

## COMPOSITION

समासः (सम् + √अस्) m. “throwing together,” compound word } operations on words (*padavidhi-*)  
विग्रहः (वि + √ग्रह्) m. “taking apart,” analytic phrase

homosemous (*samartha-*) { Certain kinds of analytic phrases can be combined in a single word;  
certain kinds of compounds can be expressed in an analytic phrase.

Some नित्यसमासाः (obligatory compounds) cannot be “taken apart” without losing their meaning:

- कृष्णसर्पः (*cobra*) ≠ कृष्णश्च स सर्पश्च (*a snake that is black*)

Some नित्यसमासाः cannot be “taken apart” because they contain *bound forms*, i.e., forms that cannot be used outside of a compound. These can be paraphrased, but they cannot be analyzed into their constituent parts (hence they are called अस्वपदविग्रहाः, “lacking an analysis in their own words”):

- सर्वज्ञः (*omniscient*) ≈ सर्वं जानाति (*knows everything*)

SYNTAX of COMPOUNDS: General terms and concepts

In a compound XY, X is called the पूर्वपदम्, and Y is called the उत्तरपदम्.

- (a) A word that is syntactically independent is called the प्रधानम् (*head*).
- (b) A word that is syntactically dependent upon another word in a compound is called the उपसर्जनम् (*dependent*).
  - Generally the उपसर्जनम् comes *first* in a compound.
- (c) Two words are समानाधिकरणम् (*coreferential*) if they refer to the same thing; otherwise they are व्यधिकरणम् (*non-coreferential*).

### BAHUVRĪHIS

*Exocentric*: the head (प्रधानम्) is outside of the compound; hence they are also called *headless*

compounds. (2.2.24 अन्यपदार्थे “with reference to another word.”). In bahuvrīhis, XY ≠ Y (a बहुव्रीहिः is a *person* with a lot of rice, not *rice*.)

All of the words in a bahuvrīhi compound are therefore उपसर्जनानि.

Bahuvrīhis are *qualifiers* of their head and agree with it in gender, number, and case.

- Bahuvrīhis can easily be identified when the gender of the compound (समास-लिङ्गम्) is different from the original gender (प्रकृति-लिङ्गम्) of the final word:
  - लब्धोदया (f.) = यस्या लब्ध उदयः (m.) सा तथोक्ता (*by whom birth has been obtained*)

Sometimes a समासान्त-प्रत्ययः (*compositional suffix*) is added to make gender agreement easier:

- The most common is कप् (-ka-):
  - Obligatory after feminines ending in ई or उ
    - सपत्नीकः (*with his wife*) = सह पत्न्या वर्तत इति तथोक्तः
  - Obligatory after nouns ending in ऋ
    - समानकर्तृकः (*having the same agent*) = यस्य समानः कर्ता स तथोक्तः

- Obligatory after some other words (उरः etc.)
    - व्यूढोरस्कः (*broad-shouldered*) = यस्य व्यूढे उरसी स तथोक्तः
  - *The suffix -ka- is optional in all other cases and can help to identify a compound as a bahuvrihi.*
- Words in a bahuvrihi may be related to each other in several ways.

(a) समानाधिकरण-बहुव्रीहिः / coreferential bahuvrihi

- i. Adjectives usually come first in such compounds:
  - चित्रगुः (*having brindled cows*) = यस्य चित्रा गावः स तथोक्तः
  - कृतयोगः (*by whom use is made*) = येन कृतो योगः स तथोक्तः
  - NB गुडप्रियः, प्रियगुडः (*fond of jaggery*) = यस्य प्रियः गुडः स तथोक्तः
- ii. Sometimes bound forms are understood as substitutes for adjectives:
  - सोदरः (*uterine*) = यस्य समानमुदरं स तथोक्तः

(b) व्यधिकरणम-बहुव्रीहिः / non-coreferential bahuvrihi

- चक्रपाणिः (*discus-handed*) = यस्य चक्रः पाणौ स तथोक्तः

(c) Several categories of bahuvrihis whose first member is a bound form (thus अस्वपदविग्रहाः)

- i. नञ्-बहुव्रीहिः / negative bahuvrihi: अ० is analyzed with अविद्यमान०
  - अपुत्रः (*son-less*) = अविद्यमानः पुत्रो यस्य सः
- ii. सह-बहुव्रीहिः / comitative bahuvrihi (2.2.28): स० is analyzed with सह + तृतीयाविभक्तिः
  - सदारः (*with his wife*) = सह दारैः वर्तत इति तथोक्तः
  - सहलक्ष्मणः = सह लक्ष्मणेन वर्तत इति तथोक्तः
- iii. प्रादि-बहुव्रीहिः / prefix bahuvrihi: this is a large class that includes verbal prefixes (उपसर्गाः, गतयः) and a few nominal prefixes (like सु०, कु०, दुः०); these bahuvrihis are अस्वपदविग्रहाः and require paraphrases
  1. Verbal prefixes उपसर्गपूर्वपदः, गतिपूर्वपदः — use a participle form
    - प्रपर्णः (*with fallen leaves*) ≈ यस्य प्रपतिताः पर्णाः स तथोक्तः
    - उत्कण्ठः (*with upraised neck*) ≈ यस्य उन्नतः कण्ठः स तथोक्तः
  2. Nominal prefixes require a paraphrase:
    - सुकुमारीकः (*with beautiful girls*) ≈ यस्मिन् शोभनाः कुमार्यः स तथोक्तः
    - दुर्हृत् (*wicked-hearted*) ≈ यस्य दुष्टं हृदयं स तथोक्तः

The standard विग्रहः uses a relative clause in which the relative pronoun refers to the head (and therefore agrees with the head in gender and number).

The पूर्वपदम् and उत्तरपदम् are put in the relative clause (with an appropriate case-form of the relative pronoun). The main clause consists of a relative pronoun in the प्रथमविभक्तिः, either alone or with (a) the whole compound or (b) the word तथोक्त० (so-called). The विग्रहः is usually followed by a demonstrative pronoun (स, सा, तत्) in the case in which the compound appears in the sentence.

- Typically a षष्ठी pronoun expresses the relation:
  - पीताम्बरः (*ochre-robed*) = यस्य पीताम्बरम् (n.) स तथोक्तः

- तृतीया (especially when the पूर्वपदम् ends in the suffix °त°)
  - कल्पितार्घः (having made an offering to a guest) = येन कल्पितो ऽर्घः स तथोक्तः
  - हतद्विपः (having killed elephants) = येन हता द्विपाः स तथोक्तः
- सप्तमी
  - न्यस्ताक्षः (on which letters are written) = यस्मिन् न्यस्ता अक्षराः स तथोक्तः
- Other case relations are less common:
  - प्राप्तोदकः ग्रामः (which the water has reached) = यं प्राप्तं उदकं सः
  - उपहतपशुः रुद्रः (to whom an animal has been sacrificed) = यस्मै उपहतं पशु सः
  - उद्धृतौदना स्थाली (from which rice has been removed) = यस्या उद्धृतमोदनम सा

## TATPURUṢAS

*Endocentric*: usually the final member (उत्तरपदम्) is the head (प्रधानम्). In tatpuruṣas,  $XY = Y$  (a तत्पुरुषः is a पुरुषः); tatpuruṣas also have the syntactic properties of their head ( $XY$  is an adjective if  $Y$  is an adjective, etc.).

- An exception to the general rule that the पूर्वपदम् is the उपसर्जनम् is a set of “irregular” tatpuruṣas beginning with मयूरव्यंसकः (cunning peacock, not cunning as a peacock).

The classification of tatpuruṣas is largely parallel to that of bahuvrīhis. The विग्रहः varies by type:

(a) कर्मधारयः (karmadhāraya) / coreferential tatpuruṣa:  $X$  and  $Y$  are समानाधिकरणम्.

- *Appositional* karmadhārayas:  $XY$  is “a  $Y$  that is also  $X$ .” To distinguish these karmadhārayas from dvandvas, their विग्रहः includes a pronoun that serves to indicate that the two members are coreferential:
  - नीलोत्पलम् (blue lotus) = नीलं च तदुत्पलं च (विशेषणपूर्वपदकर्मधारयः)
  - शुक्लकृष्णः (white-black) = शुक्लश्च स कृष्णश्च (विशेषणोभयपदकर्मधारयः)
    - When a विशेषणोभयपदकर्मधारयः consists of two past passive participles describing the same object, the sense is of consecutive action:
      - पीतोद्गीर्णम् = आदौ पीतं पश्चादुद्गीर्णम् (first drunk and then vomited)
  - राजर्षिः (king-sage) = राजा च स ऋषिश्च (विशेष्योभयपदकर्मधारयः)
- *Comparative* karmadhārayas:  $XY$  involves a simile (उपमा)
  - उपमानपूर्वपदकर्मधारयः /  $X$  is like  $Y$ : घनश्यामः (cloud-black) = घन इव श्यामः, घनवच्छ्यामः
  - उपमितपूर्वपदकर्मधारयः /  $Y$  is like  $X$ : मुखचन्द्रः (face-moon) = मुखं चन्द्र इव, मुखं चन्द्रवत्
- In some karmadhārayas, a word that connects  $X$  and  $Y$  is understood to be elided (मध्यमपदलोपि-कर्मधारयः): शाकपार्थिवः (vegetable-king) = शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः

(b) द्विगुः / numeral compound: the पूर्वपदम् is a numeral. These are coreferential, like karmadhārayas, but they are limited to:

- i. titles: सप्तर्षयः = सप्त च ते ऋषयश्च (seven sages)
- ii. collectives (समाहारद्विगुः): त्रिभुवनम् = त्रीणि भुवनानि समाहतानि or त्रयाणां भुवनानां समाहारः (three worlds)

- iii. the base to which the sense of a taddhita suffix is added (तद्धितार्थद्विगुः): पञ्चकपालः = पञ्चेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः (*prepared in five pots*), द्विगुः = द्वाभ्यां गोभ्यां क्रीतम् (*bought with two cows*)
- iv. the पूर्वपदम् of a longer compound: दशकुमारचरितम् = दशभिः कुमारैः चरितम् (*the deeds of ten young men*)

(c) विभक्तितत्पुरुषः / case tatpuruṣa: X stands in a case relation to Y

- The case suffix is almost always deleted (लुक्-समासः):
  - द्वितीया / नरकपतितः (*fallen into hell*) = नरकं पतितः
  - तृतीया / अहिहतः (*killed by a snake*) = अहिना हतः
  - चतुर्थी / यूपदारु (a tree for a post) = यूपाय दारु
  - पञ्चमी / वृकभीतः (*afraid of wolves*) = वृकेभ्यो भीतः
  - षष्ठी / राजपुरुषः (*the king's servant*) = राज्ञः पुरुषः
  - सप्तमी / अक्षपटुः (*good at dice*) = अक्षेषु पटुः, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् (*done in the morning*) = पूर्वाह्नि कृतम्
- In certain circumstances, a case suffix may be retained (अलुक्-समासः):
  - चतुर्थी / परस्मैपदम् (only for grammatical terminology)
  - सप्तमी / वनेचरः, निशिचरः (usually when the पूर्वपदम् ends in a consonant)

(d) Several categories of tatpuruṣas whose first member is a bound form (thus अस्वपदविग्रहाः)

i. नञ्-तत्पुरुषः / negative tatpuruṣa: अ० is analyzed with न or अन्यः

- अब्राह्मणः (*non-brahmin*) = न ब्राह्मणः (*not a brahmin*), ब्राह्मणादन्यः (*other than a brahmin*)

ii. प्रादि-तत्पुरुषः / prefix tatpuruṣa

1. Most verbal prefixes are explained as having the sense of a verbal adjective that governs the उत्तरपदम् (since the prefix but not the verbal root appears in the compound, these are sometimes called धातुलोपसमासाः). In these adjectival compounds, the उत्तरपदम् is the उपसर्जनम् (*dependent*):
  - निष्कौशाम्बिः ~ निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्याः (*having left Kauśāmbī*)

2. Nominal prefixes (and some verbal prefixes) are explained by a paraphrase

- सु० ~ शोभन०, सुष्ठु / सुकविः (*good poet*) ~ शोभनः कविः, सुकृतम् (*well done*) ~ सुष्ठु कृतम्
- कु०, कद्०, का०, दुर्० ~ कत्सुत० / कुकविः ~ कुत्सितः कविः etc.
- अधिराजः (*overlord*) ~ अधिको राजा

(e) उपपदतत्पुरुषः / governing tatpuruṣa: the प्रधानम् is a verbal form that governs the उपसर्जनम्.

i. Usually a form of the verb itself will appear as the उत्तरपदम्. The root takes the “zero suffix” क्तिप्, and hence appears in the weak grade (if the root ends in ऋ, इ, or उ, the augment तुक् or -t- follows; if the root ends in आ, it is usually replaced with अ)

- सोमसुत् (*soma-presser*) ~ सोमं सुनोति
- मानदः (*honor-giver*) ~ मानं ददाति
- मध्यस्थः (*standing in the middle*) ~ मध्ये तिष्ठति

- ii. Sometimes a form of the verb appears as the पूर्वपदम्. The root takes the form of a present participle. Sometimes called *phereoikos*-compounds (from Greek *house-carrying* ≈ *snail*)
- धारयत्कविः (supporting the poet) ≈ कविं धारयति (cf. *Dārayavauś* ≈ *vahu dhārayati*)

### DVANDVAs

*Ambicentric*: both members are the head (प्रधानम्). Can be called *two-headed* (etc.) compounds. The standard विग्रहः is X च Y च. There are three types:

1. इतरेतरद्वन्द्वम् / additive dvandva: the grammatical number of the compound is the sum of the grammatical number of its members (and the compound usually has the grammatical gender of the final member)
  - रामलक्ष्मणौ = रामश्च लक्ष्मणश्च (*Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa*)
  - देवीसज्जनाः = देव्याश्च सज्जनाश्च (*ladies and gentlemen*)
2. समाहारद्वन्द्वम् / collective dvandva: the compound expresses a collective or aggregate and appears in the neuter singular
  - स्थावरजङ्गमम् = स्थावराणि च जङ्गमानि च समाहतानि or स्थावराणां च जङ्गमानां च समाहारः (*mobile and immobile things*)
3. देवताद्वन्द्वम् / deity dvandva (only Vedic): when dual endings appear on both members
  - मित्रावरुणा (*Mitra and Varuṇa*)

### AVYAYĪBHĀVAs

*Indeclinable* compounds that function as adverbs (क्रियाविशेषणानि). The पूर्वपदम् is an indeclinable word (अव्ययम्) which governs a noun in the उत्तरपदम् (this is a general exception to उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्). The entire compound looks like an adjective in the nominative-accusative singular neuter.

1. Some avyayībhāvas are स्वपदविग्रहाः, when a corresponding analytic phrase exists:
  - Generally when the अव्ययम् is a कर्मप्रवचनीयम् (adposition):
    - अनुगङ्गम् (*along the Ganges*) = अनु गङ्गाम्
    - आजन्म (*since birth*) = आ जन्मनः
    - बहिर्ग्रामम् (*outside of the village*) = बहिर्ग्रामात्
2. Others are नित्यसमासाः and require a special paraphrase
  - यथाशक्ति (*according to ability*) = शक्तिमनतिक्राम्य
  - असंशयम् (*doubtless*) = संशयस्याभावोऽस्तु
  - प्रतिदिवसम् (*day by day*) = दिवसे दिवसे
  - अनुज्येष्ठम् (*in order of age*) = ज्येष्ठानुपूर्व्येन
  - सविष्णु (*like Viṣṇu*) = विष्णोः सादृश्यमस्तु
  - निर्मक्षिकम् (*mosquitolessly*) = मक्षिकाणामभावोऽस्तु