CHAPTER-IV

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ÖlUKLASYAURVEDIC ŠIKŠAS
CHAPTER-IV

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ŚUKLA YAJURVEDIC ŚIKṢĀS

IV.0  Basis for the Analysis

At the outset it may come to one’s mind why so many śikṣās are related to the ŚYV, when one śikṣā text may explain the principles relating to svara, varṇa and the manner of utterance etc. The answer to this question lies in the fact that the utterance of vedic mantras and the Vedas themselves is very mystic. So different śikṣā texts explain the intricacies which have been left out or not dealt with in other śikṣā texts along with the general rules. In this manner a number of śikṣā texts are to be found associated with the ŚYV. But the śikṣā texts do not consider or explain all the subjects, rather there are certain topics which are common to most of the śikṣā texts along with some specific subjects of discussion. The analysis of ŚYV. śikṣās are being done here as per the following three aspects:-

1)  Points of similarities
2)  comparative analysis of the similar subjects dealt upon by various śikṣās
(3)  specific peculiarities of the śikṣās

IV.1  Points of similarities

IV.1.(i) Enumeration of the alphabet

Like Pāṇ. śik., one will find in varṇaratnapradīpikā śikṣā 63 letters. But the speciality of this text is that the Pāṇ. śik. enumerates 64
letters accepting प्लुतलुकारः as one letter. But pluta ष is not mentioned here.

Śoḍaṣaśloki śikṣā mentions the ष as the fifth vowel. In this śikṣā, the number of vowels, the number of consonants, the number of yama letters, the divisions of vowels into hrasva, dīrgha, and pluta, the accents like udātta, anudātta and svarita, the nasalisation of vowels and the vowels without nasalisation are found detailed enumeration. The places of utterance of consonants are also enumerated in this śikṣā. In the Yāj. śik., the list of letters has been divided into four categories: svara (vowel), sparśa (stop), antahstha (semivowel) and uṣma (aspirant). Along with this the anusvāra, the jihvāmūlīya, the upadhānīya, the nāṣikya, the anunāṣikya the raṅga, and the yama letters are also mentioned. Though the number of letters in each category has not been mentioned, still it is important as it mentions 68 varṇas altogether as accepted by the śikṣākāras. In the Pāṇ. śik., twentytwo svaras have been enumerated. Only by including long ष their number becomes twentythree.

The various categories of alphabet found in the śikṣās of ŚYV may be listed as below.

i. svara (vowel)

ii. vyāñjana (consonants)
   a) sparśa (stop)
   b) antahstha (semivowels)
   c) uṣma (aspirant)
   d) anusvāra (the nasal sound preceding a vowel)
   e) jihvāmūlīya (the visarga pronounced before 'k' and 'kh' when uttered from the root of the tongue)
f) upadhmāṇīya (the visarga pronounced before 'p' and 'ph' when one has to blow or breath upon

g) nāsikya (a particular nasal sound related to the so called yamas)

h) anunāsikya (a nasal sound uttered through the nose)

i) raṅga (the nasal modification of a vowel)

j) yama (the consonant interposed and generally understood but not written in practice, between a nasal and a consonant immediately preceded by one of the four other consonants in each class. e.g., kum, khum, gum, ghum)

IV.1.(ii) Enumeration of Sandhis

Certain śikṣās predominantly deal with various types of sandhi. The keśavīśikṣā, keśavakṛtapadyātmikā śikṣā and prātiśākhya pradīpa śikṣā are of such category. Detailed enumeration of svarasandhi, vyanjana sandhi and visargasandhi is to be found in the prātiśākhya pradīpa śikṣā which has much similarity with keśavīśikṣā and the versified keśavīśikṣā.

For example, the takāra becomes lakāra when followed by lakāra as in 'āsīllokam', 'paricillokam' etc. so also the anunāsika becomes lakāra when followed by 'nakāra' and 'lakāra' e.g. trīlokānaḥ/अस्मिंद्रोके trīlloko, asmīlloko etc.

IV.1.(iii) Enumeration of accents

Certain śikṣās predominantly center round the instruction on the accents only. For example the Svarāṅkuṣa śikṣā has declared at the beginning that-
Concentrating on Heramba, Caṇḍikā, Śambhu, Sūrya, Hari, the preceptor, Sarasvati and the famous poets, I shall speak on the determination of accent.

Accordingly it deals with the udātta, anudātta, svarita and pracaya accents. Pracaya (is the accumulated accent occurring in a series of unaccented syllables following a svarita-circumflex). The particulars about kampitasvarā, jātyasvarā, abhinitasvarā, kṣaiprasvarā, praślistasvarā are also enumerated here basing upon different types of sandhis. Jātya is the name of the svarita accent resulting in a fixed word from an udātta originally belonging to a preceding 'i' or 'u'. Kampitasvarā causes to tremble or vibrate the tone while uttering the vowel. Abhinitasvarā is the accent of the sandhi between the final 'e' and 'o' with the initial 'a' suppressed. Praślistā is the sandhi of a/ā with a/ā, i/ī with i/ī, u/ū with u/ū, r/r with r/r, the result being the long form of the same vowel as ā/ī/ū/r.

IV.1.(iv) Enumeration of virāmas

In the RV, the virāmas are determined by the ardharca (half of a śk stanza) but as the YV contains prose portions, the virāmas or the ends of the lines are to be indicated. The numbers of all the virāmas have been mentioned in certain śikṣā texts. Avasānanirñaya śikṣā is of such type which declares at the outset that:—

avasānanān tu vakṣāmi yathāvadanupūrvaśah //2// or the closing mark shall rightly say in due order.
In this śikṣā, in the yajus where the closing marks or virāmas are to be done, have been instructed. The word avasāna has the same meaning as virāma. The numbers of all the virāmas are also compiled here as follows:-

sarvāṇy avasānāṁ ekīkṛtya ekonavirātsati satāni pāṇca saptatiḥ satikhyā- By uniting all the closing marks, the number will be nineteen hundred and seventy-five(1975).

IV.1.(v) Repetition of Rk. mantras in the YV

Some śikṣās enumerate mainly the repetition of “ṛkṣ” in YV. The repeated “ṛkṣ” which are generally seen in each chapter of Yajurveda are called “galitā”.-

yathā atra śikṣāyāṁ ca etadeva parigāṇitam yad yajurvedasatāṁ hitāyāṁ pratyadhyāyāṁ kiyataḥ kāca ṛco galitā arthāt atikramaviśayabhūtāḥ keṣu keṣu ca adhyāyeṣu galitāyā ṛco ’bhāva iti vivecitam//

For instance, in this śikṣā it has been calculated that some unimportant ṛkṣ have been dropped, i.e they have been treated as excessive. Therefore it is discriminated that in certain chapters there is the absence of the dropped ṛkṣ.

As the name suggests the Galadṛkṣikṣā enumerates the ṛk mantras which are found in YV. In this śikṣā the main subject is the enumeration of how many ṛk mantras are found mentioned in each chapter of YV and in which chapters of YV such ṛkṣ are not to be found. When the mantras of RV come for the first time in YV, they are to be uttered completely. But when the same mantra occurs for the second time, then only the pratika
or the first two/three words of that mantra are to be uttered followed by
the next mantra. Such order is enjoined in Vāj.Prā as samaḥhitāyām etc.
This śikṣā is significant for the retention of fks mantras as well as the
knowledge about how many fks are enumerated in Yajurveda.

IV.1.(vi) Placement of udāṭta accent in the word

Śikṣās deal with enumeration of words having udāṭta accent in
the beginning or middle or at the end. It is interesting to note that certain
śikṣās record the words which are found in ŚYV having udāṭta accent as
per their placement on the words. The manaḥsvāra śikṣā records the
Yajuṣmantras which have udāṭta accent on their first letter, the word
having udāṭta accent on the middle letter and also the word having udāṭta
accent on the last letter. Thus this śikṣā text forms an aid for the purity of
the accent of the vedic texts.

So also the word having na as it's ending letter and ta as its
ending letter and the avasānas or virāmas in the Yajuṣmantras are also
found mention in the manaḥsvāra śikṣā like the avasānanirṇaya śikṣā.

In the Yajurvedasatīḥitā, there are some fks composed by three
feet and some by four feet. In this manaḥsvāra śikṣā it is ascertained,
how many fks are there and how are they like. Besides, the number of
full stops has also been ascertained.

IV.1.(vii) Enumeration of kramas

The kramasandhānaśikṣā and the kramakārikāśikṣā enjoin
the rules about the order or krama relating to avasānas. The first verse
of kramasandhānaśikṣā states-
In the meeting of two words in *krama* texts, as the end of a word in the *kramapātha* has been repeated, therefore now according to the treatise dealing with the *kramapātha*, the act of joining the word together is being spoken.

Thus as per this *śikṣā* in the *sāṁhitāpātha*, where there are *avasānas* in the *mantras*, these *avasānas* are to be done as per a particular order. But in certain places though there is *avasāna* in the *sāṁhitāpātha* it becomes conjoined with the next word in the *kramapātha*. In the *sāṁhitāpātha*, the *avasānas* come at the *ardharca*. But in *kramapātha* the last word of the first half of a *ṛk* becomes conjoined with the first word of the next hemistich. Those cases are enumerated in this *śikṣā*. The *kramakārikā* *śikṣā* records the same at the outset as-

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sarvayājuṣamantrāṇāṁ vede vājasaneyake /
kramāvānasaviśayāṁ kārikāmārabhāmahe //2//
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In the *Vājasaneya sāṁhitā* i.e in the white *Yajurveda*, we now begin the *kārikā* (concise statement in verse) dealing with the need of a word in the *krama* text of all the *Yajuṣ* mantras.

**IV.1.(viii) Enumeration of *svarabhakti***

Some *śikṣās* give stress upon the enumeration of *svarabhakti*. For example, the *svarabhaktilakṣaṇa pariśīṭaśikṣā* enumerates five kinds of *svarabhakti* along with their examples as follows-
svarabhaktiḥ pañcadhā syāt tatrādyā karinī smṛtā /

rakārasya hakareṇa samyogo yatra jāyate

karinī sā tu vijñeyā barhirasī ti darśanam // verse-36

svarabhakti is vowel separation. It is a vowel sound phonetically inserted between r or l and a following consonant (e.g. ‘darśana’ being equal to daraśana). Svarabhakti is of five kinds among them the first one is called ‘karinī’. It takes place where there is combination of ‘r’ with ‘h’. e.g. barhiraṣi (r+h)

The second one is called kurvinī where there is combination of ‘l’ with ‘h’. e.g. ‘upavalha’ (l+h)

lakārasya hakareṇa samyogo yatra jāyate /

kurvinī sā hi vijñeyā upavalheti paśyati //

verse-37 of svarabhakti lakṣaṇapariśiṣṭa śikṣā

rakārasya śakareṇa satīyogo yatra dṛṣyate /

hariṇī sā tu vijñeyārśasa' ityādi darśanam // Ibid, verse-38

The third one is called hariṇī where there is a combination of ‘r’ with palatal ‘ś’. e.g. arśasa (r+ś).

lakārasya śakareṇa satīyogo yatra jāyate /

tañh hariṇīṁ vijānīyāt satavalseti darśanam // Ibid, verse-39

The fourth one is called hariṇī or hāritā (Yāj.Śik-101) where there is a combination of “l” with palatal ‘ś’ e.g. satavalśa (l+ś)

rephasyātha śakareṇa satīyogo yatra dṛṣyate /

hamsapadeti vijñeyā varṣo varṣīyasīti ca // Ibid, verse-40
The fifth one is called *hamsapādā* where there is a combination of ‘r’ with cerebral ‘ṣ’ e.g. *varaśaḥ* and *varṣīyasī* (r+ṣ)

\[ \text{etat lakṣaṇamākhyaṁ ātariṁ svarabhakti ākṛśanaiḥ} \]

Ibid

The experts have spoken of this definition of *svarabhakti*. Thus the last six verses of the *svarabhakti-lakṣaṇa śikṣā* explain the rules of *svarabhakti* which are evidently the reproductions from the *yajñavalkya śikṣā* (verses 98-104). Vāj Prāt IV.7 and Atharva Prāt. 1-102 maintain that the fricative before which *svarabhakti* occurs is not followed by a cansonant but is followed by a vowel. Thus in the word *pārśvataḥ*, though there is the conjunction of *r+s* but as ‘ṣ’ is followed by ‘v’ which is a cansonant and the *svarabhakti* does not occur.

### IV.2.0 Comparative Analysis of ŚV śikṣās

A comparative analysis of ŚV śikṣās is furnished below:

(i) *Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā* is older than *Prātiśākhya pradīpa śikṣā*.

(ii) Though Amar the author of *varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā* has followed the general rules of *Prātiśākhya* yet he has arranged the rules in his own order. He did not follow the order of *Prātiśākhya* although it mostly defines the sūtras of *Prātiśākhya* section by section with illustration.

(iii) *Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā* states that the recitation of vedic texts precedes and clarifies the understanding of accentuation and euphonic combination. But *Prātiśākhya pradīpa śikṣā* defines the method of studying Vedic texts and persons unfit to study the Vedas without the prior knowledge of the rules of śikṣā.
(IV) Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā deals with the enumeration of letter explanation of technical terms such as jit, dhi, ut, kaṇṭhya, sim, bhāvi and upadā. But Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā deals with rules of vowel-combination, consonant combination, visarga combination and cerebralisation of s and n.

(V) Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā mainly specifies anu and paramānu including hrasva, dīrgha and pluta, but Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā deals mainly with acute, grave and circumflex accent.

(VI) Pracaya accent plays a special role in Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā, but in Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā, sthāna, karaṇa and prayatna are clearly explained.

(VII) Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā informs us rules of syllabic division (pūrvāṅga, parāṅga carcā) but Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā gives the description of eight vikṛtipāthas (fictitious recitations such as jaṭā, mālā, sikhā, rekhā, dhvaja, daṇḍa, ratha, and ghana) and it also gives detailed description regarding the pronunciation of ’r’, ’y’, ’v’ and ’s’.

(VIII) Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā estimates the relative strength of vowels but Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā deals with the vowel lengthening.

(IX) Rules of euphonic combination like lopa, āgama, vikāra and prakṛtibhāva play a predominant role in Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā. But Prātiṣākhya pradīpa śikṣā gives more stress on different manual gestures. It provides more
information about avagraha, samkrama, krama text, krama
samdhana and svarabhakti.

(X) svarabhaktilakṣaṇa pariśiṣṭaśikṣā is ascribed to Kātyāyana.
It mainly describes different kinds of svarabhakti in the last
six verses and these are evidently the reproductions from
Yājñavalkya śikṣā. Prātiśākhya pradīpa śikṣā deals with
one section in svarabhakti whereas Varṇaratna pradīpa śikṣā
deals with some euphonic combination and its classification,
specially discussing the syllabication of svarabhakti.

(XI) Krama satāṇdhaṇas have been collected in the satāṇkramas.
Satāṇkrama is defined as combination of re-occurring words
with the non-recurring words. But in svarabhaktilakṣaṇa pariśiṣṭaśikṣā,
the uses of pratyāharas are mainly found but kramapāṭha denotes the joint recitation of the two words.

(XII) There are mainly 1975 repeated ṛks in the VSM. Galadīk śikṣā mainly concentrates on repeated ṛks but there are
altogether 115 kramasandhānas seen in VSM.
Kramasandhānaśikṣā discusses about those sandhānas.
Galadīk śikṣā is very significant from the point of view of
text representation.

(XIII) Manahsvāra gives sufficient stress on svara but other aspects
like vala, mātrā, sūma and santāna are not dealt upon. But
Mallasarma śikṣā mainly deals with the manual gestures for
accents. It plays a very specific role like Yāj. śikṣā for dealing
with the vast subject so elaborately like general rules,
mūlasthāna catus-svaragati, egressing of fingers, definition
of *anunāsika*, treatment of *kṣaipra* etc. But *svarāṅkuṣa śikṣā* is a small treatise containing only 25 verses, a minor treatise defining the rules of accentuation and of euphonic combination. Regarding, the authorship of the work of *svarāṅkuṣa śikṣā*, it is confusing whether he was Rāvana or Jayanta.

(XIV) *Śoḍaśaśloki śikṣā* is different from other Yajurvedic śikṣās as elementary division of alphabet their characteristics etc are clearly described in it. Enumeration of alphabets as described in *Śoḍaśaśloki śikṣā* is more detail than other śikṣās.

(XV) Anantadeva in *Avasānanirṇayaśikṣā* describes 9 types of fullstops or “*avasāna*” in this śikṣā. Total 1975 “*avasānas*” are mentioned in this *avasānanirṇaya śikṣā*. In *kramapāṭha* it is prescribed here that *anusvāra* preceded by a short vowel should be treated as long provided it is not followed by the *visarga*.

(XVI) *Kramakarikā śikṣā* depicts different types of *kramāvasānas* of *VSM*. It differs from *Vāśiṣṭhi śikṣā* as it does not deal with phonetics proper and it differentiates the *ṭk* and the *Yajus* portions in each chapter of the white *Yajurveda*.

(XVII) *Kātyāyanī śikṣā* describes the characteristics of the circumflex accent.

There is a metrical version of *Vāj.Prāt. Māṇḍavi śikṣā* enumerates how it prevents the confusion between “*b*” and “*v*” which is very predominant in the eastern zone. In comparison to *keśāvī śikṣā, kātyāyanī* and *māṇḍavi* play a significant role in white *Yajurvedic śikṣās*. As *keśāvī śikṣā* is known as *navānka sūtra* it mainly follows the *pratijñā sūtra*. 
The \textit{Vāsiśthi śikṣā} belonging to \textit{Vājasaneyī sarīḥhitā} is completely different from the \textit{Vāsiśthi śikṣā} belonging to the \textit{Taittirīya sarīḥhitā}. The former deals with the difference of Īk and Yajasportion. It has nothing left with phonetic proper where as later deals exclusively with phonetic matter.

There are certain general characteristics that are found in the śikṣā treatises. For example general classification and pronunciation of letters, mode of reciting and accentuating the Vedic text, method of learning the Veda, person worthy of studying the Veda, different manual gestures while uttering Vedic mantras etc have been enumerated in the śikṣā text along with some specific topics peculiar to the specific śikṣās.

\textbf{IV.3.0 Specific peculiarities in ŚYV śikṣās}

Among the existing available śikṣā texts, the maximum number of śikṣās is related to ŚYV. In all these śikṣā texts some specific unique principles relating to the pronunciation are to be found which are not found in other śikṣā texts relating to other Vedic recensions or whatever rules of phonetics are found they are completely different. This itself is a very interesting and significant point to note.

Some significant rules relating to utterance of alphabets as found in the śikṣā texts if ŚYV are as follows:-

i) The varities in the pronunciation of 'ṛ'

ii) The pronunciation of anusvāra as short or long.

iii) The Pronunciation of visarga as ha

iv) The Pronunciation of 'y' as 'j' in certain specific cases

v) The pronunciation of cerebral a murdhanya 'ṣa' as 'kha'
IV.3.(i) The varieties in the pronunciation of (ṛ) ‘ṛ’

There is great difference among the śikṣākāras as to the pronunciation of the vowel ṛ as ‘ṛi’, ‘ru’ or ‘re’. This difference is due to the varieties of recensions and also due to the impact of geographical regions.

In the Mādhyandina recension of ŚYV the (ṛ) ‘ṛ’ is pronounced as ‘re’. The śikṣā texts have clearly mentioned that:

\[ \text{halyutāyutasyoh saikārāśca} \] (Keśavī śikṣā sūtra-8)

Which means at the end of the pada or at the middle of the pada joined with the cansonant or devoid of consonant (ṛ) ‘ṛ’ is to be uttered as ‘re’. In support of this principle the Daivajña keśava has quoted the second and third chapter of ŚYV as-

\[ kṛṣṇo'si.............kṛṣṇo'si \] (II.1)

\[ pīṭrmate.............pīṭrmate / \]

In the versified śikṣā of keśava, this principle is expressed in different words only as follows:

In the end of a word ‘ṛ’ should be pronounced as ‘re’ in the Mādhyandina sarīhitā e.g. ‘kṛṣṇo'si’ should be pronounced as ‘kṛṣṇo'si’. ‘pīṭrmate’ should be pīṭrmate, pīṭtiya should be ‘rettviya’. When ‘s’ is preceded by ‘y’ and ‘v’ it should not be doubled. (when ‘ṛ’ is joined or not joined with a consonant in the end of a word, it should be pronounced with ‘e’. For ‘ṛ’ instead of ‘ṛ’ the same rule is applicable.

\[ ṛkārasya ca sarīyuktāsarīyuktasyāpi sarvatāḥ / \]

\[ saikāroccarāṇatī kuryāḥkārasya tatha bhavet // kārikā-11 \]
This fact is also stated in the *Laghumādhyandiniya śikṣā* and three examples have been adduced in support of this as:

\[ hṛde \rightarrow hrede, mṛgaḥ \rightarrow mṛgaḥ, rcatīnvācam \rightarrow recatīnvācam \] etc.

\[ ṭkāraḥ khalu sarvatra hyekārasadṛśo bhavet / \]

\[ hṛde mṛgastṛtyā ca rcatīn vvācamathāparam // (kārikā-28) \]

Besides this in the *svarabhaktilakṣaṇa pariśṭasāṅkṣāṭa* pah, also this speciality of pronunciation has been noted with examples as follows:

\[ uṣmordhvarephasyoccarah saikāro halyuto na cet / \]

\[ pitṛṇāmiha pitreṇāmiityādi ca nidarśanam // (kārikā-18) \]

If not combined with a consonant, the *repha* (r sound) riding an *ūṣman* (the three sibilants, *ha, upadhmāṇīya, jihvāmulīya, anusvāra* and *visarga*) should be uttered with ‘e’ e.g. *pitṛṇāmiha* becomes *pitreṇāmiha*.

**IV.3.(ii) The pronunciation of anusvāra as, short or long**

The speciality of pronunciation of *anusvāra* is much more vividly treated in many *śikṣās* of ŚYV. The generally accepted view is that *anusvāra* is uttered as ‘*gum*’ and also a special sign *‘U’* is ascribed to it and the *śikṣās* of ŚYV vary as per the form of this sign.

*Laghumādhyandiniya śikṣā* very clearly and exhaustively throws light on this as:

\[ \text{anusvāro yatra kutra śkūro bhavati dhruvam} / \]

\[ hrasva dīrgho gurśceti trividhaḥ parikṛtitaḥ // \]

\[ hrasvāt paro bhaved dīrgho haśzasiti darśanam / \]
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The anusvāra after a short vowel becomes long e.g. 'haṣsal' (swan) and that after a long vowel becomes short e.g. māṣṭeṣbhyaḥ. The anusvāra after a long vowel (either by nature or position) is considered as long when followed by e.g. 'devāṇīḍhdaye and taskarāṇāṁ' (in the heart of the gods and in the arrow of the thieves). So also in siṣhyasi (you are a lioness) as the conjunct hya occurs after the anusvāra, it is to be uttered as guru or long. It may be pointed out that the sign for hrasva anusvāra is छ and dīrgha anusvāra is ळ as per the laghumādhyandinīśikṣā.

In this context in his śikṣā text Daivajña keśava has explained the word 'guru' and he suggests 'guru' as the conjoint alphabet. He has not given any exposition as to the position of anusvāra preceded by 'ṛ'. But rest of the different positions have been highlighted by him as follows:-

\[ \text{anusvārasya ुम ् sargala rephe ca pare } / \]
\[ \text{hrasvād dīrgho dīrghādhrasva sayyoge guruśca } / (kārikā-5) \]

anusvāra becomes long when followed by сло (сло σα and ह) and repha, the ṛ sound. It is pronounced long (�) after a short vowel and short after a long vowel. It is long in combination with a vowel. For example-

1. triṣṣat dhāmeti
2. sarvaśaḍāditi
3. bhūyāsaśugrhapatiḥ
4. sataḥi māḥ
5. samprajayā saṃrāyaspoṣṇetī

After long vowel:-

6. prthivyāḥ satena pāśaiḥ
7. sasṛvāḥ sāvvaḍajitam
8. sambrhiraṅktāḥ haviśā
t
9. iṣāḥrayinām
10. surayā bheṣajaḥ śriya
11. kalpatāḥ śrotrāyyajñena
12. daśṭrābhyaḥ malamliṇīṃjāṃ
13. puroḍāśair haviṣṭyā
t
14. somānaḥ svaranāṃ
15. samṛṣīṇāḥ stutena
16. siṣṭhyasi

The versified śikṣā of keśava also notes the same aspect as follows:-

anusvārṣya & kāra ādeśaśchandasi smṛtaḥ // (kārikā-15) ,

uṣmārepeṣu parastastasya traṇiḍhyamucyate /

hrasvāddāṛghad dīrghahrasvo gurau ca paratoḥ guruh // (kārikā-16)

rkārapara uṣmāntyeyo dīrghāddirgho'pi jāyate /

parasavarne hyanusvārasyeṣāt prakṛtirucyate //17
The anusvāra is said to be threefold when it is followed by the āṣma (the sibilants etc.) and the repha (r' sound). When either of the āṣma or repha becomes long, then the anusvāra becomes short, and long when either of them becomes short and when that preceding letter becomes heavy. When the anusvāra occupying the ultimate position of an āṣma, succeeds the ṭkāra, then the anusvāra becomes long accordingly as the preceding letter becomes. When the anusvāra is preceded by a homo-organic letter, the original form of prakṛti is known to a small extent.

anuvātram anusvāro hyuttamaṁ cānumātrakam / (kārikā-18)

anusvāra is of the size of an atom and this size is described as the best. The position of anusvāra and relative pronunciations are also hinted upon in the svarabhakti kṣaṇa pariśiṣṭaśikṣā in the same way but in a different words only as follows:-

"śaṣase ca kakhapaphe visargāḥ santi yatra ca" / (kārikā-18)

In the letters ā, ē and a and in k-ka and p-pha the visargas are found. The visarga following ka and kha is called jīvhānmūlyā (produced from the root of the tongue) and the visarga following pa and pha is called upadhmāṇiyā (produced by the act of blowing). The svarabhakti kṣaṇa pariśiṣṭaśikṣā also states that:-

gūm(ः)kārah syād anusvārasthāne śali ca re pare / 19
hrasvāddērgho bhavedērghādhrasvō gururatho mataḥ // 19
śāyoge parato ha(ः)sa ityādi nidarśanam /

ta(ः)savīrityādi da(ः)śreyādikātth tathā // 20
When the *ṣa* (*ṣa ṣa sa* and *ḥa*) and the *repha* (*ra*) follow in the place of *anusvāra*, there should be (long) gum. The *anusvāra* becomes short after a long vowel and long after a short vowel. It also becomes heavy after a light vowel etc. When the *anusvāra* is combined with the *ṣal* or *repha* in post-position, then it becomes long e.g. *ḥa(ṝ)sah* (*swan*) and *da(ṝ)ṣṭrā* (*the jaw*). The *anusvāra* becomes long as it follows a short vowel. Herein the short, long and the heavy pronunciation should be observed in due succession. In spite of the absence of *ṣal* (*ṣa ṣa sa* and *ḥa*) and *repha* (*ra*) coming afterwords, the *anusvāra* becomes long according to the rule cited below by Mallaśarman e.g. *si(ṝ) hi* (*lioness*). Here *anusvāra* is noted as (ṝ). The Mallaśarma śikṣā also refers this *anusvāra* as (ṝ). Thus it says:-

*atha ṛkāra samjña-hereafter the definition of gum comes hrasyāt agre bhavet dīrgho dīrghāt agre bhavet laguḥ / devāṇāṁ hṛdayam tyaktvā śādeva dvilake pare // 26 dīrghe tu deśinī tyājyā kṣipraṁ syat dvilake laghau / mantre tridhā vidhir jñeyo brāhmaṇe tu dvīdhā smṛtaḥ // 27

The long should become ahead of the short, and the light should become ahead after the long. Giving up (*devāṇāṁ hṛdayam*), when the *dvilaka* (*the guru, laghu and hrasva anusvāra*) comes afterwards, the gum should be pronounced. But in the long, the index finger should be given up when the *dvilaka* is light. Then (*kṣipra*) (*the thumb finger should be bent at its tip and pressed on the back of the index finger*).
In the mantra, the rule should be known to be threefold and in the Brāhmaṇa, it is mentioned that the rule is twofold (kātyāyana’s pratijñāsūtra).

A completely different opinion is to be found in the Yājñavalkya śikṣā where anusvāra is pronounced as short when followed by a conjunct. Thus it is said:

hrasvādagre bhaveddīrgho dīrghādagre bhavedlaghuḥ /
satīnyoge ca pare hrasvah si(V)hyasi nidarsanam // 63

The anusvāra should become long if it is ahead of the short, and if it is ahead of the long, then it should become light. With regard to subsequent conjuction, i.e. if it is followed by a conjunct, then it becomes short eg. ‘si(V)hyasi’.

Along with this the Yāj. Śik. has ascribed the one mora or two moras respectively in order to express the short anusvāra and long anusvāra.

anusvāro dvimātrah syāt Īvarṇe vyañjanodaye /
hrasvō vā yadi vā dīrgo devānā(V)hrdaye tathā // 65

When the letter ‘ṛ’ is joined with a consonant following the anusvāra, then the anusvāra has two moras, irrespective of being long or short eg. ‘devānā(V) hṛdaye’.

Such type of injunction has also been laid down by Amareśa in varṇaratnapradīpikā śikṣā.

IV.3.(iii) Pronunciation of visarga as ‘ha’

Visarga is to be pronounced as ha. Laghumādhyandiniya śikṣā
has given stress upon this speciality of pronunciation of ŚYV.

\[ \text{hakāro naiva mantavya iti śāstravyavasthitih} / \]

\[ \text{phaṇiniśvāsasadya visargo bhavati dhruvam} // 22 \]

Which means though pronounced as 'ha' still visarga is not to be regarded as 'ha' itself. The visarga pronounced as ha should not be treated as hakāra. Such is the distinction made by the scripture. The visarga resembles certainly the sigh of the serpent. This pronunciation respectively becomes-

(i) \[ \text{hakārah} -------- devovah-savitā \]
(ii) \[ \text{hikārah} -------- devi-stisro \]
(iii) \[ \text{hukārah} -------- ākhu-stepaśuḥ \]
(iv) \[ \text{hekārah} -------- agneh \]
(v) \[ \text{hokārah} -------- vāhoḥ \]

Thus says the \[ \text{Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā:-} \]

\[ \text{kaṇṭhyoṣṭhyastu tathaukārādvisargo bhavati dhruvam} / \]

\[ \text{devo vaḥ savitā cātra hakārasadṛśo bhavet} // (kārikā-18) \]

The visarga after aukāra is certainly glottal and labial (produced simultaneously from the glottis and the lip). In ‘devo vaḥ savitā’ the visarga after akāra should be pronounced like ha.

\[ \text{deviśtisro visargastu hikārasadṛśo bhavet} / \]

\[ \text{ākhustet paśurityādu hukārasadṛśo bhavet} // (kārikā-19) \]

The visarga in the word ‘deviḥ’ should be pronounced as ‘hi’ and that in ‘paśuḥ’ etc. should be pronounced as ‘hu’. \[ (deviḥ tisrah = \]
three goddesses, and ākhusthe paśuḥ = the rat is your animal) 

visargascāgnerityādau hekārasadṛśo bhavet /
visargo bāhvoryorityādau hokāra sadṛśo bhavet // (kārikā-20)

The visarga in ‘agnih’ etc. should be uttered like ‘he’ and the same in ‘bahvyoh’ etc should be uttered like ‘ho’.

atha svair dīkṣāirityādau hikāra sadṛśo bhavet /
visargo dyauṣpitetyādau hukārasadṛśo bhavet // (kārikā-21)

The visarga in ‘svaiḥ dīkṣaiḥ’ etc should be uttered as ‘hi’ and the same in ‘dyauḥ pita’ etc. should be uttered as ‘hu’.

From all the above examples this becomes clear that, the śikṣākāra has distinctly demarcated the specific pronunciation of visarga like a vowel but not as a consonant. The other śikṣās are not so explicit about visarga.

IV.3.(iv) 'ya'(्य) as pronounced as 'ja' (ञ) under some specific conditions

The utterance of 'ya' (्य) as 'ja' (ञ) is an unique speciality of ŚYV but in writing 'ya' (्य) remains as 'ya'(्य) only. The 'ya' is pronounced as 'ja' under some specific conditions. It may be said that when there is a slash mark at the middle of 'ya' (्य) there it is to be uttered as 'ja', varṇaratnapradīpikā śikṣā gives details of such speciality of pronunciation as follows:-

pādādau ca padādau ca sāyyogāvagraheṣu ca /
ja śabda iti vijñeyo yonyaḥ sa ya iti smṛтаḥ // 204

The ‘ya’ sound should be known as ‘ja’ at the beginning of a
pāda (the fourth part of a verse), at the beginning of a pada (word), in a conjunction (letter conjoined with a consonant) and in avagraha (separation of the component parts of the Vedic compound). The ‘ya’ other than such is to be pronounced as ya. For example:-

1) yuktena manasāvayam / 11/2;31 -at the beginning of a pada
2) tat tvā yāmi brāhmaṇm / 18/49 -at the beginning of a pada
3) anukāšena bāhyah-ya conjoined with ‘h’ (in conjunction)
4) yoge yoge-In avagraha (occurring in the pada text of the Veda)
   yuktena manasā tadvat tathā yāmi tathāparam /
   anukāšena bāhyah ca yoge yoge nidarśanam //

The purport is that at the beginning of a pada, and of a pada, at the conjunction of consonants or after the avagraha ya is pronounced as ja. In other cases ya is to be uttered as ya.

Yāj. Śik. also states this without giving the example as follows:-

pādādau ca padādau ca samyyogāvagāheṣu ca /
ja śabda iti vijīyeyo yo'ntyah sa ya iti smṛtaḥ // (verse-250)

At the beginning of a pada and of a pada, in conjunction and in separation of a component parts of a Vedic compound, the ‘ya’ should be uttered as ‘ja’. When ‘ya’ is the last letter of a word it should be uttered as ya and not ‘ja’. The first three examples are the same except the fourth one which is ‘manuṣyāḥ’ in which last letter ‘yah’ should be uttered as yāh (not jāh) (turīyamanuṣyāḥ pade)

In the “Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā” and Keśavas padyātmikā śikṣā, the ‘ya’ is pronounced as ‘ja’ only in the beginning of a pada.
Thus it states:

\[ \text{Ise laksyaṁ kṛṣṇa' uksā samudraḥ pratyudāḥtih /} \]
\[ \text{padēdau vidyamānasya hysaṁyuktasya yasya ca //} \]

Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā - 2

\[ \text{ādeśo hi jākāraḥ syāt yuktah san harāṇena tu-//} \]
\[ \text{yajñena yajñatāṁ vailaksyaṁ mayūre pratyudāḥtīḥ // Ibid-3} \]

There is counter example in cases such as īse, laksyaṁ, kṛṣṇa and uksā of the rule by which the cerebral 'ṣ' is pronounced as 'kha'. The 'ya' which not being joined with any consonant remains at the beginning of a word, becomes the substituted letter 'ja' and also when it is joined with 'ha' and 'ra' e.g. yajñene yajñam, (which is the reverse of the usual). It's counter example is found in mayūra

\[ \text{tasmād yajñāt sarvahutaḥ samasmād yat tathaiva ca /} \]
\[ \text{rephenaḥa hakāreṇa yuktasya sarvathā bhavet // Ibid-4} \]

In 'tasmādyā' and in 'samasaṭyā' the 'y' joined with 'd' (d+y) does not become 'j'. Hence it is a counter example. But the 'y' joined with 'r' and 'h' becomes 'j' in all circumstances e.g. 'ārya' and 'bāhya'

\[ \text{sūryo bāhyam tu vailaksyaṁ śaṣṣyaṁa pratyudāḥtīḥ /} \]
\[ \text{yakārarkārayuktasya jākāraḥ sarvathā bhavet // Ibid-5} \]
\[ \text{sahrayyā tathā vṛyuddhya copasargaparasya na /} \]
\[ \text{upayajñanmānumaṃṣaṃāṃpi yantīyudāḥtīḥ // Ibid-6} \]

In the examples 'sūrya' and 'bāhya' the pronunciation of 'ya' as 'ja' is the reverse of the usual. In 'śaṣṣyaṁa' there is the counter example because according to the rule cited in case of sal, the ya ought to be
pronounced as ‘ja’. But it is hereby prohibited. When a letter is joined with ya or ‘ṛ’ (yakāra and ṭkāra) it becomes ja in any circumstance. The ya coming after a preposition should not be uttered as ja e.g. upayajña, and apiyanti.

Similarly in Keśava’s padyātmikā śikṣā it is stated that

\[ \text{adyāntasthasya joccārāḥ padādau paṭḥitasya' ca} \]
\[ \text{upasargaparō yastu yasya chandasi neṣyate} \]
\[ \text{// kārikā-7} \]

The ya read at the beginning of a pada, whether it stands either at the beginning or end is uttered as ja. But when it follows a preposition, the same rule is not allowed.

Besides the above position in certain other cases also ‘y’(य) is pronounced as ‘ja’ (ज) references of which are to be found in

i) laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā
ii) laghvamoghānandini śikṣā
iii) sūtrātmikā keśavī śikṣā
iv) padyātmikā keśavī śikṣā
v) svarabhāktīlakṣaṇa pariśiṣṭa śikṣā

But in Yājñavalkya and in Varṇaratna pradīpikā śikṣā these points are not found. As per Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā when ‘ya’(य) is joined with repha, hakāra and ṛ then in Mādhyandina Yajurveda ‘ya’ is pronounced as ‘ja’

As sūrya> is pronounced as sūrja
bāhyā> is pronounced as bāhja
vyṛddhi> is pronounced as vyṛddhi
But in sāapyāya as the above three positions are absent, so 'ya' is pronounced as 'ya'. In Laghvamoghanandini śikṣā and Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā after r, ya is not pronounced as 'ja'. In Keśavīśikṣā, the position of 'r' is instructed differently as at the beginning of a pada and at the end of a pada to determine the 'ja' sound of 'ya' padāntamadhyya -r- ha-rephayugyasya yaśca keśavīśikṣā and ya joined with r, ha, and repha occurring at the end or middle of a word. But in svarabhaktīlakṣaṇa paripūṣṭa śikṣā, the examples are given and in padyātmikā keśavī śikṣā as well as in kātyāyanīya pratiḥāsūra, both the rules of change of 'ya' in to 'ja' in utterance are expressed together. Thus the pronunciation of 'ya' as 'ja' is a significant speciality of Mādhyandina recension and all most all the important śikṣā texts have thrown light on this aspect.

IV.3.(v) The pronunciation of the cerebral śakūra is uttered as guttural 'kha'

In the Mādhyandinīya tradition the 'śa' is pronounced as 'kha' at the end of a word or at the middle of a word in certain specific cases. This aspect is so significant that the Laghumādhyandinīya śikṣā starts his text with this as:

atha śikṣām pravakṣyāmi mādhyandinamatarāṁ yathā /
śakūrasya khakāraḥ syāt ṭukayoge tu no bhavet //
īṣe lakṣyāṁ kṛṣṇa' uksā samudraḥ pratyudāhṛtiḥ / Karika-I-2

Which means now I shall explain the śikṣā according to the view of the Mādhyandina. The 'śa' must be pronounced as 'kh'. But when

1. Laghvamoghanandini śikṣā ka - 3-4
2. Keśavākṣa pradyātmikā śikṣā - 8
3. Svarabhaktīlakṣaṇa paripūṣṭa śikṣā - 16
'sa' is in combination with 'tu' (letters belonging to the 'ta' class) and 'ka', that rule is not applicable. But there is counter example in cases of 'iše laksya, kṛṣṇa and ukṣa- which means that in the words cited above the 'sa' should not be uttered as 'kha'. Thus when conjoined with the 'tavarga' and the consonant 'ka' then 'sa' is not uttered as 'kha'. For clarification, the 'acārya has given the examples as- 'iše 1/1, 23/35

In the versified śikṣā. Daivajña Keśava has used the expressions mūrdhanya usmā in place of 'sa' and further states that this rule is to be observed only in vedic sanskrit but not in classical sanskrit. In the aphoristic Keśavī śikṣā and in svarabhakti lakṣaṇapariśiṣṭa śikṣā, it is enjoined that 'š' is to be uttered as 'kh' except in 'tavarga'.

\[ \texttt{tavargamantarā śasya khoccaraschandasīritaḥ} / \]
\[ \texttt{pratyudāharaṇam prśto diviṣe tvā nidarśanam} // \]
\[ \text{Svarabhakti lakṣaṇapariśiṣṭa śikṣā-17} \]

Except in the letters belonging to the 'ta' class (i.e. 'ta, 'tha, 'da, 'dha and 'na) the utterence of 'sa' as 'kha' has been prescribed in the veda. Its counter example is found in the words 'prśta' and diviṣe wherein the 'sa' should not be pronounced as 'kha'.

While explaining this, Keśavī śikṣā has given examples from mantra portion and brāhmaṇa portion. The example of mantra portion is- 'iše tva' where 'sa' is to be uttered as 'kha'. The example of brāhmaṇa portion is- 'iyam prthivī sarveśāṁ bhūtānām (this earth belongs to all beings) here also 'sa' in sarveśāṁ is to be uttered as 'kha'. These are the peculiarities of pronunciation as related to 'sa' as 'kha'.