A CRITIQUE OF THE VYĀKARAṆA PARIBHĀṢĀ: *PRATYAYAGRAHAṆE CĀPAÑCAMYĀḤ*

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1. Introduction

It is well known that the *paribhāṣā*s play a vital role in the Pāṇinian system. These canons of interpretation form an important part of the descriptive aspect of the grammar. In the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, Nāgeśa has collected all the *paribhāṣā*s relating to the Pāṇinian system. The *pratyayagrahaṇa-paribhāṣā*s are a set of ten *paribhāṣā*s (five main *paribhāṣā*s and five exceptions) dealing with the *tadanta-vidhi* and *tadādividhi*. The *tadantavidhi* is one of the various devices used by Pāṇini for the sake of brevity, like *adhikāra* and *anuvrtti*. Pāṇini has laid down a general convention in connection with the interpretation of his rules that an adjectival word signifies that which ends with that word as well as the word itself. This convention is known as *tadantavidhi*. Pāṇini teaches it in the rule '*yena vdihis tadantasya*' A.1.1.72. The rule means that an injunction which is made by referring to a particular attribute, applies to a word having that attribute at its end as well as the attribute itself. To give an example, the rule A.3.3.56: *erac* teaches that the affix *ac* comes after a root ending in *i*, *ci*, *ji*, *kṣi* (here *eḥ* is an adjective of *dhātoḥ* which is continued from earlier context). Therefore the affix *ac* comes not only after the root *i*, but also after a root that ends in *i*, e.g., *ci*, *ji*, *kṣi* etc. and one can derive with the help of this rule not only *aya* from the

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* Abstract: In a survey undertaken on the Pāṇinian grammar, the learned French scholar, Renou, commenting on the *Paribhāṣā*s observes "there will have to be established which *Paribhāṣā*s existed before Pāṇini, which were invented afterwards (before or after Patañjali) and a very difficult task-to what degree Pāṇini follows "his" *Paribhāṣā*s or is considered to follow later *Paribhāṣā*s". This is a significant remark, considering the fact that a study of some *Paribhāṣā*s gives an impression that they are adhoc solutions to certain grammatical formations. It is therefore desirable to know which of the *Paribhāṣā*s recorded by the tradition are really implied by Pāṇini, as the metarules of his theory of description. It is attempted in the present paper to study the *pratyayagrahaṇa-paribhāṣā*s, as dealt with in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa with special reference to the maxim "*pratyayagrahaṇe cāpañcamyāḥ*".

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root *i*, but also forms like *caya*, *jaya* etc. from roots *ci*, *ji*, etc. which end in *i*. The *eḥ* in the rule thus stands also for *ikārāntasya* (*dhātoḥ*).

In the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, the *paribhāṣā* dealing with *tadantavidhi* and *tadādividhi* is:

> *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādeḥ tadantasya ca grahaṇam* *
> "When an affix is mentioned (in a rule), it indicates a word-form which begins with that to which it is added, and ends with the affix itself".

However, in many cases the concept of *tadantavidhi* is not desirable as it leads to incorrect forms. Nāgeśa discusses various limitations to the above *paribhāṣā*. In the following *paribhāṣā*, a limitation to the *tadanta* part of the above maxim is laid down:

> *pratyayagrahaṇe cāpañcamyāḥ* *
> "The concept of *tadantavidhi* does not apply, in the case of an affix mentioned after a word in the fifth case-affix".

2. Analysis: niṣṭā-suffix, and *nominative, genitive, and locative cases*

A. The past participle of the root *tṛ* is *tīrṇa*. It is derived in the following manner:

tṛ	+	*kta*	(*kta* is a *niṣṭā*-suffix)
tir	+	*ta*	A. 7.1.100.
tīr	+	*ta*	A. 8.2.77.
tīr	+	*na*	A. 8.2.42.
tīrṇa			A. 8.4.2.

The rule A.8.2.42: *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ* teaches that "after *ra* and *da*, for the *t* of the participle suffix *ta* and *tavat* there is substituted *na*, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding *d*". In the present case, the *niṣṭā* suffix *ta* is preceded by *ra*. Therefore, the rule applies and the form *tīrṇa* is derived.

Now, while deriving the compound *dṛṣattīrṇa*, from the *pada*s *dṛṣad* and *tīrṇa*, at the stage,

dṛṣad + *tīr* + *ta*

the rule A.8.2.42 "*radābhyām* ..." becomes applicable. If the *paribhāṣā*, *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmat sa* ... is accepted, the word *niṣṭā* in the rule will stand for *niṣṭānta*, i.e., that which ends in *niṣṭā*. The whole unit *tīr* + *ta* will be *niṣṭā* in that case. Accordingly *t* of *tir* and the final *d* of *dṛṣad* will be replaced by *n* and a wrong form

**dṛṣannīrta* will be derived. In order to avoid such wrong forms the present *paribhāṣā* is formulated. It teaches that for an affix after a word in ablative there is no *tadantavidhi*. Since the affix *niṣṭā* is mentioned after the ablative *radābhyām* in A.8.2.42, it stands for itself and not for *tadanta*. Thus, the problem in the present case is solved.

Some instances where the above maxim is employed in the rules of Pāṇini are mentioned below:

1. The rule A.3.1.33: *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* teaches "when *lṛ* and *luṭ* follow, *sya* and *tāsi* are the mode-affixes of a root".

The word *dhātoḥ* is continued from the preceding context (from A.3.1.22) to complete the meaning. Now, here is an instance where the affixes (i.e., *lṛ* and *luṭ*) are followed by a word in the ablative (ie. *dhātoḥ*) and in accordance with the present *paribhāṣā,* they denote only those affixes by themselves and not words ending in them.

2. The rule A.6.1.68: *halṅyābhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṃ hal* which teaches the elision of the nominative-affix *s* under given conditions, is a counter example of the above maxim. The affixes *ṅī* and *āp* of this rule do stand for word-forms ending in them. Because here we do not have a word in the ablative upon which these affixes follow. Hence there is nothing contradictory, when they stand for words ending in them.

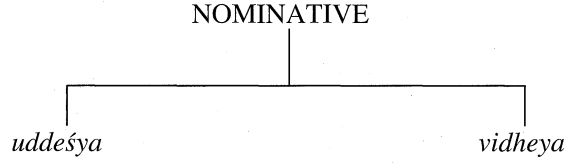
In order to judge the validity of the present *paribhāṣā*, it is necessary to examine more cases of suffixes which are mentioned after a word in the ablative.

B. Analysis of the cases

In the following pages, the different affixes are categorized according to the case (*vibhakti*) in which they are mentioned after the word in the ablative.

(i) The nominative case

The nominative can be divided as:



As far as the *vidheya* suffix is concerned, there is no question of application of this *paribhāṣā*. Therefore, we have to consider only the *uddeśya* suffixes.

(a) Examples:

1. *Asaṃyogāl liṭ kit* A.1.2.5: "The affixes of *liṭ* (perfect tense) not coming after a conjuct consonant are as if they had an indicatory *k* (*kit*)".

The word *liṭ*, which is an affix is metioned in this rule in the nominative. It is preceded by a word in the ablative. According to the present *paribhāṣā*, it stands for itself and not for a word ending in *liṭ*. Therefore, in the derivation of the perfect form *edhām + cakre*, at the stage

edhām + kṛ + e,

e which is *liṭ* is *kit* and not *kṛ + e*, which is *liḍanta*. As a result, there is no *guṇa* of *kṛ* by A.1.1.53: *ṅic ca*. Thus, in this rule, it is only *liṭ* affix which is treated as if it is *kit* and not words ending in it.

2. *Mṛḍamṛdagudhakuṣakliśavadavasaḥ ktvā* A.1.2.7: "The set *ktvā* is *kit* after the roots *mṛḍa*, *mṛda*, *gudha*, *kuṣa*, *kliśa*, *vada*, *vasa*".

e.g., *mṛḍitvā*, *mṛditvā*, *gudhitvā* etc.

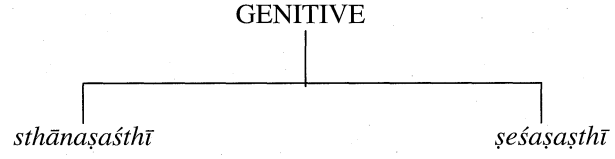
Since the affix *ktvā* is *kit*, there is no *guṇa*. Here also *ktvā*, an affix in nominative is preceded by a word in ablative (*mṛḍa .... vasaḥ*). As in the previous example, here also it may be noticed that the quality of being *kit* is with regard to the affix *ktvā* only and not with *ktvānta* words.

(b) Remarks:

It may be concluded from the above examples that when an affix is mentioned in the nominative case after a word in the ablative, it stands only for itself and not for words ending in it.

(ii) The Genitive Case:

Cases of the mention of a suffix in genitive can be again divided into two groups as shown below:



(a) Examples:

1. *Avyayād āpsupaḥ* (A.2.4.82): "There is *luk* elision of *āp* (the feminine termination) and *sup* added after an *avyaya*".

e.g., *tatra śālāyām* "in that hall".

Here the indeclinable *tatra* does not take the feminine termination, although it is equal to *tasyām* = "in that". In this rule, the genitive word *āpsupaḥ* contains mention of the suffixes *āp* and *sup*. They are preceded by the ablative word *avyayād*. It is clear from the example that *supaḥ* stands for *sup* only and *āp* stands for the suffix *āp* only. We may note in this rule, the *luk*-elision concerns only the affixes *āp* and *sup* and not words ending in them.

2. *Vido laṭo vā* (A.3.4.83): "The nine affixes *ṇal* etc. of the perfect tense are optionally added in the present tense also, after the root *vid*".

e.g., The present 3rd sg. form of *vid* i.e., *veda*. It is derived in the following way:

vid + *laṭ*
vid + *ṇal*
ved + *a*
> *veda*

The suffix *laṭ* is mentioned in the genitive after the ablative *vidaḥ*. It stands for itself as clear from the example.

3. *Halaḥ śnaḥ śānaj hau* (A.3.1.83): "The affix *Śānac* is the substitute for *Śna* after a root ending with a consonant, when *hi* follows".

e.g., *puṣāṇa*. It is derived as follows:

puṣ + *loṭ*
puṣ + *śnā* + *hi*
puṣ + *śānac* + *hi*
puṣ + *āna*
> *puṣāṇa*

In this rule, one affix (*Śna*) is replaced by another affix (*Śānac*). It is very clear that the *tadanta* concept does not apply here.

(b) Remarks:

The above instances indicate that when an affix is mentioned in the genitive case, denoting *sthānin*, after a word in the ablative, it stands for itself, not for *tadanta*.

(iii) The Locative Case

(a) Example:

1. *Dīrghāj jasi ca* A.6.1.105.

The rule teaches that "the substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, doesnot take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case affix beginning with a vowel (other than *a*) or by nominative plural affix *as*".

e.g., the nom. sg. of *viśvapā* is *viśvapāḥ* and the nominative plural of *viśvapā* is also *viśvapāḥ*

It may be noticed that the affix *jas*, mentioned after a word in the ablative (i.e., *dīrghāt*) and which is stated in the locative (*jasi*), denoting itself.

(b) Remarks:

From the above illustrations we get the following results. When a suffix is mentioned either in the nominative or genitive or in the locative after a word in the ablative, it does not stand for words ending in it, i.e., it doesnot follow the concept of *tadantavidhi*, but simply refers to the affix itself. The *paribhāṣā* thus is valid. However, this is also true of an affix coming after genitive. A few examples are given below to prove this point.

(a) Examples:

1. *Sarvasya supi* (A.6.1.191): "The acute is on the first syllable of *sarva* when the case-endings follow".

e.g., *sarve nandanti yaśasā*.

In this rule, the affix sup is mentioned after a word in the genitive (i.e., *sarvasya*). The form *sarve* is formed by adding the locative singular affix *ṅi* to *sarva*. It may be noted that the suffix *sup* stands for itself and not for *tadanta* words.

2. *yuṣmadasmador ṅasi* (A.6.1.211)

The affix *ṅasi* is stated after a word in the genitive here. The forms *mama* and *tava* are formed by the genitive case-affix. As in the previous example, here also the affix *ñas* stands only for itself and does not denote words ending in it.

3. *oḥ supi* (A.6.4.83): "When a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows, then *va* is substituted for the final '*ū*' of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in '*ū*' not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root".

e.g., *khalapū* (nom. sg), *khalapvau* (nom. du) and *khalapvaḥ* (nom. pl.).

In this rule the affix *sup* is mentioned after a word in the genitive (*oḥ*). The form *khalapvau* is formed by the addition of the nominative dual affix *au* which begins with a vowel and hence *va* is substituted for the

final *ū* of *khalapū*. We may notice that this affix *au* stands for itself in this example.

(b) Remarks:

From the above examples we may say that when an affix is mentioned after a word in genitive, it stands for itself, as in the case of ablative.

3. Conclusion

1. This *paribhāṣā* correctly records the facts of Pāṇini's grammar. However, we can do without this *paribhāṣā*. The *paribhāṣā* states that a suffix after an ablative stands only for itself. In the meta-language of Pāṇini, the ablative has a specific connotation. The general *paribhāṣā* provided by Pāṇini, i.e., *tasmād ity uttarasya* (A.1.1.67) states that a word in the ablative in Pāṇini's grammar implies that the grammatical operation is effected to that which immediately follows it. To state differently, there should be close juxtaposition between the element undergoing grammatical operation and the word mentioned in ablative. Thus, e.g., in the rule *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ* (A.8.2.42) the letters *r* and *d* are in ablative and the affixes *ta* and *tavat* follow it. By the Pāṇinian *paribhāṣā* there should be close juxtaposition between them. Such closeness can be maintained only when the affix stands for itself and not when it comes at the end of a word. Hence we can explain all the cases, i.e. where an affix follows a word in the ablative by the Pāṇinian *paribhāṣā tasmād ity uttarasya* and there is no necessity for a separate maxim.

To conclude it may be stated that this *paribhāṣā* offers a temporary solution for certain difficulties in grammatical formation. Though we may accept it as temporary solution for the problem, it cannot be accepted as presupposed by Pāṇini in his original frame-work.

2. The study and analysis of this *paribhāṣā* also leads us to the fact that not only the ablative, but after the genitive case also, a suffix stands for itself, and one may form a *paribhāṣā* like "*pratyaya-grahaṇe cāṣaṣṭyāḥ*" just as *pratyayagrahaṇe cāpañcamyāḥ*.

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