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paṇanam, paṇaḥ (mean) "praising". Because of the mention of the word bahulam in the P. 3.3.113 kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam the suffix aC prescribed after pac and so forth also occurs to express the action itself (i.e., paṇaḥ is a nomen actionis like paṇanam). Or (we can add the suffix) Ka by the vārttika (ad P. 3.3.58) "one prescribes the suffix Ka in the meaning of GHaÑ" (GHaÑ is usually bhāve; cf. P. 3.3.18.).

But if we were to (actually) add the suffix GHaÑ (which you could argue would still lead to the correct form) we would end up with the form pāṇaḥ and then (Pāṇini's own) teaching in P. 6.4.165 gāthi-vidathi-keśi-gaṇi-paṇinaś ca would be not make sense (i.e., Pāṇini himself presupposes the form paṇa not pāṇa when he formulated P. 6.4.165 since paṇin- must be from paṇa + inl and not pāṇa + inl).

And there (certainly) is not the suffix aP by P. 3.3.66 paṇaḥ parimāṇe "The suffix aP occurs after the root paṇ when a measurement/quantity is denoted". For surely the measurement that the resulting form is said to refer to is a fist that is clutched round such things as radishes for trade, as in the words mūlakapaṇaḥ "fist full of radishes" and śākapaṇaḥ "fist full of vegetables". And this is (definitely) not the case here.

[Here ends the first discussion about the suffix added to the root pan.]

But others say that the word paṇa, even when it has as its activity measuring, occurs here as well on the basis of an extended meaning as in āpaṇa "market, shop". [so some people think we can get away with aP and paṇ meaning parimāṇa.]

[from paṇaḥ to paṇin-]

paṇī (paṇin-) is one who has paṇa "praise" (or "measure"). The possessive (matvartha) suffix is inl by P. 5.3.115 (added to a prātipadika ending in a short a) because [the prohibition against] adding the suffixes inl and ṭhaN to monosyllabic words, words ending in a kṛt suffix, words expressive of a genus, etc. (see vārtt. ad loc.) applies only most of the time (but not always) as in kāryī and kāryikaḥ "one who possesses a duty". [the point being that we generally do not form kārakin, kārakī to mean one who possesses a kāraka but rather kārakavān because kāraka is built with a kṛt suffix (NvuL). Nonetheless, there are exceptions as in kāryī and panī.]

The offspring of Paṇin- is Pāṇinaḥ by adding the suffix aḥ by P. 4.1.92. Because the original form (of the bases in P. 6.4.144) remain, we do not elide the final vowel and what follows (ṭi) of the bha stem by P. 6.4.144. [The rule blocks P. 6.4.165 so we don't get paṇin + aḥ > pāṇa.] Therefore, when one wishes to express the offspring of Pāṇina, i.e., the third (generation of) offspring (from Paṇin) in a Gotra from, then there can only be the suffix aḥ by the restriction in P. 4.1.93 [The sūtra states that we use the same suffix for the great-grandson as well as the grandson and so forth when we form a gotra name. See P. 4.1.162 which defines gotra as the grandson or any further generation from the base name.] So, the son of Pāṇina can only be

called Pāṇina. When one wishes to express the yuvāpatya, the fourth generation (from Paṇin with at least one living male ancestor in the lineage), there is the suffix iÑ (P. 4.1.95) after the word pāṇina because of the restriction in the P. 4.1.94 [the rule allow for a different suffix when we form a yuvan-name from a gotra-name, i.e., the name for a great grandson provided that at least one male ancestor in the immediate lineage back to the great grandfather is alive. See P. 4.1.163.] and so we get Pāṇiniḥ. But "Pāṇini the offspring of paṇin", which was stated by my predecessor, is no the analytical phrasal equivalent for the following reasons: There is no possibility of the suffix iÑ for the third offspring because the yuvan is the from the fourth (great grandson) and because the contradiction in the statement that the yuvan of Paṇin is the offspring of Pāṇina. And because (iÑ?) does not denote at gotra suffix because it can't be a yuvan-suffix after a word ending in a suffix for an immediate offspring because even if one does not wish to express an offspring at an interval because of the restriction in P. 4.1.94. (the line of argumentation requires more annotation)