 1/1 = yaś ca ac ca = yaca u (iter. dv.), tau parau yasmāt (bv. with
int. dv.) /
(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhṇyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 nuṇvisarjana-
niyāsarrvavāye' pi #58)
upasargasthān nimitat prāduśsabdāc cotta rasya yakāraparasyācparasya
castisakārasya mūrdhanyādēso bhavati
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of verbal root as ‘to be’ when this same
occurs after a preverb containing conditions of this replacement, or
occurs after prāduś, provided y, or a vowel (auC), follows in close proximity
of sounds.

Examples:

abhiṣanti
niśanti
viṣanti
prāduḥṣanti
abhiṣyāt
niṣyāt
viṣyāt
prāduḥsyāt
1. This rule allows the s of verbal root as to be replaced with ś when (i) as occurs after a preverb which contains conditions of this replacement; (ii) or as occurs after prādus. Additionally, (iii) as must be followed, either by y, or by a vowel. Consider abhiṣanti, niṣanti, viṣanti and prāduḥṣanti, where ŚaP gets deleted since the root belongs to the ad-ādi group of verbs (2.4.72 adīprabhāṭībho . . .). The a of as also goes through deletion of 6.4.111 śnasor al lopah. Derivates of LIN, i.e.,, abhiṣyat, niṣyat, viṣyat and prāduḥṣyat, require augments yāsUT (3.4.103 yās ut parasmatipade . . .) and, under certain conditions, sUT (3.4.107 sūt titoho). Deletion of a non-final s, generally of yāsUT, sUT and siyUT, is accomplished by 7.2.79 liṅha salopo’ nantyasya. Refer to derivational details of kuryāt (III:784) for additional detail. Examples of sUT and siyUT are offered under 7.2.79 liṅha salopo’ anantyasya.

2. The dvandva compound yacau is paraphrased as ya ca ac ca ‘y and ac’. A paraphrase of yaçparaḥ is then offered as yacau paraus yasmāt sa ‘that after which y and ac occur’. Haradatta questions the use of paraḥ, especially since yacoḥ in the locative (saptamū) could have served the purpose (PM: yacor iti saptamīnirdēsenaiya siddhe paragramaṇam cintyaprayojanam).

3. Why do we have to state upasargāt ‘after a preverb’? We need an upasarga which, in turn, contains conditions of this replacement. We will not get this replacement in dadhi syāt and madhu syāt, where as is used without a preverb.

Why do we use as? Consider anusṛtam and viṣṛtam, where verbal root sr is prefixed with anu. A specification with as blocks this replacement in s. But we still do not need the specification of as. Since the a of as gets deleted, a preverb will be understood with reference to s of as. That is, the preverb will qualify a verbal root found in the form of s. There is no verb other that as which is found with the form of s. We thus do not need the specification of as. We do not need this specification of as for prādus either. For, prādus is always used with kṛ, bhū and as. A reference to as without its express specification is also possible when prādus is in use.

Commentators explain that this specification of as is needed. Consider anusvoh apatyam – ānuseyāḥ ← anusū + (dhaK→e) ‘male offspring of Anusū’, where ū gets deleted by 6.4.147 ḍha lopoh . . . This rule may have the occasion to replace s of anus + eya, had as not been specified as the verb.

Why do we state the condition of yaçparaḥ ‘followed by y and ac’? Consider nistah, vistah and prādustah, where this replacement cannot apply. Obviously, s is not followed here by y or ac.

8.3.88 सुविनिर्दृष्टयः: सुप्रिसृतिसमाह:

suvinirdurbhyah supisūtisamāh
/su-ui-nir-dur-bhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; supi-sūti-samāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.), te/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarjas-
niyaśarvyavāye’ pi #58)
su, vi, nir, dur ity etebhya uttarasya 'sūpi, sūti, sama' ity eteṣāṁ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of verbal root svapī (svapī), sūṭi and sama when they occur prefixed after su, vi, nir and dur in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

susūptah
nihṣūptah
duḥṣūptah
susūtih
viṣūtih
nihṣūtih
duḥṣūtih
susamam
viṣamam
nihṣamam
duḥsamam

1. Note that supī refers to svapī, which is here specified after applying samprasāraṇa (6.1.15 vacīsvapī . . .; Kaś: 'supī' iti svapi kṛtasamprasāraṇo gṛhyate). The ī of supī is an addition. It should not confuse us about the root's specification with ī (PM: supīty āgantuka ikārah, na punar īkā nirdeśaḥ). This s-replacement will then apply on forms of svapī where samprasāraṇa applies. If it was not intended to focus on this particular form, this root should have been specified as svapī, in the manner similar to 6.1.15 vacīsvapī . . . Verbal root sūti is specified with KtiN, thereby implying that this s-replacement will apply to its specified KtiN-form only (svarūpa-grahaṇa). Note that this s-replacement is not allowed to supī and sūti since the s occurs at the beginning of a pada (8.3.111 sāt padādyoh).

Recall that sama is listed in the sarvādi group as a non-derivable (aryutpanna) nominal. This rule offers s as a replacement for its s, not made available on account of its initial position in a pada. This sama can also be interpreted as a derivate of affix aC, introduced after sama 'to be calm' (3.1.134 nandīgrahi . . .). Accepting sama as a derivate of sama may be favored, especially in view of its associated listing in this rule with verbal root supī (sāhacarītyā). Jinendrabuddhi, however, favors sama, the form derived with aC introduced after sama. He emphasizes that, based on sabdāparaviṇpratisedha, a sāhacarya 'association' determined by a form (śabda) is considered more powerful than one determined by a corresponding base (dhātu; Nyāsa: sabdāparaviṇpratisedhaḥ sabdāparam yat sāhacaryam tad bāliṇa iti).

The specification of nis and dus is made here with r at the end. This r then is replaced with visarga. We thus get susuṣṭah, visuṣṭah, nihṣuṣṭah,
duḥṣuptah; susūtīh, viśūtīh, niḥsūtīh, duḥśūtīh; and susamam, viśamam, niḥsamam, duḥśamam.

2. A kārikā verse summarizes issues involved with the application of this rule:

supeḥ satvam svaper mā bhūd visusvāpeti kena na/
halādīsesān na supir istam pūrvaṃ prasāranam/
 syādīnāṃ niyamo nātra prāk sitād uttarah supi/
anarthake visusupah supibhūto dvir ucyate/
‘a replacement in ś is specified with reference to supi so that it does not apply to a form in svap (visavpanah/visavpanak; 3.2.172); why can ś-replacement not apply in visusvāpa, where we get sup in the abhyāsa, though p is lost to halādi-śesa (7.4.60) and is supported by ekadeśa-vikṛtam . . .; we do not get sup in the abhyāsa of visusvāpa, because samprasārana is desired to apply prior to halādi-śesa (6.1.17); the s of visusvāpa cannot be replaced with ś since sup falls outside the specification of prāk sitād. The niyama of 8.3.64 sthādinām . . . thus cannot apply (8.3.63-8.3.64). Moreover, the deleted p will render su meaningless (anarthaka). How can we allow the meaningless sup. Actually, what goes through doubling is visvap→visup, through samprasārana and ś-replacement. Doubling cannot apply prior to samprasārana since a replacement in ś is not treated as asiddha for purposes of doubling’

8.3.89 निनदीथ्यां स्वाते: कौशले

ninadibhyāṃ snāteḥ kauśale
/ ni-nadibhyāṃ 5/2 = niś ca nadi ca = ninadyau (itar. dv.), tābhyaṃ; snāteḥ 5/1 kauśale 7/1/
(samhitāyaṃ #2.108 apaḍāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 numvisarja-niyāśaruvavaye’ pi #58)
‘ni, nadi’ ity etābhyām uttarasya snātisakārasya mūrdhanyādēso bhavati kauśale gamyāmāne
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of verbal root snā ‘to bathe, cleanse’ when the same occurs after ni and nadi and the signification is kauśala ‘skill’.

Examples:

nisṇātah katakaranē ‘skilled in making mats’
nisṇāto rajjuwartane ‘skilled in making ropes’
nadiṣṇah ‘skilled in swimming’

1. Here again we get a replacement in ś against the negation of ś-replacement at the beginning (8.3.111 sāt padādyoh). We thus get the s of snā replaced with ś when ni and nadi are used in construction before snā.

Consider nadiṣṇah, where snā derives from śnā, via replacement of ś with s (6.1.62 dhātvādeḥ . . .). Affix Ka is introduced after snā with the signification
of ‘skilled’. The word nadi forms the cooccurrence (upapada; 3.2.4 supi sthah) condition. We thus get nadinā + (K)a → nadinā + a, where ā of snā gets deleted by 6.4.65 āto lopa. . . . We now get nādisna, where our present rule replaces the s of nādisna with ś. This ś then leads to a replacement in n (ṣṭutva) for n of snā.

2. Why do we state the condition of kauśale ‘when ‘skill’ is denoted’? Consider nadyām snātah = nadinātah ‘river-bathed’ where, in the absence of denotation of ‘skill’, we do not get a replacement in ś.

8.3.90 सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम

śūtram pratiśnātam
/sūtram 1/1 pratiśnālam 1/1/
(samhitāyaṁ #2.108 mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56)
‘pratiśnātam’ ity nipātyate sūtram ced bhavati
The form pratiśnātam is derived as a qualifier to sūtra ‘thread, yarn’, via nipātana, with a replacement in ś.

Examples:

pratiśnātam śūtram ‘pure thread’

1. This replacement in ś is again negated by 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh. This rule makes this possible, though via nipātana. Thus, prati-snā + Kta → prati-(s→ś) nā + ta → prati-ś(n→n) ā + ta → pratiśnāta.

2. Why was this rule not formulated simply as śūtram prateh? This could account for pratiśnāta with the anuvṛtti of snā from the preceding rule. This nipātana with particular mention of pratiśnāta is used to block ś replacement in other bases. Thus, a form ending in tṛC, i.e., pratisnātā, cannot be allowed this replacement.

8.3.91 कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे

kapīṣṭhalo gotre
/kapīṣṭhalah 1/1 gotre 7/1/
(samhitāyaṁ #2.108 mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56)
‘kapīṣṭhalaḥ’ ity nipātyate gotraviśaye
A ś replaces s in deriving kapīṣṭhala, via nipātana, when the signification is that of a gotra ‘lineage’.

Examples:

kapīṣṭhala nāma yasya sa kāpiṣṭhalih putrah ‘Kapiṣṭhala, is one whose son is Kapiṣṭhali’

1. Note that the word gotra here means lineage. It does not denote its technical meaning of ‘a grandson, and others thereafter (4.1.162 apatiyam
A non-technical gotra includes reference to the first person in the lineage and others thereafter. If gotra was used in its technical sense, we can only get a s replacement in kāpiṣṭhali. The head of the lineage, i.e., kapiṣṭhala cannot avail this replacement. Why was kapiṣṭhalaḥ itself not given as an example. It is noted that Kāpiṣṭhali must have been more famous.

Note that sṭhala of kapiṣṭhala is derived from verbal root sṭhala. This root is enumerated with s at its beginning in accord with: ajdantyaparāḥ sādayāḥ sopadeśāḥ ‘a s-initial root which ends in a vowel, and also a non-dental consonant, is considered beginning with s in initial citation (sopadeśa)’.

2. Why do we state the condition of gotre? Consider kapeh sṭhalam = kapiṣṭhalam ‘place where monkey(s) live’.

8.3.92 प्रश्चोद्ययामिनि
prāṣṭho’ gragāmini
/prāṣṭhah 1/1 agragāmini 7/1 = agre gacchati (tat.), tasmin/
(samhitāyām #2.108 mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56)
‘prāṣṭhah’ ity nipātyate agragāminy abhidheye
A s is replaced with s in deriving prāṣṭha, via nipātana, when the derivate denotes agragāmin ‘he who moves ahead’.

Examples:

pratiṣṭhata iti prāṣṭho ‘svah ‘a horse who moves ahead of his rider’

1. Why do we state the condition of agragāmin ‘he who moves ahead’? Consider prasthe himavatam punye ‘on the auspicious peak of the Himalaya’, where prastha does not mean agragāmin.

8.3.93 व्रक्षासनयोविष्ठः
vrksāsanayor viṣṭarah
/vrksāsanayoḥ 6/2 = vrksaḥ ca āsanam ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; viṣṭarah 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 mūrdhanyah #55 sah #56)
‘viṣṭarah’ iti nipātyate vrksaḥ āsane ca vācyo
A s is replaced with s in deriving viṣṭara, via nipātana, when derivate denote vrksa ‘tree’ and āsana ‘something to sit on, a seat’.

Examples:

viṣṭara vrksaḥ ‘Viṣṭara is name of a tree’
viṣṭaram āsanaṁ ‘viṣṭara means an āsana ‘seat’

1. Note that viṣṭara ‘that which is spread about’ is derived by introducing affix aP (3.3.57 rdor ap) after verbal root sīṇ ‘to cover, spread’. Affix aP is introduced, via nipātana, against GHaN of 3.3.33 prathane vāvāśabde.

2. Why do we state the twin conditions of vrksāsanayoḥ ‘when ‘tree’ and
'something to sit on' is denoted? Consider aulapivākyasya vistaraḥ 'elaboration of Aulapi's utterance', where vistara means 'expansion'.

8.3.94 छन्दोनाम्नि च

chandonāmni ca
/chandonāmni 7/1 = chandasaḥ nāma = chandonām (saś. tat.), tasmin; ca १/६/ (saṃhitāyām #2.108 mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 vistaraḥ #93)
'vistāraḥ' iti nipātyate
A s is also replaced with १ in deriving vistāra, via nipātana, when the derivate names a meter.

Examples:

vistārapāṅktīḥ chandah ‘a meter named Viśṭārapāṅkti’
vistāro bhūhari chandah ‘a meter named Bṛhati’

1. The word vistāra is derived from viṣṭara. Refer to notes under 3.3.34 chando nāmni ca for additional details.

2. Why do we state the condition of chando nāmni ‘when name of a meter is denoted’? Consider paṭasya vistāraḥ ‘length and breadth of a cloth’.

8.3.95 गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः

gavivydhibhyāṃ sthiraḥ
/gavi-yudhi-bhyāṃ 5/2 (itar. dv.), tābhyām; sthiraḥ 1/1/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56)
gavivydhibhyāṃ uttarasya sthīrasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

The s of sthira ‘firm’, used after gavi and yudhi, is replaced with १ when close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

Examples:

gavisthiraḥ ‘he who is steadfast in taking care of cows (truthful; a name)’
yudhisthiraḥ ‘he who is steadfast in battles (the eldest among Pāṇḍava brothers)’

1. This rule allows the s of sthira to be replaced with १ when it combines after gavi and yudhi. Thus, gavisthiraḥ and yudhisthiraḥ. These compounds are allowed under the denotational condition of a name (2.1.44 saṃjñāyām). Is this non-deletion (aluk) of saptamā 'locative' accomplished by 6.3.9 halantāt saptamāḥ saṃjñāyām? Yes, but only in case of yudhisthiraḥ. Since go does not end in a consonant, non-deletion of locative in gavisthiraḥ is accomplished by this rule, via nipātana.

8.3.96 विकुशंगपरिभ्यः स्थलम्

vikusamiparibhyāṃ sthalam
/vi-ku-śami-paribhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; sthalaṃ 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sah #56)
'vi, ku, śami, pari' ity etebhya uttarasya sthalasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhave
The s of sthala is replaced with s when sthala is combined after vi, ku, śami and pari.

Examples:

viśṭhalaṃ 'remote place'
kuśṭhalaṃ 'bad place'
śaṃśṭhalaṃ 'a place abounding in Śaṃ trees'
pariśṭhalaṃ 'surround place'

1. This again is an exception to the negation of 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh. The example compounds are formed in consonance with 2.2.18 kugatiḥprādayah, with the understanding that vi, ku and pari are particles (nīpāta). The word śaṃ is combined with sthalaṃ in a genitive tattvuruṣa compound. The long i of śaṃ goes through the shortening proposal of 6.3.63 nyāpoh saṃjñā. . . Thus, we get viśṭhalaṃ and śaṃśṭhalaṃ, etc.

8.3.97 अम्बाष्टथोभूमिसवयापदविकृतौकुरश्रवणपुज्ञापरमेबहर्षिद्विविधान्तः: स्म:

ambāmbagobhūmisavayāpadavitrikusēkusaṁkvaṅgumaṅjīpuṇjiparamebharhirdivyagnibhyah sthah
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sah #56)
'amba, āmba, go, bhūmi, savya, apa, dvi, tri, ku, śeku, śaṅku, aṅgu, maṅji, puṇji, paraṃ, barhis, divi, agni' ity etebhya uttarasya sthaśabdadasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhave
A mūrdhanya replaces the s of sthā when it combines after amba 'father', āmba, go 'cow, bull', bhūmi 'earth', savya 'left', apa 'water', dvi 'two', tri 'three', ku 'bad', śeku '?', śaṅku 'peg', aṅgu 'finger', maṅji 'cluster of blossoms', puṇji 'heap, mass', paraṃ in the best, highest', barhis 'Kuśa grass', divi 'in heaven' and agni 'fire'.

Examples:

ambaśṭhāḥ 'a place'
āmbaśṭhāḥ 'resident of Ambaśṭha'
gosṭhāḥ 'cow-shade'
bhūmiśṭhāḥ 'located on earth'
savyeṣṭhāḥ 'standing on left'
apaṣṭhāḥ 'end of the elephant goad'
dviśṭhāḥ 'standing in two places'
tristhah ‘. . . in three places’
kuṣṭhah ‘a plant; leprosy’
śekuṣṭhah ‘?’
saṅkuṣṭhah ‘placed on a peg’
aṅguṣṭhah ‘tł. umb, big toe’
maṇjīṣṭhah ‘Indian madder’
puṇjiṣṭhah ‘heaped, gathered’
parameṣṭhah ‘supreme’
barhiṣṭhah ‘placed on the Kuśa grass’
divhiṣṭhah ‘abiding in heaven’
agniṣṭhah ‘placed in (on) fire’

1. Note that stha is specified here as a derivate of affix Ka, introduced after verbal root sthā. The ā of sthā is also deleted (6.4.64 āto lopa iti ca). Recall that a specification made with a particular form (svarūpa-grahaṇa) must apply to that form only. This replacement in ś must then apply to the s of sthā. The nominative singular of sthāḥ should not be confused with the genitive singular of sthā. A genitive interpretation would make this rule apply to gosthānam and bhūmīsthānam.

All examples are upabada ‘conjoined’ compounds, where stha is combined after ambā, ambā, go, etc. Affix Ka is introduced after verbal root sthā under the cooccurrence condition of a pada ending in a sup (3.3.4 supi sthāḥ). The long ā of ambā (in ambāṣṭha) is replaced with its short counterpart by 6.3.61 nyāpoh samyñā. . . . Affix Ka, in goṣṭha, is introduced with the signification of GHAṆ by a vārttika proposal (vt: ghañarthe kavīḍhānam; cf. 3.3.58 grahaṇḍr . . .). Non-deletion of saptamī ‘locative’ in savyeṣṭhāḥ is allowed in consonance with 6.3.9 halantād saptamāḥ. . . . A replacement in ś will also lead to a replacement in dh (stūva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā stuh).

2. A vārttika proposal is made (vt: sthāsthinsthṛṇām iti vaktavyam) to also include sthā, sthin and sthr. Thus, we will get savyeṣṭhāḥ, parameṣṭhī, savyeṣṭhā and sārathīḥ ‘charioteer’.

8.3.98 सुषामादिषु च

susāmādīṣu ca
/susāmādīṣu 7/3 = susāmā ādir yesām (bv.), tesu; ca ṣh/ (samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 numvisorjanīyaṣayavāye’ pi #58)
susāmādīṣu sabdesu sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A replacement in mūrdhanyā also comes in place of the s of susāmā, etc.

Examples:

susāma = śobhanamsāma yasyāsau brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa whose recitation of the Sāman hymns is beautiful’
nissāmā brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa who cannot recite the Sāman hymns’
duṣṣāmā brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa who finds it difficult to recite the Sāman hymns’
nisṣedhah ‘not going’
duṣṭedhah ‘rough going’

1. Note that sūsāmā, etc., are listed as part of an open-ended group of nominals (ākṛtīgana). The s of nis and dus is optionally replaced with visarga (8.3.36 vaśāri). If the option of h is not accepted, we get the s further replaced with ś after s of sāmā itself is replaced with ś. Thus, nis + sāmā → ni(h) + sāmā → nih + (s→ś) āmā = niśsāmā and duḥṣāmā. We can also get nissāmā and duṣṭāmā.

Note that sisāma, etc., are listed as a group for two reasons: (i) some of them are denied s-replacement by a rule such as 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh, or (ii) no replacement provision for some of them is made (aprāpta) by an earlier rule. Consider susāmā where su is a karmacāracarīya (1.1.94 suḥ pūjāyām). The negation of s-replacement conditioned by the upasarga status of su can thus not apply. A karmacāracarīya cannot be assigned the term upasarga because of restrictive provision of ‘one term’ (ekasamjñā; 1.4.1 ā kaḍārād ekā samjñā). The term upasarga can also not be assigned to nis and dus of the listed words, especially since these two are assigned the term preverb only in connection with verbal roots gam and kṛ. Recall that pra, etc., are termed gati and upasarga in relation to action a root denotes (Nyāsa: yam prati kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas tām prati gatyupasargasamjñākā bhavanti). We cannot identify nis and dus as preverbs in relation to the action denoted by sidh ‘to move, go’ or sedh. The s-replacement of 8.3.65 upasargāt sunotisvatvā . . . is thus not available to nissedhah and duṣṭedhah. A replacement in s could not be made available in susandhiḥ, nissandhiḥ and duṣṭandhiḥ, mostly because their initial s does not derive from s (8.3.59 ādesāpratayayoh; Nyāsa: tenaisām anādesasakāratvād aprāpte satve pāthah).

2. The Unādi suffix Ku (1:25: apaduḥsusū shah) is introduced after su-sthā and duḥ-sthā to derive susūthu ‘beautiful’ and duṣṭhu. The bahuvrihi (5.4.113 bahuvrihih sakthiyaksnoh) compound gauryā iva sakthi yasyāḥ = gauriṣakthah ‘she whose thigh is similar to Gauri’ is derived with the samāsānta affix SaC, where s of sakthi is replaced with s of this rule. The long i of gauri ‘fair-complexioned’ is replaced with its short counterpart by 6.3.63 niyōh samjñā . . ., introduced after sthā used with su and du.

8.3.99 एति संज्ञायामगात्

eti samjñāyām agāt
/eti 7/1 samjñāyām 7/1 agāt 5/1 = na gaḥ = agaḥ (naṅ. tat.), tasmāt/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrāhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 ṛṇkoh #57 numviṣarjanīyavyavāye’ ṣī #58)
ekāraparasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati inkor uttarasyāgakārāt
parasya samjñāyām viṣaye
A s which is followed by e and occurs after a sound denoted by iN and
kU with the exclusion of g, is replaced with mūrdhanyā when the derivate
denotes a name.

Examples:
harīsenāh
vāriṣenāh
jānuṣenī

1. Note that Kāśīkā lists this rule as a gaṇa-sūtra under the susāmādi group
of nominals. Padamañjarī and Nyāsa do not recognize it as a rule (PM:
etisamjñāyām agād ita gaṇasūtram; Nyāsa: etad grahanakavākyam). We thus get
harayaḥ senā asya = harīsenāh; paritāḥ senā asya = pāriṣenāh, etc., where short-
ening of ā of senā is accomplished by 1.2.48 gostrīyor upasarjanasya.

2. Why do we state the condition of samjñāyām 'when the derivate denotes
a name'? Consider prthūsenā asya = prthusenāh 'a king', where s of senā cannot
be replaced with s.

Why do we state the condition of inkoḥ 'after a sound denoted by iN and
kU'? Consider sarvasenah, where s occurs after a.

Why do we state the condition of agāt 'but not after g'? Consider
viśvakṣenah, where a replacement in k (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca) is treated as
suspended (asiddha) in view of g (jaśtva; 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśo 'nte).

8.3.100 naksatrād vā

naksatrād vā
/ naksatrāt 5/1 vā φ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 āpadāntasya mūrdhanyāh #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57
numvisarjanīyavayāye' pi #58 etisamjñāyām agāt #99)
naksatravācinah śabdād uttarasya sakārasya vā eti samjñāyām agakārād
mūrdhanyo bhavati
A s before e which occurs after a sound denoted by iN and kU, with the
exclusion of g, is optionally replaced with mūrdhanyā, when a word
with the signification of naksatra 'constellation' follows and the derivate
denotes a name.

Examples:
rohinīsenah
rohinīsenah
bharanīsenah
bharanīsenah

1. This rule is also listed as a gaṇa-sūtra in the susāmādi group of nominals.
8.3.101 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Three

Thus, rohiniṣenah/rohiniṣenah and bharanīṣenah/bharanīṣenah. We cannot get this optional r-replacement in satatāhiṣakṣenah where s is preceded by k, perceived as g via suspension (asiddhatva).

Note that the suṣāmādi group is an open ended (ākṛtigana) group. It can thus include words whose r-replacement cannot be covered by some specific rules (Kāś. avahitalakṣaṇo mūrdhanyah suṣāmādisu draṭṭavyah). Our earlier rule offers r-replacement, obligatorily. This rule makes that optional provision obligatory.

8.3.101 হস্রাত্তাদী তাদ্ধিতে

hrasvāt tādau taddhite
/hrasvāt 5/1 tādau 7/1 = takāra ādir yasya (bu.), tasmin; taddhite 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 īnkoḥ #57
numvisarjanīyavyavaiyē' pi #58)
hrasvād uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati tādau taddhite parataḥ
A s which occurs after a short (hrasva) i and u is replaced with s when a taddhita affix beginning with t follows in close proximity.

Examples:

sarpisṭaram ‘comparatively more buttery’
yauṣṭaram ‘a comparatively better sacrifice’
sarpistamam ‘most buttery’
yauṣṭamam ‘best sacrifice’
catuṣṭaye brāhmaṇānāṁ niketāḥ
‘houses of brahmans in clusters of four’
sarpistvam ‘butteriness’
yauṣṭvam ‘sacrificial performance’
sarpisṭa ‘butteriness’
yauṣṭā ‘sacrificial action’
sarpisṭah ‘buttery’
yauṣṭah ‘sacrificial’
āviṣṭo vardhate ‘grows after sprouting’

1. Note that taraP (5.3.57 dvivacanavibhajya . . .), tamaP (5.3.55 atisāyane . . .), tayaP (5.2.42 saṃkhyāyā avayave . . .), taL (5.1.119 tasya bhāvas tvatālau), tasl (5.4.44 pratiyoge . . .; 5.4.45 apādāne . . .) and tyap (4.2.104 avayāt tyap) are here recognized as the taddhita affixes beginning with t (tādī). This rule facilitates a replacement in s which, because of the negation of apadāntasya (8.3.55 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah), was not available. Consider sarπi(s→s) + taraP → sarpiṣ + (t→t) ara → sarpiṣara + sU = sarpiṣaram, yauṣṭaram; sarpiṣamam and yauṣṭamam, where s is replaced with rU and visarga. The visarga is then replaced with s (8.3.34 visarjanīyasya saḥ) before t. A replacement of this s with s further causes t to be replaced with s (ṣṭutva). Consider
catuṣṭaye, a derivate of tayaḥ, in catuṣṭaye brāhmaṇānāṁ nikelāḥ 'houses of brāhmaṇa’s are built in a cluster of four’.

2. Why do we state the condition of hrasvāt ‘after a short vowel’? Consider gītarā and dhiṣtarā, where gīr and dhūr do not end in a short vowel.

Why do we state the condition of tādau... beginning with t when 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh can easily block the r-replacement before a s-initial taddhita affix. Consider sarpiṃśād bhavati ‘becomes full of butter’, where the taddhita affix sātl (5.4.52 vībhāṣā sāti kārtṣnye) begins with a vowel. The s of sāt cannot avail a replacement in s because of the negation of 8.3.109 sāt padādyoh. The initial s of sarpiś will also be saved from being replaced with s under the condition of padādi. However, the negation of 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh cannot save the final s of sarpiś from being replaced with s before affix sāt. If this specification with tādau was not made, r-replacement of affixal s will be blocked. But s before sāt must then be replaced with s.

Why do we state the condition of taddhita ‘when a taddhita affix follows’? Consider sarpiś taratī ‘the butter floats’, where t of taratī is not relatable to a taddhita affix.

3. A vārttika poposal is made to block this replacement from applying to a form ending in a ti (3.4.78 tiptaṣhī...). Consider bhindustarām and chindustarām where taraḥ (5.3.56 tiṇās cā) and āmU (5.4.11 kimetiṇ... ) are introduced after Jus (3.4.108 jher jūs), a replacement of jhi of LI.N.

8.3.102 निससतपतायनसेवने

nisas tapatāv anāsevana
/ nisah 5/1 tapatau 7/1 anāsevane 7/1 = na āsevanam (naḥ. tat.), tasmin/
(samhitāyaṁ #2.108 mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56)
nisah sakārasya mūrdhanyādeso bhavati tapatau parato ‘nāsevane’ rtthe
The s of nis is replaced with s when tapati follows and anāsevana ‘not doing over and over again’ is not denoted.

Examples:

niṣṭapati suvarṇam ‘... touches gold with fire’

1. The word āsevana is explained as punah punah karaṇam ‘doing over and over again’. Its negative anāsevana, in the context of suvarṇam ‘gold’ and tapati ‘heats up’, is explained as sakṛd agnim sparśayati ‘touches the fire once’.

2. Why do we state the condition of anāsevana? Consider niṣṭapati suvarṇam suvarṇakāraḥ ‘the goldsmith heats up the gold’. That is, touches the gold with fire, over and over again’.

Why do we have this r-replacement in niṣṭapati and niṣṭapta of niṣṭaptaṁ rakṣa and niṣṭapta arātayah? These examples may not be used with the denotation of āsevana ‘repeated action’. It is equally possible that this sound modification is Vedic in nature (Kāṣ... āsevanaṁ na vividkṣyate, chāndaso vā varṇavikāraḥ).
8.3.103 युष्मतत्ततक्षुः धन्तः पादम्

\[\text{yusmatatattakṣuḥ} \text{ antahpādam} \]
\[/\text{yusmat-tat-tataku-su} \text{ 7/3 (itar. dv.), tesu;}\]
\[\text{antahpādam} \text{ 1/1 = antah = madhye pādasya (avyayibhāva)}/\]
\[(\text{saṃhitāyām} \#2.108 \text{ apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ} \#55 \text{ sah} \#56 \text{ iṅkoḥ} \#57 \text{ numvisarjaniyayavāyī} \text{ ārya} \text{ 7/3} \text{ tādau \#101})\]
\[\text{‘yusmat, tat, tataku’s ity etesu takārādiśu pāratah sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati sa cet sakāro’ ntaḥpādaṃ bhavati}\]

A s which occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbols \(iN\) and \(kU\) is replaced with \(s\) when a \(t\)-initial form of \(yusmat ‘you’, tad ‘that’ and tatakus follows and the \(s\) is contained within the quarter \(pāda\) of a hymn.

**Examples:**

\[\text{agniś tuṃ nāmāsīt}\]
\[\text{agniś tvā vardhayāmasi}\]
\[\text{apsvāgne sadhiṣṭavā}\]
\[\text{agniś tad visvam āprāṇī}\]
\[\text{dvāvāprthvī niṣṭatakuḥ}\]

1. This rule replaces a \(s\) with \(s\) in the middle of the quarter of a hymn when a \(t\)-initial form of \(yusmad, i.e., tvam / tvām / te / tava, tat and tatakus follow. Recall that \(s\) must also occur after a sound denoted by \(iN\) and \(kU\).

Thus, \(agni(s->s)\) tvam nāma āsīt \(\to\) agnis \((t->t)\) tvam āśīt \(\to\) agniṣṭuvam nāmāsīt; agnis tvā \(\to\) agniṣṭvā \(\ldots\); \(\ldots\) sadhis tava \(\to\) sadhiṣṭava; \(\ldots\); agnis tad. \(\ldots;\) \(\to\) agniṣṭad. \(\ldots;\) \(\ldots\) nis tatakuḥ \(\to\) niṣṭatakuḥ. Note that tādau is carried over. Consequently, yusmad here refers to its replacements: tvā (7.2.94 tvāhau sau), tvā (8.1.23 tvāmāvau dvitiyāh), tava (7.2.96 tavanamamu āṣi) and te (8.1.32 temayāvau \(\ldots\)). The word tat is an indeclinable particle. Finally, tatakuḥ is a form of tāṣ ‘to fashion, plane’ where \(L\Pi\) is replaced with the third plural us (3.4.82 parasmaipadānām \(\ldots\)). Note that this replacement applies at the end of a \(pāda\).

2. Why do we state the condition of antahpādam ‘inside the quarter of a hymn’? Consider yanma aṁmano mindābhūdagnis tapunaraḥ jātavedā vicarsinah where \(s\) of agnis occurs at the end of the preceding quarter followed by tat at the beginning of the next. This replacement thus does not apply here.

8.3.104 यजुर्श्चेक्षयाम्

\[\text{yajusy ekeśām}\]
\[/\text{yajusī 7/1 ekeśām 6/3/}\]
\[(\text{saṃhitāyām} \#2.108 \text{ apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ} \#55 \text{ sah} \#56 \text{ iṅkoḥ} \#57 \text{ numvisarjaniyayavāyī} \text{ ārya} \text{ 7/3} \text{ tādau \#101 yusmatattatakuṣuḥsu \#103})\]
yajusī viśaye yuṣmattattatakṣus parata ekeśāṁ ācāryāṇāṁ matena sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A s which occurs after iNyand kU, in the opinion of some in the Yajurveda, is replaced with s when a t-initial form of yuṣmad, tat and tatakṣus follows and the s is contained within the quarter (pāda) of a hymn.

EXAMPLES:

archibhiṣ tavana
archibhis tuvam
agniṣ te' gram
agniṣ te' gram
agniṣ tat
agniṣ tat
archibhiṣ tatakṣuh
archibhiṣ tatakṣuh

1. The word ekeśāṁ 'in the opinion of some' is used here to denote option (Nyāsa: ekeśāṁ grahaṇāṁ vikalpārtham). Note also that antahpādam cannot be associated with the provision of this rule since occurrence within a pada is not possible (Nyāsa: atra pādā na sambhavanti . . .). This rule also offers replacement at the end of a pada. The examples need no further explanations.

8.3.105 स्तुतस्तोमवीश्चन्दसि

stutastomayoś chandasi
/stutas-tomayah 6/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; chandasi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 ṣaḥ #57 numvisarjanīyasyayave' pi #58 ekeśāṁ #104)
'sutura, stoma' šty etayoh sakārasya chandasi viśaye mūrdhanyādeśo bhavaty ekeśāṁ ācāryāṇāṁ matena
The s of stuta and stoma, in the opinion of some in the Vedic, is replaced with s when s occurs in close proximity after iNy and kU.

EXAMPLES:

tribhiḥ śtutasya
tribhiḥ stutasya
gośṭomaṁ sḍaśīnam
gośṭomaṁ sḍaśīnam

1. Why do we have this rule when tribhiṣṣutasya, etc., can be covered by the next rule, under the condition of pūrva-padāt 'after a preceding pada . . .'? It is correct to think that this rule is formulated for covering instances of pūrva-pada 'preceding pada' of a non-compound string. For, the next rule may also apply to uncompounded strings of padas. This rule is merely an
expatiation of the next (prapañca). It offers a s-replacement against the negation of 8.3.111 sāt padādyoh.

8.3.106 पूर्वपदात्

pūrvapadāt
/pūrvapadāt 5/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saह #56 inkoḥ #57
numuṣasaranīyavavāyē pi #58 ekēsām #102 chandasi #105)
pūrvapadasthān nimitād uttarasya sakārasa mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
chandasi viṣaye ekēsām ācāryānāṁ matena
A mūrdhanyā, in the opinion of some scholars, comes in place of an s
which occurs, in the Vedic, after a preceding pada containing the nimitta
‘cause, condition’ of this replacement.

Examples:

dvisandhiḥ
dvisandhiḥ
trīsandhiḥ
trisandhiḥ
madhuṣṭhānam
madhuṣṭhānam

dvisāhasram cinvīta
dvisāhasram cinvīta

1. Note that the word pūrvapada means the first constituent of a compound, or a pada which precedes some other (Kāś: asamāse pi yat pūrvapadam
tad apiha gṛhyate). Thus, triḥ + (s→s) amṛddhavāya → triḥ samṛddhavāya, a
non-compound string. We can also get this replacement in a compound
string: triḥ + (s→s) andhiḥ → trīsandhiḥ, madhuṣṭhānam and dvisāhasram, etc.
Since this s-replacement is offered in the opinion of some scholars, others
may have the compounds without it. Thus, trisandhiḥ, madhuṣṭhānam and
dvisāhasram, etc. Incidentally, trisandhiḥ is either a genitive tatpuruṣa, or a
bahuṇhi compound. A similar genitive tatpuruṣa compound can be seen in
madhuṣṭhānam. The bahuṇhi of dvaśah sahasrayor bhavati = dvisāhasram is
formed in the sense of a taddhita affix (2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada . . .). Affix
aNy is then introduced with the signification of 4.3.53 tatra bhavah. A vṛddhi
replacement of the first a of sahasra ‘a thousand’ is accomplished by 7.3.15
samkhyāyāḥ samvatśara. . . .

8.3.107 सुनः

suñah
/suñah 5/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 numvisarjanīyavavarāye' pi #58 chandasi #105 pūrva-padāt #106) ‘suṇ’ iti nipāta iha gṛhyate, tasya pūrva-padasthān nimitād uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye

A mūrdhanya replaces the s of suṇ ‘press out, sprinkle’ which occurs, in the Vedic, after a preceding pada containing the nimita ‘condition, cause’ of this replacement.

Examples:

abhīṣunāḥ sakhīnām ‘bathing together of friends’
ūrdhva uṣunāḥ ‘moving upward’

1. Note that the i of abhi is replaced with its long counterpart before suṇ (6.3.132 ikāḥ suṇī). The n of nas in uṣunas is replaced with n (nātva; 8.4.26 nās ca dhāntus m...). Thus, abhīṣunāḥ sakhīnām and ārdhva uṣunāḥ. The suṇ of this rule is interpreted as a particle (nipāta). Pāṇini should have specified suṇah with indication of its vikaraṇa and ending (śtip), had he intended it to be a verbal root.

8.3.108 सनोतेरनः:

sanoter anaḥ
/ sanoteh 6/1 anaḥ 6/1 = avidyamāno nakāro yasya (bv.), tasya/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 numvisarjanīyavavarāye’ pi #58 chandasi #105 pūrva-padāt #106)
sanoter anakārasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye

A mūrdhanya comes in place of the s of verbal root san, in the Vedic, when san ‘to give’ does not end in n.

Examples:

goṣāḥ ‘giver of cow’
nṛṣāḥ ‘provider of men’

1. Note that the n of san gets a replacement in ā (ātva; 6.4.44 vidvanor...). Refer to derivational details of goṣāḥ in the appendix (III:739-40). This replacement in s is already made available by 8.3.106 pūrva-padāt. This rule then makes a restrictive provision (niyama). It applies only to that which does not end in n, and not to any other (Nyāsa: avidyamānanakārasyaiśa bhavati nānyasya).

2. Why do we state the condition of anaḥ ‘of that which does not end in n’? Consider goṣani of goṣanām vācam udārayan where this replacement does not take place. But it could hardly be a counter-example. It does not come under the preview of this rule’s restrictive provision. Its san ends in n and it has been covered by the negation applicable to nominals in the savanānī group (8.3.110 na rāparāśṛpi... savanādīnām). Some offer sisānayiṣati as a
counter-example. But since this is a causal example and the restrictive provision of this rule is offered for non-causals, others prefer *sisānīḥ* as a better counter-example.

8.3.109 सहे: पृतनाध्ययं च

saheḥ pṛtanartābhyaṁ ca
/saheḥ 6/1 pṛtanartābhyaṁ 5/2 = pṛtanā ca ṛtaṁ ca = pṛtanarte (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ; ca ṣ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 chandasi #105 pūrva-padāt #106)
‘pṛtanā, ṛta’ ity etābhyaṁ uttaraśa sahīsakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi viśaye

A mūrdhanyā comes in place of s of saḥA ‘to prevail, win’, in the Vedic, also when it occurs after pṛtanā ‘battle’ and ṛta ‘sacred order’.

Examples:

pṛtanāśāham ‘to winner of the enemy’
ṛtāśāham ‘to the follower of the sacred order’

1. Note that saḥA receives affix ṇuḥ (3.2.64 chandasi sahaḥ) under the cooccurrence condition of a pada ending in sUP. The final a of ṛta is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.135 anyēśām api . . .). Some propose a split-interpretation of this rule into two: (i) saheḥ ‘in place of the s of saḥA; (ii) pṛtanartābhyaṁ ca ‘also when occurring after pṛtanā and ṛta’. This split-interpretation helps ṣ-replacement also in ṛtisaham. Notice that saḥA does not occur after ṛta. It occurs after ṛti, instead. It is a derivate of KuḥP (3.3.113 kṛtyalyuto bahulam) where long replacement for the short of ṛti is accomplished by 6.3.116 naiḥ-vṛtvasi . . ., under the condition of saṃhitāyām ‘when close proximity of sounds . . .’. We will get ṛtisaham when saṃhitā is not considered.

The ca of this rule is used to indicate anukta-samuccaya ‘collecting something which has not yet been stated’. We thus also get ṛtisaham. That is, the s of sāḥ is replaced with ś, not only when it occurs after i, u, and a consonant of the k-series, but also when it occurs after pṛtanā and ṛta (Nyāsa: na kevalam sādhbhutasya inkoḥ parasya api tu pṛtanartābhyaṁ ca satvaṁ bhavati). Those who do not accept split-interpretation claim that ca is used here to account for examples yet to be covereded (anukta-samuccaya). They offer ṛtisaham as an example.

8.3.110 न रपरस्ःप्रस्त्र्णिःस्प्रःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःस्प्र्यिःsavanādīnāṁ

na rāparasaṛṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭīṣṭी
(samhitāyām #2.108 numvisarjaniyasyaśarvayāye pi #58 ūpādāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 numvisarjaniyasyaśarvayāye pi #58) rephaparasasya sakārasya śṝpi, śṝji, śṝṣi, śṝhi, svanādīnāṃ ca mūrdhanyo na bhavati

A s which is followed by r, or which belongs to verbal roots śṝp 'to crawl', śṝj 'to fashion, create', śṝṣ 'to touch', śṝh 'to long for', or else, to items listed in the group headed by savana 'pressing out, soma', is not replaced with s even when this s occurs after a sound denoted by in and ku.

**Examples:**

visrāmsikāyāḥ kāndam juhoti
visrābdhaḥ kathayati
purā krūrasya usṝpah
vācō visarjanāt
divisṝṣam
nisṝpaham kathayati
savanēsavane
sūtesūte
āśvasanimaśvasanīm

1. This rule blocks a replacement in s for a s which occurs before r, or which belongs to verbal roots sṝjI 'to create', sṝpI 'to crawl', sṝṣI 'to touch' and sṝhI 'to envy, love', or else, is part of a listing headed by savana 'pressing out'. This negation is made against provisions of 8.3.106 pūrva-padāt, and applies even when s occurs after a sound denoted by in, or ku. Consider visrāmsikāyāḥ where visrāmsika 'the śrīṣa tree' is a derivate of NvaL (3.3.108 rogākhāyām . . . ; 3.3.109 samjñāyām), introduced after vi-sraṃs 'to slip, fall'. We also have visrābdha 'without any fear', a derivate of Kīa introduced after vi-sranbhU. Recall that n of sranbhU 'to confide' is deleted (6.4.24 aniditām hala . . . ). The t of Kīa is replaced with dh (dhatva; 8.2.40 jhāsastathor . . . ). The bh of the root is also replaced with b (8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhasī). Augment iT is here blocked by 7.2.15 yasa vibhāṣā. These two examples both have a r occurring after s. This s cannot be replaced with s. Refer to derivational details of usṝpah in the appendix (II.376). Affix KoIN (3.2.58 śṝs 'nudake) is introduced after sṝṣ to derive divisṝṣa 'touching heaven', under the cooccurrence condition of a pada ending in an affix denoted by sUP. Recall that the locative of divid 'in heaven' is here not deleted (alu; 6.3.12atatpuruese kṛti . . . ). We also get nis-(sṝh + NīC) + aC → nisṝphā, a derivate of affix aC (3.3.56 er ac) where NīC goes through deletion (6.4.51 ner anītī).

Now consider a svanādi derivate: savanēsavane, where savane is iterated, like other examples, with the signification of vipsā 'pervasion'. Note that savane is the locative form of savana 'pressing out', itself derived with affix
Lyut introduced after śuN ‘to press out, extract’. Verbal root śuN ‘to give birth’ yields sūta with the nisṭhā suffix Kṛta. Kaśikā adds that āsvasanim is brought here to indicate that ś-replacement is possible even when there is no preceding iN. This is how jalāśāham ‘he who can endure water’ and āsvaśāham ‘...can endure horse-ride’ get their s replaced with s (Kāś: āsvasanigrahaṇam anino pi satvama astiti jñāpanārtham. tena jalāśāham, āsvaśāham ity etat Siddham bhavati).

8.3.111 सत्त पदांशोः:

sātpadādyoḥ
/ sātpadādyoḥ 6/2 = padasya ādiḥ (saṣ. tat.); sāt ca padādiś ca = sātpadādi (itār. du.); tayoh/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 numvisarjanīyaśārayavāye pi #58 na #110)
‘sāt’ ity eāsya padādēs ca mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in mūrdhanyah does not come in place of the s of sāt, and also the s at the beginning of a pada, when this s occurs after a sound denoted by iN and kU.

Examples:

agnisāt ‘fire-engulfed’
dadhāsāt ‘fully mixed with curds’
madhusāt ‘fully mixed with honey’
dadhī siṅcati ‘sprinkles curds’
madhū siṅcati ‘sprinkles honey’

1. Note that sāt here refers to affix sāṭ (5.4.64 vibhāṣā sātī kārtṣnye). Its s would have been replaced with s of 8.3.59 ādesapratayayoh. This rule blocks application of ś-replacement (satvā). A similar provision of ś-replacement in place of a s at the beginning of a pada is also negated here. This is basically against a s which may have its origin in the initial s of a root (8.3.59 ādesapratayayoh). Thus we get agnisāt and madhū siṅcati, etc., where the s of sāt and siṅcati is not replaced with s. Recall that s of siṅcati has its source in s of sīc ‘to sprinkle’. Augment nUMis here introduced by 7.1.59 śe mucādnīm. The n then goes through a replacement in n (śeṭvā; 8.4.40 stoś ścunā ścuḥ).

8.3.112 सिचो यष्ट

sico yaṇī
/ sicaḥ 6/1 yaṇī 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 na #110)
sicaḥ sakārasya yaṇī parato mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati
The $s$ of sic which occurs after a sound denoted by $iN$ and $kU$ is not replaced with $s$ when affix $yaN$ follows in close proximity.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parisesicayte} & \text{ ‘sprinkles repeatedly’} \\
\text{abhisesicayte} & \text{ ‘sprinkles around . . .’}
\end{align*}
\]

1. This negation of $s$-replacement is made against the positive provisions of 8.3.59 ādesapratiyāyoh and 8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti . . . Rule 8.3.59 offers a replacement in $s$ to a $s$-replacement of a verbal root. Rule 8.3.65 offers a replacement in $s$ for the $s$ of an abhyāsa (6.1.4 pūrvo bhyāsah). Thus we get $sic + yaN \rightarrow si + sic + ya \rightarrow \text{pari-(i→e)} + sic + ya \rightarrow \text{parisesicya} + LAT \rightarrow \text{parisesicayte}$, $s$ of sic was required to be replaced with $s$. The $s$ of the abhyāsa, i.e., $si→se$, in abhisesicayte was required to be replaced with $s$ of 8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti . . . Our present rule negates these two $s$-replacements both.

It is argued that the $s$ of the abhyāsa of abhisesicayte should be replaced with $s$ by 8.3.64 sthādiṣu abhyāsena . . . The $s$ of the root should be similarly replaced with $s$ of 8.3.59 ādesapratiyāyoh. Why can we not have abhisesicayte by blocking the negation of this rule by 8.3.65 upasargāt . . ., in a manner similar to 8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti . . . which blocks the application of 8.3.111 sātpadādyoh. Rule 8.3.65 upasargāt . . . can only block the application of 8.3.111 sātpadādyoh, under the condition of padādi ‘at the beginning of a pada’. It cannot block the negation of this rule (Kāś: ‘upasargāt’ iti ya prāptih sā padādilaksanam eva pratisedham bādhate, na ‘sico yan’ iti. tasmāt ayam pratisedham sarvatra bhavati). The negation of a replacement in mūrdhanya ‘retroflex’ of this rule enjoys a much wider application.

8.3.113 संध्येर्गति

sadhater gatau
/sadhateh 6/1 gatau 7/1/
(sāṃhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sah #56 inkoḥ #57 na #110)

gatau vartamānasya sadhateḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādesaḥ na bhavati

A replacement in mūrdhanya does not come in place of the $s$ of sīdh, when the root is used with the significiation of gati ‘movement’ and $s$ occurs after a sound denoted by $iN$ and $kU$.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{abhisedhayati gāḥ} & \text{ ‘drives the cattles’} \\
\text{parisedhayati gāḥ} & \text{ ‘drives the cattles around’}
\end{align*}
\]

1. This again is a negation of $s$-replacement offered by 8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti . . . A specification with sedha in 8.3.65 upasargāt . . . can refer to sīdhū ‘to be auspicious’ and sīdhū ‘to move’ both. This negation can also apply to
them both. Our present rule negates \( s \)-replacement in the context of \( gatau \) ‘when the signification is movement’.

Why do we state the condition of \( gatau \)? Consider \( sisyam akāryāt pratiṣedhayati \) ‘prohibits the student from non-action’, where \( s \)-replacement applies. Obviously, the derivate does not denote the meaning of \( gati \) ‘movement’.

8.3.114 प्रतिस्तब्धनिनिस्तब्धी च

\[ 
\text{pratistabdhanistabdhau ca}
\]

\[ 
/\text{pratistabdha-nistabdhau 1/2 (itar. dv.), tāu, ca} /\]

\[ 
(\text{saṃhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 na #110})
\]

‘pratistabdha, nistabdha’ ity etau mūrdhanyāpratīṣedhāya nipātyete

Forms such as pratistabdha and nistabdha are derived, via nipātana, to facilitate no replacement by mūrdhanya.

**Examples:**

\[ 
\text{pratistabdha} \ ‘\text{controlled}’
\]

\[ 
\text{nistabdha} \ ‘\text{obstructed}’
\]

1. This nipātana provision is made against the positive provision of 8.3.67 stanbheḥ. Refer to derivational details of visrabdhā under 8.3.111 na raparasṛjī. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving pratistabdha and nistabdha.

8.3.115 सोढः:

\[ 
\text{sodhaḥ}
\]

\[ 
/\text{sodhaḥ 6/1/}
\]

\[ 
(\text{saṃhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 na #110})
\]

\[ 
\text{sahir ayam sodhabhūto gṛhyate, tasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati}
\]

A replacement in mūrdhanya does not come in place of the \( s \) of sodha ‘to endure’ when the same occurs after a sound denoted by \( iN \) and \( kU \).

**Examples:**

\[ 
\text{parisodhaḥ}
\]

\[ 
\text{parisodhum}
\]

\[ 
\text{parisodhavyam}
\]

1. This rule specifies verbal root saḥA ‘to endure’ by citing sodha, where \( h \) has been replaced with \( dh \) (8.2.31 ho ḍhaḥ). That is, this negation should apply only when we get this form of saḥA. Recall that the \( a \) of saḥA is replaced with \( o \) to yield sodha (6.3.110 saḥivahor . . .). This negation of \( s \)-replacement is made against the positive provision of 8.3.70 parinivibhyah sevasita . . . Thus, we get pari-saḥ + Kta → pari-sa(h→dh) + (K)ta → pari-saḍḥ + (t→dh→dh) a → pari-sa(dh→φ) + ḍha → pari-s(a→o) + ḍha → pari(s→ṣ) oḍha = parisodha, as a
result of at least six operations: (Nyāsa: dhatua-dhatua-śtutva-dhalōpesu kṛteesu ‘sahivahor od avarṇasya’ ity okārah).

8.3.116 स्तम्भुसिवसहां चढ़

/stambhusivusahāṁ caṇi
/stambhu-sivu-sahām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; caṇi 7/1/
(sahityāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 saḥ #56 iṅkoḥ #57 na #110)
‘stambhu, sivu, saḥ’ ity eteṣām caṇi parataḥ sakārasyā mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati
The 5 of verbal roots stanbhU ‘to prop up, support’, sivU ‘to sew’, saḥA ‘to endure’ which occurs after a sound denoted by iN and kU is not replaced with 5 when affix CaN follows in close proximity.

Examples:

paryastambhat
abhyastambhat
paryāśisivat
nyāśisivat
paryāśisahat
vyāśisahat

1. This negative provision of 5-replacement is made against the positive provision of 8.3.67 stanbhēḥ in case of stanbhU. It is made against the positive provision of 8.3.70 parinivībhyaḥ . . . in case of others (Nyāsa: atra ādyasya ‘stanbhēḥ’ iti satve prāpte, ityarayos tu ‘parinivībhyaḥ’ iti pratiśedho’ yam ārabhyate). These roots have a 5-replacement already made available to them by 8.3.64 sthādiśu abhyāśena . . ., and also by 8.3.71 sivādīnāṁ . . ., even when augment aT intervenes. Our present rule makes a negative provision against them. A replacement in 5, when applicable after an abhyāsa, will be accomplished in view of 8.3.59 ādeśa-pratyayayoḥ. Refer to derivational details of causative forms in LUN, i.e., api pacat, etc., under 6.1.11 caṇi. Similar rules apply in deriving paryastambhat, paryāśisivat and paryāśisahat, etc. What is retained in paryastambhāt is a sound denoted by khāY of the abhyāsa (7.4.61 śarpūrvāh khāyas). Verbal root sivU goes through guṇa of the penultimate short vowel (laghūpadhaṅgaṇa). The a of saḥA goes through a replacement in ṣuddhi (7.2.116 ata upadhāyaḥ) before NiC. Shortening of 7.4.1 ṇau caṇy upadāhyāḥ . . ., followed by operations similar to when affix sanNfollows (sanvadbhāva), finally produces derivatives such as paryāśisivat, etc.

2. A proposal (κt stambhisiwasahāṁ caṇi upasargād iti vaktavyam) is made to understand this negation in the context of an upasarga ‘preverb’ containing conditions of replacement. That is, this negation should not apply to a 5-replacement which obtains after an abhyāsa (Kāś: . . . abhyāsād yā prāptis tasyā mā bhūd iti).
8.3.117 सुनोते: स्यसनोः

sunoteḥ syasanoḥ
/sunoteḥ 6/1 syasanoḥ 7/2 = syaś ca san ca
(itār. dv.), tayoh/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 īṅkoḥ #57 na #110)
sunoteḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati sye sani ca parataḥ

The s of verbal root suN, when occurring after a sound denoted by iN and kU, is not replaced with ŝ when affixes sya (3.1.33 syatāśi ṣṭhutoḥ) and saN follow in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

abhisosyati
parisosyati
abhyaososyat
paryasosyat

1. This negation of a replacement in mūrdhanya is made against the positive provision of 8.3.65 upasargāṁ suṇoti. . . Consider abhisisosyati, the third singular active LRT derivāte of suN, used with the preverb abhi. Refer to kariśyati (appendix, II:510-511) for derivational details of derivates of LRT. Similar rules apply in deriving parisosyati. Examples of abhi-suN + LRN and pari-suN + LRN, i.e., abhyasosyat and paryasosyat, involve introduction of augment aT (abhi + aT + suN) and deletion of i of tiP (3.4.100 itaś ca).

2. Refer to derivational details of cičāti (appendix, II:435) and derive abhi-suN + saN → abhi-susūṣa, a verbal root ending in saN. Affix KuIP is then introduced. The a at the end of abhisusūṣa is then deleted (6.4.48 ato lopah). Affix KuIP also goes through total deletion (saurājapāhāriśo; 6.1.67 veṛ aprktasya): The s of abhisusūṣ is considered asiddha in applying rU → ḥ (rupa-visarga). This is how we get abhisusūḥ. Note here that s of saNs is not replaced with ŝ (8.3.61 stauṭhinyor eva . . .) here. The s which occurs after the abhyāsa indeed qualifies for a replacement in s.

3. Why do we state the condition of syasanoḥ ‘when sya and saN follow’? Consider susāva where we get a replacement in s in the absence of affixes sya and saN.

8.3.118 सदे: परस्य लिटि

sadeḥ parasya liti
/sadeḥ 6/2 parasya 6/1 liti 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyah #55 saḥ #56 īṅkoḥ #57 na #110)
‘sader dhātor liti parataḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyo na bhavati

A replacement in mūrdhanya (here ŝ) does not come in place of the
following s of sadā, when this s occurs after iN and kU, and affix LIṣ follows in close proximity.

**Examples:**

- abhiṣaśāda
- pariṣaśāda
- niśaśāda
- viśaśāda

1. The following s of sad (sadā) is here blocked from receiving a replacement in s. We get two s sounds in its derivates of LIṣ, especially after reduplication (dvitva). The second s which now occurs after the abhyāsa will qualify for a replacement in s (cf. 8.3.64 sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyaśasya; 8.3.66 sadī aprateh). Our present rule negates that replacement in s. The preceding s, of course, will be replaced with s of 8.3.66 sadī aprateh. For, negation applies only to the following s.

2. Kāśikā reads this sūtra as: sadisvaṇjyāḥ. . . . It thus adds verbal root svanjl ‘to embrace’, mainly because the following s of this verbal root also qualifies for a replacement in s (8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti . . .). Haradatta claims that svanjl is included as part of a vārtika proposal (PM ad Kāś: svanjugrahanaḥ ca vārtike darsanaḥ sūtre prakṣiptam; vt. sado liṭi pratisedhe svanjer upasamkhyaṇam kartavyam). It thus is an interpolation. Forms of svanj are: pariṣasvajāte, and pariṣasvajāre/abhiṣasvaje. How is n-deletion of svanj accomplished? This n cannot be deleted because LIṣ cannot be accepted as marked with K (6.4.24 aniditām hala. . . . For, svanj ends in a conjunct (samyogānta). Some wish for this kit-status with the understanding that ca of 1.2.6 indhibhavatibhyām ca is used for covering (samuccayārtham) examples which have been left out (anukta). They consider 1.2.6 indhibhavatibhyām ca as a fixed option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā), so that the optional kit-status does not apply to it. Or else, they carry the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā from 1.2.3 vibhāṣornoḥ.

**8.3.119 निव्यभिष्योद्वियवाये वा छन्दसि**

nivyabhīhyo śvavāye vā chandasi

/niivyabhīhyāḥ 5/3 = niś ca viś ca abhiś ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; aḍvavāye 7/1 = aṭaḥ vavāyaḥ (trt. tat.), tasmin; vāḥ chandasi 7/1/

(samhitāyām #2.108 apadāntasya mūrdhanyāḥ #55 sāḥ #56 inkoḥ #57 na #110)

‘ni, vi, abhi’ ity etehyā upasargabhyāṃ uttarasya sakārasyādaśvavāye chandasi viṣaye mūrdhanyādeo na bhavati vā

A replacement in mūrdhanya (here s) does not, optionally, come in place of the s which, in the Vedic, occurs after the preverbs ni, vi and abhi, even when augment aT’ intervenes and close proximity of sounds finds its scope.
Examples:

*nyaśīdat pitaḥ naḥ.* ‘... sat down; abandoned...’
*nyaśīdat.*
*vyaśīdat pitaḥ naḥ.* ‘... was saddened...’
*vyaśīdat.*
*abhyaśīdat.* ‘... accumulated’
*abhyaśīdat.*
*vyaṣṭaut.* ‘... became sad’
*vyaṣṭaut.*
*abhyaṣṭaut.* ‘... praised’
*abhyaṣṭaut.*

1. Note that *sad* and *swaṅj* are not carried over here. The scope of *sāṃhitāyaṁ* is still valid. It is for this reason that a replacement in *mūrdhanya* ‘retroflex’ *s* is, optionally, not ordered, even when augment *aT* intervenes between the preverb and *s*, specified as item to be replaced. That is, *s*-replacement is here made optional. This optional negation applies to *a*-replacements, parallel to what particular rule makes its provision for the Vedic. Consider *ny-sad + LAN → ny-a-sīd-at*, where *sad* is replaced with *sīd* (7.3.78 *pāghrādhma*...). The *a*-replacement in this case is optionally negated here against the obligatory provision of 8.3.66 *sadir aprateḥ*. An obligatory provision for *a*-replacement made by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*... is also negated optionally in *vy-a-stau-t → vyāṣṭaut*, again a derivate of *LAN*. The *vṛddhi* of *stu* is accomplished here by 7.3.89 *uto vṛddhi*. *...* The *SaP*, of course, goes through deletion via *LUK* (2.4.72 *adīprabhṛtibhyah śapah*).

Pāda Four

8.4.1 रशाभ्यां नो ण: समानपदे

*rāśābhyaṁ no naḥ samānapade*

/ *rāśābhyaṁ 5/2 = raś ca śaś ca* (itar. dv.), tābhyaṁ; / *naḥ 6/1 naḥ 1/1* samānapade/ *7/1 = samānaṁ ca tat ṛdaṇaṁ ca* (karm. tat.), tāsmin/ (sāṃhitāyaṁ #2.108)

*rephaṣakārābhyaṁ uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati, samāna-padasthau cem nimittinau bhavataḥ*

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* when *n* occurs in close proximity, preceded by *r* and *s*, within the same word.

Examples:

*āśīrṇaṁ* ‘spread out’
*vīśīrṇaṁ* ‘expanded’
*aṇvāṭīrṇaṁ* ‘filled up’
kuṣñāti ‘... examines’
puṣñāti ‘... nourishes’
muṣñāti ‘... steals’

1. A dental n which occurs preceded by r and s in the same word is, hereby, replaced with its retroflex counterpart ṇ. This specification requires a nimittā 'cause, condition', i.e., r and s, and nimittā 'effect, result', i.e., ṇ, to occur within the same word. Note that samānapade within the same pada is interpreted as samāna-padasthau ‘contained or located within the same pada’, where samāna-padam is a karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa compound parallel to: samānam = ēkam tat padañ ca = samānapadam ‘that which is one and the same pada ‘word’; tasmin = samāna-padasthau ‘located within the same’. Thus, samānapade specifies the locus, both, of condition, as well as the conditioned, within the same word. It is for this reason that, for purposes of this replacement in ṇ, agnirnayati / vāyurnayati, etc., are not considered the same words.

Why do we recognize ṇ as the nimittā 'effect, conditioned element'? Is it not the fact that the locus of ṇ in the same word is realized only after n is replaced with ṇ? Actually, it is the ṇ which is to be brought about in the state of replacement in ṇ, the nimittā (PM: nakāra eva vā nimittā, tasya tu vidhānottarakālam samānapadasthatavam; Nyāsa: naṇaḥbhāvena viparīṇamaṇatau sādhīdīyāṃ sa nimittā nakāraḥ). This replacement is accepted as nimittā by way of its relationship with ṇ. This question is raised because ṇ is impossible to find in a word where r and s precede. For, ṇ is invariably replaced with ṇ.

2. Refer to derivational details of āstīrṇam and viśīrṇam under rule 7.1.10 īta iḍ dāthah). These examples derive from ā-stīr + Kta and vi-stīr + Kta, where t of Kta is replaced with n (8.2.42 radāḥhyāṃ niṣṭhāto ...). This resultant ṇ, when occurring after r, is, hereby, replaced with ṇ.

It is stated that r is also heard in r. Consequently, we also get the n of māti(n→n) ām = māṭṛṇām and pti(n→n) ām = ptiṛṇām replaced with ṇ. The third person singular present indicative active forms of kuṣA ‘to examine, test’, puṣA ‘to nourish, be healthy’ and muṣA ‘to steal’ are derived with the introduction of the class-marker ŚnaM. The n of ŚnaM, since this same occurs after s within the same word, is then replaced with ṇ.

Why do we specify s in the wording of this rule? We do not need it here. For, a n which occurs after s can easily be replaced with ṇ by retroflexion (ṣṭuṇa) provision of rule 8.2.41 śṭunā sṭuh.

Commentators state that s is used here for the sake of rules which follow (uttarārtham). There is no harm if it can also be used here. A replacement in ṇ, for example in kuṣñāti, etc., can be accomplished by 8.2.41 śṭunā sṭuh. That is, if s is not used here. If s is used here for the following rule, we can still replace n with ṇ by this rule. For, ṣṭuṇa of 8.2.41 śṭunā sṭuh will remain asidha ‘suspended’ in view of application of our present rule. The question of viprāṭiṣedha ‘conflict between rules of equal strength’ cannot be raised...
here. For, 1.4.2 vipratiṣedhe pariṃ kāryam does not find any scope in the domain of 8.2.1 pūrvaratśiddham (Nyāsa: pūrvarāśiddhiyā nāsti vipratiṣedho bhāvad uttaraṣya).

3. A vārttika proposal is made to also include r in the specification of this rule (vṛ ṛvarṇāc ceti ca vaktavram). For, r and ś of this rule cannot include r within their denotatum. It is true that r has r included within it. But this inclusion of r in r is only partial. A r is accepted as including r in the middle of its two vocalic qualities. The r which is included within r carries the duration of only half a mora (mātrā). A specification made for operations requiring a full sound cannot refer also to part of a sound (Nyāsa: na hi varṇaikadeśo vānagrāahanena gṛhyate). For, part of a sound cannot be accepted as its corresponding whole. It can only be accepted as its shadow, and not the real form (Nyāsa: varṇesu ye varṇaikadeśā varṇāntarasamānākṛtyas teṣu tatkāryaṃ na bhavati. tacchāyānukārīna hi te, na ṭunas ta eva).

Why can we not include r within the denotatum of the abbreviatory symbol aT? That way, our next rule can account for replacement in n. A replacement in n, also when sounds are separated and intervened, should pose no problem. An indication that such a replacement is possible is made by negation of n in nṛṇamana and tṛṇotī of the kṣubhnādi group (8.4.38 kṣubhnādiṣu ca). How could this negation be accepted if no positive provision exists (Nyāsa: prāptipūrvikā hi pratiṣedhā bhavanī). A negation is always directed against some positive provision. We can accept this negation of nṛṇamana and tṛṇotī for yet another indication: a replacement in n also applies after r (Kāś: atha vārvarṇad api nātvam bhavaṣṭīt etad eva anena jnāyat). That is, r should also be accepted as a causal condition for replacement in n, in addition to r and ś.

8.4.2 अद्वृक्तप्राविन्यवायेःपि

atkuvipāṇnenumuvaṇye ṭi
/at-ku-ṭu-ān-num-vyaṇye 7/1 = at ca kuṣ ca puṣ ca āṇ ca num ca =
 at ... numah; etair vyaṇyaḥ (tṛ. tat. with int. dv.), tasmin; api ṭi/
(samhītyām Ś.2.108 raṣābhyaṃ no naḥ #1)
‘at, ku, pu, āṇ, num’ ity etair vyaṇye ṭi rephaṣakārābhyaṃ uttaraṣya
nakārasya nakārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in n comes in place of n when n occurs after r and ś, even though intervened by aT, kU, pU, āN and nUM.

Examples:

karaṇam ‘doing’
haraṇam ‘carrying’
kirintā ‘instrumental singular of kī’
girintā ‘... of gī’
kurunā '... of kuru'
gurunā '... of guru'
arkena '... of arka'
mūrkha '... of mūrkha'
gargena '... of garga'
arghena '... of argha'
darpa '... of darpa'
repheña '... of replica (r)'
garbheña '... of garbha'
carmanā '... of carman'
varmanā '... of varman'
paryānaddham 'tied all around'
nirvānaddham 'all untied'
brahmanam 'nourishing'
brahmaniham 'worth nourishing'

1. This rule allows a n which occurs after r and s to be replaced with n, even when n occurs after r and s separated by aT, kU 'consonants of the k-series', pU 'consonant of the p-series', aN 'a preverb' and augment nUM. Note that the preceding rule, mainly due to its specification of rasābhyaṃ with the ablative (pañcamī), does not allow a replacement in n when r and s do not occur immediately before n. This rule allows a replacement in n, even when there is an intervention (Nyāsa: rasābhyaṃ iti pañcamīnirdeśān nirdīṣṭagrāhaṇasyānantaryārthatvāt pūrveṇādāśīryavadadhāne saty aprāptam eva natvam anena vidhiyate). Why do we have to specifically mention aN when the abbreviatory term aT can easily include aN within its denotatum? This inclusion of aN within the denotatum of aT can easily account for a replacement in n. How? A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term aN includes all vowels homogeneous with it (Nyāsa: nanu caḍhyavāye tra natvam siddham.
'āṣ savarnān grhaṇā tiṣ āni' pṛy anjagahaṇerō grahamāṇān kimartham aṅgraṇāṇa). This replacement will be blocked where intervention by aN involves separate words. It is made available strictly with reference to, and within, a single word. It is to block this replacement across word-boundary that aN is specifically mentioned here (Nyāsa: asaty aṅgraṇaḥ 'padavīvāye pṝ (8.4.38) ity aṅgraṇavāye pratiṣedhah syat).

Now consider some illustrations:

(a) Where aT (a, i, u, ū, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r) separates r/s from n:
Consider kṛ + a(n → n) am → karaṇam, hṛ + anam = karaṇam; kiri + (n → n) ā = kiriṇā, guru + (n → n) ā = gurunā, etc.
(b) Where kU (k, kh, g, gh, ū) separates r/s from n:
Consider arka + Tā → arka + ena → arke(n → n) a = arkeṇa; mūrkha + e(n → n) a = mūrkhenā, etc.
(c) Where aN (a, i, u, ū, e, o) separates r/s from n:
Consider \( pari\text{-}a(N') + nah + (K) ta \to pari(i\to y) a + (n\to \eta) ah + ta = (pary\text{-}\text{naddha} + sU) \to pary\text{-}\text{naddham} \text{ and } (nir\text{-}a + (n\to \eta) ah + ta \to (nir\text{-}\text{naddha} + sU) \to nir\text{-}\text{naddham} \text{. This separation by } a\text{N is operative since it does not occur across word-boundary.}

(d) Where augment \( n\text{UM} \) separates \( r \) and \( s \) from \( n \):

Consider \((br(n\text{UM}) h I + (LyuT\to \text{ana})) \to br(n\to m) h + a(n\to \eta) a) = bṛṃhaṇa \text{ and } (brṃh) + a(n\to \eta) iya(R) + sU = bṛṃhaṇīyaṃ \text{. Note that augment } n\text{UM} \text{ is introduced by } 7.1.58 \text{ idito num dhātoḥ} \text{. Its } n \text{ is then replaced with } anusvāra \text{ by } 8.3.24 \text{ naṣcāpādāntasya jhali} \text{. Why do we have to specify } n\text{UM} \text{ when what intervenes is an } anusvāra? \text{ This specification of } n\text{UM} \text{ is made with implications of intervention of } anusvāra \text{. It is not made to directly specify intervention by } n\text{UM} \text{ (Nyāsa: anusvārapalaksanārthaḥ hy atra numgrahanām na numaḥ pratipādanārthaḥ). Consider } trṃhaṇam \text{ and } trṃhaṇīyaṃ \text{ where } n\text{UM} \text{ is not introduced. What we have is the } anusvāra \text{ of } trṃhA \text{ and } stṛṃhA \text{. We thus get a replacement even when } n\text{UM} \text{ is absent. We, however, do not get this replacement when } anusvāra \text{ is not heard (Kāś: saty aπi yatrānusvāro na śrūyate, tatra na bhavati) \text{. Consider } (pra+vi+i + (LyuT\to \text{ana})) \to pra+ (i+n\text{UM} v) + \text{ana}) \to pr(a+i\to e) nu + \text{ana} = prena\nu + sU = prenavanam \text{ and } prenaviyaṃ \text{, where } n\text{UM} \text{ occurs but, in the absence of its replacement in } anusvāra \text{, we do not get a replacement in } n \text{.}

How is this made possible? Consider the injunction: naksatram dṛṣṭvā vācāṃ visṛjat 'should make offering after seeing the star', where ‘seeing the star’ marks ‘time’. Since stars are generally seen at nights, one would comply with this injunction at nights. One would not comply during the daytime, even when one sees a star (PM: dīvā naksatradarśane na visṛjyate).

Kāśikā remarks that these intervening items, either individually or collectively, can cause this replacement in \( n \text{. How? Consider the following injunction: devadatta-yajñadatta-viṣṇumitraḥ saha nādhītayaṃ 'one should not study with Devadatta, Yajñadatta and Viṣṇumitra'. As this injunction is followed when one, two, or all three, are present, we will get \( n \text{ as a replacement even when one, or combination of these intervening items obtain (Kāś: vyavāyopalaksanārthatvād adādiṇām iha vyastai samastaiś ca vyavāye' pi natvam bhavati) \text{. Note that it is impossible to find a } n \text{ which occurs after } r \text{ and } s \text{ in the same word intervened by all four elements, } a\bar{T}, k\bar{U}, p\bar{U} \text{ and } a\bar{N}, \text{ concurrently. This rule will apply where one or more intervening options obtain in a single operational context. Consider arkena where a velar stop and a vowel, i.e. } ke, \text{ jointly intervene.}

Why do we have to accept aπi ‘also, even’ in the wording of this rule? So that a replacement in \( n \text{ can be gotten even when there is no intervention (avavāye'} p\bar{t})? \text{ No. That purpose can be served by the earlier rule. The word aπi is used here for allowing replacement in the following rules. Consider upasargād asamāśe' pi nopaḍēṣasya, whereby we get a replacement in } n \text{ in place of } n \text{ after an upasarga, i.e., } pra. \text{ Consider } pra \text{-} nayati = praṇayati where, on
account of the ablative of upasargā, we get the replacement in a context non-contiguous (avyavahita) with intervention. We can also get the replacement in nir-nayati = nirñayati where there is no intervention, at the strength of the use of the word api in this rule.

8.4.3 पूर्वापदातंज्ञायामः:

पूर्वापदाति सम्ज्ञायम् अगाह
/पूर्वापदाति 5/1 = पुर्वान्तर तद्धानि कार्यत् तस्मात् सम्ज्ञायम्
7/1 अगाह 1/1 = अविद्यामानो गक्तन्त्र यस्मिन् (वृ.)/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no nah #1 aṭkupvānnumryavāye' pi #2)
pūrvapādasthān nimitiād uttarasya gakāravarjitaād nakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati samjñāyām viṣaye

A replacement in n comes in place of n when n occurs in a pada combined after another pada containing r and s as condition of replacement, but not containing g, provided the derivate denotes a name (samjñā).

Examples:

druṇasah 'a person with a large nose'
vardhrīnasah 'a rhinoceros; a kind of deer'
kharanasah 'a person with a sharp nose'
surpanakhā 'Rāvaṇa's sister; she whose nails have the shape of a winnowing basket'

1. This rule permits n to be replaced with n when n occurs after r and s, even when intervened by aṭ; ku, ān and nUM, provided r and s are part of a preceding pada which denotes a name (samjñā) and does not contain any g.

Note that r and s condition n to be replaced with n. Our earlier rule accepts r, s and n as part of the same pada. This rule requires r and s to be part of a preceding pada, though not containing a g but used with the signification of a name (samjñā). They, however, cannot be interpreted as constituting the final sound of the preceding pada. How do we know it? We know it from interpretations of the learned (PM: repaśakārāntiāt pūrvapādād ity ayaṁ tv artho na bhavati, vyākhyānāṁ).

2. Our examples are all bahuvriti compounds where n of their following constituent is replaced with n. Refer to notes (IV:738) under rule 5.4.118 ān nāśikāyāḥ samjñāyām . . . for derivational details. Recall that surpanakhā is derived as a name (samjñā). We will, instead, get surpanakhī 'she whose nails are shaped like a winnowing basket', where n is not replaced with n. Affix niś, as against ten, is introduced after surpanakhā, where the derivate does not denote a name.

Why do we state the condition of samjñāyām 'when a name . . .'? Consider carmanāsikah 'a whip' where, because of non-denotation of a name, n is not replaced with n.
Why do we state agañ... not a g? Consider rgayanam 'a text' where, with g contained within rg, n of ayanam cannot be replaced with n. But this replacement is blocked, via nipatana (4.3.73 anyrgayanadibhyah).

Why state g when nipatana can block n from being replaced with n. One must state gin this rule because nipatana may not serve the purpose of blocking such replacements (Nyása: abadhakany api nipatanani bhavanti). That is, we may also get rgayanam where n may be replaced with n. Haradatta (PM) considers it sakyam avaktum 'not possible to speak'.

3. Questions have been raised whether this rule should be accepted as operational (vidhi), or restrictive (niyama), in nature. Some describe this rule as a niyama 'restrictive provision'. Others accept it as a vidhi 'operational'. The preceding rule offers a replacement in n where both the 'condition' (nimitta) and 'conditioned' (nimittā) occur as part of a single whole pada. A compound such as drunasah cannot be accepted as a single pada. For, it contains the 'condition' (r of dru) of replacement as part of the preceding pada and the 'conditioned' (n of nasah) as part of the following. This way, drunasah, etc., cannot be accepted as a single pada. A replacement in n for n of drunasah is thus not available (aprāptā) under provisions of the preceding rule. It is this non-availability (aprāptā) of replacement in n that goes against accepting this rule as restrictive (niyama) in nature. Consequently, it is operational (vidhi).

It is true that 1.1.63 pratyayalope pratyayalaksanam allows individual compound constituents to be called padas, even after their nominal endings go through deletion. They can thus be viewed as constituting different padas, especially in view of compound constituency. Still, since nominal endings are introduced after a compound nominal stem to derive a single pada, the compound as a whole (samudāya) constitutes a single pada. This way, a replacement in n is still available to compounds from the earlier rule. That is, if both the 'condition' and 'conditioned' are part of the same compound word. Since Pāṇini formulates this rule even when the preceding rule can cover its provision, this rule should be treated as a niyama (cf: siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ). If this view is correct then, as the restrictive provision of samjñāyām rules out n as a replacement in carmanāskā, it should also rule out n-replacement in kharapasyāpatam = kharapāryaṇah 'male offspring of Kharapa' and mātrbhogāya hitam = mātrbhogināh 'beneficial to mother's pleasure'. So also in the preceding constituent of karaṇam priyam asya = karaṇapriyāḥ 'he to whom doing is dear'. It is argued that terms such as 'preceding' and 'following' are relative in nature. A 'preceding' always attracts its corresponding 'following', as, even when 'one's own' is not stated, a 'following' mātari 'mother' will always attract svasyām 'in one's own', its corresponding 'preceding', in mātari bhaktyā pravartitavyam 'one should treat one's mother with respect' (Nyása: yathā hi 'mātari bhaktyā pravartitavyam' ity ukte svasyām iti nocaye, tahāpi svasyāṁ mātariṁ ganyate). A replacement in n which
is conditioned by its cause in the preceding constituent and effect in the following, can be easily restricted on grounds of its cause and effect not present in the same word. For, it is made available by the preceding rule. This is how \( n \)-replacement in carmanāśikā can be blocked. But this replacement cannot be blocked in case of a \( n \) which has its replacement condition contained within the preceding constituent of a taddhita derivate. Thus, replacement in \( n \) cannot be blocked in khārapāyaṇaḥ, mātrbhogīṇaḥ and karaṇapriyāḥ.

This restrictive interpretation will create problems in understanding the negation of agah. Since agah is part of a restrictive provision, it must negate the restriction of samjñāyām ‘when a name is denoted’. It cannot negate replacement in \( n \). Commentators explain that agah only negates \( n \)-replacement. This, however, is made possible via yoga-vibhāga ‘split interpretation’. Thus, pūrvapadāt samjñāyām will be recognized as one split-rule. The second split-rule will, of course, be recognized as agah. This agah will block all possible \( n \)-replacements. It should, however, not block all possible \( n \)-replacements of the following rules. For, in that case, a split interpretation of pūrvapadāt samjñāyām agah will become vacuous (vyartha).

Others do not treat this rule as a niyama ‘restrictive provision’. They consider it a vidhi ‘operational provision’. The word samānapadām thus becomes a single indivisible word for them. This rule becomes a vidhi since it accounts for \( n \)-replacement in a compound which is not a single indivisible word, especially with reference to the nominal inflection used after the compound. This view must also accept split-interpretation of pūrvapadāt samjñāyām agah.

8.4.4 वनं पुरागमिश्रकासिद्धकासाराकाकोटाराग्रेष्यः:

\begin{align*}
\text{vanam} & \text{ pūrāgāmiśrakaśidhrakāśārikākoṭarāgrebhyaḥ} \\
/\text{vanam } 1/1 \text{ (nominative used for genitive); } & \text{ pūrāgā-miśrakaśidhrakaśārikākoṭarā-agre-bhyah } 5/3 \text{ (itar. dv.) tesbhyaḥ/} \\
(\text{samhītāyaṃ } \#2.108 \text{ rāṣābhīyaṃ no } nāḥ \#1 \text{ atkupvānnuṃvyavaye } \#1 \text{ pūrvapadāt samjñāyāṃ } \#3) \\
' & \text{ pūrāgā, miśrakaś, sidhrakaś, śārikā, koṭarā, agre' ity ete bhyaḥ pūrvapadebhyaḥ} \\
\text{ uttarasya } & \text{ vananakārasya } \text{ nakāra ādeśo bhavati samjñāyāṃ visaye}
\end{align*}

A replacement in \( n \) comes in place of the \( n \) of vana ‘forest’ when vana occurs in combination after \( r \) and \( s \) contained within a preceding pada constituted by pūrāgā, miśrakaś, sidhrakaś, śārikā, koṭarā and agre, and derives denote a name (samjñā).

**Examples:**

- pūrāgāvanam ‘a forest full of pūrāgā trees’
- miśrakaśvanam ‘a forest full of miśrakaś trees’
- sidhrakaśvanam ‘a forest full of sidhrakaś trees’
śārikāvanām 'a forest full of śārikā trees'
kotarāvanām 'a forest full of kotarā trees'
agrevanām 'name of a forest; a forest in front . . .'

1. Note that pūrvapadāt samjñāyām (8.4.4) is carried over. Thus, this rule offers n as a replacement for n of vana, provided vana occurs in combination after pūragā, mīsrakā, sidhrakā, śārikā, kotarā and agre, and derivates denote a name (samjñā). Why do we have to state this rule when a replacement in n can be accounted for by the preceding rule? This rule is formulated for making a restrictive provision (niyama). That is, this rule will offer a replacement in n only to the n of vana, and not to the n of any other word. This vana, additionally, must be used in combination, only after pūragā, etc. We cannot get a replacement in n for the n of vana, for example, of kuberavanām, satadhāravanām and asipatravanām.

How come vanam is specified in the nominative? Should it not be specified in the genitive (saśthī) with the signification of ‘in place of’ (sthāna-saśthī)? This nominative is used for genitive by way of transposition (vyatyaya). A long replacement for the short final a of pūraga, mīsraka, sidhraka, śārika and kotara of cited examples is in consonance with 6.3.117 vanagiryoḥ samjñāyām . . . The examples are all genitive tatpurusa compounds where vanam is placed as the following constituent. Thus, consider vanasya agre = agrevanām, an obligatory compound, formed in consonance with 2.2.31 nājadantādiṣu param. The non-deletion (aluk) of saptami ‘locative’ of agre is in consonance with 6.3.9 haladantāt saptamyaḥ . . .

8.4.5 प्रारम्भातःशोभास्मृतिकार्यविद्वेस्त्याधिकुर्ज्ञावथौ सस्त्रायार्थ अष्टीती

pranirantarahaḥśareksuplakhṣaṃmrakārṣyakhadiraṃpiyuḥkṣabhyo’ samjñāyām api
/pra-nir-antar-śara-ikṣu-plakṣa-āmra-kārṣya-khadira-piyuḥkṣa-bhyāḥ 5/3 (iatr. dv.), tebhyaḥ; asamjñāyām 7/1 = na samjñā = asamjñā (naṅ. tat.), tasyām; api φ/

(samhitāyaḥ #2.108 rasābhyām no naḥ #1 atkupvānnumvyavāye’ pi #2 pūrvapadāt samjñāyām #3 vanam #4)
‘pra, nir, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āmra, kārṣya, khadira, piyuḥkṣā’ ity etebhyā uttarasya vananakārasya samjñāyām asamjñāyāyām api nakārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in n comes in place of the n of vana when vana occurs in combination after pra, nir, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āmra, kārṣya, khadira and piyuḥkṣā, irrespective of whether the derivate signifies a name (samjñā).

Examples:

pravanām ‘an excellent forest’
antarvanām ‘inside the forest’
śaravanām ‘forest of reeds’
ikṣuvāṇaṁ 'cane-forest'
plakṣaṇaṁ 'a forest full of plakṣa trees'
āmravaṇaṁ 'a forest full of mango trees'
kārṣyavaṇaṁ 'a forest with clearings inside for farming'
khadiraṇaṁ 'a forest full of khadira trees'
piyūkṣaṇaṁ 'a forest full of piyūkṣa trees'

1. This rule offers \( n \) as a replacement for \( n \) of \( \text{vana} \), provided \( \text{vana} \) occurs in combination after \( \text{pra} \), \( \text{nir} \), \( \text{antar} \), \( \text{śara} \), \( \text{ikṣu} \), \( \text{plakṣa} \), \( \text{āmra} \), \( \text{kārṣya} \), \( \text{khadira} \) and \( \text{piyūkṣa} \), whether or not, the derive denotes a \( \text{samjñā} \) 'name'. Compounds such as \( \text{pravane} \) and \( \text{nirvane} \) are formed in consonance with 2.2.18 \( \text{kugatiprādayaḥ} \). The \( \text{avyayībhāva} \) compound of \( \text{antarvane} \) is formed with the signification of \( \text{vibhakti} \) 'a nominal ending used with the denotatum of a \( \text{kāraka} \) (2.1.6 \( \text{avyayaṃ vibhakti} \ . . . )\). All other examples involve genitive-\( \text{tatpurusa} \) compounds. These examples also illustrate 'name' and 'non-name' significations.

2. Note that the next rule requires \( n \) of \( \text{vana} \) to be, optionally, replaced with \( n \) when \( \text{vana} \) combines after a \( \text{pada} \) denoting \( \text{osadhi} \) 'plants/herbs' and \( \text{vanaspati} \) 'vegetation/trees'. If the \( \text{prādi} \) 'pra, etc.' words are not used with the denotation of vegetation and if the preceding rule is accepted as a \( \text{niyama} \) 'restrictive provision', a replacement in \( n \) for \( n \) of their following \( \text{vana} \) will be accomplished under the denotation of \( \text{samjñā} \) 'name'. If the preceding rule is accepted as a \( \text{vidhi} \) 'operational provision', the following rule will apply. In cases where these two applications are not possible, \( n \) replacement will be allowed by this rule. This same way we can also get \( n \)-replacement where the denotation is not a name (\( \text{samjñā} \)). This rule cannot serve any purpose when the derive does not denote a name. This rule also offers \( n \) as a replacement for \( n \) in contexts where \( \text{samjñā} \) is denoted and either \( \text{niyama} \) 'restrictive provision' or \( \text{vidhi} \) 'operation' interpretations are followed. In the context of non-denotation of \( \text{samjñā} \), this rule offers an obligatory \( n \) (\( \text{natva} \)), against the optional \( n \) of the next rule.

Why is the word \( \text{api} \) 'even, also' used in this rule? If \( \text{api} \) was not used in this rule we could not get a replacement in \( n \) (\( \text{natva} \)) where \( \text{samjñā} \) is not the denotatum. What if one did not read \( \text{samjñāyām} \) 'when a name . . . ' in this rule? This rule will then become a general operational rule capable of accounting for both instances of \( \text{samjñā} \) and \( \text{asamjñā} \). If that is accepted, \( \text{api} \) will be interpreted as used for clarity (\( \text{vispaśṭārtham} \)).

8.4.6 विभाषावधिवनस्पतिभ्यः:

vibhāṣaṇausadhanaspatibhyāḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 ausadhanaspatibhyāḥ = osadhayaś ca vanaspatayaś ca (itar.
dv.), tebhhyāḥ/
(saṁhitāyāṁ #2.108 rasaḥbhāyaḥ no naḥ #1 atkupvāṇṇumvyavāye’ pi #2 pūrvarapādā #3 vanam #4)
osadhivāc yat pūrvarapādām vanaspātivāc ca tatsthāṁ nimitād uttarasya
vananakārasya ṣakāra ādeso bhavati vibhāṣā

A replacement in ṣ comes, optionally, in place of the ṣ of vanas ‘forest’
which occurs in combination after a pada used with the signification of
osadhī ‘plants (nutritional/herbal)’ and vanaspati ‘vegetation, trees’,
and contains r and ṣ as condition of replacement.

Examples:

dūrvāvanam ‘forest full of grass’
dūrvāvanam
mūrvaṇom ‘a forest full of creepers’
mūrvāvanam
śirṣavāvanam ‘a forest full of śirṣa trees’
śirṣavāvanam
badarāvanam ‘a forest full of badari (berry) trees’
badarāvanam

1. Note that vanam is still carried over. Rule 8.4.4 saṁjñāyāṁ vanam . . . ,
because of its controlled enumeration, and attendant condition of saṁjñā,
cannot account for replacement in ṣ (natva) of vana, used after padas signi-
fying osadhī ‘plants’ and vanaspati ‘vegetation’. This rule should be under-
stood as offering optional natva to residual instances of 8.4.4 saṁjñāyāṁ . . . ,
under the meaning condition of a name (saṁjñā). If one believes that this
optional provision is also applicable to contexts of names (saṁjñā) and non-
names asaṁjñā), one must put in some effort to establish it. That is, vibhāṣā
must be read as a split-rule (yogavibhāga). This way, one split rule will allow
replacement in ṣ (natva) with the restrictive meaning of saṁjñā. The other
will establish vibhāṣā ‘option’ between derivatives with the meanings of ‘name’
and ‘non-name’. Those who interpret samānapada as a single pada with no
constituency, they will interpret this ‘option’ as aprāpta ‘that which was not
made available’. It will be interpreted as prāpta-vibhāṣā ‘that which was made
available’ for others. Refer to Nyāsa ad Kāśikā, for further details.

2. There are two vārttika proposals under this rule:

(i) This rule applies only when a two-syllable or three-syllable pada
combines with vanam (vt: duvakaśaratriyakṣarebya iti vaktavyam).
Thus, it will not apply in case of devadārūvanam ‘a forest of teak
trees’ and bhadrādārūvanam ‘a forest of beautiful trees’.

(ii) This rule should be blocked from applying where the irikā group
of nominals combine with vanam (vt: irikādibhyah pratisvedho
vaktavyaḥ). Thus, irikāvanam and mirikāvanam.
3. Note that it is difficult to establish a clear distinction between \( \text{vaspadi} \) and \( \text{vrs\'a} \) on the one hand, and between \( \text{vaspadi} \) and \( \text{os\'adi} \) on the other. The \( \text{vaspadi} \) of this rule includes \( \text{vrs\'a} \) ‘tree’ but excludes \( \text{os\'adi} \) ‘herbs’. Consider the following verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ph\'al\'i vaspadi pr\'jeyo vrs\'a phuspahalopag\'a/} \\
o\'s\'adhiy\'a phalop\'k\'ant\'a lat\'a gul\'ma\'s ca virudhah/ \\
\text{\'a vaspadi bears fruits; a tree bears both flowers and fruits; an os\'adi} \\
\text{dies out after ripening of its fruits; creepers and shrubs are called ‘forward} \\
\text{growing’ (virudha).}
\end{align*}
\]

Even though there exists a distinction between \( \text{vaspadi} \) and \( \text{vrs\'a} \), and there also are differences of opinion on their exact definition, these two terms have been used here with no clear distinction (\( \text{K\'\'as\'y\'a qu\'\'i bhede vrs\'avanasp\'atyo i\'\'abh\'eden\'a gra\'\'ha\'\'am dra\'\'st\'\'av\'\'yam} \)). The word \( \text{vaspadi} \) can, here, also include reference to trees.

8.4.7 \( \text{Ah\'no}\) a\'n\'t\'a

\( ah\'na \) 1/1 (nominative for genitive); \( a\'nt\'a \) 5/1 = \( at\) \( ant\) \( yasya \) (bu.),

(\( sam\'hit\'a\'ym \#2.108 ras\'abhy\'a\'m no \( \text{nah} \) \#1 \( at\) \( ku\'p\'\)v\'\'an\'\'um\'\'av\'\'a\'ya\'p\'i \#2 \( pu\'rup\'ad\'a\'m\#3) \\
a\'nt\'a\'m \( ya\'t\) \( pu\'rup\'ad\'a\'m \) \( t\) \( st\'\'h\'a\'n \) \( ni\'\'m\'\'\'\'a\'d \) \( ut\) \( tar\'\'a\'y\'a\'h\'a\'no \( n\) \( k\'\'a\'r\'a\'ya \) \( \text{nak\'\'\'a\'r\'a} \) \( \text{\'a\'de\'s\'o} \) \( bh\'a\'v\'a\'ti \)

A replacement in \( \eta \) comes in place of \( n \) of \( ah\'na \) ‘day’ when \( ah\'na \) occurs after a \( p\'a\'d\'a \) which ends in \( a \) (\( aT \)) and contains \( r \) and \( \_\) as condition of replacement.

Examples:

\( pu\'ru\'\'\'h\'a\'\'a\'n\'ah \) ‘first half of a day; morning’

\( apar\'\'\'a\'h\'a\'n\'ah \) ‘other half of a day; afternoon’

1. Note that \( ah\'na \) is a replacement of \( \text{ahan} \) ‘day’ (5.4.88 \( ah\'no \) \( h\'na \) etebhyah). Its nominative (\( \text{prath\'am\'a} \)) is here used in the sense of the genitive (\( \text{sa\'\'\'th\'i} \)). For those who interpret \( \text{sam\'anapad\'a} \) ‘same word’ as referring to a single word with no constituency, this rule is operational (\( \text{vidh\'ya\'r\'a\'h\'a\'m etat} \)). For others, it is restrictive (\( \text{niyam\'\'a\'r\'a\'h\'a\'m} \)). One can also interpret subsequent rules in this manner. The word \( \text{anta} \) ‘end, final’ is used for clarity (\( \text{vispa\'\'t\'\'a\'ra\'h\'a\'m} \)). This can be understood only with the help of \( \text{vy\'ak\'\'ya\'n\'a} \) ‘interpretation of the learned’. For, in this section of grammar, \( \text{tad\'a\'n\'a\'vid\'hi} \) ‘interpreting \( x \) as also that which ends in \( x \) cannot be established without using the word \( \text{anta} \). If the specification of \( aT \), i.e., \( a \), qualifies the preceding \( \text{pada} \), we can still get the sense of \( \text{tad\'a\'n\'a\'vid\'hi} \). That is, we need not use the word \( \text{anta} \) ‘end’.
2. Why do we state the condition of adantāt ‘after that which ends in a’? A specification with final a is made so that, elsewhere, replacement in न could be blocked. If the specification was made without अ at the end, the न of aह, which occurs prior to the affix in पूरवाह्ने ‘in the forenoon’, would be replaced with न। This replacement will also apply to the न of दिर्गाह्नि ‘sarat ‘autumn of long days’. Also consider nirahnah ‘a day gone past’ and durahnah ‘bad day’ where, because of the specification of a-final (adanta), no replacement in न is allowed. Since this rule makes the specification of aह with अ at the end, it cannot apply to any other specification. That is, it cannot replace the न of aह, of दिर्गाह्नि, with न, as in दिर्गाह्नि ‘sarat.

Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 2.4.29 rātrāhnhāhṇ tūmsi (II:696).

8.4.8 vaḥanamahitāt

vaḥanam aḥitāt
\( \overline{\text{vaḥanam} 1/1 \text{ aḥitāt} 5/1/} \)
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no ṇaḥ #1 aṭkupvāṇnumvyavāye' pi #2 pūrvapadāt #3)
aḥitavācī yat pūrvapadāṁ tatstān nimittād uttarasya vaḥanakārasya ṇaṅkāra ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in न comes in place of the न of vaḥana ‘carriage’ when vaḥana combines after a pāda which contains र and श, and is used with the signification of aḥita ‘that which is carried’.

Examples:

īkṣuvaḥanaṁ ‘a cart by means of which sugarcane is carried’
śaravaḥanaṁ ‘a cart by means of which reeds are carried’
darbhaḥvāhanam ‘a cart by means of which grass is carried’

1. The word aḥita is explained as ‘that which is placed in a carriage for transportation’. A word which denotes aḥita is here required to contain the condition, i.e., र and श, of replacement. The word vaḥana ‘carriage’ is derived with affix Lyu\( \text{T}\), introduced after verbal root vah ‘to carry’. The penultimate lengthening of अ, of vaḥ, is also accomplished by this rule, via nipātana.

Why do we have the condition of aḥitā? Consider dāksivāhanam ‘carriage of Dāksi’ where dāksi is a name and does not denote the sense of aḥita. The example is a genitive tatpuruṣa compound denoting ownership.

8.4.9 pānāṃ dese

pānāṃ deṣe
\( \overline{\text{pānāṃ} 1/1 \text{ deṣe} 7/1/} \)
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no ṇaḥ #1 aṭkupvāṇnumvyavāye' pi #2 pūrvapadāt #3)
pānanakārasya pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya desē bhidheyे nakāra ādēso bhavati
A replacement in n comes in place of n of pāna ‘drinking’ when pāna combines after a pada containing r and s as condition of replacement, and derivates denote a particular place.

Examples:
kṣīraṇāṃ uśinaraḥ ‘milk-drinking Uśinaras’
surāṇāṃ prācyāḥ ‘liquor-drinking easterners’
sauvīraṇāṃ bāhlīkāḥ ‘juice-drinking Bāhlīkas’
kaśāyaṇāṃ gāndhārāḥ ‘juice-drinking Gāndhāras’

1. This rule offers n-replacement to n of pāna ‘that which is drunk’ (Kāś: ṭiyate iti pānam). Note that cited examples denote people by way of their country names (Kāś: manusyābhidhānē pi desābhidhānān gamyate). Thus, kṣīraṇ pānam yeśāṃ uśinararāṇām, te = kṣīraṇāḥ uśinaraḥ ‘they, the people of Uśinara whose drink is milk’. What is so special about this ‘milk-drinking’ of the Uśinaras? Others drink milk, as well. The Uśinaras drink milk excessively.

Why do we have to state the condition of desē ‘when name of a place of residence is denoted’? Consider dāksīnāṃ pānam ‘drinking of the Dāksis’, a counter-example.

8.4.10 वा भावकरणयोः:

vā bhāvakaranayoḥ
/vā ṭ bhāvakaranayoḥ 7/2 = bhāvaś ca karaṇāḥ ca (itar. dv), tayoḥ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhyaṃ no nāḥ #1 aṭkupvānnumāvavyaṃ pi #2 pūrvapadāt #3 pānam #9)
bhāve karaṇe ca yah pānasābdas tadārṣyasā nakārasya nakāra ādēso bhavati vā pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya
A replacement in n comes, optionally, in place of n of pāna ‘drinking’ when pāna is used with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ and karaṇa ‘means’ and occurs in combination after a preceding pada which contains r and s as condition of replacement.

Examples:
kṣīraṇāṃ ‘milk-drinking’
ksīraṇāṃ . . .
kaśāyaṇāṃ . . . ‘drinking of juice’
kaśāyaṇāṃ . . .
surāṇāṃ . . . ‘drinking of liquor’
surāṇāṃ . . .
ksīraṇāḥ kamsaḥ ‘a vessel for drinking milk’
ksīraṇāḥ . . .
1. This rule optionally replaces $n$ of pāna ‘drinking’ denotes bhāva ‘action’ and karaṇa ‘instrument’. Thus, kṣirapānam varṭate = kṣirapānam ‘drinking of milk goes on’; kṣirapānah kaṃsah ‘a vessel by means of which one drinks milk’. The word pāna can be explained as pīṭh ‘drinking’, when denoting an action. It can be explained as pīyaṭ anena ‘that by means of which something is drunk’, when denoting karaṇa ‘instrument, means’. Recall that affix LyuT is introduced after pā ‘to drink’ to derive pāna with the signification of bhāva (3.3.114 napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ) and karaṇa (3.3.117 karaṇādhihkaranaṃ ca). Since this rule is optional, we will get two forms: kṣirapānam and kṣirapānah (kaṃsah), etc.

2. A várttika proposes this optional replacement, also for words enumerated in the class headed by girinādi ‘mountain-river’ (ut. vāprakaraṇe girinādyādinām upaṃkhyānām). Thus, girinādi / girinādi; cakranādi / cakranādi ‘circular river’; cakranitambā / cakranitambā ‘she who has circular buttocks’.

8.4.11 प्रातिपदिकान्तुनिविष्कर्तित्व

prātipadikāntanumvibhaktisu ca
/prātipadikānta-num-vibhaktisu 7/3 = prātipadikasya antah (ṣaś. tat.);
prātipadikānta ca num ca vibhakti ca (itar. du.); tēṣu; ca φ/
(samhitayām #2.108 rasāḥbhāṃ no naḥ #1 aikupvāṇīnaṃvyavāyé pī #2
pūrvadāt #3 vā #10)
prātipadikānte numi vibhaktau ca yo nakāras tasya pūrvadasthān nimitīd
uttarasya va nakāra ādeso bhavati.

A replacement in $n$ comes, optionally, in place of a $n$ which either occurs at the end of a nominal stem, or occurs as part of nUM and vibhakti ‘nominal ending’, provided a pada containing $r$ and $s$ as condition of replacement combines to precede.

**Examples:**

māsavāpiṇau ‘the two who plant the Māṣa beans’
māsavāpiṇau
māsavāpiṇi ‘planting of Māṣa beans’
māsavāpiṇi
vṛihāpiṇi ‘planting of rice’
vṛihāpiṇi
māsavāpeṇa ‘by means of planting of beans’
māsavāpeṇa

1. The word anta ‘end, final’ is used in the sense of avayava ‘part of a whole’. The word prātipadikānta thus means ‘the final of a nominal stem’. Since prātipadikānta is used as a modifier to $n$ and also since pūrvadāt is carried, this interpretation of prātipadikānte, with its locative, is expanded as: ‘a $n$ which occurs as final (part) of a nominal stem which, in turn, occurs in combination after a preceding pada containing $r$ and $s$ as condition . . . .’. A
similar interpretation of \( n \) in relation to numvibhakti can also be gotten as: ‘a
\( n \) which is part of numUM and vibhakti ‘nominal ending’ of a pada which occurs
in combination after a preceding pada’. Of course, this replacement in \( n \) is
optional.

Now consider māsavāpinau and māsavāpinau, the nominative dual
of māsavāpin ‘he who plants the māsa beans’. Recall that affix NinI (3.2.81
bahulam ābhikṣnye) is introduced after verbal root vap ‘to sow, plant’, used in
combination after a nominal pada ending in sUP. Thus, \( (māsa + (am→∅)) +
(v(a→ā)p + in))) \( → \) māsavāpi(n→n) + au = māsavāpinau and māsavāpinau,
etc. Notice here that vāpin is combined with māsa + am prior to introduction
of sUP (pbh. 76): gatiḥartapadādāṃ kṛdhiḥ saha samāsavacanam pra-
kṣubūtpateḥ ‘a compound-formation of constituents which are termed gati,
denote a participant, or are termed an upapada ‘conjoined word’, is accom-
plished with a constituent ending in an affix termed kṛt, prior to introduction
of nominal endings denoted by sUP’. This is how \( n \) will be considered fit for
\( n \)-replacement as final of the nominal stem vāpin.

We will get māsavāpāni and māsavāpāni; vṛihivāpāni and vṛihivāpāni as
examples, where \( n \) is part of augment mUM. We similarly get māsavāpa +
(Tā→ina) \( → \) māsavāp(a+i→e)na \( → \) māsavāpe(n→n) a = māsavāpena and
māsavāpena, where \( n \) is part of a nominal ending. Incidentally, māsavāpāni
is a neuter nominative-accusative plural of māsavāpa, an upapada-tatpurusa
formed by combining vap with māsa + am (2.2.19 upapadam atiin). The final
constituent of this compound, i.e., vapā, is derived by introducing affix anN
(3.2.1 karmany an) after vap ‘to sow, plant seeds’, used in combination after
māsa + am. We get māsavāpa + Jas \( → \) māsavāpāni by first replacing Jas with Śi
(7.1.20 jāssasoh śih). Augment nUM is then introduced (7.1.72 nāpumsakasya
jhalacaḥ) to māsavāpa + nUM + (Śi i). We thus get māsavāp(a→ā) + n + i)) \( → \)
māsavāpāni, by replacing the final short a of māsavāpa (6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne
cāsambuddhau) with its long counterpart.

2. Recall that this \( n \) (natva) is desired in place of the final \( n \) of a nominal
stem which follows a preceding constituent. This, however, will block \( n \)-re-
placement (natva) in gargabhagini ‘a sister of the Gargas’. Why? Our final
constituent, i.e., bhagini ‘sister’, is not a nominal stem ending in \( n \). It, instead,
ends in i, a feminine affix. It will be blocked from being termed a pratiśadika
‘nominal stem’ because of the apratyayāḥ ‘non-affix’ exclusion of 1.2.45
arthavat-adhātur-apratyayāḥ. . . .

Note that \( n \) of gargabhagini, when not used with the signification of a
‘sister of the Gargas’, will qualify for a replacement in \( n \) (natva). That is,
when gargasya bhagak = gargabhagak ‘auspicious prosperity of the Gargas’ is
derived as a genitive taipusaka compound. Affix inI can then be introduced
to derive a feminine form, i.e., gargabhagini, with the signification of matUP.
That is, gargānāṁ bhago syāstiti = gargabhagini ‘she who possesses the auspi-
cious prosperity of the Gargas’.
3. A vārttika proposal is made to negate the n-replacement (ṇatva) of yuvan, etc. (vit yuvādīnam pratisedho vaktavyah). Thus, āryayūnā 'noble (trader) youth', ksatriyayūnā 'a ksatriya youth' and paripakvāni 'fully ripe'. This is not any different from examples of nominal stems ending in n, i.e., mātrbhogināh, etc.

8.4.12 एकातुरपादे णः:

ekāj uttara padeṇa
/ekāc 1/1 = ekō c yasmin sa (bu.); ekāj uttara padeṇaḥ yasmin sa (bu. with internal bu.), tasmin; naḥ 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyām no naḥ #1 atkupvānunumvyavaye pi #2 pūrvapadāt #3 vā #10 prātipadikāntunumvibhaktisu #11)
ekāj uttara padeṇaṁ samśe prātipadikāntunumvibhaktisu pūrvapadasthān nimitād uttarasya nakārasya nakāra ādēśo bhavati

A replacement in n comes in place of a n which occurs as final of a nominal stem contained within a monosyllabic pada, or occurs contained within augment nUM, or a vibhakti 'nominal ending', when this monosyllabic pada combines after a pada containing rand ś as condition of replacement.

Examples:

vṛtrahaṇau 'the two slayers of Vṛtra'
vṛtrahaṇah 'slayers of Vṛtra'
ksīrapāṇi 'milk-drinking'
surāpāṇi 'liquor-drinking'
ksīrapena 'by one who drinks milk'
surāpena 'by one who drinks liquor'

1. This rule allows a n to be replaced with ṇ if n occurs in a monosyllabic pada at the end of its nominal stem, or occurs as part of augment nUM, or vibhakti, when a pada containing rand ś as replacement condition combines to precede. Consider vṛtrahaṇau and vṛtrahaṇah, the nominative dual and plural of vṛtrahān 'slayer of Vṛtra', where vṛtra is combined to precede the monosyllabic constituent han, a derivate of KviP introduced after han 'to harm, kill' (3.2.87 brahmabhrūṇa . . . ). We thus get vṛtraha(n→ṇ) + au → vṛtrahaṇau. Similarly, vṛtraha(n→ṇ) + (j) as → vṛtrahaṇ + a(s→r→h) = vṛtrahaṇah. Now consider ksīraṃ pibanti = ksīrapā + (K)a → ksīrap (a→φ) + a = ksīrapa, where affix Ka is introduced by 3.2.3 āto 'nupasarge kah. The ā of pā is deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa. . . . Given ksīrapa + (j) as, we get ksīrapāni, similar to kunḍāni, with nUM (II:377-78). One can similarly derive surāṃ pibanti = surāpāṇi. Finally, examples of vibhakti are given as: ksīrapena and surāpena, derived from ksīrapa + Tā and surāpa + Tā.

2. Why is ṇ used explicitly when it could have been easily brought here via
anuvṛtta? It is used to show that vā ‘option’ of the preceding rule is canceled. But that option could be automatically canceled at the strength of this new formulation (ārambha-sāmarthya). This rule is then formulated to clearly show that its provision is obligatory (nitya; Kaś: nāḥ iti vartamāne punar nagrahaṇaṃ vikalpādhikāranuvṛtta viśpaṭikaraṇārtham).

8.4.13 कुमति च

kumati ca
/kumati 7/1 = kur asminn asti = kumat (a derivate of matUP), tasmin; ca φ/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 aṭkupvāṁnumvavāyeṃ pi #2 pūrvapadaḥ #3 vā #10 prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu #11)
kavargavati cettarapade prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu pūrvapadasthān nimitād uttarasya nakārasya ṃakāra ādese bhavati
A replacement in ṇ comes in place of a n which occurs at the end of a nominal stem contained within a pada with kU (velar stops), or contained as part of nUM or vibhakti ‘nominal ending’, when a pada containing r and s as replacement condition combines to precede.

Examples:

vastrayugināu ‘possessor of two dresses’
vastrayuginah ‘possessor of many dresses’
svargakāminau ‘(the two) desirous for heaven’
vṛṣagāminau ‘(the two) bull-riders’
vastrayugani ‘sets of two clothes each’
kharayugani ‘pairs of donkeys’
vastrayugena ‘instrumental singular of vastrayuga’
kharayugena ‘instrumental singular of kharayuga’

1. This rule offers a replacement in ṇ for the n of a following pada which is not monosyllabic (ekāc). The ca is used to attract prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu. This also helps stop this anuvṛtta to go beyond this rule (Pbh (79): cāṅkuṣṭāṃ nottaratra ‘that which is attracted by menas of ca is not carried any further’). This pada is required to have a velar stop, instead. Why did Panini not use kau ‘when kU follows’? This locative kau would have yielded an undesired reading: kavargādau uttarapade ‘when a following constituent beginning with a consonant of the k-series follows’.

Why do we have the condition of kumati ‘when that which has kU follows’. A specification with kau ‘locative singular of ku’ will drastically reduce number of constituents which may follow in combination. For, they all must begin with a velar sound. But the sense of matUP becomes available with kumat Panini does not use kau because he wanted to get the sense of matUP. What purpose can this sense of matUP serve? It will require the following pada to
contain a consonant of the \( k \)-series (\( \text{KU} \)), and not to begin with one. A specification made with \( ku \) in the locative (\( kau \)) would allow \text{tadādividhi} ‘interpreting \( x \) to also refer to that which begins with \( x' \). That is, a following \( \text{pada} \) which has a sound denoted by \( \text{kU} \) at its beginning. This will allow \( n \)-replacement in \( \text{māsakumbhavāpiṇāu} \), explained as \( \text{vapanaṁ} = \text{vāpah} ‘\text{sowing, planting of seeds}; \text{kumbhasya vāpah} = \text{kumbhavāpah} ‘\text{sowing a jar-full of seeds}; \text{māsānām kumbhavāpah} = \text{māsakumbhavāpiṇāu} ‘\text{sowing of a jar-full of beans}. One will now get \( \text{māsakumbhavāpiṇā} \), as in \( \text{māsakumbhavāpiṇāu} \), with introduction of affix \( \text{nO}f \) 5.2.115 \( \text{ata inīthanau} \). But this replacement in \( n \) will not be available in \( \text{vastrayugināu} \). It is to resolve such difficulties that \( ku \) is specified with the possessive suffix \( \text{matUP} \), as in \( \text{kumati} \).

Consider \( \text{vastrayu} = \text{vastrayugināu} \) and \( \text{vastrayu} \), the nominative dual and plural forms of \( \text{vastrayugin} \), where \( \text{yugin} \) is a derivate of \( \text{yuga} \) with affix \( \text{in} \) (5.2.115 \( \text{ata inīthanau} \)). Examples of \( \text{nU} \) and \( \text{vibhakti} \) are offered as: \( \text{vastrasya yuginī} = \text{vastrayuginī} \), \( \text{kharayuginī} \); and \( \text{vastrayugena} \), \( \text{kharayugena} \). Additionally, we get \( \text{svargakāminau} \) and \( \text{vṛṣagāminau} \), etc. These forms can be derived similarly to derivatives of the preceding rules.

8.4.14 उपसर्गाद असमासे जी णोपदेशास्य

\( \text{upasargād asamāse} \; \phi \; \text{nopadesāsyā} \\
\text{/upasargāt 5/1 asamāse 7/1 = na samāsah (nañ. tat.), tasmin; api} \phi \; \text{nopadesāsyā} \; 6/1 = \text{na upadeśe yasya (dhātoḥ) = nopadesāḥ (bu.), tasya/} \; (\text{samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhhyām no nāh #1 atkupvāṁnuṣṭavyavāye} \; \phi \; \#2) \; \text{nopadesāsyā dhātor yo nakāraḥ tasya upasargasthān nimitiśd uttarasya} \; \text{nakārādeśā bhavati asamāse} \; \phi \; \text{samāse} \; \phi \\
A replacement in \( n \) comes in place of \( n \) of a verbal root which contains \( n \) in \( \text{upadesā} \) ‘initial citation’, and is used after a preverb containing \( r \) and \( s \) as conditions of replacement, whether or not there is a compound formation.

**Examples:**

\( \text{pranamati} \; ‘\ldots \text{pays respect to}’ \)

\( \text{parinayati} \; ‘\ldots \text{weds} \ldots’ \)

\( \text{pranāyakah} \; ‘\text{good leader}’ \)

\( \text{parināyakah} \; ‘\text{he who leads around}’ \)

1. The word \( \text{nopadesā} \) is used in the sense of ‘that which has \( n \) in its initial citation (\( \text{upadesā} \))’. Thus, consider \( \text{pra-}nām + (\text{LA}→\text{tiP}) = \text{pranamati}, \text{pari-}nī + (\text{LA}→\text{tiP}) = \text{parinayati}, \) and \( \text{pranāyakah}, \text{parināyakah} \) (II:524), where both \( nām \) and \( nī \) are roots with \( n \) in their initial citation.

Why do we state the condition of \( \text{upasargāt} \) ‘after a preverb’? Consider \( \text{pragatā nāyakā asmād deśā = pranāyako deśāḥ}, \) a compound termed \( \text{prādi} \) (2.2.18 \( \text{kugatiprādayah} \)). Note here that \( \text{pra} \) is a gati. The \( \text{upasarga} \) status of \( \text{pra} \) should
be understood in relation to *gam*, and not in relation to *ni* ‘to lead’. For, *pra* can be termed an *upasarga* only in relation to the root with which it is used. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *n*.

Why do we say *asamāse* *pi* ‘even when not part of a compound-formation’? The *anuvrtti* of *pūrvapada* ‘a constituent *pada* which precedes’, which limits the scope of application of this rule only to compounds, would block a replacement in *n* (*natua*) in non-compound examples. Why need *asamāse* *pi* when *pūrvapadāt* is no longer marked with *svarīta*. That is, it cannot be carried over to this rule, anyway. Absence of *svarīta* can simply indicate that this rule does not require the reading of *pūrvapadāt*. It does not make clear that the *anuvrtti* of *pūrvapadāt* has been canceled. That is, it cannot be carried over to subsequent rules. Or else, see what *Nyāsa* has to say: *mandabuddhir ya evaṇ pratiṇappum asamarathas tam prati vispaṣṭhikaranārtham asamāse piy ucaye* ‘a slow-wit who is not able to comprehend it this way, it is to make it clear to him that *asamāse* *pi* is used here’.

**8.4.15 हिनुमीना**

*hinumīnā*  
/ *hinumīnā* (deleted genitive)/  
(sanhitāyām #2.108 rāsābhīyām no nah #1 ātkupāṇ-umoyavāye pi #2)  
‘hinu, mīnā’ ity etayor upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya nakārādeśo bhavati  

A replacement in *n* comes in place of *n* of *hinu* and *mīnā* when they are used with a preverb containing *r* and *s* as condition of replacement.

**EXAMPLES:**

*prihiṇoti* ‘... incites'  
*prihiṇutah* ‘they two incite’  
*primiṇāti* ‘... destroys’  
*primiṇītah* ‘they two destroy’

1. This specification of *hinu* is made by combining verbal root *hi* ‘to go’ with its *vikarana* ‘class sign’ *Śnu* (3.1.73 svādibhyah śnuḥ). A similar specification with *mīnā* is made by combining *mī* ‘to hurt’ with *Śnā* (3.1.81 kṛyādibhyah śnā). Consider *pra-hi* + (S) *nu* + *(LAT→tiP)* = *prihiṇoti*, where *nu* has changed to *no*, through replacement in *guna*. Note that a specification with *nu* also includes references to *no*. This same way, a specification made with *nā* will also include references to *nī*, as in *primiṇītah*. For, a substitute of *aCis* treated as similar to what it replaces (1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau). This can also be supported by *(Pbh. 38)*: ekadeśavikrtam ananyavat ‘that which is modified in one place is treated as if non-different’. But this view goes against the interpretive maxim of *pūrvatrasiddhiḥ na sthānivat* ‘a replacement is not treated as what it replaced in the domain of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrasiddham*’. 


This interpretive convention is at fault in the application of conjunct-initial deletion (samyogādīlopa), replacement in l (lādesa), and n (natva), as well (Nyāsa: asyāh dosah samyogādīlopalatvanatvesv iti). Incidentally, the ā of Śna is replaced with i by 6.4.113 i haly aghoh.

8.4.16 अनि लोट्

अनि लोट (both used with deleted genitive) /
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhyaṃ no nah #1 attkupvān-nuṃvyavāye' pi #2
upasargāt #14)
‘अनि’ ity etasya loḍādesasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya
nakārādesa bhavati

A replacement in n comes in place of n of āni, first person singular (miP→ni) replacement of LOT, when the root occurs after a preverb containing r and s as replacement conditions.

Examples:

pravapāṇi ‘first person singular active LOT→miP→ni derivate of verbal root vap, used with the preverb pra’
parivapāṇi ‘first person singular active LOT→miP→ni derivate of verbal root vap ‘to sow, plant seeds’, used with the preverb pari’
prāyāṇi ‘first person singular active LOT→miP→ni derivate of verbal root yā ‘to reach, go’ used with the preverb pra’
pariyāṇi ‘first person singular active LOT→miP→ni derivate of verbal root yā ‘to reach, go’ used with the preverb pari’

1. Note that āni refers to ni, used in construction after augment āT (3.4.92 ād uttamasya). The ni, itself, is interpreted as a replacement of miP (3.4.89 mer niḥ), the first person singular active replacement of LOT ‘imperative’ (3.4.77 lasya; 3.4.78 tiptasjhi . . . ). Since a specification made with with that which may carry a meaning cannot refer to that which does not carry any meaning PM ad Kāś. arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya (phb.15), LOT should not be used in this rule. One can easily understand that āni is meaningful. For, its ni is a replacement of miP ‘first person singular active ending’, itself a replacement of LOT ‘imperative’, used in combination after augment āT. This āni cannot be misinterpreted as the plural nominative-accusative neuter nominal ending āni, as in pravapāṇi. For, the pra of pravapāṇi, a nominal used in the neuter plural, is not a preverb (upasarga).

A preverb belongs to the class of prādi ‘pra, etc.’ and is termed an upasarga ‘preverb’, only when used in association with a verbal root (yat kriyāyuktiḥ prādayas tam prati gatyupasargasanjñē bhavataḥ ‘the terms gati and upasarga are assigned to words listed under the group headed by pra only when they are used in connection with action denoted by a root’). An action is viewed
in the context of its usage. It cannot be viewed in isolation. It thus should be
erelated to its usage as a whole. This rule can thus be interpreted as: ‘न’ comes
as a replacement of न of अनि which, in turn, is part of that which occurs after
a preverb (PM ad काः upasargāt parasyāvayavo ya anśabdas tannakārasya
natvam). This description itself will make clear that अनि is nothing but the
first person singular imperative ending. An additional specification with LOT
is thus not needed.

2. Why do we have the condition of LOT? Consider pravapāni māṃsāni
‘very fatty flesh’, where, since अनि is neuter nominative-accusative plural,
replacement in न is blocked.

8.4.17 नेर्गदनपतपदुपमास्तिनितिभुवनितिविविश्वसातिनितिक्षिणोत्तिरितिदेवधुपुः

ner gada-nada-pata-pada-ghumāsyaati-hanti-yātī-vātī-drātī-psātī-vapati-vahati-
sāmyati-cinoti-degdhiṣu ca

/neh 5/1 gada-nada-pata-pada-ghu-mā-syati-hanti-yātī-vātī-drātī-psātī-vapati-
vahati-sāmyati-cinoti degdhiṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu/

(samhitāyam #2.108 raśabhyāṃ no naḥ #1 aṭkupvān-nimūvayāye' pi #2
upasargāt #14)

‘न’ ity etasyopapargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya nakāraṁeśo bhavati
‘gada, nada, pata, pada, ghu, mā, syati, hanti, yātī, vātī, drātī, psātī, vapati,
vahati, sāmyati, cinoti, degdhi’ ity eteṣu paratāḥ

A replacement in न comes in place of न of न which occurs after a
preverb containing r and s as replacement condition, when gadā ‘to
speak’, nādā ‘to sound, roar’, padā ‘to fall’, padā ‘to go, move’, (a word-
form termed) ghu, māṇ ‘to measure’, syati (so ‘to destroy’), hanti (han-
to harm, kill’), yātī (yā ‘to go, move’), vātī (vā ‘to blow, move’), drātī
‘to run, move fast’, psātī (psā ‘to eat’), vapati (vāp ‘to sow’), vapati (vah-
to carry’), sāmyati (sam ‘to be tranquil’), cinoti (ci ‘to heap’) and degdhi
dih ‘to anoint’) follow.

Examples:

pranigadati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of gad used with
the preverbs pra-ni’
paranigadatī ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of gad used with
the preverbs pari-ni’
praninadati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of nad used with
the preverbs pra-ni’
parinadatī ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of nad used with
the preverb pari-ni’
pranipatatī ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of pat used with
the preverbs pra-ni’
parinipatatī ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of pat used with
the preverbs parti-ni’
pranipadyate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of pad used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranipadyate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of pad used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranidadāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of dā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranidadāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of dā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranidadhāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of dhā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranidadhāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of dhā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranimidīte ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of māN used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranimidīte ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of mā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranimayate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of mā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranimayate ‘third person singular middle LAT-derivate of mā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranisyati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of so used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranisyati ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of so used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranihanti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of han used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranihanti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of han used with the preverbs pari-ni’
praniyāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of yā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
praniyāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of yā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranivāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of vā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranivāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of vā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranidrāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of drā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
pranidrāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of drā used with the preverbs pari-ni’
pranipsāti ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of psā used with the preverbs pra-ni’
parinipśati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(psā\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
pranivāpati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(vap\) used with the preverbs \(pra-nī\)
parinivāpati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(vap\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
pranivahati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(vah\) used with the preverbs \(pra-nī\)
paranivahati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(vah\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
pranisāmyati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(śam\) used with the preverbs \(pra-nī\)
paranisāmyati 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(śam\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
pranicinoti 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(ciN\) used with the preverbs \(pra-nī\)
paranicinoti 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(ciN\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
pranidegḍhi 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(dih\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)
paranidegḍhi 'third person singular active \(LAT\)-derivate of \(dih\) used with the preverbs \(pari-nī\)

1. Note that \(ghu\) refers to verbal roots termed \(ghu\) (1.1.20 \(dāḍhāghu\ \(adāp\)). A specification with \(mā\) refers more directly to \(māN\) 'to measure'. It also refers, though technically, to roots which may yield the form \(mā\) where \(ā\) may be a replacement (6.1.50 \(mīnātiminoti\) ...). The \(mā\) of this rule refers only to \(māN\) and \(meN\) 'to give, entrust'. It does not refer to \(miN\) 'to harm, kill', \(DUmiN\) 'to hurl, throw' and \(mā\) 'to measure, compare, bellow'.

It can be argued that \(mā\) should refer to all roots which yield the form \(mā\). This is what is desired by general specifications made with \(gā\), \(mā\) and \(dā\) (Nyāsa: gāmādāgraḥanēsv avāśe). Why do we have to restrict this reference with \(mā\) only to \(māN\) and \(meN\)? Jinendrauddh notes that Pāṇini places \(ghu\) in the middle of this rule. He should have followed 2.2.32 dvandve \(ghi\) and 2.2.34 \(aḷpāc taram\). That is, he should have placed \(ghu\) at the beginning of this rule. This indicates that he is not following rules. He is following his desire, instead. The reference is limited only to \(māN\) and \(meN\). Kāśkā summarizes this desideratum (\(iṣṭī\)) as: ‘\(mā\) iti mānmeṁor grahaḥaṁ isyate a reference to \(mā\) and \(meN\) is desired by this specification made with \(mā\).

Yet another desideratum is offered to indicate that a replacement in \(n\) is desired even when \(aT\), etc., intervene (8.4.2 \(aṭkupvāṁnumryavāye\) \(pi\; aḍvyavāye\) \(pi nergadādisu naṁvaṁ isyate\). Thus, we get \(pra-nyagadat\) and \(pari-nyagadat\).
2. Refer to derivational details of pranidadāti, etc., in the appendix (II:352-54). Deriving example derives offers a little or no difficulty. A replacement in ś of pranisyati, is accomplished by 8.3.65 upasargāt sunoti. ... A long replacement for a of śam, in pranisāmyati, is accomplished by 7.3.74 śamām aṣṭānām. ... The h of dih, in pra-ni-dih + ŚaP + (LAT→tiP) = pranidegḍhi, is replaced with gh (ghatva; 8.2.32 dadāter dhātār ghaḥ). Recall that ŚaP has already gone through deletion (2.4.72 adiprabhrībhīyaḥ śapah). The t of tiP, i.e., pra-ni-di(h→gh) + (ŚaP→ϕ) + tiP, is then replaced with dh (dhatva; 8.2.40 jhasastathor dhō’ dhaḥ). We thus get pra-ni-digh + dhi. The gh of digh is further replaced with g (jaśṭva; 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhaṣṭi). We get pra-ni-di(gh→g) + dhi → pra-(n→n) i-d(i→e) g + dhi = pranidegḍhi, through n-replacement and guna. We similarly derive parinidegḍhi. Refer to derivational details of mimite under 7.4.76 bhṛṇām it. One cam similarly derive pranimimite.

2. Note that some roots, i.e., syati, etc., are specified in this rule with tiP. This is done to indicate that this rule does not apply to forms where deletion of yaṁ (yaṁ-luk) applies. Refer to my notes under 7.1.6 śiṇo rut for additional details.

8.4.18 रोषे विभाषाकाकादाबवाण्यान्त उपदेशे

śese vibhāsa' kakhādāv aṣānta upadeśe
/ śese 7/1 vibhāsa 1/1 akakhādau 7/2 = kaś ca khaś ca = kakhauc; tāv ādī yasya sa kakhādiḥ (bu.); na kakhādiḥ (naṅ. tat.), tasmin; aṣānte 7/1 = sa ante yasya = sāntaḥ (bu.); na sāntaḥ (naṅ. tat.), tasmin; upadeśe 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no naḥ #1 aṭkupvāṁ-numāvāvāye' pi #2 upasargāt #14 neḥ #17)

akakārādih, akhakārādiḥ, aṣakārāntaś copadeśe yo dhātuḥ sa ṣesāḥ; tasmin parataḥ upasargasthān nimitād uttarasya ner nakārasya vibhāśa nakāra ādeśa bhuvati

A replacement in n, optionally, comes in place of n of ni, used after a preverb containing r and s as replacement conditions, when a verbal root, not enumerated thus far, does not, in its initial citation, begin with k and kh and ends in s, follows.

Examples:

prā-ni-pacati = praṇipacati
praṇipacati
prā-ni-bhinatti = praṇibhinatti
praṇibhinatti

1. Note that neḥ and upasargāt are both carried. This rule replaces the n of ni with n, only optionally, provided ni occurs after an upasarga which contains the condition of n-replacement. Additionally, ni is to be followed by a verbal root which, in upadeśa, does not begin with k, kh, or end in s.
Such roots are here referred to by ṣeṣe ‘remainder’. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule with akakhe aṣe? These two could have given us the intended meaning of ādau ‘at the beginning’ and ante ‘at the end’. He used ādau and ante for clarity (vispaṭārtham). Still, anta ‘end’ should be specified in this rule. For, there will be confusion in correctly interpreting akakhe aṣe, via tadāśividhi ‘an operational specification made with a sound segment also refers to that which begins with that sound segment’ (Paribh. (34): yasmin vidhāv tadāśav algraheṇa). This confusion will also arise in tadantaridhi ‘an operational specification made with a sound segment also refers to that which ends in that sound segment’. How would one know which one of these two should be interpreted, via tadāśividhi or tadantaridhi. If tadādi and tadanta interpretations were made available, optionally, to akakhe aṣe, Pāṇini should have made his specification with the dvandva compound akakhase. Interpretation of the learned must be our only recourse (vyākhyānam eva śaraṇam) in arriving at the correct interpretation.

2. Refer to derivational details of bhinatti in the appendix (III:726). One can similarly derive pranibhinatti and pranibhinatti, etc.

3. Why do we state the condition of akakhādau ‘when not beginning with k and kh’? Consider pranīkaṇṭa and pranikhamadati where this option is not available because karoti and khādati begin with k and kh.

Why do we state the condition of asāntaḥ ‘not ending in s’? Consider pranipinasī where verbal root pis ‘to powder’ ends in s. Incidentally, pinasī is derived from pis + (LAT→tīP) → pi(+ŚnaM)s + tī(P→u) = (pi(Ś→u)na(M→u)s) + tī → pinas + (t→u)i = pinasī, via śnaM (3.1.78 rudhādibhyāḥ śnam; 1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt . . .) and t-replacement of t (8.4.41 śtunā śtuḥ).

Why do we state the condition of upadeśa ‘in initial citation’? So that this option is negated in pranīcaκāra, pranīcakhāda and pranīpeksyati, where the roots begin with k and kh in upadeśa. This negation, however, will not apply to viṣ which yields pranīvesṭa and pranīveksyati. These forms do not have a root-final s in upadeśa, but develop one in course of derivation. Recall that pranīvesṭa develops s with the application of 8.2.36 vraścabhrasaj . . .

Nyāsa notes that ṣeṣe ‘remainder, residual’ is used in this rule for clarity (vispaṭārtham). For, if gad, etc., are allowed an optional replacement in n, our preceding rule would become vacuous (vyarthha). Pāṇini could have brought upadeśa from 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse pi nopadeśasya, via manḍukapulti ‘frog’s leap’. He used it explicitly for clarity.

8.4.19 अनिते:

aniteḥ
/aniteh 6/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśāhhyām no nah #1 atkupvān-numyavāyē pi #2
upasargāt #14)

aniter nakārasypasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārādēso bhavati
8.4.20 Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Four

A replacement in $n$ comes in place of $n$ of verbal root $anA$ ‘to breathe’, when a preverb containing $r$ and $s$ as replacement condition precedes.

**Examples:**

$pṛāṇīti$

$pṛāṇīti$

1. Consider $pṛāṇīti$ which is derived as $pṛ-\ an\ +\ (LAT\rightarrow tiP)\ →\ pṛ-\ an\ +\ (ṢaP\rightarrow φ)\ +\ ti\ =\ pṛān\ +\ iT\ +\ ti\ →\ pṛā(n\rightarrow n)\ +\ i\ +\ ti\ →\ pṛāṇīti$. We similarly get $pārā-an\ +\ (LAT\rightarrow tiP)\ →\ pārā-an-iT\ +\ ti\ →\ pārāṇīti$. Verbal root $an$ is a root enumerated in the class headed by ad ‘to consume’ (adādi) where ṢaP gets deleted (2.4.72 adiprabhṛtyaḥ ṣapah). Augment $iT$ is then introduced by 7.2.76 rudāḍibhyaḥ sāravadhātuke. Note that this specification of anīti with śīṭḥ (ṢaP-tiP) is not made here for indicating non-application of affixal deletion of yaṇ (yaṅluki). It is, instead, used for specifying the root. Besides, the question of yaṇ-deletion could not be raised in connection with $an$. For, it does not begin with a consonant. Consequently, affix yaṇ could not be made available to it (3.1.22 dhātorekāco halādeḥ . . .).

8.4.20 अन्तः:

antaḥ

/antaḥ 1/1/

(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhyaṁ no νaḥ #1 atkṛpyāṇumuyavāye’ pi #2 upasargāt #14 aniteḥ #19)

upasargastān nimitād uttarasyāṇitinakārasya padānte vartamānasya νaṅkārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in $n$ comes in place of the pada-final $n$ of verbal root $anA$ ‘to breathe’, when used after a preverb containing $r$ and $s$ as conditions for this replacement.

**Examples:**

he $pṛāṇ$  

he $pṛāṇ$  

1. The word anta ‘end’ is used here in the sense of avayava ‘part of a whole’, as an ‘end’ is to a ‘piece’ of cloth (vastrāntavaḥ). Note that $pṛāṇ$ and $pṛāṇ$ are address (vocative singular; sambuddhi) forms of $pṛ-\ an\ +\ KuIP$, where KuIP goes through total deletion. The nominative (vocative) singular ending $su$ termed sambuddhi is also deleted (6.1.68 halīṇyābbhyo . . .). Note that this sambuddhi form has $n$ at the end of its nominal stem (pṛātipadikānta). This $n$ must go through deletion (8.2.7 nalopaḥ pṛātipadikāntasya). However, 8.2.8 naśisambuddhyoḥ blocks this deletion. Our present rule offers $n$ as an optional replacement.

2. Why do we need this rule when the preceding could easily offer this
replacement. Recall that 8.4.36 padāntasya 'in place of that which occurs at the end of a fully inflected word' blocks a replacement in \( n \) for a pada-final \( n \). This rule uses antah in anticipation of padānta 'end of a fully inflected word' of that rule. This way, our present rule is an exception to 8.4.36 padāntasya. The word anta 'end' is not used here in relation to aniti, per say.

Some combine this rule with the preceding to formulate a single rule as aniter antah. They interpret anta as samīpa 'proximate'. This meaning facilitates \( n \)-replacement, when \( r \) is not separated from \( n \) by more than one sound. Thus, we will not get the replacement in \( \text{par}(i \rightarrow y) an + i + ti \rightarrow paryaniti \). A single rule will have to read anta twice so that \( n \)-replacement could apply to he prān and he parān (Kāś. . . dviṭīyam api padāntasya natavārtham antagrahaṇam āśrayitavyam eva). The second antah will give us the sense of padānta. Some still claim that paryaniti is a valid form. For them, no purpose can be served by including anta as part of the preceding rule.

8.4.21 उभी साध्यास्यस्य

\( \text{ubhau sābhīyasasya} \)
\( /\text{ubhau 1/2 sābhīyasasya} 6/1 = \text{abhīyasena saha} = \text{sābhīsah} (bv.), tasya/ \)
\( (\text{samhitāyām} \#2.108 \text{rasābhīyām no nāh} \#1 \text{ātukvānnumvavayey' pi} \#2 \)
\( \text{upasargāt} \#14 \text{aniṭeh} \#19) \)
\( \text{sābhīyasasyāniter upasargasthān nimittād uttaraśyobhāyor nakārayor nākāra} \)
\( ādeśo bhavati \)

A replacement in \( n \) comes in place of both \( n \) sounds of a reduplicated verbal root \( anA \), when \( anA \) occurs after a preverb containing \( r \) and \( s \) as condition of replacement.

Examples:

prāniniṣati
prāṇinat
parāniniṣati
parārṇat

1. This rule allows \( n \)-replacement for both \( n \) sounds of verbal root \( anA \) when reduplicated. The use of a preverb containing replacement condition is again required. The two \( n \) sounds relate to one in the abhyāsa and the other which may follow the abhyāsa. This rule allows \( n \)-replacement even when abhyāsa intervenes between the preverb and the verb. This replacement in \( n \) (natvā) was not made available by earlier rules.

Consider \( \text{pra-an} + i(T) + sa(N) \) where we get reduplication by 6.1.9 sanyānoḥ. (read with 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasya). This yields: \( \text{pra-a} + ni + ni + sa = \text{pr(a+a→a)} + (n \rightarrow n)i + (n \rightarrow n)i + sa = \text{prānīsa} \). A causal LUN-derivate of \((\text{pra-an}A + \text{NiC} = \text{prāni})\), with affixal deletion of NiC, introduction of CaN and reduplication of ni, via sthānivadbhāva (1.1.59 dvirvacanė' ci, is derived
as prāninat with two n-replacements. One can similarly derive parāninisati and parāninat. Refer to ātitat (II:416-17) for additional details of derivates of LN.

2. It is claimed that a subsequent (para) rule of tripādi 'last three quarters of the Aṣṭādhyāyi' is treated as suspended (asiddha) in view of application of a prior rule (pūrva) of tripādi, only when a non-doubling (advitve) operation of the sapādasaptādhyāyi 'seven books and one quarter of the Aṣṭādhyāyi' is to be performed (phb. (127): pūrvatrasiddhyam advitvam). Now consider prā + ni + sati where saN requires reduplication and our present rule requires n of ni to be replaced with n. We will get prā + ni + ni + sati if reduplication applies first by treating replacement in n (natva) of this rule as asiddha 'suspended'. If n of the first ni is then replaced with n, we will get prā + ni + ni + sati. Since the n of ni will intervene between prā and ni, we cannot get the n of ni replaced with n. If one accepts this interpretive convention (paribhāṣā) and replaces n of prā + ni + sa with n, reduplication will apply to ni. We will thus get prā + ni + ni + sati. This way, we do not need this rule. Kāśikā claims that this rule is formulated to oppose recourse to this interpretive convention (paribhāṣā; Kāś: etat tu nāśrayitavyam). A formulation of this rule also shows how this paribhāṣā is non-universal (anityā). Refer to derivational details of aujaṭhat (8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham), where reduplication of hta will be blocked if replacements, i.e., dh (dhatva), etc., are treated as asiddha 'suspended'.

3. Why do we state ubhau 'both'? That is, when n-replacement of abhyāsa can be accomplished by the preceding rule and n-replacement of the verbal root, even when intervened, can be accomplished by this rule. True. But this is possible only when there is intervention (vyavāya). Instances where there is no intervention in between the condition (nimitta) and conditioned (nimittī) elements cannot be covered. For, replacement in n (natva) will apply there in accord with takra-kaunḍinya-nyāya, a maxim whereby 'butter-milk', absence of natva, in contexts of non-intervention, must be offered to Kaunḍinya. It does not matter if Kaunḍinya is a brāhmaṇa and, as such, qualifies to receive 'yogurt'. A replacement in n (natva) which is reserved for contexts where 'condition-conditioned' occur intervened, cannot be offered to contexts where they do not happen to be intervened. This is why ubhau must be used here.

8.4.22 हन्तेरस्वरूपस्य...

hanter atpūrvasya
/hanteh 6/1 atpūrvasya 6/1 = at pūrvo yasmat (nakārāt) sa = atpūrvah (bu.), tasya/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhhyāṁ no nāṁ #1 aṭkūpoñnumuyavāye pi #2 upasargāt #14)
akārapūrvasya hantinakārasya upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in \( n \) comes in place of \( n \) of verbal root \( han \), when \( n \) occurs preceded by \( a \) (\( aT \)) and followed by \( v \) or \( m \), provided \( han \) 'to harm, kill' occurs after a preverb containing \( r \) and \( s \) as replacement conditions.

**Examples:**

- praḥanyate
- pariḥanyate
- praḥanānam
- pariḥanānam

1. This rule replaces \( n \) of \( han \) with \( n \), when \( n \) is preceded by \( a \), and \( han \) occurs after a preverb with \( r \) and \( s \). Consider praḥanyate, pariḥanyate, and praḥanānam, pariḥanānam as examples. Note that praḥanyate and pariḥanyate are middle (ātmanepada; 1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ) derivatives of \( han \) with affix yaK (3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak). The next two, i.e., praḥanānam and pariḥanānam, are derivatives of LyuT (3.3.115 byuṭ ca).

2. Why do we state the condition of atpūrvasya 'when \( n \) is preceded by \( aT \)? Consider praṅhantī and pariṅhantī where \( h \) is replaced with gh (7.3.54 ho hanter . . .) and \( a \), before \( n \), goes through deletion. This, in turn, blocks \( n \)-replacement. Recall that the penultimate (upadhā) \( a \) is deleted by 6.4.98 gamahana. . . . This rule does not apply where penultimate \( a \)-deletion is applied.

Why do we state \( a \) (\( aT \))? Consider (pra-\( han \)) + (\( LU\tilde{\text{n}}\rightarrow\text{anti} \)) \( \rightarrow \) praṅhantī, where \( n \) is preceded by gh (7.3.54 ho hanter . . .). The penultimate \( a \) of \( han \) is here deleted by 6.4.98 gamahana. . . . There is no replacement in \( n \) since \( a \) does not precede \( n \). This same also happens in pariṅhantī.

Why do state \( T \) after \( a \) (taparakaṇa)? Consider (pra-\( han \) + (\( LU\tilde{\text{n}}\rightarrow\text{ta} = \) praṅhāṇī)), where GīN replaces CLI under the signification of karman 'object' (3.1.66 cin bhāvakarmanoḥ). The \( h \) of \( han \) is replaced with gh, and a long \( ā \) (ṛddhī) replaces the penultimate short vowel (7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ). The third singular ātmanepada (1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ) suffix \( ta \) is deleted by 6.4.104 cino luk. The \( n \) which follows \( ā \), thus, cannot be replaced with \( n \). It can only be replaced with \( n \) when a short \( a \) (\( aT \)) precedes \( n \). We witness the same thing in parāyghāṇī. A specification of \( han \) with tiPis intended for proper identification of verbal root. It does not indicate any blocking of replacement in \( n \) (natva) where affix yaN gets deleted (yaṇluki).

8.4.23 वमोवाः

vamor vā
data /vamoh 6/2 = vaś ca maś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; vā φ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśabhāyām no ṇah #1 aṭkupvaṁnumvyavāye' pi #2 upasargāt #14 hanter atpūrvasya #22)
vakāramakārayoḥ parato hantinakārasyopasargasthān nimittād Uttarasya va
nakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in \( n \) comes, optionally, in place of \( n \) of verbal root \( han \),
where \( n \) occurs preceded by \( aT \) and followed by \( v \) or \( m \), and when \( han \)
occur after a preverb containing \( r \) and \( s \) as a condition of this replace-
ment.

Examples:

praḥänvah
dharihvanāh
praḥänvah
opharihvanāh
praḥanmāh
parihihvanāh
praḥanmāh
parihihvanāh

1. This rule allows a replacement in \( n \) for \( n \), also when \( v \) and \( m \) follow the
\( n \) of \( han \). Consider \((pra-han + (LAT→vas) → pra-han + (ŚaP→ϕ) + vas →
praḥ(n→n) + vas → praḥänvah(s→r→h)) = praḥänvah\), where \( n \) is followed by
first personal dual active \( vas \). We similarly get \( parihihvanāh\), \( praḥanmāh \) and
parihihvanāh, where the last two forms have \( n \) followed by first personal plural
active \( masa \). The preceding rule offers a replacement in \( n \) (\( natua \)), obligato-
riely. This rule makes that optional before \( v \) and \( m \). That is why we also get
praḥänvah, parihihvanāh, praḥanmāh and parihihvanāh.

8.4.24 अन्तरादेशे

antar adeśe
/aantar ø adeše 7/1 = na deśah (nañ. tat.), tasmin/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no naḥ #1 aṭkupvāṁnumvayavāye' pi #2
upasargat #14 hanier aṭṭhūravya #22)
antaḥṣabād uttarasya hantinakārasyāt pūrvasya nakārādeśo bhavati adeśā-
bhidhāne

A replacement in \( n \) comes in place of the \( n \) of verbal root \( han \) when
\( han \) occurs after \( antar \) with its \( r \) as condition of replacement, and \( n \) of
\( han \) occurs preceded by \( aT \), provided the derivate does not denote
dēṣa 'place'.

Examples:

antarhanyate ’... is killed in the middle ...’
antarhaṇanam vartate ‘killing in the middle ...’

1. Recall that \( antaḥ \) is a \( gati \) (1.4.65 antar aparīgrihe). It can also be used as
an \( upasarga \) 'preverb' in conjunction with a verbal root, especially when it is
not used as a \( gati \). We thus get \( antar-han-yaK-te = antarhanyate \), where \( yaK \) is
introduced with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ or karman ‘object’ (3.1.67 sāvaradhatuke yak). We similarly get antarha(n→n) anam, a derivate of Lyu'T→ana with the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’. This antar is a gati and the compound with hanana ‘root-sense’ is formed by 2.2.18 kugatipradiyah.

2. Why do we state the condition of adeśe ‘when not denoting a place’? Consider antarhananano desah where antarhananah ‘killing-field’ denotes a place (desa). The condition of aT is still valid. Thus, consider antarghant where the n of ghna cannot be replaced with ṅ since a does not precede it. The condition of taparakaraṇa, with a followed by T, blocks ṅ-replacement in antarghāni where n is preceded by a long ā.

8.4.25 अयनं च

ayanam ca
/ayanam 1/1 ca $/$
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhāyām no ṅaḥ #1 atkupvāṁnumvavyāye pi #2 upasargāt #14 antaradēśe #24)
ayanakārasya cāntahśabād uttārasya ṣakārādeo bhavati adevābhidhvāne
A replacement in ṅ comes in place, also, of the n of ayana ‘going’ when it occurs after antar with r as condition of this replacement, provided derivates do not denote desa ‘place’.

Examples:

antarayanam ‘a particular sojourn’
antarayāṇam śobhanam ‘beautiful sojourn’

1. Note that 8.4.28 upasargāḥ bahulam ‘variously after a preverb’ could account for this replacement. This rule is formulated so that derivates which do not denote a place could be covered. Consider antar-ay + (Lyu'T→ana) = antaraya(n→n) a = antarayana + sU → antarayanam. The condition of adeśe ‘when the signification is not a place’ is still valid. Consider antarayano desah ‘a place of sojourn’, where ṅ-replacement is blocked.

2. Note that ayana means a particular gati ‘movement’, especially at the end of a compound. It is generally characterized as a movement which begins and ends at the same place. Thus, we get rāmasya ayanaṃ = rāmāyanam ‘return (to Ayodhya) of Rāma’; uttrāyanam ‘sun’s movement to the north’ and daksīṇāyanam ‘sun’s movement to the south’.

Note that ca is used to attract upasargāt and adeśe. It is also used to cancel their anuvṛtti in the following rule.

8.4.26 छन्दमृद्वग्रहात्

chandasya ṛdavagrahāt
/chandasi 7/1 ṛdavagrahāt 5/1 = ṛc cāsau avagrahaḥ ca = ṛdavagrahāḥ
(bu.), tasmāt/
Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Four

(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no ṇaḥ #1 aṭkuvāṅnumvyavāye' pi #2 pūrvapadāt #3)
nārāṇitād avagrahāt pūrvapadād uttarasya nakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viśaye

A ṇ which occurs as part of a pada, combined after a preceding pada which ends in ṛ and may be read as contracted (avagṛhya) in the pada-pātha ‘recitation by separating words’, is replaced with ṇ in the Vedic.

Examples:

ṛmaṇaḥ ‘he whose mind is in (the welfare of) men’
ṛṣṭiraṃ ‘father’s carriage’

1. This rule applies to the Vedic usage where texts are recited by separating individual words (padas; pada-pātha). The ṇ of a following pada which occurs in combination after a preceding, can be replaced with ṇ, provided the preceding ends in ṛ. This ṛ must also constitute the focus of contraction in the pada-pātha recitation of the text.

Note that ṛ does not constitute a pada by itself. It is, therefore, interpreted as denoting a pada which ends in ṛ. Additionally, this pada does not have to be separated from the following. A replacement in ṇ (ṇatva) applies to ṇ, even when a final ṛ at the end of a preceding pada forms the focus of contraction (avagraha).

2. The word avagrahaḥ = avagṛhya pāṭhyate is explained as ‘that which is read after having been separated’. Thus, nari mano’ ṣya = ṇmaṇaḥ, in the samhitāpātha ‘connected recitation’, and ṇ maṇaḥ, in the pada-pātha ‘disconnected recitation’. We similarly get pīṭrayāṇam = pīṭrayāṇam and pīṭryaṇam.

3. This ṇ-replacement is valid only in the samhitā-pātha. For, this rule is placed in the domain of samhitā. Since an avagraha separates two words in the pada-pātha, it refers here to a ṛ which may be qualified for contraction at the word-boundary. This is why I have not shown replacement in ṇ (ṇatva) in the pada-pātha text.

But why do we state the word avagraha in this rule? To clearly define the scope of application of this rule.

8.4.27 नाच धातुस्योरुपस्यः:
nas ca dhātusthorushubhyāḥ
/nah (no nominal ending used); ca φ dhātusthorushubhyāḥ 5/3 = dhātau tiṣṭhati = dhātusthāḥ (saṭt. tat.); dhātusthaś ca uruś ca śuś ca (itar. dv.),
tebhyāḥ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhyaṁ no ṇaḥ #1 aṭkuvāṅnumvyavāye’ pi #2 chandasi #26)
‘nas’ ity etasya nakārasya nakārādeśo bhavati dhātusthān nimittād uttarasyoṣubdāt śuṣabdaṃ ca chandasi viśaye
A न which, in the Vedic, either occurs after a verbal root containing र and स as replacement conditions, or occurs after उरु and सु combined to precede, is replaced with न.

**Examples:**

tagṣ रक्ष नाह ‘O Agni, protect us’
śिकṣ नो गस्मिन ‘please teach this to us’
उरु नास क्यद्धि ‘grant us an opportunity to prosper’
भ्र सु नाह सक्हिनाम
उर्ध्वा उ सु ना उतये

1. The word धतुस्त्व ि ‘placed in a verbal root’ is explained as ‘that which is part of a verbal root’. The words उरु and सु are specified here to represent their forms (स्वर्धप्रगहनम्). Incidentally, सु refers to सुन, a particle (निपता), which gets its s replaced with ष (8.3.107 सुनह).

A specification with नास is generally made to refer to नास as a replacement of नासिक ‘nose’. This rule, however, specifies नास to refer to a replacement of अस्म ‘first personal pronominal’ (8.1.21 बहुवचनस्या वस्मासावो).

3. Consider रक्ष नाह where रक्ष(ा→अ) = रक्ष, a second person singular imperative (लॉट) form of रक्ष ‘to protect’, gets its final अ replaced with long (6.3.125 द्वयाशो तस तिनह). The following अस्म is, of course, replaced with नास. This same is also witnessed in शिकष नो (स्मिन). Refer to derivational details of उरु+ नास+ क्यद्धि → उरुनासक्यद्धि (6.4.102 श्रुष्यु...), where क्यद्धि is a second person singular imperative of क्रन्त्. The second personal active singular ending सिप is here replaced with हि (3.4.87 सेर ह्य अपिक का). This हि is again replaced with धि (6.4.102 श्रुष्यु...). We thus get: क्र + (सी→ही→धी) = क्यद्धि. The विसर्गा of नाह is replaced with स of 8.3.59 काह करक्तकरति...). A long replacement for इ of अभ्र is accomplished by 6.3.134 इकाह सुनि. The स of सुन is replaced with ष of 8.3.107 सुनह. A long replacement for the short उ of (उ→उ) + सु is accomplished by 6.3.136 निपतस्या का.

8.4.28 उपासर्गदबहुलम्

_upasargād bahulam_
_/upasargāt 5/1 bahulam 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhyyām no नाह #1 atkupvānumvayāye pi #2 नाह #27).

_upasargasthān nimitād uttarasya naso nakārasya nakārādeśo bhavati bahulam_

The न of नास, combined after an upasarga ‘preverb’ with र and स as replacement conditions, is variously (bahulam) replaced with न.

**Examples:**

praṇah śūdraḥ ‘old śūdra’
praṇasah 'he who has a beautiful nose'
praṇo rāja 'old king'

1. This rule is also found as: upasargād anotparaḥ. The phrase anotparaḥ is then interpreted as 'that which is not preceded, or followed, by o'. This dual interpretation of taparakaṇa 'making T precede and follow' will, however, create difficulties. Thus, a n-replacement may be available in praṇo muñcatam where n occurs after o. The second interpretation will block n-replacement in praṇo vanirdevāt. This dual consideration of taparakaṇa, especially as it relates to this rule, is very complex. I omit any further details.

Kaśikā reads bahulam to account for this, as well as usages of the classical language. That is, chandasi is not carried over. The n of nas, when occurring after an upasarga, is variously replaced with n.

Consider praṇaḥ śudraḥ, praṇasah, etc., as examples. Note that praṇasa is derived with the samāśanta affix aC, where nāsikā is concurrently replaced with nas (5.4.119 upasargāc ca). Why use upasargāt when pra cannot be termed an upasarga without association of a verbal root? This upasarga is then used to refer to items enumerated in the class headed by pra (1.1.58 prādayāḥ).

8.4.29 कृत्यचः:

kṛty acaḥ
/ kṛti 7/1 acaḥ 5/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhīyām no nāḥ #1 aṭkupvāṇnumvayāye' pi #2 upasargāt #2)

kṛṣṭho yo nakāro' c uttaras tasyopasargasthān nimitād uttarasya nakārādeśo bhavati

A n which occurs after a vowel (aC) in a kṛt affix is replaced with n, provided the affix occurs after a root whose preverb contains r and s as conditions of this replacement.

Examples:

prayāṇam 'journey'
pariyāṇam
pramāṇam 'measure, standard'
parimāṇam 'measure'
prayāyamāṇam
pariyayamāṇam
prayāṇīyam
pariyāṇīyam
aprayāṇiḥ
apariyāṇiḥ
prayāyinau
pariyāyinau
praḥiṇāḥ
parihiṇāḥ ‘renounced’

1. This rule replaces the n of a kṛt suffix with n, when n occurs after a vowel and the kṛt affix occurs after a root whose preverb contains r and s as replacement conditions. The n of the following kṛt affixes forms the focus of this n-replacement: ana (a replacement of yu), māna (āna with augment mUK, 7.2.82 āne muk); ŚānaC (3.2.124 laṭaḥ satrśānacāv . . .), KānaC (3.2.106 liṭaḥ kāṇaj vā) and CānaŚ (3.2.129 tācchīlyavayavacana . . .), aniyaR (3.1.96 tavyattayāniyarah), ani (3.3.112 ākroṣe naṇy anih), inI (NīnI: 3.2.78 supy ajātav . . .; 3.3.170 āvasyakādhamarniyayor . . .) and replacements of niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktaktavatū niṣṭhā) offered in the domain of 8.2.42 radābhīyāṃ niṣṭhāto nah.

Now consider some illustrations:

(a) ana: pra-yā + (LyuT → ana) → prayāna + sU → prayānam, where ana is a replacement of LyuT (3.1.133 nuaitycav, 7.1.1 yuvar anākau). A similar example with the preverb pari will be: pari-yāṇam.

(b) ŚānaC: Consider pra-yā + (LAṬ → ŚānaC) → pra-yā + yaK + ŚānaC → pra-yā + yaK + mUK + ŚānaC = prayāyamāṇa(n→η) a = prayāyamāṇa + sU = prayāyamāṇam, where ŚānaC (3.2.124 laṭaḥ satrśānacāv . . .) replaces LAṬ (3.2.123 vartamāne lat) with the signification of karman ‘object’. Affix yaK (3.1.67 sāravadhātuke yak) is then introduced under the condition of ŚānaC, an affix termed sāravadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṣit sāravadhātukam). Augment mUK (7.2.82 āne muk) is then introduced to complete the string for deriving pra-yāyamāṇa. A similar derive with pari will be: pari-yāyamāṇam.

(c) aniyaR: Consider pra-yā + aniya(R) = pra-yā + aniya = pra-yā+a→a niya = prayā(n→η) iyu = prayāniyā + sU = prayāniyam, where aniyaR is introduced by 3.1.96 tavyattayāniyarah. A similar example with pari will be: pari-yāniyam.

(d) ani: Consider (naN→a) + pra-yā + ani = aprayāni + sU = aprayānih, where ani (3.3.112 ākroṣe naṇy anih) is introduced after verbal root yā ‘to move, go’ under the cooccurrence condition of naN ‘not’. A similar derive with pari will be: aparīyānih.

(e) inI: Consider prayāyinau and prayāyinah, the nominative dual form of pra-(yā + (N) in(I) = prayā + y(UK) + in. We get prayāyi(n→η) + au → prayāyinau. Recall that affix NinI is introduced by 3.2.78 supy ajātav . . . Rule 7.3.33 āto yuK cinko toh then introduces augment yUK. A derive with pari will be: parīyāyinau.

(f) niṣṭhādesa ‘replacement of affixes termed niṣṭhā:

Consider pra-OhāK + Kta → pra-hā + (t→n) a → pra-h(a→i) + na → prahi(n→η) a = praḥiṇa + sU = praḥiṇāḥ, where t of the niṣṭhā suffix Kta is replaced with n (8.2.45 odiṭas ca). A long i then replaces the a of verbal root
8.4.29  

Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Four  

OhāK (6.4.66 ghumāsthāgāpā . . . ) before the nīṣṭhā suffix termed ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukaṁ śeṣaḥ). We can similarly derive pārihīṇaḥ from parī-
OhāK + Kta. Derivatives of the nīṣṭhā suffix Ktāvaṭa, when used after OhāK ‘abandon’ with pra and pari, will be: pārihīṇavat + sU = pārihīṇavān and pārihīṇavat 
+ sU = pārihīṇavān.

(2) Why do we state the condition of acah ‘occurring after a vowel’? Con-sider pra-maṣj + (K) ta = pra-ma + n(UM) + sj + ta → prama + (n→φ) + sj + ta → 
pra-ma + (s→φ) j + ta → prama + (j→g) + ta → pra-ma + (t→n) a = pramagna 
+ sU = pramagnah, where this rule cannot replace the n of nīṣṭhā suffix Kta 
with n. For, Kta does not occur after a vowel. Incidentally, augment nUM is 
introduced by 7.1.60 masjinaśor jhali. The n of nUM is then deleted by 6.4.24 
aniditām hala . . . The sof masj, since it occurs at the beginning of a conjunct 
(samyoγa), also goes through deletion (8.2.29 skhoḥ samyoγādyor . . . ). The jis, 
of course, replaced with g (kutva; 8.2.30 coh kuḥ). We can similarly get parimagnah.

3. A vārttika proposal is made for deriving nir-vid + (K) ta → nir-vid + (t→n) a 
→ nir-vi(d→n) + na → nir-vid + (n→n) + na → nir-viṇ + (n→n) a = nirviṇṇa, 
where vid means labha ‘to gain’, reflect’. It cannot mean vid ‘to know’, since 
it is a root which allows augment iT. Thus, nirviṇṇa’ smi khalasangena ‘I am 
saddened by this company of crooks’; nirviṇṇa’ ham atra vāsenā ‘I am sad-dened by living here’.

8.4.30 प्रविभाषा  

ner vibhaṣā  
//nēḥ 5/1 vibhaṣā 1/1/  
(samhītāyām #2.108 rasābhyaṁ no nāḥ #1 atkupvāṇumravāye’ pi #2 
upasargāti #28 kṛty acaḥ #29)  
nvantād yo vihitah kṛtyapayah tatsthasya nakārasopasargasthān nimittād 
uttarasya vibhāṣāḥ nakārādesā bhavati  
The post-vocalic n of a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atiṁ) affix which occurs after a 
verbal root ending in NīC (nyanta; 3.1.26 hetumati ca) is, optionally, 
replaced with n, provided the affix occurs after a root whose preverb 
contains r and s as conditions of this replacement.

Examples:

prayaṃpanam
prayaṃpanam
pariyāpanam
pariyāpanam
prayāpyamānam
prayāpyamānam
prayāpiṇiyam
prayāpiṇiyam
aprayeriṇih
aprāyāpaniḥ
prayāpinau
prayāpinau

1. Why use vibhāṣā ‘optionally’ when this rule, at the very strength of its formulation (ārmbhāsāmarthya), could be easily understood as optional. It could also be understood, otherwise. How? Some may claim this rule to be obligatory (nītya), especially if one interprets the preceding rule as optional, by carrying the anuvṛtti of bahulam (Nyāsa: pūrveṇa nītye prāpte vikālpārtham idam ārābhyyate . . .).

2. This rule, optionally, allows a replacement in n for the post-vocalic n of a kṛt affix which occurs after a verbal root ending in NiC. Consider pra-(yā+NiC) → pra-(yā+pUK+NiC) = prayāpi + (LyuT→ana) = prayāpi (i→φ) + ana → prayāpa(n→n)a = prayāpana + sU = prayāpanam, where the root ends in NiC (3.1.26 hetumati ca). Affix LyuT (3.1.133 niyutācau), which gets replaced with ana (7.1.1 yuwor anākau), forms the right condition for introduction of augment pUK (7.3.36 arttihivūlī . . .). Affix NiC, however, goes through deletion (6.4.51 nerc anīti). We similarly derive pariyāpanam. Corresponding derivatives with no replacement in n are: prayāpanam and pariyāpanam. Derivatives of affixes NānaC, etc., can be derived with NiC, and desired mUK, etc., with no difficulty.

3. Kāśikā, in its paraphrase of this rule, uses vibhitah ‘operationally introduced’ as an adjective to kṛtyaprayayah ‘an affix termed kṛt’. This it does to indicate that n can be replaced with n, even when the root and kṛt affix are intervened by something else. The ablative of neh would, in view of 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya, expect the kṛt affix to follow the causal root immediately. Consider, for example, prayāpyamānam where yaK intervenes between the root and the kṛt affix (Kās: vibhitaviśeṣanām kim? prayāpyamānam ity atra yakā vayavadhāne’ pi yathā syād iti).

8.4.31 हल्लेरचेतुपथात्

halaś cejupadhāt
/halah/5/1 caφ ijupadhāt5/1 = ic upadhā yasya = ijpadhah (bv.), tasmāt/
(sanhitāyām #2.108 rasaḥhyām no nah #1 atkupvānnumryavaye’ pi #2
upasargāt #28 kṛty acaḥ #29 vibhāṣā #30)
halādir yo dhātur ijupadhas tasmāt ūrdo yah kṛtyaprayayah tatsthasya
nakārasyačca uttarasyopasargasthan nimittād uttarasya vibhāṣā nakārādeo
bhavati

The n of a kṛt affix which occurs after a vowel is, optionally, replaced with n when the affix occurs after a consonant-initial verbal root which has a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iC in its upadhā, and occurs after a preverb containing r and s as replacement conditions.
EXAMPLES:

prakopanam
prakopanam
parikopanam
parikopanam

1. Note that kṛty acaḥ is carried over. This rule uses ca ‘and’ to attract vibhāṣā ‘optionally’. It will also block the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā from applying to subsequent rules. Our present rule thus requires the n of the kṛt affix to occur after a vowel. It also requires the root after which the kṛt affix is introduced to begin with a consonant and contain a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory symbol iC in its upadhā ‘penultimate position’. Of course, the root is to be used after a preverb containing r and s as conditions of n-replacement. Consider (pra-kup + (LyuT→ana)) → prakopan(n→n) a = prakopanā + sU → prakopanam and prakopanam. We will similarly get parikopanam and parikopanam.

2. Why do we state the condition of halah ‘beginning with a consonant’? Consider prehanam and prahanam, where the roots begin with ū (iḥa ‘to strive’) and ū (iḥa ‘to ponder, argue’). The n of these derivates must obligatorily be replaced with n (8.4.29 kṛtyacaḥ). Incidentally, halah is here interpreted as halādiḥ ‘that which begins with a consonant’. How can one get the sense of ādi ‘beginning’ without using it in the rule? This specification with halah will become useless if it meant halantāt ‘after that which ends in a consonant’. All roots which have an iC vowel in their upadhā end in a consonant. Since halah cannot specify something which is obligatorily there, it is interpreted as halādiḥ ‘that which begins with a consonant’.

Note that the requirement of acaḥ ‘after a vowel’ must also be satisfied. We cannot get the n of the affix replaced with n, for example, in pari-bhuj + K(t→n) a → paribhuh(j→g) na = paribhuṇa.

Why do we state the condition of iṣupadhāt ‘after that which has iC in its upadhā’? To easily infer that such roots always end in a consonant. This is why halah is interpreted as halādiḥ ‘that which begins with a consonant’. There is no point stating something obvious with halah?

8.4.32 इजादे: स्नुमः:

ijaḍeh sanumah
/ijaḍeh 5/1 = ic ādir yasya (bv.), tasmāt; sanumah 5/1 = numā saha = sanum (bv.), tasmāt/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhīyām no nāḥ #1 aṭkupvānnumvayvāye’ pi #2 upasargāt #28 kṛty acaḥ #29 halah #31)
ijaḍeh sanumo halantād dhātor vihito yaḥ kṛt tatsthasya nakārasyopar-gasthāṃ nimittād uttarasya nakāro bhavati
A \( n \) after the vowel of a \( krt \) affix is replaced with \( n \), when the \( krt \) affix occurs after a verbal root which begins with a vowel denoted by \( iC \), ends in a consonant and is used with augment \( nUM \), provided a preverb containing \( r \) and \( s \) as conditions of replacement precedes.

**Examples:**

- \( prenikhanam \)
- \( parenikhanam \)
- \( prenganam \)
- \( parenganam \)

1. Note that \( halah \) is carried over. It is interpreted as ‘after a root which ends in a consonant’. There is no root which begins with an \( iC \) vowel and is, at the same time, also consonant-initial. Recall that \( halah \) was interpreted as \( halādiḥ \) ‘that which begins with a consonant’ in the earlier rule. For, all roots beginning with an \( iC \) vowel end in a consonant. A \( tadantavidhi \) interpretation ‘\( x \)’ is also that which ends in \( x \)’ was thus not possible. It is for this reason that \( halah \) of the preceding rule was interpreted, via \( tadādividhi \) ‘interpreting \( x \)’ as that which begins with \( x \). A \( tadādividhi \) interpretation of \( halah \) is blocked here because of \( ijādeḥ \) ‘after that which has an \( iC \) vowel at the beginning’. We therefore interpret \( halah \) here, via \( tadantavidhi \).

Recall that a specification made with \( nUM \), in 8.4.2 \( aṭkupvānumuyavāye\) \( pi \), marks an \( anusvāra \). A root which is here desired to be used with \( nUM \) cannot qualify as such when \( nUM \) is replaced with \( anusvāra \). What is desired here can be accomplished only via \( sthānivaṭdhāva \) ‘treating a replacement similar to what it replaced’. Consider \( pra-ikhi(l) + (LyuT→ana) → pra-i-nUM+kh + ana → (pr(a+i→e) + n(UM) + kh) + ana → pre(n→n)kh + ana → preikh(a→a) + 2U = preikhkhanam \). We will similarly get \( prenganam \). Note that \( nUM \) is introduced to \( ikhi ’\) to move’ and \( igi’ \) to move’ by 7.1.58 idito num \( dhātoḥ \) on account of their \( l \) as an it. The \( n \) of \( nUM \) is then replaced with \( anusvāra \) (8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali). Rule 8.4.57 \( anusvārasya yayi parasavarnah \) then replaces the \( anusvāra \) with \( n \), a nasal homogeneous with what follows (\( parasavarna \)). If the homogeneous nasal replacement is treated as \( asiddha ‘suspended’ \), we will have the \( anusvāra \). The \( n \) of \( unbh ‘to fill’ \) is part of the root. We thus get \( pra-unbh + LyuT → pro(n→m)bh + ana → prombh + 2U → prombhānayam \). We cannot prove here that we had \( nUM \) from the beginning. But this can be accepted as marking the \( anusvāra \). That is why \( n \) can be replaced with \( n \).

A specification, made via \( nUM \), which does not offer an operation relative to \( nUM \), is subject to restrictive interpretation (\( niyamārtham \). Kāśikā states that \( n \)-replacement, via specification of \( nUM \), can already be accomplished by 8.4.29 \( kṛty acaḥ \). This new formulation must then be intended for what cannot be accomplished by 8.4.29 \( kṛty acaḥ \). This is why a provision made
against one which already exists becomes restrictive (śiddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ). That is, this n-replacement applies only after a root which begins with an iC vowel, and is used with nUM (Kāś: ījāder eva sanumāḥ, nānyasmād iti), and not after any other root used with nUM. Consider pramaṅganam and parimaṅganam, derivates of magI ‘to crawl’ which is not an ījādi ‘iC initial’ root with nUM (ījādeḥ sanum).

This replacement in n has many requirements. As usual, the n must be part of a kṛt affix and it must occur after a vowel. The root after which this kṛt affix is introduced must (i) begin with a vowel denoted by iC, (ii) end in a consonant, (iii) be used with augment nUM, and (iv) occur after a preverb which may contain r and s as replacement conditions.

8.4.33 वा निःसनिक्षणिन्द्राम

vā nimsanikanindāṃ
/ vāḥ nimsanikanindāṃ 6/3 = nimsaś ca nikṣaś ca nind ca = nimsa...
nindāḥ (īta. dv.), teśām/
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhyyāṃ no naḥ #1 aṭkupvāñnumuyavāye' pi #2 upasargāt #28 kṛty acaḥ #29)
‘nimsa, nikṣa, nind’ ity eteśām nakārasyopasargasthān nimuttad uttarasya vā nakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in n comes, optionally, in place of the n of verbal roots nimsA, nikṣA and nind, when a kṛt affix follows and the roots occur after a preverb containing r and s as conditions of replacement.

Examples:

prānimsanam
prānimsanam
prānikṣanam
prānikṣanam
prānindanam
prānindanam

1. Note that nIsI ‘to kiss’, nikṣA ‘to be angry’ and nIdI ‘to censure’ are roots where n at the beginning has its source in upadeśa ‘initial citation’. This n is replaced with n by 6.1.63 no naḥ. Additionally, the root with as an it receives nUM (7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ). We thus get nimsA, nikṣA and nindA. Now consider (prānims + (LyuT → ana)) + sU = prānimsanam and prānimsanam. We similarly get prānikṣanam and prānikṣanam, etc.

2. Note that rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse pi... will account for this n-replacement on the basis of its root-initial n in upadeśa. But that provision is obligatory (nīya). This rule is formulated for offering n-replacement, optionally.
8.4.34 न भाभुप्रकृतिसमगमिक्याविवेपाम्

na bhābhūpūkamgamampyāīvepāṃ
/na phābhūpūkamgamampyāīvepāṁ 6/3 = bhāś ca bhūś ca puś ca kamiś ca
gamiś ca pṛyāś ca veś ca = bhā . . . veśā (itar. dv.), teśām/
(samhitāyām #2.108 raśābhāyām no nāh #1 atkupvāṇnumvyavāye' pi #2
upasargāti #28 kṛty acah #29)
‘bhā, bhū, pu, kami, gami, pṛyā, veś’ ity eteśām upasargasthān nimitād
uttarasya kṛṣṭhasya nakārasya nakārādesā na bhavati

The vowel-initial n of a kṛt affix which occurs after verbal roots bhā ‘to
shine’, bhū ‘to be, become’, pu ‘to cleanse’, kamī ‘to glow, love’, gamī
‘to go’ and veś ‘to tremble’ is not replaced with n, when these roots are
used after a preverb containing r and s as conditions of this replacement.

Examples:

prabhānam
paribhānam
prabhāvanam
prapavānām
paripavānām
prakamanām
parikamanām
pragamanām
parigamanām
prapiyānam
paripiyānam
pravepanam
parivepanam

1. This rule negates a n-replacement which was, in turn, made available
by 8.4.28 kṛt acah. Kāśikā adds a desideratum (iṣṭi) in connection with the
specification of pu ‘to cleanse’. That is, pu is desired to be interpreted as
puN ‘to cleanse, purify’, a root of the kṛyādi group. It is not desired to refer
to puN of the svādi group. A n-replacement in derivates of puN is obligatory.
Thus, prapavānām somasya ‘detailed purification of Soma’.

2. A vārttika proposal is made to block n-replacement in the kṛt-derivatives
of these roots, even when these roots are used with the causal affix NiC (vāt
nyantānām bhādīnām upasamkhyaṇāṁ kartavyam). Consider prabhāpanam and
paribhāpanam as examples.

8.4.35 शत्यदानात्

sāt padāntāt
/sāt 5/1 padāntāt 5/1 = pade antah (sapt. tat.), tasmin/
(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 rasābhyaṁ no nāḥ #1 atkupvāṇnumvyavāye' Ī#2 na #34)
śakārāḥ padāntād uttarasya nakārasya nakārādeśo na bhavati
A n which occurs after a pada terminating in s is not replaced with n.

EXAMPLES:

nPān
upān
sarpipān
yajuspān

1. Note that 8.3.41 idudapadhasya ca replaces the visarga of nis and dus with s. We thus get nispān and duspān where 8.4.29 kṛty acaḥ requires the n of pānâm ‘drinking’ to be replaced with n. A similar blocking of n-replacement is seen in sarpiṣpānām ‘drinking of ghee’ and yajuspānām ‘drinking by chanting a yajus hymn’ (?), the two genitive tatpurṣa compounds where the first combines with a sāsthi denoting karman ‘object’ (2.2.14 karmanī ca). The second compound is formed by 2.1.32 kartrkarane. . . . The s-replacement in this second compound is accomplished by 8.3.45 nityaṁ samāse. . . . The replacement in n (nātva) in this example is made available by 8.4.10 vā bhāvakaranayoh.

2. Why do we state the condition of sāt ‘after a s’? Consider nirnayaḥ ‘decision, resolve’ where, because of an absence of s, n-replacement cannot be blocked.

Why do we state the condition of padāntāt ‘after the final in a pada’? Consider kusnātī where n-replacement must apply.

3. Note that pade antah padāntah of padāntāt is not a genitive tatpurṣa compound. It is a locative tatpurṣa, instead. How do we know it? We know it from the specification by anta ‘end’ of antāt. Otherwise, a specification made with a sound segment will require tadantavidhi interpretation. This, in turn, will give us the meaning: ‘after a pada which ends in s’. It is for this reason that n-replacement in susarpiṣkena and suyajuskena cannot be blocked by this rule. The first example is a bahuvrihī (sobhanam sarpīr asya ‘he whose ghee is good’), where affix ka is introduced (5.4.254 sēṣād vibhāṣā).

8.4.36 नसे: चानस्तय

naśeḥ sāntasya
/naśeḥ 6/1 sāntasya 6/1 = s ante yasya (bu.), tasya/
(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 rasābhyaṁ no nāḥ #1 atkupvāṇnumvyavāye' Ī#2 na #34)
naśeḥ sakārāntasya nakārādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in n does not come in place of n of verbal root naś ‘to disappear, be destroyed’ when the same ends in s.
EXAMPLES:

pranāṣṭh
parinaṣṭh

1. This negation is made against replacement in ṇ (ṇatva) of 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse pi ... Consider pra-naś + Kta = pranāṣṭa, where augment nUM is introduced by 7.1.60 masjinaor jhali. This n goes through deletion of 6.4.24 aniditām hala. ... The final s of the root is replaced with ṑ of 8.2.36 vaścabrasj. ... Finally, t of Kta goes through a replacement in ā (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā śṭuh). We similarly get (pari-naś + Kta) + sU → parinaṣṭh.

Why do we state the condition of sāntasya ‘... ending in ś’? Consider pra-naś + ya + ti → pra-(n→n) āś + ya-ti = pranāṣṭya ‘... gets destroyed’, where naś does not end in s. Thus, replacement in ṇ cannot be blocked here. This same also applies to parinaṣṭya.

The word anta ‘end’ is used here so that ṇ-replacement can be blocked, also where ṃ was witnessed at the end, previously (bhūtapūrvarī pi). Consider pranāṅksyaṭi ‘... will get destroyed’ where the s of naś is replaced with k (8.2.41 saṭhoḥ kah śi), via s (8.2.36 vaścabrasj ...). Notice here that s at the end of naś is further replaced with k. This same is also witnessed in parinaṅksyaṭi.

8.4.37 पदान्तस्य

padāntasya

/padāntasya 6/1 = padasya antah (saś. tat.), tasya/
(samhitāyām #2.108 rasābhgyam no nah #1 aṭkupvānumuyāye pi #2 na # 34)

padānto yo nakāras tasya nakārādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in ṇ does not come in place of a ṇ which occurs at the end of a pada.

EXAMPLES:

vrkṣān ‘accusative plural of vrkṣa’
plaksān ‘... of plakṣa’
arīn ‘... of arī’
girīn ‘... of girī’

1. This negation is made against what was made available by 8.4.2 aṭkupvānumuyāye pi. Consider vrkṣa + (Ś) as → vrkṣa + as → vrkṣ(a+a→ā) s → vrkṣā(s→n) → vrkṣān, where a single long replacement in ā is accomplished by 6.1.101 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnah. The final s of vrkṣās is replaced with ṇ by 6.1.102 tasmāc chaso nah pumī.
8.4.38 पदव्यवायः

पदव्यवायः पि

पदव्यवायः पि (प्रदेश तत्त्व), तस्मिन, अपि ति

सम्हितायाम #2.108 रासाह्यान्तो न पि आत्कुप्पविन्यवायः पि #2 ना # 34)

पदव्यवायः पि निमित्तनिमित्तन मरम्यास्यः मरः सा फ़ाहवाति

A replacement in न does not come in place of a न which occurs separated by its condition, i.e., र and ति, even by a pada.

Examples:

मासकुम्भवापेना 'by sowing a full jar of seeds'

कटुरंगयोगेना 'in association with that which has four limbs'

प्रवानाद्धम

पर्यानाद्धम

प्रगण-नयःभागम

परिगण-नयःभागम

1. The word pada-vyavaya 'intervention of a fully inflected word' refers to separation of 'condition' (nimitta; र्षि) and 'conditioned' (nimittin; न) by a pada. Consider मासानम कुम्भाह = मासकुम्भाह 'a jar full of beans (मासा)', a genitive tattpurasa compound. Affix an (3.2.1 karmay an) is now introduced after verbal root vap 'to sow', under the cooccurrence condition of a pada with the denotation of karman 'object', i.e., kumbhamāsa + am. We thus get kumbhamāsavāpa, where instrumental singular ending तः is introduced to derive māsakumbhaḍvāpa. The न of vāpena may qualify for a replacement in न under the provision of 8.4.11 prātiplakāntanumvibhaktisu ca. For, kumbha of māsakumbhaḍvāpa is not included within the specification of 8.4.2 atkupvā. . . This rule blocks न-replacement of न even when there is an intervention of a pada between māsa and vāpena. We witness similar blocking of न-replacement in caturīga-yogena, an instrumental singular with a bahuvrīhi compound catvāri anīgāni yasya = catyurāṅgāh 'he of whose there are four limbs'. Rule 2.1.32 kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam combines it in a compound with yoga + तः to produce caturāṅgena yogāḥ = caturāṅgayogāḥ. An instrumental singular तः is then introduced to produce caturāṅgayogena. The न of yogena can now be replaced with न of 8.4.13 kumati ca. Our present rule blocks it again. A replacement in न is also available to pra-ava-naddham, a compound termed gati (2.2.18 kugatiprādayaḥ). Refer to derivational details of naddham under 8.2.34 naho dhaḥ. This rule blocks न-replacement under the intervention of a pada, i.e., ava. The न-replacement is available to pra-ava-naddham from 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse पि. This same is also applicable to pary-ava-naddham.

Now consider pra-gām-nayāmah, a Vedic usage (chāndas), where gām, a pada ending in the accusative (dvitiyā), intervenes between the preverb pra
and the first plural present active form of verbal root $n$, i.e., $nayāmah$. The $n$ of $nayāmah$ is again not replaced with $n$. Usages where a preverb is separated from the verbal form are not found in the Classical language ($bhāṣā$). They are found in the Vedic only (1.4.81 $chandasi$ $pare$ $pi$). Incidentally, $ā$ of $g(o+a→ā)m = gām$, is a single replacement of $o+a$ (6.1.93 auto $māsah$). We thus get $pragāṇṇayāmah$ and $parigāṇṇayāmah$.

2. A vārtti proposal is made to qualify this blocking of $n$-replacement. That is, it should exclude instances where a $taddhita$ intervenes ($vt$: $padāvyavāye$ $taddhite$). Thus, $n$-replacement should not be blocked in $ārdragomayena$ ‘by wet cow-dung’ and $śuṣkagomayena$ ‘by dry cow-dung’, where $gomaya$ is a derivate of the $taddhita$ affix $mayaT$ (4.3.145 goś $ca$ $puṣe$). What intervenes here is go ‘cow, bull’, a $pada$ in view of 1.4.17 $svādiśu$ $asarvanā$-masthāne.

8.4.39 $kṣubhnādīṣu$ $cā$

$kṣubhnādīṣu$ $7/3 = kṣubhnā$ ādir yeṣām ($buv.$, teṣu; ca $f$/
(samhitāyām #2.108 $rasāḥhyāṁ$ no $ṇah$ #1 $aṭkupvāṁ$-$nunvyavāye$ $pi$ #2 na # 34)

‘$kṣubhnā$’ $ity$ evam ādīṣu śādesu nākārasya nākārādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in $n$ also does not come in place of the $n$ of stems enumerated in the group headed by $kṣubhnā$.

Examples:

$kṣubhnāti$
$kṣubhnitāḥ$
$kṣubhṇanti$
$ṛṇaṇaṁah$

1. Note that a specification with $kṣub + Šnā$ → $kṣubhnā$ is made here to refer to the form of the word $kṣubhnā$. It is not made to refer to verbal root $kṣubh$ ‘to move’. Consequently, $n$-replacement in $kṣobhaṇam$ ‘disturbing’ cannot be blocked.

2. This rule also blocks $n$-replacement in stems listed under the group headed by $kṣubhnā$. This provision goes against provisions of 8.4.1 $rasāḥhyāṁ$ no $ṇah$ . . . and 8.4.2 $aṭkupvāṁ$ . . . ($kṣubhnāti$/$kṣubhnitāḥ$), etc. Negation of $n$-replacement in $ṛṇ$ ($manusyāṁ$) namati $ṛṇaṇaṁah$ ‘he who pays respect to $ḥumans’ goes against 8.4.3 $pūrvapadāt$ . . . , or 8.4.25 $chandasṛ$ $dvagrahaḥ$. Incidentally, the $ā$ of $kṣubh + Šnā + ti$ is replaced with $i$ of 6.4.113 $i$ $haly$ $aṭhoh$. The $ā$ of $Śnā$ is deleted (6.4.112 $sāḥhyastayor$ . . .) in $kṣubh + Šnā + anti$ = $kṣubhṇanti$, before a vowel-initial suffix.

If $kṣubhnā$ specifies its word-form, a replacement in $n$ cannot be blocked in $kṣubhnitāḥ$ and $kṣubhṇanti$. For, we get the forms as $kṣubhnī$ and $kṣubhn$ on
account of r-replacement and a-deletion. This n-replacement, in kṣubhṇīṭaḥ and kṣubhnanti, is negated on the basis of sthāniobyadhāva ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’. That is, by treating r-replacement and a-deletion similar to a. It is also supported by PŚ (38): ekadesavikṛtam ananyavat ‘that which is modified in one place is treated as not any different’.

Now consider harinandi, harinandana and harinagara where nandin (a derivate of Ninī), nandana and nagara combine in a compound as final constituents, and denote a name (samjñā). A replacement in n is here made available by 8.4.3 pūrvaradāt samjñāyām agaḥ. A similar n-replacement is also negated in narinṛtyate, against the provision made by 8.4.2 atkupvān. . . Incidentally, rule 7.4.90 rigrduspaḥasya ca introduces augment nīkin narinṛtyate. This same way we get n-replacement blocked in trpa + Šnu + (LAT→tīp) = trpnotti, where Šnu, against ŚyaN, is introduced by transposition (vyatyaya). We also find negation of n-replacement in parinarttānam and parigāhanam, etc., both LyuT-derivates of nṛt ‘to dance’.

3. A proposal (vt: acaryād anatvam ca) negates n-replacement for a n which occurs after acarya. Thus, we get acaryabhogināḥ and acaryānī.

Yet another proposal (vt: irikādhībhya vanottarapadebhyaḥ samjñāyām) requires negating n-replacement when vana is combined to follow iriḥa, timīra, samīra, kubera, hari and karmara. Thus, irikāvanam, etc. These are all names.

8.4.40 स्तोः: रघुनारायण:;

stoh ścūnā ścuh

/stoh 6/1 = saś ca tuś ca = stuḥ (sam. dv.), tayoh; ścūnā 3/1 saś ca cuś ca = ścuḥ (sam. dv.), tena; ścuh = saś ca cuś ca (sam. dv.)/

(samhitāyām)

sakāratavargayoh śakāracavargābhyyām sannipāte śakāracavargāv ādesau bhavataḥ

A replacement in ś, and a sound denoted by cU as well, comes, respectively, in place of a s, and a sound denoted by tU ‘a consonant of the t-series’, when ś, and a sound denoted by cU ‘a consonant of the o-series’, occur in close proximity.

Examples:

 vrksaś sete
 plaksaś sete
 vrksaś cinoti
 plaksaś cinoti
 vrksaś chādayati
 plaksaś chādayati
 agnicīc chete
 agnicīc cinoti
1. This rule allows sound segments, namely s and any consonant of the tU-series, to be replaced by š and a corresponding consonant of the o-series, when š, and any consonant of the t-series, follows in close proximity. This is what generally is referred to by cutvā. Note that assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 yathāsaṅkhyaṁ . . .) is not desired here to be made in accord with order of enumeration of s and tU. For a s, when followed by š, and cU, both, can be replaced with š. We will similarly get a tU replaced with cU, when either š or cU follow in close proximity. This question of assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration arises since the two operational foci (s and tU) are equal in number to two conditions, š and cU. If an equivalency in order of enumeration was intended in relation to replacement conditions, a tU after š would simply not be available for a replacement in cU. Pāṇini should then not have made a negative provision for this (8.4.44 šāt). For, a negation is only made against some positive provision (Nyāsa ad Kāśa: praṭtipūrvakā hi pratiśedhā bhavanti. yadi nimittam prati yathāsaṅkhyaṁ syāt, evaṁ sati šat parasya tavargasya cutvapṛptir eva nāstīti śāt iti pratiśedhām na kuryāt, kṛtaṁ cāsau, atah sa jñāpayati-saṁkhyaṁ na bhavati). Pāṇini’s negative provision of 8.4.44 šāt thus indicates that equivalency in order of enumeration of conditions is not desired. An assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration is, however, desired in selection of replacements. That is, a s will be replaced with š and a sound segment of the t-series will be replaced with a corresponding sound segment of the o-series. It should be noted here that equivalency in order of enumeration only applies to sthāni ‘that which is replaced’ and ādeśa ‘that which replaces’. It does not apply to yoga ‘proximity connection’.

2. We thus get examples: vṛkṣas śete → vṛkṣa śete and plakṣas śete → plakṣa śete. The visarga (h) of vṛkṣa + (sU → rU→ h) = vṛkṣaḥ is replaced with s (8.3.36 vā śat). We similarly get vṛkṣas cinoti → vṛkṣa cinoti, palkṣa cinoti; vṛkṣa chādayati and plakṣa chādayati.

Examples of tU replaced with cU before š are: agnicit śete = agnic (š → ch) ete = agnic ete and somasu(t→c) śete = somasuc (š → ch) ete = somasuc ete. Similar examples of tU replaced with cU before cU are: agniciti (t→c) chinoti → agnic cinoti, somasuc cinoti; agnic chādayati, somasuc chādayati; agnicij jayati, somasuj jayati; agnicijhakāram, somasuj jhakāram and agniciti (t→ n) + nākāram = agnicinānakāram, somasuñ + nākāram. Similar replacements are witnessed in verbal forms: majjati ← masj, bhrajjati ← bhrasj, and vṛscati ← vraśc.
We similarly get \((\text{yaj} + \text{naN}) + sU \rightarrow \text{yajnah} \) 'sacrifice' (3.3.90 \(\text{yajayaca} \ldots\)) and \(\text{yacna} \) 'begging'. Note that \(\text{Panini} \) did not formulate his rule as \(\text{stoh scau} \ldots\), with \(\text{scu} \) in the locative (\(\text{saaptami} \)). He used the instrumental \(\text{scun}a\), instead, so that a replacement with a preceding or following \(\text{s} \) and \(\text{c} \) could both be accomplished. If the specification was made with the locative, only a following \(\text{s} \) and \(\text{c} \) could have allowed this replacement (\(\text{Kas: 'stoh scau' iti saaptaminirdeso na krtah; purvena parena ca scun}a \) sannipate \(\text{scutvam} \) yath\(\text{a syad iti} \)).

8.4.41 तुना हुः:

\(\text{stun}a \text{ stuh} \)

/\(\text{stun}a \ 3/1 = \text{sa} \acute{s} \text{ ca tu} \acute{s} \text{ ca} = \text{stuh} \) (sam. dv.), tena; \(\text{stuh} \ 1/1 \) (sam. dv.)/

(samhitayam #2.108 stoh #40)

\(\text{sakara}tavargayoh sakara}tavargabhyam sannipate \text{ sakara}tavargav adeșau bhavatah \)

A replacement in \(\text{s} \), and any sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), comes in place of \(\text{s} \), and any sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), respectively, when \(\text{s} \), and any sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), follows in close proximity.

Examples:

\(\text{vruk}\text{as san}\text{de} \)
\(\text{plak}\text{as san}\text{de} \)
\(\text{vruk}\text{as tikate} \)
\(\text{plak}\text{as tikate} \)
\(\text{vruk}\text{as thakara}\text{h} \)
\(\text{plak}\text{as thakara}\text{h} \)
\(\text{pesta} \)
\(\text{pestum} \)
\(\text{pestavyam} \)
\(\text{kri}\text{sha} \)
\(\text{kri}\text{si}th\text{a} \)
\(\text{agni}\text{c}\text{i}t tikate \)
\(\text{agni}\text{c}\text{i}t thakara}\text{h} \)
\(\text{agni}\text{c} \text{i}d \text{dina}h \)
\(\text{agni}\text{c} \text{i}d dhaukate \)
\(\text{agni}\text{c} \text{i}n \text{naka}\text{ra}h \)
\(\text{a}\text{ttati} \)
\(\text{a}\text{ddati} \)

1. Note that \(\text{stoh} \) is still carried over. This rule becomes very similar to the preceding. A \(\text{s} \), and a sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), is replaced with \(\text{s} \), and any sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), respectively, when a \(\text{s} \), and any sound denoted by \(\text{tU} \), follows in close proximity. Here again there is no assignment of equivalency in order
of enumeration. That is, insofar as equivalency relation between the two conditions is concerned. If this was not so, Panini would not have made the negative provision of 8.4.43 toḥ sīḥ (see notes under the preceding rule). Thus, we get examples of \( s \rightarrow ś \): \( vrkṣa + sāndē → vrkṣa sāndē, plakṣa sāndē, vrkṣa(s→ś) śikate = vrkṣa śikate, plakṣa śikate, vrkṣa thākārah and plakṣa thākārah.

Examples of \( tU→ś \) are as follows: (piṣ + trC) + sU → (pēṣ + trC) + sU → pēṣā, piṣ + tumUN = pēṣum and (piṣ + taryā) + sU = pēṣāvyām. We similarly get kṛṣṭa (II:437-38) and kṛṣṭhā. Now consider examples of \( t→ś \): agnici(t→ś) śikate = agnici śikate, somasūt śikate, agnici śhākārah, somasūt śhākārah; agnici śdhūkate, somasūd śdhūkate, agnici śnakārah, somasūd śnakārah. We also find similar replacements in verbal forms: aṭṭati ← aṭṭ ‘to insult’ and adḍatī ← adḍ ‘to exert’. These roots are derived with KolP and are listed in the Dhātupātha with \( t \) and \( d \) as their penultimate. Their final \( t \) and \( d \) go through deletion by 8.2.23 sāmyogāntasya lopaḥ.

8.4.42 न पदान्तातःत्रोपनां

na padāntāḥ tōr anāṁ

\( / na \phi \) padāntāt 5/1 = padasya antah (śaś. tat.), tasmāt; toḥ 5/1 anāṁ

(deleted 6/1) = na nām (naṛ. tat.), tasya/

(samhitāyām #2.108 stūḥ #40 stūḥ #41)

\( / \) padāntāt tavargād uttarasya stōḥ śūtvam na bhavati ‘nām’ ity etad varjayaivā

A s, or any sound denoted by \( tU \), is not replaced with \( s \), or any sound denoted by \( tU \), when \( s \) and \( tU \), except for occurring as part of \( nām \), occur after a pada-final sound denoted by \( tU \) in close proximity.

Examples:

śvaliś sāye
madhulīt tarati

1. This rule does not allow a replacement in \( s \) or \( tU \) for a \( s \) or \( tU \), with the exception of \( nām \), when \( s \) and \( tU \) occur after a pada-final \( tU \). Note that anāṁ specifies the negation of ām used with augment nūṭ (āgatanuṭkasya). Consider śvaliś sāye and madhulīt sāye as examples. Recall that 8.3.29 ḍaḥ si dhiḥ introduces augment dhūṭ to a pada which begins with \( s \) and follows a pada ending in \( ḍ \). Our examples qualify for application of this rule only when the option of dhūṭ is not accepted. The \( s \) then goes through replacement in stūḥ (śūtvam) when dhūṭ is not introduced. The dh of dhūṭ goes through śūtvam when the option of dhūṭ is accepted. An example with \( t \) will be: madhulīt tarati.

2. Why do we state the condition of padāntāḥ after the pada-final? Consider īṭe ‘I praise’ which is a third singular middle present derivate of idā ‘to praise’. This root takes middle endings because of its anudātta as an ēt (1.3.12 anudāṭṭānīta . . .). The Sap after this root is deleted on account of its listing
in the adādi group (2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah . . .). Rule 8.4.55 khari ca replaces ḍ with ṭ.

Why do we state the condition of toḥ 'after ṭU'? Consider (sarpiṣ + tamaP) + sU = sarpiṣṭamam, where this replacement cannot be blocked. Recall here that sarpiṣ 'ghee' is termed a pada before tamaP (1.4.17 svādiśu asarvanā-masthāne). A replacement in t for ṭ, after the pada-final s, could have been negated in the absence of of toḥ. This would have yielded a wrong form.

Why do we state anām 'with the exception of nām'? Consider ṛaṣ + nām, where nām follows. The final s of ṛaṣ is replaced with ḍ (8.2.39 jhalām jaśo nte). This ḍ is then replaced with n of 8.4.45 yaro nunāsike nunāsiko vā.

Kāśikā states that negation of anām is not enough to cover other instances. Consequently, a proposal (ut. anāmnavatinaṇarīṇam iti vaktavyam) is made to specify nām, navati and nagaṇī as exceptions. Thus, saṇṇām 'of the six . . .', saṇṇavatiḥ 'sixty-nine' and saṇṇagaṇī 'a group of six cities'.

8.4.43 Tō: ṣi

toḥ  ṣi
/ toḥ 6/1  ṣi 7/1 /
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 na #42)
tavargasya ṣakāre yad uktam tan na bhavati
What replaces a sound denoted by ṭU when s follows in close proximity does not apply here.

Examples:

agnicit ṣaṇḍe
bhavān ṣaṇḍe
mahān ṣaṇḍe

1. Note that na is still carried over. What is stated for ṭU when s follows does not apply here. Consider agnicit ṣaṇḍe, bhavān ṣaṇḍe and mahān ṣaṇḍe, where a sound denoted by ṭU 'retroflex stop and nasal' cannot replace a sound denoted by ṭU 'dental stop and nasal', here t and n, when occurring in close proximity before s. This rule is an exception to 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ.

Note that a stU is indeed replaced with ṣṭu when ṣṭu precedes in close proximity (pruvabhūtena sannipātena). This becomes clear from the locative specification of si. Consider peṣṭā and peṣṭum as examples.

Recall that ṣṭu is carried over. However, the negation of this rule applies only to a ṭU sound which replaces a ṭU. For, we do not get a s in place of a ṭU. This rule can also be technically considered suspended (asiddha) in view of application of 8.4.41 ṣṭu nā ṣṭuḥ. Here again, Pāṇini's own formulation saves this rule from suspension.
8.4.44 सात्
śāt
/sāt 5/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 na #42  śī #43)
śakārād uttarasya tavargasya yad uktam tan na bhavati
What replaces tU, when occurring after ś in close proximity, does not apply here.

Examples:
praśnaḥ ‘question’
viśnah ‘splendor’

1. This rule negates the provision of cutva (8.4.39 stoh ścunā ścuḥ). Consider (pracch + naN → praśn) + sU = praśnaḥ and (vicch + naN) + sU = viśnah which are both derivate of naN (3.3.90 yajayāca . . .). Note that ś is here a replacement of cch (6.4.19 cchvoh śūd . . .). An application of cutva, in praśna, will produce a wrong form: *praśna. Recall that Pāṇini’s own formulation of rule 3.2.117 praśne cāsannakāle indicates that cutva does not apply to tU when occurring after ś. Note that this rule should be technically considered suspended (asiddha; 8.2.1 pūrvatrasiddham) in view of application of 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ. A wrong form praśna will result if results of 8.2.40 are not negated. This rule, at the strength of its formulation by Pāṇini (vacana-sāmarthya), negates ś. Refer to derivational details under 3.3.90 yajayāca . . . (III:764).

It is stated (PM ad Kaś) that, in the Vedic, all operations may be seen as optional (sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante). Thus, in the Taittirīyaka recension, we do not find this negation: ayo śnāti. But we find this in the Kāthaka recension: brahmacārīṇe praśnān procyā praśighāya.

8.4.45 यरोन्नासिकोंनासिकों वा
yaro’ nunāsike’ nunāsiko vā
/yarah 6/1 anunāsike 7/1 anunāsikah 1/1 vā ṣ/
(samhitāyām #2.108 padatāt #41)
yarah padantasya nunāsike parato vā’ nunāsikādeśo bhavati
A pada-final sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol yaR (Śs 5-13) is optionally replaced with an anunāsika ‘nasal’ when an anunāsika follows in close proximity.

Examples:
vāg nayati
vāṇ nayati
śvalīṇ nayati
śvalīṇ nayati
agnicid nayati
agnicin nayati
triṣṭub nayati
triṣṭum nayati

1. Note that *padāntāti* (8.4.42) is carried over with the sense of the genitive, via transposition of its nominal ending (*vibhakti-viparināma*) in tune with *padāntasya* ‘in place of that which occurs at the end of a *pada*. This rule optionally replaces a *pada*-final sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaR* (Śrī 5-13) with a corresponding nasal (*anunāsika*) when a nasal follows in close proximity. Thus, we get *vā(g→n) nayati = vān nayati* ‘... speech leads’, *vāg nayati; śvali(d→n) nayati = śvalīd nayati* ‘dog-licker leads’, etc. Recall here that a nasalized vowel (*aC*) is not found occurring after a sound denoted by *yaR*. Examples of this rule thus involve nasal consonants. A nasal replacement will, of course, be selected in view of similarity of place of articulation with the sound denoted by *yaR* (1.1.50 *sthāne nitaratamaḥ*).

Why do we state the condition of *padāntasya* ‘in place of a *pada*-final’? So that a sound denoted by *yaR* could not be replaced with a nasal, when not occurring at the end of a *pada*. Consider *vedmi* ‘first person singular active present of *vid* (to know)’ where *d* is not replaced with a nasal because it does not occur at the end of a *pada*. We similarly do not get this replacement in *ksubhnāti*.

2. A proposal (*vt. yaro* nunāsike pratyaye bhāsāyām nityavacanaṃ kartavyam) is made for obligatory replacement in the classical language. That is, when an affixal nasal follows in close proximity. Thus, (vāg + mayaT) + sU → vāṁmayam, tvāṁmayam. These examples can also be accepted as instances of *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’ (*Kāś. vyavasthitavibhāṣāyānāt siddham*).

8.4.46 अचौ रहाथ्यां दे

*aco rahābhyaṃ dve
/a café 6/1 rahābhyaṃ 5/2 dve 1/2/
(samhitiyām #2.108 yarah vā #45)

*aça uttarau yau repahahārau tābhyaṃ uttarasya yaro dve bhavatāḥ*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaR*, when occurring in close proximity after a vowel followed by *r* and *h*, is optionally replaced with two.

**Examples:**

*arkkah*
*markkah*
*brahmnā*
*apahnute*

1. Note that *yarah* and *vā* are carried over. This rule replaces a single *yaR* sound with its corresponding two when *yaR* occurs after a vowel, followed by
and $h$, in close proximity. Consider \((arc + GHa:\tilde{N}) + sU \rightarrow (ar(c\rightarrow k) + a) + sU \rightarrow ar(k\rightarrow kk) a + sU = arkkah\), where $c$ is replaced with $k$ (7.3.52 cajo\(\text{\`o}\) ku ghinyato\(\text{\`oh}\)). This resultant $k$ is, optionally, replaced with $kk$. We similarly get markka\(\text{\`ah}\), a derivate of ka\(\text{\`a}n\) introduced after marcl. This root is sautra ‘mentioned in the s\(\text{\`u}tras\)’. The $c$ of marcl is also replaced with $k$ (8.2.30 co\(\text{\`o}\) ku\(\text{\`o}\)).

Now consider brahma\(\text{\`a}\) and apahnnute, where $m$ and $n$ are replaced with $mm$ and $nn$.

Why do we have the condition of aca\(\text{\`ah}\) ‘after a vowel’? Consider hanute, where $h$ does not occur after a vowel. Consequently, $n$ cannot be replaced with $nn$. A similar negation of doubling (of $m$) is also witnessed in kim hmalayati.

8.4.47 अनवि च

anaci ca
/anaci 7/1 = na ac = anac (na\(\text{\`a}\). tat.), tasmin; ca \(\phi\)/
(samhit\(\text{\`a}\)\(\text{\`a}\)m #2.108 yaro v\(\text{\`a}\) #45 aco deve #46)
aca uttarasya yaro deve bhavatah anaci paratah

A sound denoted by ya\(\text{\`a}\)R and occurring after one denoted by aC is, optionally, replaced with two, even when aC does not follow.

Examples:

\[\text{daddhy atra}\]
\[\text{maddhv atra}\]

1. Note that aca\(\text{\`ah}\) and yara\(\text{\`ah}\) are both carried over. This rule allows doubling of a ya\(\text{\`a}\)R sound, optionally, when this ya\(\text{\`a}\)R occurs after a vowel and is followed by a non-vowel. Consider \(\text{dadh}(i\rightarrow y)\ atra = da(dh\rightarrow dhdh) y + atra = dadhdhy atra\), where $dh$, when occurring after $a$ and followed by a non-aC sound, i.e., $y$, is replaced with $dhh$. The $dh$ is then replaced with $d$ (8.4.53 jhal\(\text{\`a}\)m ja\(\text{\`a}\) jhasi) to produce: daddhy atra. We similarly get madh\(\text{\`a}\)(u\rightarrow v) atra \rightarrow ma(dh\rightarrow dhdh) v atra \rightarrow ma(dh\rightarrow d) hv atra = maddhvatra.

2. The negation in anaci ‘when followed by a sound other than one denoted by aC’ is generally interpreted as paryud\(\text{\`a}\)sa = tadbhinna-tatsad\(\text{\`a}\)\(\text{\`a}\)’ similar to but different from what is negated’. Thus, aco\(\text{\`o}\) nyo\(\text{\`o}\) nac, sa paro yasm\(\text{\`a}\)t so’ na\(\text{\`a}\)cparah anac means ‘that which is different from aC’; anacparah means ‘that which occurs before that which is different from aC’. Note that this interpretation does not serve any special purpose. In fact, it is not free of fault. That is, it will create application problems at the end, especially before pause. We cannot get two $k$ sounds in v\(\text{\`a}kk\). For, there is nothing similar to but different from a vowel here (PM: v\(\text{\`a}kk\), acsad\(\text{\`a}\)\(\text{\`a}\)\(\text{\`a}\)sya var\(\text{\`a}\)n\(\text{\`a}\)ntara\(\text{\`a}\)\(\text{\`a}\)sh\(\text{\`a}\)v\(\text{\`a}\)v\(\text{\`a}\)).

Why is the paryud\(\text{\`a}\)sa interpretation accepted? To save us from pratipatti-gaurava ‘prolixity of comprehension’, for example, v\(\text{\`a}kk\). Others claim the negation to be prasajya: na a\(\text{\`a}\)cparah = anacparah ‘no doubling when aC follows’.
That is, doubling will be negated only when a vowel follows, and not when a consonant follows. These scholars consider forms such as vākk as attested by usage. Obviously, accepting a paryudāsa interpretation cannot permit doubling at the terminal pause (avasāna). They also argue that if Panini intended this negation to be paryudāsa, he would have simply stated hali, and not anacī. This would also have been economical (lāghava). No matter what view is accepted, the negation will still be prolix.

Why do we state the condition of acah 'after a vowel'? Consider smitam and dhmātam, where a yAR sound does not occur after a vowel.

3. Now note some vārttika proposals:

(i) yano mayo dve bhavata iti vaktavyam. Commentators interpret this vārttika in two ways:

(ii) where yañah and mayah are interpreted as ending in pañcamī ‘ablative’ and saṣṭhī ‘genitive’, respectively. That is, a sound denoted by maY is replaced with two when maY occurs after a sound denoted by yaN. This will give us teśām ulkkā and vālmīkah as examples.

(iii) where yañah and mayah are interpreted as ending in saṣṭhī and pañcamī, respectively. That is, a sound denoted by yaN is replaced with two when yaN occurs after maY. This gives us daddhy atra and madhāhu atra as examples.

(iv) śārah khayo dve bhavata iti vaktavyam. Here also, śārah and khayah can be interpreted either (i) as pañcamī and saṣṭhī; or (ii) as saṣṭhī and pañcamī. The first interpretation will give us sttāli and sttātā as examples. The second interpretation will give us: vatssāh, ikssuḥ, kssāram and aṣsasrāh.

(v) avasāne ca yaro dve bhavataḥ ‘a sound denoted by yaR is replaced with two at the end before pause’. Thus, we get: vākk, vāk, tvakk, tvak; saṭṭ, saṭ; and tatt, tat.

8.4.48 नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य

nādiny ākrośe putrasya
/ na φ ādinī (deleted locative); ākrośe 7/1 putrasya 6/1/
(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 dve #46)
ādinī parata ākrośe gamyamāne putraśabdasya na dve bhavataḥ

Two do not come in place of one in putra when ādinī follows and the derivative denotes ākrośa ‘anger’.

Examples:

putrādinī tvamasi pāpe ‘O sinful one! you are your sons’ eater’

1. The locative (saptamī) of ādinī here marks ‘what follows’ (parasaptamī). Doubling is not permitted when ādinī combines in a compound to follow
putra ‘son’ and the derivate denotes ‘anger’. Recall that ādini is a derivate of Nīl, used with the signification of tācchīya ‘characteristic nature’. The t of putrādini tvam asī pāpe is not doubled because pāpe denotes anger.

Why do we state the condition of ākrośe ‘when anger is denoted’? If one wants to make a statement with no anger, t will be doubled up. Thus, putrādini vyāghri ‘a tigress who eats up her cubs’. We also get śiśumāri vyāghri ‘a tigress who eats up her young ones’.

2. Note that parasaptami, with a vārttika proposal (vt: tatpare ceti vaktavyam), is also extended to derivate where ādini may not follow putra immediately. Thus, we also get: putrapatrādini tvam asī pāpe, where ādini follows putra with intervening pautra ‘grandson’. The t is not doubled up because pāpe! denotes anger.

Yet another proposal (vt: vā hatajagdhapa iti vaktavyam) is made to allow non-doubling of t when hata and jagdha are combined to follow putra. Thus we get putro hatah anayā (bahuvrīhi) ‘she by who her own son was killed’. We similarly get putrajagdhi. The feminine affix NiS is here introduced by 4.1.53 aśvāṅgapiurvaṇpadād vā.

A third proposal (vt: cayo dvitīyā sari paushkarasādeḥ) offers the opinion of Pauṣkārasādī. Thus, a sound denoted by caY is replaced with the second sound of its class (or series) when a sound denoted by śaR follows. Thus we get: vatsaḥ / vathsaḥ; kṣirām / khaśiram; apsarāḥ / apṣtarāḥ.

8.4.49 शरोचि

śaro’ ci
/śarah 6/1 aci 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 dve #46 na #48)
śaro’ ci parato na dve bhavataḥ

Two do not come in place of one when a sound denoted by śaR occurs followed by a vowel.

Examples:

karsati ‘. . . drags’
varsati ‘. . . rains’
ākarsaḥ ‘touchstone’
aksadarśaḥ ‘a judge’

1. A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol ŠaR is not doubled up when a vowel (aC) follows in close proximity. Recall that 8.4.46 aco rahābhhyām dve, of which this rule becomes an exception, allows such doubling. Thus, karsati, varṣati, (ā-kṛṣ + GHaN) + sU → ākarsaḥ and aksadarśaḥ.

Why do we state the condition of aci ‘when a vowel follows’? Consider darśyate, where s is doubled up since no vowel follows.
8.4.50 त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य

trīprabhṛtisū śākataīyanasya
/trī-prabhṛtisū 7/3 trayaḥ prabhṛtayo yeśām (bv.), teṣu; śākataīyanasya 6/1/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 deve #46 na #48)
trīprabhṛtis varneṣu saṃyukteṣu śākataīyanasyācāryasya matena dvītvāṁ na
bhavati

Two, as per Śākataīyana, do not come in place of one of a conjunct of three.

EXAMPLES:

indraḥ ‘Indra’
candraḥ ‘moon’
usṭraḥ ‘camel’
rāṣṭram ‘nation, kingdom’
bhrāṣṭram ‘roasting (place/oven)’

1. This rule, in the opinion of Śākataīyana, does not allow two in place of one of a conjunct with three or more consonants. Thus, we get indraḥ, candraḥ and mandraḥ, where the bases are derivatives of affix raK, introduced after idl ‘to be extremely affluent’, cade ‘to be happy’ and madI ‘to praise, be happy’. We thus get indraḥ, but not inndraḥ. Similar observations can be made about usṭraḥ, etc.

Note that mention of Śākataīyana is made for denoting respect (pūjā). It cannot be interpreted as denoting option. For, this operational provision is nitya ‘obligatory’. Why should one formulate this rule when the following could account for its derivatives (Nyāsa: anyathottarasūṭreṇaiva siddhatvād
asyārambhino nirārthakaḥ syāt)?

8.4.51 सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य

sarvatra śākalyasya
/sarvatra śākalyasya 6/1/
(saṃhitāyām #2.108 deve #46 na #48)
śākalyasyācāryasya matena sarvatra dvirvacanaṁ na bhavati

Two, in the opinion of Śākalya, do not come as replacement for one, anywhere.

EXAMPLES:

arkaḥ ‘sun’
markaḥ ‘life-breath’
brahmaḥ ‘brahman; the Supreme’
apahnte ‘... hides’

1. Here again, mention of Śākalya is made for respect. This operational provision is obligatory.
8.4.52 दीर्घादाचार्याणाम्

dīrghād ācāryānām
/dīrghāt 5/1 ācāryānām 6/3/
(samhitāyām #2.108 dve #46 na #48)
dīrghād uttarasyācāryānām matena na dvitvām bhavati

Two do not come as a replacement for one which occurs after a long vowel, in the opinion of all scholars.

Examples:

dātram ‘sickle’
pātram ‘vessel’
mūtram ‘urine’
sūtram ‘thread’

1. This rule does not permit consonantal doubling after a long vowel. This is in consonance with the opinion of all scholars. Mention of the word ācārya is again made for respect. This operational provision is again obligatory. Consider dātram, pātram, etc., where 8.4.47 anaci ca may apply.

8.4.53 झलां जश् झशि

jhalām jaś jhaśi
/ jhalām 6/3 jaś 1/1 jhaśi 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108)
jhalām sthāne jaśādeo bhavati jhaśi parataḥ

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jaŚ comes in place of one denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaĻ when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaŚ follows in close proximity.

Examples:

labdhā ‘ṭṛC-derivate of labh (to obtain)’
labdhum ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’
labdhavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’
dogdhā ‘ṭṛG-derivate of duh (to milk)’
dogdhum ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’
dogdhavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’
boddhā ‘ṭṛG-derivate of budh (to know)’
boddhum ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’
boddhavyam ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’

1. A sound denoted by jhaĻ (Śs 8-14) is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by jaŚ (Śs 10) when a sound denoted by jhaŚ (Śs 8-10) follows. Consider (labh + ṭṛC) + sU → labdhā, labh + tumUN = labdhum and (labh + tavyaT) + sU = labdhavyam, where bh (of labh) before dh (of Kta→dha,
8.2.40 *jaḥas* . . . is replaced with *b* (*jaśtvā*) of this rule. We similarly get: *dodhā*, *dogdhum* and *dogdhavyam* where 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor* . . . replaces the root-final *h* with *gh*. This rule replaces the root-final *dh* with *d* in *boddhā*, *boddhum* and *boddhavyam*.

Why do we state the condition of *jaḥi* 'when *jaś* follows'? Consider the following forms of *dā* 'to give': *dattāḥ*, *datṭhāḥ* and *dadhmah* where this replacement cannot take place since no *jaś* follows.

8.4.54 अभ्यासे चर्च

*abhāyāse car ca*

/ *abhāyāse 7/1 car 1/1 ca ɸ/

(samhitāyāṁ #2.108 jhālāṁ jaś #53)

*abhāyāse vartamānānāṁ jhālāṁ car ādeśo bhavati cakārāj jaś ca*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *caR*, and *jaś* as well, comes in place of one denoted by *jhal* occurring as part of an *abhāyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable', when a sound denoted by *jaś* follows and close proximity between sounds finds it scope.

**Examples:**

* cikhanisati
  * cichitsati
  * tīthakārayisati
  * tīsthāṣati
  * pipakhārayisati
  * bubhūṣati
  * jighatsati
  * duḍhaukiṣate
  * cīciṣati
  * jījanisate

1. Note that *jaś* is also carried over. This, in turn, cancels its *anuvṛtti* beyond this rule (*cānukṛṣṭaṁ nottaratra*). A sound denoted by *jhal* is here to be replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *caR*, and also *jaś*, when a sound denoted by *jhal* occurs as part of an *abhāyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō bhyāṣah*). Consider *cikhanisati*, where the root is a derivate of *saN*, introduced after *khan* 'to dig'. Thus, *khan + saN → kha(n→ϕ) + khan + saN → kh(a→i) + khan + iT + saN → (kh→ch)i + khan + iT + saN → (ch→c)i + khan + i + saN = cikhanisa + (LAT→tiP) = cikhanisa + ŠaP + tiP → cikhani(s→s) + a + ti = cikhanisati*. Follow derivational patterns of many *saN*-derivates already discussed (II:431-35). This derivate involves reduplication of *khan* with applications of 7.4.60 *halādi śesāḥ*, replacement in *i* (*itva; 7.4.79 sany atah*), introduction of augment *iT* (7.2.35 ārddhadhāṭuka . . .), and *s* (8.3.59 ādeśa-pratyayayoh) as a replacement for *s* of *saN*. Notice that *kh* is replaced with *ch*.
Our present rule then replaces it with c.

Our next derivate \((\text{ch} + \text{tUK} + \text{chid} + \text{saN}) + \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{cicchi} \text{si} \text{ti})\) involves introduction of augment \(\text{tUK} (6.1.73 \text{ che ca})\). This \(t\) is then replaced with c (cutva; 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ). Now consider (ṭhakāra + ṇiC) + saN → ṭhakārayiṣa + \(\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{ṭiṭhakārayi}ṣa\) and (ṭhakāra + ṇiC) + saN → ṭhakārayiṣa + \(\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{piṭhakārayi}ṣa\), where īC is introduced by a vārttika (takaro ti tad ācaṣṭe ad 3.1.25 satyāpa ...). Affix saN is then introduced to derive a root after which \(\text{LAT}\) could be introduced (cf. patayati; II:400-401). Thus, ṭhakāray + saN → ṭha + ṭhakāray + saN → ṭa + ṭhakāray + saN → ṭ(a→i) + ṭhakāray + saN → ṭi + ṭhakāray + iṬ + saN → ṭiṭhakārayiṣa + ṣaP (LAT → tiP) → ṭiṭhakārayiṣa.

We similarly get piṭhakārayiṣa. Refer to notes under 7.4.61 sarparvūḥ khayaḥ for derivational details of piṭhāṣati, again a derivate of saN, introduced after sthā ‘to stay, stand’, with \(\text{LAT}\). Recall that, given sthā + sthā + saN, thā of the abhyāsa alone is retained (7.4.61 sarparvūḥ khayaḥ). Deriving bhubhāṣati, jighāṣati and duṣṭhaukiṣate from bhū + bhū + saN → (bh→b) ū + bhū + saN → (b(ū→u) + bhū + saN) + \(\text{LAT}\); (ad→ghas) + saN → gha(s→φ) + ghas + saN → (gha→ga) + ghas + saN → g(a→i) + ghas + saN → (g→j) i + ghas + tUK + s + saN → (jighat(s→φ) + saN) + \(\text{LAT}\); and ḍhauk + ḍhauk + saN → ḍu + ḍhauk + iṬ + saN → duṣṭhaukṣa + \(\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{duṣṭhaukṣa} \) should not be very difficult. Follow derivational details of many saN-derivates already discussed (II:431-35). Refer to cicṣati (II:435) which Kāśīkā cites here to back the claim that an original caR is retained as is: prakṛtiṣcaṛaṃ prakṛtiṣcaro bhavanti. An additional example is offered in ṭiṅk + ṭiṅk + saN → ṭi + ṭiṅk + iṬ + saN → ṭ(i→i) + ṭiṅk + iṬ + saN → ṭiṭkǐṣa + \(\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{ṭiṭkǐṣa}\). Kāśīkā also offers jan + jan + iṬ + saN → ja + jan + iṬ + saN → jjanīṣa(s→s) a = jjanīṣa + (LAT→te) = jjanīṣate, budh + (LAT→ta) = budh + (ta→eS) → bubudhe (of budh ‘to know’) and dadau (of dā ‘to give’; cf. papa under 7.1.34 āt au nālah) as examples where an original jaS is retained as is (Kāś: prakṛtijaśaṁ prakṛtijaśo bhavanti).

8.4.55 खरि च

khari ca

/khari/'7/1 ca φ/

(saṁhitāyām #2.108 jhaḷām #53 ca #54)

khari ca parato jhaḷām ca ādeśo bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaL (Śs 8-14) is replaced with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol caR (Śs 11-13), also, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol khaR (Śs 11-13) follows and close proximity between sounds finds it scope.

Examples:

(bhid + tṛC) + sU = bhettā
(bhid + tumUN) + sU = bhettum
(bhid + tavyaT) + sU = bhettavyam
(yuyudh + sa) + (LAT→te) = yuyutsate
(ā-rabh + sa) + (LAT→te) = āripsate
(ā-labh + sa) + (LAT→te) = ālipsate

1. Note that jhalām and car are both carried over. A replacement in t for d in (bhīd + trC) + sU → (bhe(d→t) + trC) + sU = bhettā ‘he who will break’, bhettum ‘for breaking’ and bhettavyam ‘should be broken’ illustrates this. We similarly get yuyutsa + (LAT→te) = yuyutsate ‘wishes to fight’, where dh is replaced with t. Refer to notes under 7.4.54 sanimāghurabhalabha . . . for derivational details of āripsate and ālipsate where bh is replaced with p.

8.4.56 बावसाने

vāvasāne
/vā φ avasāne 7/1/
A sound denoted by caR comes, optionally, in place of one denoted by jhal, when this jhal occurs at avasāna ‘cessation of speech; pause’.

EXAMPLES:

vāk
vāg
tvak
tvag
śvalīt
śvalīḍ
triṣṭup
triṣṭub

1. Refer to derivational details of vac + (Kulp→φ) = v(a→ā)c → vāc + (sU→φ) = vā(c→g→k) = vāk ‘speech’, where this replacement in k is made optional to g (8.2.39 jhalām jaśo ‘nte). That is, if the option of this replacement in a sound denoted by caR (cartva) is not accepted, we will get a replacement in a sound denoted by jaŚ (jaśvā). Recall that this provision of a sound denoted by jaŚ is made obligatorily (nitya).

8.4.57 अणोऽप्रग्रहस्यानुनासिक:

ano’ pragṛhyasyānunāsikah
/aṇaḥ apragṛhyaśa 6/1 = na pragṛhyam = apragṛhyam (naṃ. tat.), tasya,
anunāsikah 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 vāvasāne #56)
ano’ pragṛhyasyānunāsikah vartamānasya vā’ nunāsikādeśo bhavati
A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory symbol aN (Śs 1), but other than one termed pragṛhya (11.11 idūded . . .), is, optionally, replaced with its nasalized counterpart (anunāsika) at avasāna ‘pause, end of speech’.
EXAMPLES:

dadhī
dadhi
madhū
madhu
kumārī
kumārī

1. Note that this abbreviatory symbol $aN$ is formed with the first $N$ (Śū 1: aiu$N$). Recall that 1.1.11 idūdeddavacanan praghyam assigns the term praghyas. The $sU$ after dadhi and madhu is deleted, via LUK (7.1.23 svamor napumsakāt).

2. Why do we state the condition of $aṇah$ 'of that which is denoted by the abbreviatory symbol $aN$'? Consider kārtṛ and hārtṛ where ṛ is not included within the denotatum of $aN$.

Why do we state the condition of apraghyasya 'of that which is not termed praghyas' Consider agnī and vāyū where, on account of the assignment of the term praghyas, ī and ū are not replaced with their nasalized counterparts.

8.4.58 अनुसृवःर्स्य यतः परस्वर्णः:

anuvārasya yāyī parasaṁvarṇaḥ
/ anuvārasya 6/1 yāyī 7/1 parasaṁvarṇaḥ 1/1 = parasya savarṇaḥ = parasaṁvarṇaḥ (sāṣ. tat.)/
(saṁhitāyām #2.108)

anuvārasya yāyī parataḥ parasaṁvarṇa ādeśo bhavati
An anuvāra (m), when followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol ya$Y$ (semivowel, stop and nasal), is replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkitā
śaṅkitum
śaṅkitavyam
uṅchitā
uṅchitum
uṅchitavyam
kuṇḍitā
kuṇḍitum
kuṇḍitavyam
nanditā
nanditum
nanditavyam
kampitā
1. This rule allows an *anusvāra* to be replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows, provided a *yaY* sound follows. Consider *sakI + trC → ša + nUM + k + tr(C) → ša+n(UM)+k + tr → šank + i(T) + tr → ša(n→m) k + i + tr → ša(m→n) k + i + tr = šaṅkitṛ + sU = šaṅkitā, where augment *nUM* is introduced, based on *l* as an *it* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). The *n* of *nUM* is then replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). Our present rule replaces it with *n*, a nasal homogeneous with *k* which follows *m*. Similar rules apply in deriving *trC, tumUN* and *taṇyaT* derivates of *uchI* 'to cut, abandon', *kuṇI* 'to burn, be hot', *ṭUṇudI* 'to be happy' and *kapI* 'to move'. Thus, *uṇchitā, uṇchitum* and *uṇchitavyam*, etc.

Now consider *kṛ + u + anti → k(ṛ→ur) + u + anti → kur + (u→v) + anti = kurvanti* and *kṛṣanti*, where, after *jhi* is replaced with *ant*, we get a replacement in *n* for *n*. How come this *n*-replacement does not apply? The *n* is first replaced with *m* because *n*-replacement will remain suspended (asiddha) at this time. The *anusvāra* will then be replaced with a homogeneous nasal similar to the dental *t*. That is, *n*. A replacement in *n* cannot be applied again at the strength of *asidhatva* 'suspension' of this last replacement in *n*. The *Mahābhāṣya*, therefore, calls it: ‘that which transgresses the *n* turned *m* in matters of *n*-replacement (evam anusvārībhūto naṭvam atikrāmati).

Why do we state the condition of *yayi* 'when a sound denoted by *rtaI*, abbreviatory symbol *yaY* follows'? Consider *ā-kram + (LRT→te) = ā.krāmsya.le* and also the *saN*-derivate *ācikramṣya* where *ātmanapada* is introduced by 1.3.40 ān udgamanе and 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanah*. The *anusvāra*, since it does not occur followed by a *yaY*-sound, cannot be replaced with a nasal homogeneous with what follows.

### 8.4.59 वा पदान्तस्य

*va padāntasya*

/va φ padāntasya 6/1/

*(saṃhitāyām #2.108 anusuvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ #58)*

*padāntānusvārasya yayi parato va parasavarnādeśo bhavati*

A sound, homogeneous with what follows, optionally comes in place of an *anusvāra*, when the *anusvāra* occurs at the end of a *pada* and a sound denoted by *yaY* (semivowel, stop and nasal) follows.

**Examples:**

taṅ kathaṅ citrapaṅkur dayamānan nabhaṅstham puruṣo
vaḍhiṭ ‘how was the man able to kill that bird of colorful wings which was flying in the sky’

tam kathāṁ citrapaṅkur dayamānaṁ nabhaṅstham puruṣo vaḍhīṭ ‘ibidem’
1. A word-final (padānta) m (anusvāra), when followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term yaY (semivowels, nasals and stops), is optionally replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows (para-savarṇa). Thus we get (tam→n) katha(m→n) citrapakṣa(m→n) ādayamāna(m→n) nabhas-tham... = tañ-kathañ-citrapakṣañ-ādayamānan-nabhastham...

Note that the vā ‘option’ of our present rule also indicates that provisions made by the earlier rule are obligatory (nitya). Recall also that 8.4.56 vāvasāne makes an optional provision. Consequently, provisions made in between two optional provisions will be considered nitya ‘obligatory’ (Nyāsa: vāvacanaṁ pūrvasya nityatvañāpanārtham. dvayor vibhāṣayor madhye ye vai vidhayas te nityā bhavanāti kṛtvā). The operational provision of this rule could also be interpreted as obligatory. That is, if vā was not used. For, in that case, operational provisions made by preceding rules would have remained optional. Provisions of this rule, at the strength of its incompatible formulation (ārambhasāmarthya), would have then been considered obligatory.

8.4.60 तौल्ल

/tor lī/
/ toḥ 6/1 li 1/1/
(saṁhitāyām #2.108 parasavarṇaḥ #58)

A replacement, homogeneous with what follows (para-savarṇa), comes in place of a consonant (stop and nasal) of the l-series when l follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

agnicīl lūnāti
somāsāl lūnāti
bhavā l lūnāti
mahā l lūnāti

1. This rule allows a dental consonant to be replaced with l when l follows. Note that t is replaced with a clear l (suḍḍho lakāraḥ). The n, however, is replaced with a nasalized l. Thus, agnicīl(t→l) + lūnāti = agnicīl lūnāti and bhavā(n→l) + lūnāti = bhavā l lūnāti.

8.4.61 उद: स्थासम्भो: पूर्वस्य

utraḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya
/utraḥ 5/1 sthāstambhoḥ 6/2 = sthāḥ ca stambha ca (itār. dv.), tayoh; pūrvasya 6/1/
(saṁhitāyām #2.108 savarṇaḥ #58)

utra uttārayoḥ ‘sthā, stambha’ ity etayoh pūrvasavarṇādeśo bhavati
A replacement, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of s of sthā ‘to stay, stand’ and stambhu ‘to prop, support’, when they occur after the preverb ud and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

**Examples:**

uthātā
uthātum
uthātavyam
uttambhitā
uttambhitum
uttambhitavyam

1. This rule specifies a replacement for sthā and stambhu when these two occur preceded by the preverb ud. Since this replacement is specified for sthā and stambhu, which occur after ud, this replacement should come in place of the initial sound segment (1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya) of sthā and stambhu. Finally, recall that the anuvṛtti of savarṇah ‘homogeneous’ is still valid. Consequently, this replacement must also be homogeneous with d which precedes s (ut-sthā). Note that the d of ud itself is replaced with t before s (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca). We thus get u(d→t) + (s→t) thātā = utthātā, u(d→t) + (s→t) thātum = utthātum and u(d→t) + (s→t) thātavyam = utthātavyam, the trC, tumUN and tavyaT derivatives of sthā, with the preverb ud. We similarly get uttambhītā, uttambhītum and uttambhītavyam with augment iT. Incidentally, the th of sthā also goes through a replacement in t (cartva; 8.4.55 khari ca). The preceding t is doubled up in view of 8.4.47 anaci ca. One of these two t sounds may also go through optional deletion (8.4.65 jharo jhari savarne). We will thus get utthātā and uttthātā.

2. Some consider th as a replacement for s, based on similarities of external articulatory efforts (bāhya-prayatna). We thus get ut + (s→th) thātum → ut-(th+th) ōthum → utthōthum. A sequence of two th sounds which results from application of 8.4.47 anaci ca is retained. The preceding th of the sequence cannot go through cartva of 8.4.55 khari ca. For, the homogeneous replacement of this rule will then become suspended (asiddha).

3. Why do we state the condition of sthāsthambhoh? Consider utsnātā where we do not find sthā or stambhu. This rule is thus blocked from applying.

4. A vārttika proposal is made for the Vedic, where s of ud-skand also qualifies for a replacement in t. Consider agne dūram utkandah. This proposal is also recommended for deriving utkandaha, an affliction (roga). Some yet claim that utkanda is a form of verbal root kand (Kāś: kandraē ca dhātvanta-rasyaitad rūpam ‘or it is a form of a different verbal root, i.e., kand’).

8.4.62 झयो होन्यतस्यायम्

jhayo ho' nyatarasyām
A replacement, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of h, optionally, when h occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaY (non-nasal stops), and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

**Examples:**

vāggh hasati
vāg hasati
śvalīḍḍ hasati
śvalīḍ hasati
agniciddh hasati
agnicid hasati
somasuddh hasati
somasud hasati
triśṭubbh hasati
triśṭub hasati

1. Note that all replacements must be selected in consonance with 1.1.50 sthāne' ntaratamaḥ ‘a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces’. That is, they should be selected in view of similarities in place (sthāna) and manner (prayatna) of articulation. For example, in vāg + hasati = vāg + (h→gh) asati = vāgghasati, h gets replaced with gh, a sound (g) homogeneous with what precedes (pūrvasavarna) h. We will similarly get h, which occurs after d, d or b, replaced with dh, dh or bh, in this order of enumeration.

2. Why do we state the condition of jhayah? Consider prān hasati and bhavān hasati, where h is not replaced because it does not occur after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaY.

8.4.63 शास्चौषधी

śaś cho’ ti
/saś 6/1 chah 1/1 ati 7/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 jhayo’ nyatarasyām #61)
jhayā uttaraśaḥ sakāraśāṇi paratasā chakārādeśo bhavatī anyatarasyāṁ
A replacement in ch comes, optionally, in place of ś which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by jhaY, provided a sound denoted by aT (vowels and y, v, r) follows, and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

**Examples:**

vāk chete
vāk ṣete
agnicīc ṣete
gnific śete
śvaliḥ cete
śvaliḥ śete
triṣṭup cete
triṣṭup śete

1. Note that jhaY and anyatarasyām 'optionally' are both carried over, via anuvṛtti. A specification with anyatarasyām is also made here to indicate that provisions made by preceding rules are obligatory (nitya).

This rule allows ś to be optionally replaced with ch (chatva) if ś occurs after a non-nasal stop (jhaY), and what follows is a vowel or y, r or l. Thus, we get vāk + (ś→ch) ete = vākchete, agnici(t→c) + (ś→ch) ete = agnici(t→c) + chete = agnici cete and agnific śete, etc. Recall also that a dental stop is replaced with its palatal counterpart when followed by a palatal (t→c) (8.4.40 stōś cunā ścuḥ).

2. It is stated that our present rule remains suspended (asiddha) in view of both 8.4.40 stōḥ ścunā ścuḥ and 8.4.55 kharī ca. From among these two, Rule 8.4.55 kharī ca remains suspended in view of 8.4.40 stōḥ ścunā ścuḥ. It is in view of this suspension provision that order of applications remains: 8.4.40 stōḥ ścunā ścuḥ, 8.4.55 kharī ca and 8.4.63 sāś cho ‘ti.

3. A vārttika proposal states that aṭi ‘when a sound denoted by aT (Śś 1-5) follows’ is not enough. The right condition of this replacement operation should be stated with ami ‘when aM (Śś 1-7) follows’. This, in addition to sounds denoted by aT, will also include l and nasals. Thus, tat + ślokena and tac + chlokena; tat + śmaśruṇā and tac + chmaśruṇā.

8.4.64 हलो यम् यमिलोपः

halo yamāṃ yami lopah
/ haloḥ 5/1 yamām 6/3 yami 7/1 lopah 1/1/
(samhitāyām #2.108 anyatarasyām #61)
halo uttaresāṃ yamāṃ yami parato lopo bhavaty anyatarasyām

A deletion by LOPA comes optionally in place of a sound denoted by yaM occurring after a consonant (haL), when a sound denoted by yaM follows and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

Examples:

śayyā 'bed'
śayyyā
aditer apatyaṃ = ādityaḥ 'male offspring of Aditi'
āditya devatā asya sthālipākasya = ādityyaḥ āditya, the divinity of this sthālipāka sacrifice'
1. This rule offers optional deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol \( yaM \), under the condition of a following sound denoted by \( yaM \). Refer to derivational details of \( sāya\) (III:765). We get two \( y \) sounds in \( sāya\). A third \( y \) results subsequently (\( krama\) = \( anupūrvyaṃ jātaḥ \) 'produced in a sequence') from the doubling application of 8.4.47 anaci ca. Our present rule then applies to delete one, or both, medial \( y \) sounds (\( Kāś: tatra madhyamasyā madhyamayor vā lopo bhavati \). We thus get \( sāya\) and \( sāyyā\). Now consider \( adityaḥ \) and \( adityyāḥ \), parallel to \( aditer apatyam pumān \) 'male offspring of aditi', where we get one \( y \) which follows \( t \). This \( y \) is part of affix \( Nya \) (4.1.85 diyadityāditya . . .) which, in turn, is introduced after \( aditi + Nās \) with the signification of 4.1.92 tasyāpatyam. A second \( y \) is gotten, again as part of \( Nya \), when this affix is introduced by the same rule in the sense of 4.2.24 sāya devatā 'she is the divinity of . . .'. This \( y \) is doubled up in view of a vārttika: \( yaṇaṃ mayaṃ dve bhavataḥ \) (cf. 8.4.47 anaci ca). The optional deletion of one, or both, medial \( y \) sounds can now yield; \( adityaḥ \) and \( adityyāḥ \). We can even get \( adityyyāḥ \), with three \( y \) sounds, where doubling of \( y \) is accomplished with two \( y \) sounds to start with.

2. Why do we state the condition of halah 'after a consonant'? Consider \( ānnam \) 'food' which derives from \( anna + am + Nā \) (4.4.85 annāṃnaḥ). We do find a \( yaM \), i.e., \( n \), followed by a similar \( n \). But this \( n \) does not occur after a consonant.

Why do we state the condition of \( yaṃmām \) 'of sounds denoted by \( yaM \)'? Consider \( arghyaṃ \) where \( gh \) occurs after \( r \), a consonant. It also happens to be followed by \( y \), a sound denoted by \( yaM \). However, this \( gh \) cannot be accepted as a sound denoted by \( yaM \). Why? It is not included within the denotata of \( yaM \) (Nyāśa:_na tv ayam yaṃ ghakāraḥ; tasya yamvasanniveśāḥ). The deletion of \( gh \) is thus blocked. This same happens to the \( g \) of agniḥ 'fire'.

Why do we state the condition of \( yami \) 'when a sound denoted by \( yaM \) follows'? Consider \( sāṅgām \) which derives with \( aN \), introduced with the signification of 4.3.134 tasya vikāraḥ, parallel to śṛṅgasya vikāraḥ 'modification (product) of horn'. Here again we find that \( n \), a sound denoted by \( yaM \), occurs after a consonant. However, the following \( g \) is not a sound denoted by \( yaM \). The deletion of \( gh \) is thus blocked. Some claim that the initial \( vrddhi \) of (\( sṛ → ār \)) \( ṇga = sāṅga \) is externally conditioned (bahirāṅga). Deletion of \( gh \) is, of course, internally conditioned (antarāṅga). Consequently, this external \( vrddhi \) will become suspended (asiddha) in view of accomplishing this internal deletion. This suspension of \( vrddhi \) will also render the consonant, i.e., \( r \), suspended (asiddha). The \( gh \) will thus not occur after a consonant. The question of deletion of \( gh \) will thus not arise. This view is, however, not accepted. I prefer not to discuss this any further.

8.4.65 झरो झरि सवर्णे

\( jharo jhari savarne \)
8.4.65  Adhyāya Eight: Pāda Four  787

/jharaṇ 6/1 jhari 7/1 savarne 7/1/
(samhitaẏam #2.108 anyatarasyām #61 halo lopah #64)
hala uttaraśaṁ yamaṁ yami parato lopo bhavaty anyatarasyām

A deletion by LOPA comes, optionally, in place of a sound denoted by jhaR when this jhaR occurs after a consonant and is followed by a jhaR sound homogeneous with it, provided close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

Examples:

prattam ‘derivate of (pra-dā) + Kta)) + sU’
prattam
avattam ‘derivate of (ava-dā) + Kta)) + sU’
avattam
maruttam ‘derivate of (marut (dā + Kta)) + sU’
maruttam

1. A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol jhaR (voiced-voiceless aspirated-unaspirated stops and sibilants) which occurs after a consonant is optionally deleted, when a homogeneous sound denoted by jhaR follows. Refer to derivational details of prattam under rule 7.4.74 aca upaspargāt tah. Recall that this rule offers a replacement in t to an aṅga termed ghu, namely dā, when a tinitial affix marked with Kas an it follows. Note that pra-dā + Kta yields a string with three t sounds: (pra-d(ā→t) + ta → pra-(d→t) + t + ta → pra-t + t + ta. Notice here that the ā of dā is replaced with t (7.4.47 aca upaspargāt tah). The d itself is then replaced with t (8.4.54 khari ca). We thus have three t sounds: two replacements and one as part of the affix (Nyāsa: evam tāvat tryas takārah, dvāv ādeiṣau, ekāḥ pratyayāvayavah). We also get a fourth (Kāś: kramajāś caturthaḥ), as a result of the application of 8.4.46 anaci ca. Consequently, we get four t sounds in a sequence: pra-t + t + t + ta. The two medial t sounds, or optionally just one, then go through deletion (Kāś: tatra madhyasya madhyamayor vā lopo bhavati ‘there obtains an optional deletion of one or both medials’). We thus get: pra-t + (t→t) + t + ta → prattta. A similar sequence of four t sounds, with similar results, is also witnessed in ava + dā + (K)ta → ava-d(ā→t) + ta → ava-(d→t) + t + ta → ava-t + (t→t) + ta. This gives us: avatta and avatta.

Now consider marut-dā + (K)ta → marut-d(ā→t) + ta → marut-(d→t) + t + ta, where marut ‘wind’, via a vārttika proposal under 1.4.58 prādaya upaspargāh kriyāyoge), is extended the status of a preverb (vt. marucchadasyopasaṃ-khyānam). It is this extensional provision (ātideśika) of marut which, even in the absence of marut not ending in a vowel, facilitates the t-replacement of ā of dā. An application of 7.4.47 anaci ca produces the sequence of five t sounds. Thus, marut-t + (t→t) + t + ta. Deleting one, two or three medial t sounds will
yield: maruttta, maruttta, or marutta. We will thus have to apply deletion as many times as we can find a jhaR followed by another jhaR.

2. Why do we state the condition of jharah in place of a sound denoted by jhaR? Consider śarngam where n is not a sound denoted by jhaR. Although it occurs after a sound denoted by jhaR, but it does not go through deletion.

Why do we state the condition of jhari 'when a sound denoted by jhaR follows'? Consider priyapañcā, a bahuvrīhi compound paraphrased as: priyāh pañcāsyā 'he to whom five are dear'. Note that priyapañcā is an instrumental singular where priya 'dear' is combined as initial of the compound (2.3.35 saptamī visēṣaṇē . . .; vt: vā priyasya pūrvvapitāḥ). The ā of priyapañcā is deleted by 6.4.134 allopo' nāh. The final n of priyapañcā is then replaced with ō (PM: nakārasya cutvam; 8.4.40 stoś cūnā ścah). The c of priyapañcān, which occurs after a consonant (halah), is also a sound denoted by jhaR. It is also followed by ō, a sound homogeneous with it. However, ō is not a sound denoted by jhaR. Consequently, even if the c occurs after a consonant, and is followed by ō, it cannot be allowed to go through deletion. One can argue here that the question of e-deletion does not arise. For, specifications made for deletion require uninterrupted contiguity. This ē is not immediately followed by ō. How? The deleted ā of priyapañcan will reappear, via sthānivadbhāva 'treatment of a replacement as the item it replaced' (1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau). A specification made with jhari thus does not serve any purpose. This cannot be accepted. For, this deletion cannot be treated as what was deleted, especially in view of 8.2.1 pūrvvatrāśiddham (Kāś: allopasya ca 'pūrvvatrāśiddhe na sthānivat' iti sthānivadbhāvapratipratiśedhād . . .). That is, ē is accepted as immediately followed by ō. One could not stop this deletion of ē if jhari 'when a sound denoted by jhaR follows' is not specified as a right condition.

Why do we state the condition of savarane 'when a homogeneous sound denoted by jhaR follows'? Consider tarptā, tarptum and tarptavyam, the trC, tumUN and tavyaT forms of trp 'to be satisfied, be pleased'. The word savarane is primarily used to block the assignment of equivalency in the order of elements (samkhyaṭānudeśa) in each specified set (1.3.10 yathāsamkhyaṃ anudeśah samānām). Had the rule been formulated as jhara jhari without the use of savarane, assignment of equivalency would have followed the order of enumeration in two sets of elements denoted by jhaR. The use of the word savarane cannot serve the purpose of blocking selection of a sound which was not homogeneous. For, assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration would have already assured a jhaR parallel to another. Accepting samkhyaṭānudeśa with no consideration for homogeneity (sāvānaya) would make it impossible to derive śiṇḍhi and piṇḍhi. Consider śī + (LOT→siP) → (śi+ŚnaM+s) + s → śi + na + s + (s → hi) → śi + na + s + hi. Rule 6.4.111 snaso al. . . now deletes a of na. The final hi of this string produces dhī through replacements of hi with dhi (6.4.101 hujhalyor . . .) and dh with ḷh (8.4.41
\textit{ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ}. The \textit{s} of \textit{ṣi} + \textit{n} + \textit{s} + \textit{ḍhi} is then replaced with \textit{ḍ} (\textit{jaśṭva}; 8.4.53 \textit{jhalāṃ \textlangle}ja\textrangle jhaśi). Our present rule then deletes \textit{ḍ} under the condition of its homogeneous relationship with the following \textit{ḍh}. This deletion could not be accomplished without the use of the word \textit{savarṇe}. Incidentally, the \textit{n} of \textit{ṣi} + \textit{n} + (\textit{ḍ}→\textit{ḍ}) + \textit{ḍhi} is first replaced with \textit{anuvāra (8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhalī)}. It is then replaced with \textit{n} (8.4.58 anusvārasya yai parasavarnah) to produce \textit{ṣi} + (\textit{n}→\textit{m}→\textit{n}) + (\textit{s}→\textit{ḍ}→\textit{ḍ}) + (\textit{hi}→(\textit{ḍh}→\textit{ḍḥ}) i→ \textit{śindhi}. A similar second person singular imperative form of \textit{piś} ‘to grind’ can be derived as \textit{pinḍhi} from \textit{pi} + \textit{śnaM} + \textit{s} + (\textit{LOT}→\textit{si}→\textit{hi}→\textit{ḍhi}→\textit{ḍḥi}) → \textit{pinḍhi}. Refer to derivational details of \textit{śindhi} and \textit{pinḍhi} under the appendix (II:407-9) of rule 1.1.58 \textit{na padānta}.

8.4.66 \textit{उद्दात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः}

\textit{udāttaṃ anudāttasya svaritaḥ}
/\textit{udāttāt} 5/1 anudāttasya 6/1 = na udāttaḥ (nañ. tat.), tasya; svaritaḥ
1/1/
udātta uttarasayamudāttasya svariśādeśo bhavati

An \textit{anudātta} which occurs after an \textit{udātta} is replaced with a \textit{svarita}.

**Examples:**

\textit{gāryāḥ} ‘a male descendant of Garga’
\textit{vāṣyāḥ} ‘a male descendant of Vatsa’
\textit{pacāti} ‘he cooks’
\textit{paṭāti} ‘he reads or recites’

1. This rule offers a replacement in \textit{svarita} to an \textit{anudātta} which occurs followed by an \textit{udātta}. Consider \textit{gāryāḥ} and \textit{vāṣyāḥ} which both are derivates of affix \textit{ya}N (4.1.105 gārgādībhyo yañ). These words are both marked with initial \textit{udātta}. Their \textit{ya} is marked with \textit{anudātta} in view of 6.1.155 \textit{anudāttam padam}. ... The accentual sequence here is: \textit{udātta-anudātta-udātta}. The \textit{anudātta} which here occurs after an \textit{udātta} is replaced with \textit{svarita}. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.4 \textit{anudāttau suppitau} for accentual details of \textit{pacāti} and \textit{paṭāti}. Note, however, that the \textit{a} of \textit{pac} is marked with \textit{udātta} (6.1.159 dhātō). Affixes \textit{ŚaP} and \textit{ti}P are marked with \textit{anudātta} (3.1.4 \textit{anudāttau suppitau}). The accentual sequence is: \textit{udātta-anudātta-anudātta}. The \textit{anudātta} \textit{a} of \textit{ŚaP}, which occurs after an \textit{udātta}, is to be replaced here with \textit{svarita}. The \textit{ti} of \textit{pacāti} must then go through \textit{ekaśṛuti} ‘monotone’ (1.2.39 \textit{svaritāt samhitāyām anudāttānām}).

2. Why is this rule stated? Why was it not placed after 6.1.182 \textit{tit svaritam}? This way, one need not use the word \textit{svarita}. That is, it could have been carried over via \textit{anuvṛtti}. Rule 6.1.155 \textit{anudāttam padam} ... would have become applicable here if this rule was placed there after 6.1.182 \textit{tit svaritam}. The accentual result would have been: \textit{anudātta-svarita}. What we have here
is udātta-svarita. Placing this rule here makes the svarita suspended (asiddha). The application of 6.1.155 anudāttam padam . . . is thus blocked. We can thus get both the udātta and svarita.

8.4.67 नीदातस्वरितोद्यमगर्गयकायपगालवानाम्

nodāttasvaritodayam agāryakāśyapagālavānām
/ na ṣ udāttasvaritodayam 1/1 = udātta ca svarita ca = udātta-svaritau (itar. dv.); udāttasvaritau udayau yasmāt (br.); tat, a-gāryakāśyapagālavānām = gāryas ca kāśyapa ca gālava ca (itar. dv.); na gārya . . . gālavah (nañ. tat.), teṣāṃ/ (anudāttasya svaritah #66)

An anudātta, in the opinion of scholars other than Gārya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is not replaced by a svarita when the same occurs followed by an udātta and svarita.

Examples:

gāryas tatrā ‘Gārya is there’
vāṣyas tatrā ‘Vāṣya is there’
gāryah kva ‘where is Gārya’
vāṣyah kva ‘where is Vāṣya’

1. An anudātta, in the opinion of scholars other than Gārya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is not replaced with svarita when the same occurs after an udātta and svarita. That is, an anudātta, in the opinion of Gārya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is replaced by a svarita when the same occurs followed by an udātta and svarita.

Mention of many preceptors (ācāryas) is made here for denoting respect (Kāś: anekācāryasamkirtanam pūjārtham). It is not used for stating an option.

The word udaya ‘rise, prosperity’ is associated here with both udātta and svarita. Thus, we interpret udāttasvaritodayam as udāttasvaritau udayau yasmāt tat ‘that from which rise the udātta and svarita’: udāttodayah and svaritodayah. It is used in the prātiṣākhya treatises as synonymous with para ‘following’ (Nyāsa ad Kāś: udayasyābdo’ tra pratyekam abhisambadhya . . . paraśabdasyārthe vartate). This rule uses udaya also in the sense of para ‘subsequent’. Commentators also recognize that udaya ‘rise’ is used here for invoking auspiciousness (Kāś: . . . udayagrahaṇanam maṅgalārtham). Refer also to my comments under the next rule.

2. Now consider some examples. The word tatra ‘there’, in gāryas tatra, ends in affix tatra (5.3.10 saṁsyaśa trah). It is also marked with udātta at the beginning, based on L as an it (6.1.190 liti). The ya of gārya, on the other hand, is marked with anudātta (6.1.155 anudāttam padam . . .). The ya of gārya, an anudātta, here occurs followed by the udātta of ta of tatra. The
svarita which was made available to the ya of gārgya by the preceding rule is here negated under the following condition of the initial udāta of tatra. The result is: gārgyas tatrā. This same applies also to vāśyas tatrā. Recall here that the word gārgya is a derivate of affix yaṇ (4.1.105 gārgādibhyo yaṇ). Consequently, the word gārgya will be obligatorily marked with initial udāta (6.1.194 ṇṇiyādir niyām). The ya of gārgya will then be marked with anudāta in view of 6.1.155 anudāttam padam... The accentual sequence involved here is: udāta-anudāta-udāta.

Now consider gārgyah kvā, where kva is marked with svarita (cf. 1.2.31 samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ). The ya of gārgya is anudāta. This anudāta is occurring here followed by the svarita of kva. The svarita which was made available to ya of gārgya is here negated. That is, the anudāta is retained. This same also applies to vāśyaḥ kvā. Recall that, in the opinion of Gārgya, Kaśyapa and Gālava, the svarita of the preceding rule applies. The accentual sequence here happens to be udāta-anudāta-svarita.

8.4.68 अ अ इति

a a iti
/a ṁ a ṁ iti ṁ /

akāro vivṛṭah samvṛto bhavati
An open a is, hereby, made closed.

EXAMPLES:

vrksah
plaksah

1. Note that, prior to this point in this śāstra ‘grammar’, the first a was assumed to be ‘open’ (vivṛta). This assumption is based on articulatory efforts involved in the production of a as a ‘closed’ (samvṛta) short (hrasva) vowel and ‘open’ (vivṛta) long (dīrgha), or extra-long (pluta; vivṛṭakaranāḥ svarāḥ; samvṛtastu akāraḥ). Such a description created problems in formulating abbreviatory terms (pratyāhāra), particularly aṇ, and, thereby, denoting homogeneous vowel qualities by means of them. Recall that 1.1.9 tulyāsyapra-yatnam savarnam requires that sounds which share homogeneous relationship must involve similar articulatory efforts in the oral cavity. This, in turn, cannot ensure homogeneous relationship of individual sound qualities denoted by vowels of the abbreviatory term aṇ. It is to resolve this difficulty that a was assumed to be vivṛta in the Aṣṭādhyāyi.

But since its usage is open, and also since, contrary to this usage, this ‘open’ quality does not become the standard articulation in usage (loka), this rule declares it to be accepted as ‘closed’ (samvṛta; Kāś. iha śāstre kāryārtham akāro vivṛṭah pratijñātah, tasya tathābhūtasyaśvā pravogyo mā bhūd iti samvṛta-pratyāpattir iyaṁ kriyate).
A specification made at the end of the śāstra ‘grammar’ applies through its entirety. Besides, what was previously specified as vivṛtta ‘open’ is now, through the suspension provision of 8.2.1 pūrvatāṃśiddham, becomes established here (atra) as sammūtta ‘open’. For example, a in vṛkṣah and plakṣah should be articulated as ‘close short’ as is the practice in the usage.

One can view this relationship between two specified a sounds as that of a sthāni ‘that which is replaced’ and ādeśa ‘that which replaces’. How could such a relationship be perceived between them when there is no formal difference. How could one a be called another if there was extreme non-difference (atyantābheda)? Such a statement will be useless. But there is a difference. They differ with respect to their articulatory efforts (prayatna-bhedā). That which is articulated with an ‘open’ articulatory effort is ‘one which is to be replaced’. That which is articulated with a ‘closed’ articulatory effort is ‘one which replaces’. It is the a which is articulated with ‘closed’ articulatory effort that experiences the status of being a replacement.

Now, there is no a which is articulated with ‘open’ articulatory effort. Not in the usage. Not in the Vedic. Not in the classical usage, either. For, in all instances, we only see a ‘closed’ a. Why go through the stipulation of an ‘open’ a which is now to be considered as ‘closed’? It is true that, in the Vedic as well as in the classical usage, a is articulated as ‘closed’. Still, for certain functional necessities, the a was stipulated to be articulated as ‘open’. What is that functional necessity? Commentators identify this functional necessity as ‘the establishment of homogeneous relationship between the class of sounds characterized as a’. If a was accepted as ‘closed’ to start with, it would have been impossible to establish its homogeneous relationship with ā. For, ā is articulated with the articulatory effort characterized as vivṛtta ‘open’. This, in turn, would go directly against the stipulation that ‘a homogeneous sound shares the same articulatory effort with others in the oral cavity’ (1.1.9 tulyāṇyopprayatnaṃ savarnām). The notion of homogeneity is established so that, among other things, a specification with a hrasva ‘short’ a can also include reference to its corresponding dīrgha ‘long’. If a specification with ‘short’ cannot include a reference to its ‘long’ counterpart, long replacement (savarṇa-dīrgha) of 6.1.100 akah savarṇe dīrghaḥ cannot be accomplished in danda + agram = dandaagram. But such a replacement cannot be accomplished in danda + aḍhakam = dandaḍhakam. But this inability of accomplishing long replacement in dandaḍhakam should not be accepted as a fault (doṣa). For, here in this śāstra ‘grammar’, qualities (gunaḥ) are considered non-distinctive (abhedakāh). The very idea of establishing the notion of sāvannya ‘homogeneity’ supports it. This reasoning is not valid. For, the sūtra which establishes the notion of homogeneity also considers differences in articulatory efforts as one of the variables. If not, the effort of establishing homogeneity on the basis of prayatna ‘articulatory efforts’ will become useless.
2. A specification of ‘open’ a, via the abbreviatory term \(aN\), includes reference to a class of eighteen vowels distinguished by qualities such as \(udātta\), etc. Consequently, we get a ‘close short’ vowel as a substitute in place of a similar vowel quality. A ‘long’ or ‘extra-long’ vowel quality can also be similarly gotten as a replacement. Or else, one can accept the a as ‘close’. But since this ‘close’ vowel quality is not included within the reference of the abbreviatory term \(aN\) it cannot include any reference to a ‘long’ or ‘extra-long’ vocalic quality. Accepting a as a specific ‘close’ vowel quality of the duration of one mora (\(mātṛa\)) is also problematic. For, it can then not include any reference to similar vowel qualities of the duration of one mora. The only way this can be resolved is: let a specified vowel quality refer to its own specific quality, and not to any other. Jīnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśi) asks two questions which, in turn, sum up the problems involved in accepting the specification of a of \(aN\) as ‘open’ or ‘close’:

\[
\text{katham punar dīrghapālītayor anena vīrvṛtenākārena grahaṇam iṣyāṇām api na bhavati ‘how is a reference to ‘long’ and ‘extra-long’ qualities, even though desired, cannot be accomplished by accepting this a as vīrvṛta ‘open’?}
\]

\[
\text{katham ca samvṛttena sarvagunayuktasya mātrikasya grahaṇam iṣyāṇām api labhyate ‘how is a reference to all ‘close’ vowel qualities of the duration of one mora accomplished by accepting this a as samvṛta ‘close’?}
\]

Others claim that this problem of reference, which is caused by the specification of a, via \(aN\), can be resolved by formulating this rule as \(ad\ a\). That is, by specifying a with \(t\) (tapaḥkarana; 1.1.70 taparas tatkalasya), as Patanjali states in the Mahābhāṣya: siddhaṁ tu taparanirdesāt ‘it is established on the basis of specification with a following \(t\)’. This new formulation would yield two interpretations of taparaḥ: taparaḥ: tah para yasmāt ‘that after which \(t\) occurs’; and \(tāt paraḥ taparaḥ\) ‘that which occurs after \(t\)’. The first interpretation will apply to the first a. The second interpretation will apply to the following a. The taparaḥkarana of the first vowel, i.e., vīrvṛta ‘open’, will help exclude reference to any corresponding dīrgha ‘long’ and pluta ‘extra-long’. A replacement, even though not included within the reference of \(aN\), will be able to refer to vowels of same duration, though used with different qualities.

Some also see the formulation of this rule as a specification made in view of the process of ekasēsa ‘only one of many remains’. Thus, six vowels of the duration of one mora (\(mātṛa\)) are specified as sthāni ‘that which is replaced’. Their corresponding replacements are also specified in equal number. One of each set is then retained. Thus, ekasēsa applies to both sets of six vowels. The assignment of an equivalent replacement is made on the basis of duration. Replacements of a ‘long’ or ‘extra-long’ duration are thus excluded. Six replacements of ‘close’ duration come in place of six vowels of similar duration in the order of enumeration. This accomplishes what is desired.
3. Commentators accept that those who, for reasons of achieving desired goals (iṣṭa-siddhi) of formulating a śāstra, invoke auspiciousness (maṅgala) at the beginning, in the middle, and also at the end, become celebrated and long-living:

\[ \text{yato maṅgalādīni maṅgalamadhyāni maṅgalāntāni ca śāstrāṇi} \]
\[ \text{prathante vīraṇapuruṣāni bhavanty āyuṣmaṇapuruṣāni ca} / \]

Pāṇini follows this practice of invoking auspiciousness so that the formulation of his śāstra could not only be accomplished without any obstacle (vighna), but could also accrue him merit (punya) and fame (yaśas). He thus used a at the beginning (in an of the Śā siuN), a in the middle (the first ‘open’ a of this rule) and at the end (the final ‘close’ a of this rule). This is fully in consonance with his practice of invoking auspiciousness in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Thus, at the beginning (1.1.1 vrddhir ādaita) he uses the word vrddhi ‘growth’; in the middle he uses the word śiva (4.4.143 śivaśamariṣṭasya kare); and, at the end (8.4.67 nodāttaśavaritodaya . . .), he uses the word udaya.
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