

(118) ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् । *nyāpprātipadikāt. 4. 1. 1*

(119) प्रत्ययः । *pratyayah. 3. 1. 1*

(120) परश्च । *paraśca. 3. 1. 2*

लघु० - इत्यधिकृत्य । ङ्यन्तादाबन्तात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च परे स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः ।

**Trans. :** In view of these governing rules, (the present sūtra means) : Let the affixes *su*, etc. be introduced after a form of word, which ends in either feminine affix *nī* or *āp* or after a nominal stem (*prātipadika*).

PP. *svaujasamauṭchaṣṭābhyāmbhisṇebhyāmbhyasṇasibhyāmbhyas-ṇasosāmnyossup pratyayah nyāpprātipadikāt paraḥ ca.*

**Eluc. :** It would have been better firstly, if these sūtras had been given in the Laghu before sūtra (117) and secondly, if the order of these sūtras had been like this : *pratyayah, paraśca, nyāpprātipadikāt* (cf. Bhaimī, p. 163). It would also have been better if the governing rules had been given before the sūtra which occurs in their domain. The sūtra *nyāpprātipadikāt* occurs in the domain of the sūtras : *pratyayah* (119) and *paraśca* (120). For this reason the sūtra *nyāpprātipadikāt* (118) should have been placed after these two sūtras. Consequently, it is appropriate that these sūtras are explained in the order in which they find their place in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

The first governing sūtra is *pratyayah* (119). The domain of this adhikāra sūtra extends up to the end of the fifth chapter of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. This is the largest section (covering three chapters) to be governed by a single sūtra in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The word *pratyayah* will thus recur in every subsequent rule up to the end of the fifth chapter. Therefore the items which are introduced after a verbal root (*dhātu*) or a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) in this section are to be designated by this technical term (*pratyaya*).

The second governing sūtra is *paraśca* (120). It also has the same range of operation as the preceding rule. It means that the affix is to follow that form of word to which it has been prescribed. As a consequence of this, the paribhāṣā sūtra *tasmādityuttarasya* (71) is not relevant with reference to the sūtra *nyāpprātipadikāt* (118) in which ablative case-ending has been used.

The sūtra *nyāpprātipadikāt* (118) occurs in the domain of these two governing sūtras. The word *nyāpprātipadikāt* is a samāhāradvandva

compound. Had it been an itaretaradvandva, it would have been in the plural. The compound is analysed as *nī ca āp ca prātipadikam ca eṣāṃ samāhārah, nyāprātipadikam, tasmāt = nyāprātipadikāt*. The first two members of the compound, i.e. *nī* and *āp* have been used in the sūtra without the differentiating anubandhas. By doing this, Pāṇini intends to include all the feminine affixes in which *nī* and *āp* are common. As such, the element *nī* denotes the feminine affixes *nīp, nīṣ* and *nīn* and the element *āp* is a cover term for the feminine affixes *ṭāp, ḍāp* and *cāp*. The sūtra *svauja...* (117) occurs in the domain of the governing rule *nyāprātipadikāt* (118). Taking into account this fact, the sūtra *svauja...* (117) means : The declensional affixes *su, au*, etc. are to be introduced after the word forms which end in *nīp, nīṣ, nīn, ṭāp, ḍāp* and *cāp* and also after nominal stems (*prātipadika*). The latter (nominal stems) are covered by the samjñā sūtras *arthavadadhāturapratyayah prātipadikam* (115) and *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* (116).

According to the *paribhāṣā prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* (Abhyankar, 71), a *prātipadika* also carries a reference to its counterparts in other genders. This means that the use of *prātipadika* in the sūtra can account for the basic forms ending in feminine affixes, *nī* and *āp*. So, there is no need to include *nyāp* in the sūtra for that purpose. Nonetheless, the commentators explain the purpose of the inclusion of *nyāp* in the sūtra. They say that this inclusion is made to ensure that a *taddhita* affix can also be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in these feminine affixes. If we do not interpret the inclusion of *nyāp* in this way, then we will not be able to get the optional forms *āryakā* and *āryikā*. If the *taddhita* affix was added first and was followed by the feminine affix *ṭāp*, we would not be able to get the form *āryakā*. The affix *kan* added to denote the sense of the nominal stem itself (*svārtha*) being most immediate (*antaraṅga*) is introduced after the word *ārya* prior to the feminine affix *ṭāp*. The result will be *āryakā*. At this stage, the rule *pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasyāta idāpyasupah* Pā. 7. 3. 44 applies in respect of the word *āryakā* to replace its *a*, which precedes *k*, by *i* and the result will be only one form *āryikā*. In this grammatical situation, the *i*-replacement for *a* is obligatory. If *ṭāp* is introduced prior to the introduction of the affix *kan*, then, given *āryā + ka*, the final *ā* of *āryā* is replaced by short *a* by the sūtra *ke 'ṇah* Pā. 7. 4. 13. Thus *āryaka* is obtained. Now we can derive *āryikā* from *āryaka + ṭāp* where the short *a* before *k* will be treated as the *ā* it replaced. In this way the sūtra *udicāmātaḥ sthāne yakapūrvāyāḥ* Pā. 7. 3. 46 becomes due and we have two optional forms, for the short *a* before *k* is optionally replaced by *i* and we have both *āryikā* and *āryakā*. This is the reason why Pāṇini has used the expression *nyāp* before *prātipadika* in the sūtra.

(141) अतो भिस ऐस् । *ato bhisa ais*. 7. 1. 9

लघु - अदन्ताद् अङ्गात् परस्य भिस ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य — रामैः ।  
*adantād aṅgāt parasya bhisa ais syāt. anekāl śit sarvasya — rāmaiḥ.*

**Trans. :** Let the substitute *ais* replace the sup-affix *bhis* introduced after a pre-affixal base ending in the short vowel *a*. By the rule *anekāl śit sarvasya* (45), (the substitute *ais* replaces the whole of *bhis* and we have the form) *rāmaiḥ*.

PP. *ataḥ aṅgāt bhisa ais*.

**Eluc. :** The sūtra *aṅgasya* Pā. 6. 4. 1 is a governing rule. The present sūtra recurs in its domain. Hence the word *aṅgasya* is carried over into it. The genitive case-ending is changed into the ablative through the process known as vibhaktivipariṇāma. The word *ataḥ* qualifies the word *aṅgāt*. By *tadantavidhi* (Pā. 1. 1. 72), it will be interpreted as *adantād aṅgāt*. The sūtra thus means : If the plural sup-affix *bhis* comes after an *aṅga* ending in a short vowel *a*, then the whole of sup-affix *bhis* will be replaced by *ais*.<sup>1</sup>

Varadarāja has mentioned the sūtra *anekāl śit sarvasya* (45) in his commentary in order to drive home the following point : The *ais*-replacement is prescribed by using the sixth case-ending in the word *bhis*. The replacement enjoined in this manner comes in place of the last phoneme of the substituendum ending in the genitive according to the sūtra *alo 'ntyasya* (21). The undesirable contingency of replacing the last phoneme *s* of *bhis* would be incurred. He reminds the reader by quoting the rule *anekāl śit sarvasya* (45), which is an exception to the rule *alo 'ntyasya* (21), that since the substitute contains more than one phoneme (*al*), it would replace the whole of *bhis* and not merely its last phoneme. Similarly, the rule *anekāl śit sarvasya* (45) can also be considered

1. In the illustration *rāma + bhis*, two rules are simultaneously applicable : 1. *bahuvacane jhalyet* Pā. 7. 3. 103 and 2. *ato bhisa ais* Pā. 7. 1. 9. Which of the two is to be applied in this context? On the basis of subsequent order in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the former rule becomes applicable. If this was followed, then the substitute *ais* would not find any scope for application since with the replacement of *e* in place of *a* at the end of nominal stems, the short vowel *a* will not be available. As a consequence, this sūtra would be rendered redundant. To avoid this contingency, the sūtra *ato bhisa ais* (141) is construed as *nitya* in the light of the discussion on this sūtra in the Mahābhāṣya and KN, V, p. 540. Since Pāṇini has enunciated this sūtra, the substitution of *e* for the short vowel *a* by *bahuvacane...* (144) is to be treated as what it previously was (*vacanaprāmāṇyāt kṛte 'pyette bhūtapūroam akārāntatvam*, KN, V, p. 540). This means that it is to be considered as short vowel *a*. This makes possible the application of *ato bhisa...* (141) even if *bahuvacane...* (144) has already applied. In case *bahuvacane...* (144) does not apply, the rule *ato bhisa...* (141) is still applicable. Thus the rule *ato bhisa...* (141) becomes *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅgi* and hence *nitya*. In deference to the *paribhāṣā pūrvaparānityāntaraṅgapavādanām uttarottaram balyah*, the rule *ato bhisa ais* (141) will obligatorily block the rule *bahuvacane jhalyet* (144).