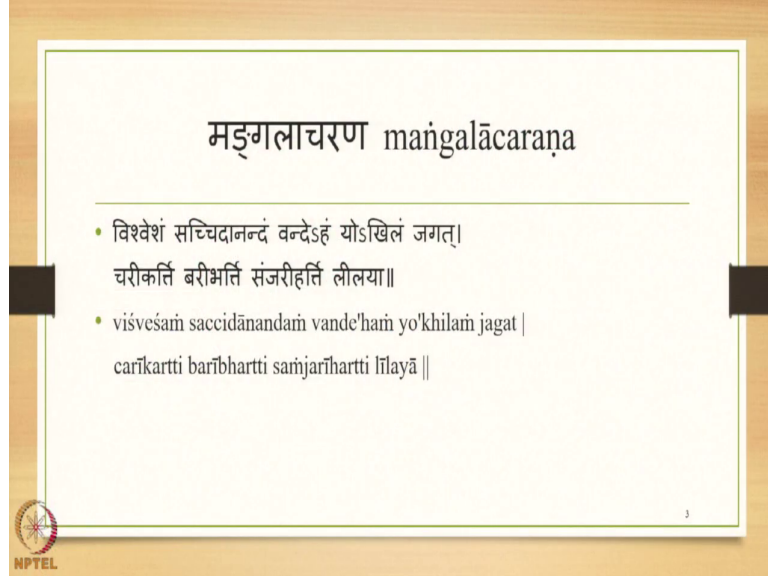


समास samāsa in Pāṇinian grammar- I
Prof. Malhar Kulkarni
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay

Lecture - 12
असमर्थसमास Asamarthasamasa

Welcome. I welcome you all to this lecture in the course Samasa in Paniniyan Grammar. This is the first part of the course. We begin our lecture with the recitation of the mangalacharana.

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मङ्गलाचरण mangalācaraṇa

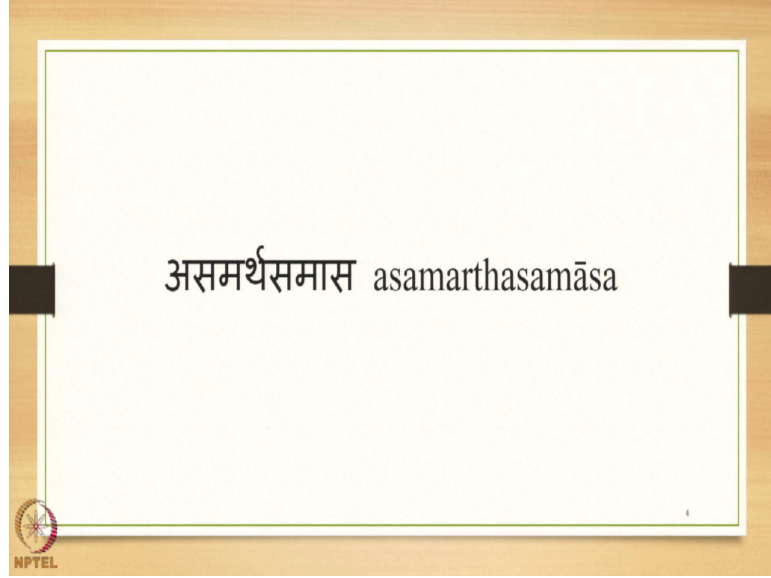
- विश्वेशं सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत्।
चरीकर्त्ति बरीभर्त्ति संजरीहर्त्ति लीलया॥
- viśveśam saccidānandaṁ vande'ham yo'khilam jagat |
carīkartti barībhartti saṁjarīhartti līlayā ||

NPTEL

3

[FL].

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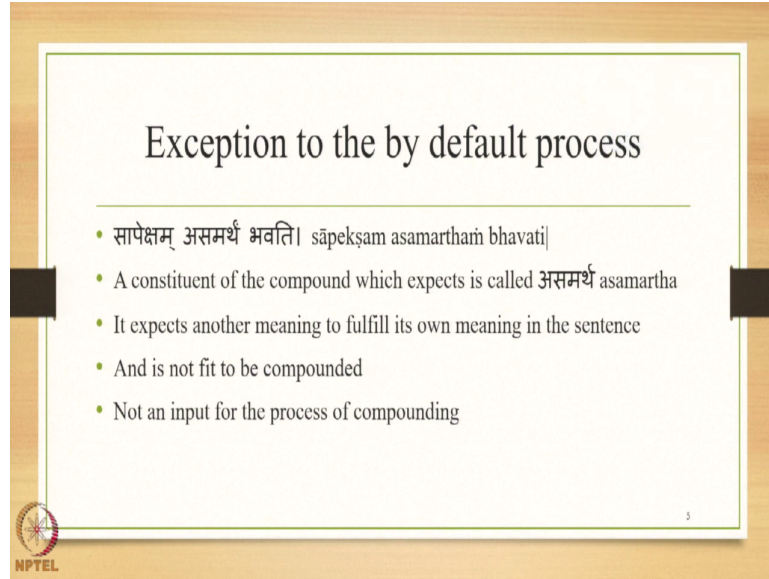


We have been studying the concept of samartha. We also said that the grammatical theory as proposed by Panini functions at two levels. One is the karaka theory, and the other one is the samartha theory.

The karaka theory is at the core of the sentence structure and the samartha theory is based on this karaka theory. The input of the samartha theory is the sentence and the output of this samartha theory goes back to the sentence. And the output is in the form of the pratipadhika as far as Sanskrit is concerned.

In this context, it is also important for us to study, what is described as asamartha and what is described as asamarthasamasa. This term, we regularly find in the traditional common tutorial literature. A particular compound is declared as asamarthasamasa.

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Exception to the by default process

- सापेक्षम् असमर्थं भवति। sāpekṣam asamartham bhavati।
- A constituent of the compound which expects is called असमर्थं asamartha
- It expects another meaning to fulfill its own meaning in the sentence
- And is not fit to be compounded
- Not an input for the process of compounding

NPTEL 5

What is an asamarthasamasa? Asamarthasamasa is obviously, an exception to the by default process, where samartha is the basic condition for the process of compounding to take place. So, sapekṣam asamartham bhavati, this is how it is described. A constituent of the compound which expects something is called asamartha.

It expects another meaning to fulfill its own meaning in the sentence. And then it is not fit to be compounded. It is not considered as an input for the process of compounding. This is what is sapekṣa and this is what is asamartha. I repeat a constituent of the compound, most notably the non head constituent, if that expects some other meaning or some other word to fulfill its own meaning as well as the word form.

Then, such a word is called such a meaning is called asamartha. Still, if the compounding takes place the compound is called asamarthasamasa. And this is treated as an exception. And

the speakers of Sanskrit have clearly used such compounds consistently which are constantly declared as asamarthasamasas.


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Example-1

- देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलम्| devadattasya gurukulam|
- (Meaning: the family of the teacher of Devadatta)

- देवदत्तस्य गुरोः कुलम्| devadattasya guroh kulam|

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 NPTEL

Here is an example, [FL]. The meaning is the family of the teacher of Devadatta. The family of the teacher of Devadatta. That is the meaning that can be derived by following the regular procedure laid down in the Paninian grammar.

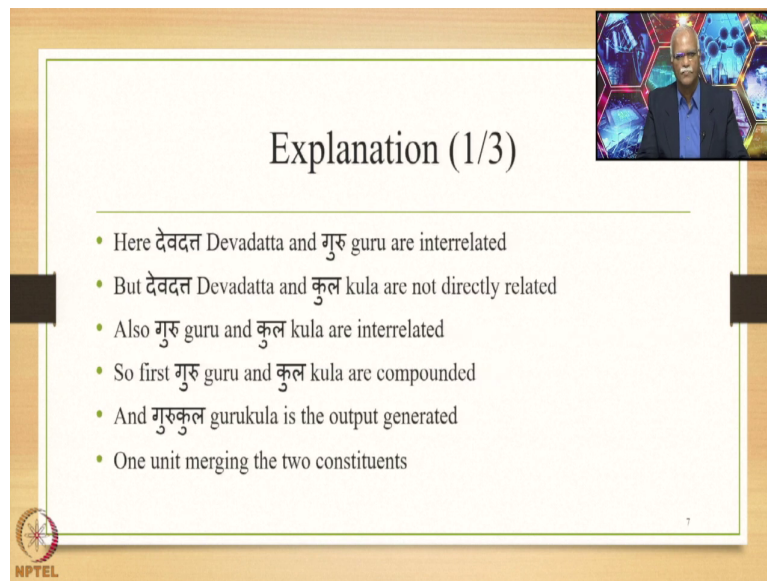
And this can be dissolved in the following manner, devadattasya guroh kulam. In this case devadattasya is linked with guru and guru is linked with kula as far as the meaning is concerned. And then, if guroh and kulam is compounded, this becomes a tatpuruṣa compound in which the second member or the uttarapada becomes the head. So, this kula becomes the head.

Now, you have a gurukulam. And now you are adding devadattasya over here, and this devadattasya should be then linked with kulam following the procedure. But that is not the case. Devadattasya is linked with guru. Now, guru is an element which is already merged in the compound.

And in this tatpuruṣa compound, kula acts as the head and this guru cannot be directly linked with any other meaning not going through kulam. But in this case this guru is directly seeming to be linked with this devadattasya without going through the kula. So, this is not the kula of devadatta. This is still the kula of the guru.

And so, this guru being already linked with devadattasya is not fit to be compounded with the word kula. And so, this compound is declared as asamarthasamaṣa. Devadattasya guroh kulam, this is the family of the teacher of devadatta. This is a very very peculiar case.

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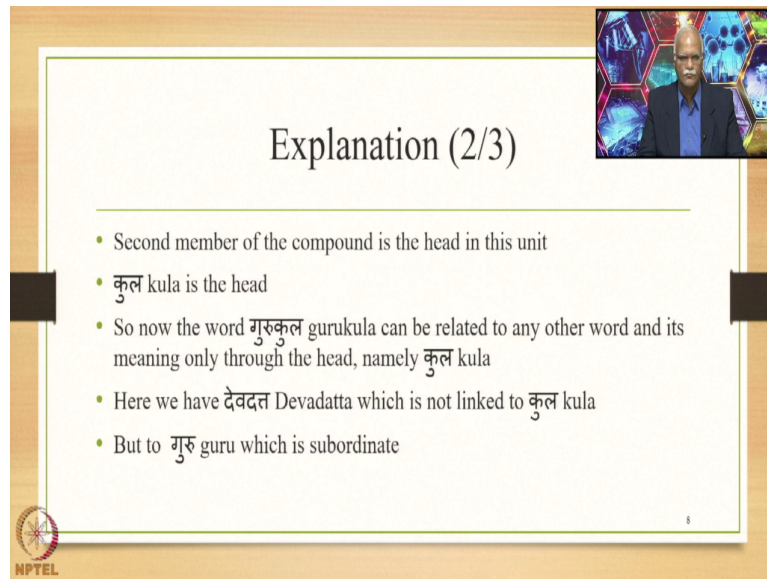
The slide is titled "Explanation (1/3)" and contains a list of six bullet points. In the top right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man speaking. In the bottom left corner, there is a logo for NPTEL.

- Here देवदत्त Devadatta and गुरु guru are interrelated
- But देवदत्त Devadatta and कुल kula are not directly related
- Also गुरु guru and कुल kula are interrelated
- So first गुरु guru and कुल kula are compounded
- And गुरुकुल gurukula is the output generated
- One unit merging the two constituents

NPTEL

This is an explanation of what we have seen just now. Here Devadatta and guru are interrelated, but Devadatta and kula are not directly related. Also, guru and kula are interrelated. So, first guru and kula are compounded, and gurukula is the output generated. This is one unit in which two constituents are merged as far as the meaning is concerned and also the word form is concerned.

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Explanation (2/3)

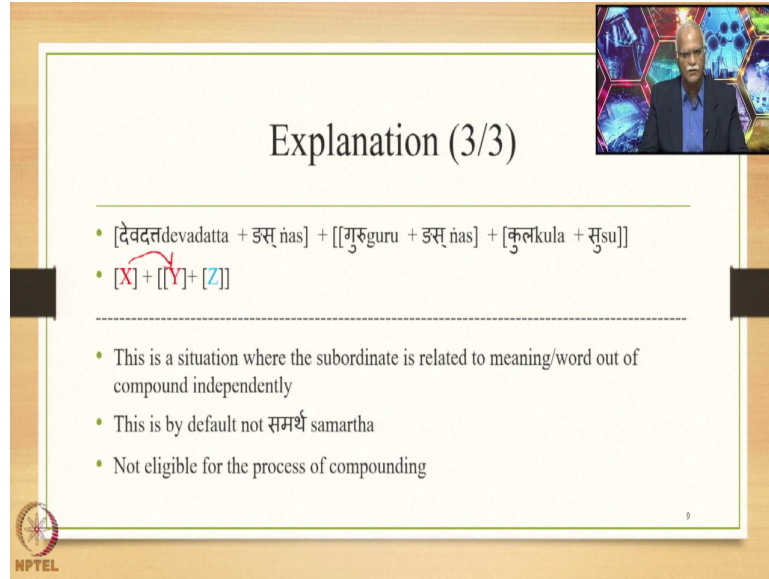
- Second member of the compound is the head in this unit
- कुल kula is the head
- So now the word गुरुकुल gurukula can be related to any other word and its meaning only through the head, namely कुल kula
- Here we have देवदत्त Devadatta which is not linked to कुल kula
- But to गुरु guru which is subordinate

NPTEL

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Second member of this compound is the head in this unit because it is a tatpuruṣa compound. So, kula is the head. So, now, the word gurukula can be related to any other word and its meaning only through the head, namely kula. Here we have Devadatta which is a separate word which is not linked to kula as far as meaning is concerned and also the word is concerned. But it is linked to guru which is subordinate, which is the non-head element in the compound.

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Explanation (3/3)

- [देवदत्तdevadatta + डस् nas] + [[गुरुguru + डस् nas] + [कुलkula + सुsu]]
- [X] + [[Y] + [Z]]

- This is a situation where the subordinate is related to meaning/word out of compound independently
- This is by default not समर्थ samartha
- Not eligible for the process of compounding

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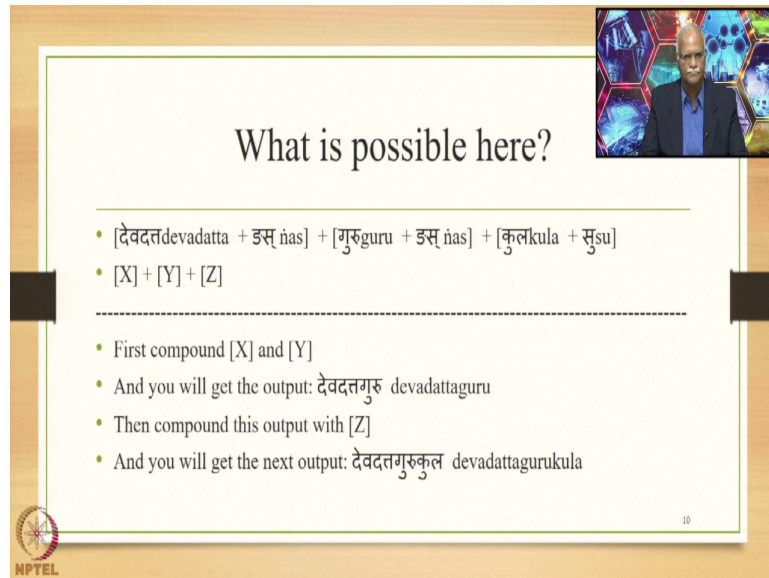
This can be shown in this particular fashion. Here we have devadattasya guroh kulam written down in the aloukika style. And we shall study what is an aloukika vigraha in this course later on. So, first we have devadattasya being written as devadatta plus nas, nas being the shashti suffix, plus guru plus nas and kula plus su. Now, guru plus nas is put into two brackets square brackets, kula plus su is also put into two square brackets.

Now, there are two more additional brackets over here they indicate that this is first compounded. So, here you have Y plus Z first compounded, Y plus Z first compounded, and now you have X which is going to be linked with this compounded word, one unit. According to the theory of ekarti bhava, this is merged one unit and this Z is the head in this particular unit.

Now, so X if it is to be linked with this one unit, it has to be linked through this head, Z, which is what is not happening. As the colors indicate X, X is linked with Y and it should be linked with Z which is not the case. So, this is the situation where the subordinate is related to the meaning or word out of compound independently.

So, this is by default not considered to be samartha. And therefore, these with padas are not eligible for the process of compounding. And still, we see compounding taking place. And so, such a compound is declared as asamarthasamasa.

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What is possible here?

- [देवदत्तdevadatta + डस् nas] + [गुरुguru + डस् nas] + [कुलkula + सुsu]
- [X] + [Y] + [Z]

- First compound [X] and [Y]
- And you will get the output: देवदत्तगुरु devadattaguru
- Then compound this output with [Z]
- And you will get the next output: देवदत्तगुरुकुल devadattagurukula

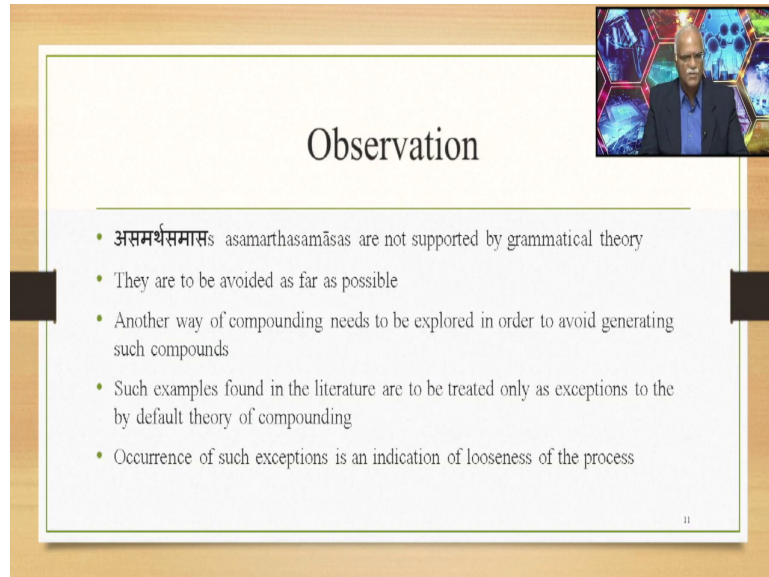
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What is possible here is the following. So, if you have devadatta plus nas plus guru plus nas plus kula plus su, where you have X plus Y plus Z, first you compound X and Y and you will

get the output devadatta guru, the teacher of Devadatta. Then, you compound this output devadatta guru with Z.

And now you will get the next output devadatta guru kula, this is perfectly semantically linked and samartha capable compound. So, this is called samartha samasa. Is this responsible? But if you do not do this and if you say devadattasya guru kulam, then there is the problem of asamarthasamasa, if you have the meaning intended in your head as the family of the teacher of Devadatta.

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The slide is titled "Observation" and contains a list of five bullet points. In the top right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man with glasses and a blue shirt. The slide has a light beige background with a white border and a small "11" in the bottom right corner.

Observation

- असमर्थसमासः asamarthasamāsas are not supported by grammatical theory
- They are to be avoided as far as possible
- Another way of compounding needs to be explored in order to avoid generating such compounds
- Such examples found in the literature are to be treated only as exceptions to the by default theory of compounding
- Occurrence of such exceptions is an indication of looseness of the process

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The observation is that the asamarthasamasa, they are not supported by grammatical theory. They are to be avoided as far as possible if you are generating a compound.

Another way of compounding needs to be explored in order to avoid generating such compounds. Such examples which are found in the literature are to be treated only as exceptions to the by default theory of compounding and they are not to be treated as the by default theory. Occurrence of such exceptions is an indication of looseness of the process at the cognitive level.

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Example-2

- ऋद्धस्य राजपुरुषः ṛddhasya rājapurūṣaḥ
- (Meaning: the servant of the prosperous King)

- ऋद्धस्य राजः पुरुषः ṛddhasya rajñah puruṣaḥ

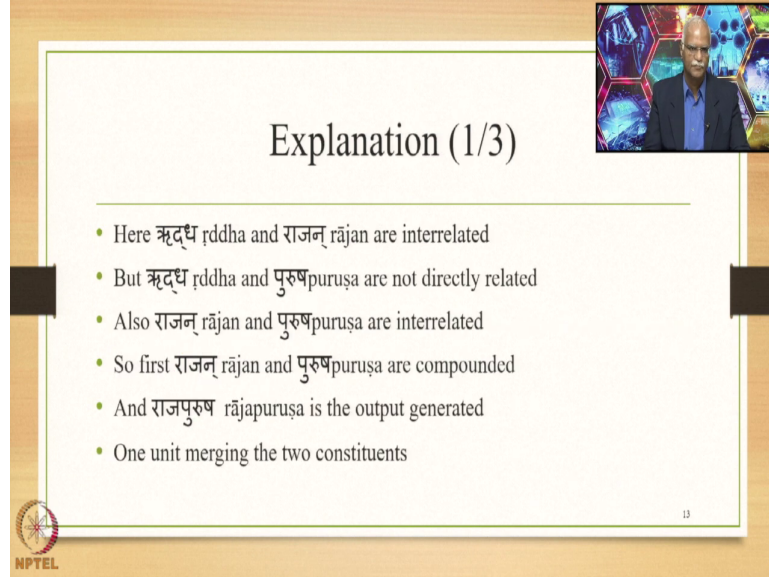
NPTEL 12

Let us take another example and you here we have rdhasya rajah purusah, the servant of the prosperous king.

And the vighraha is rdhasya rajnah purusah. Here we have rdhasya linked with rajnah and rajnah linked with purusah. So, rddhasya is linked with rajnah and rajnah is linked with purusah, rddhasya rajnah and purusah. However, in this particular process, rajnah and

purusah, they are compounded first and therefore, rddhasya which is linked with rajnah faces the similar problem of getting termed as asamarta.

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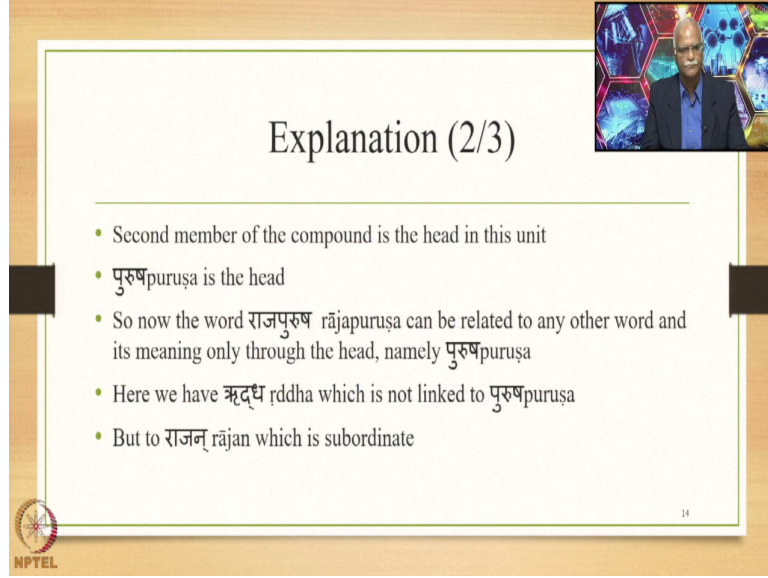


The slide is titled "Explanation (1/3)" and contains a list of five bullet points. In the top right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man speaking. The NPTEL logo is visible in the bottom left corner of the slide.

- Here ऋद्ध rddha and राजन् rājan are interrelated
- But ऋद्ध rddha and पुरुष puruṣa are not directly related
- Also राजन् rājan and पुरुष puruṣa are interrelated
- So first राजन् rājan and पुरुष puruṣa are compounded
- And राजपुरुष rājapuruṣa is the output generated
- One unit merging the two constituents

Here, rdha and rajnah are interrelated, but rdha and purusha are not directly related also rajan and purusha are interrelated. So, first rajan and purusha are compounded and rajapurusa is the output generated. And this is one unit in which two constituents are merged, their meanings are merged and the new unit is emerging and this unit consists of the uttarapada being the head, rajapurusa has got purusa as the head.

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Explanation (2/3)

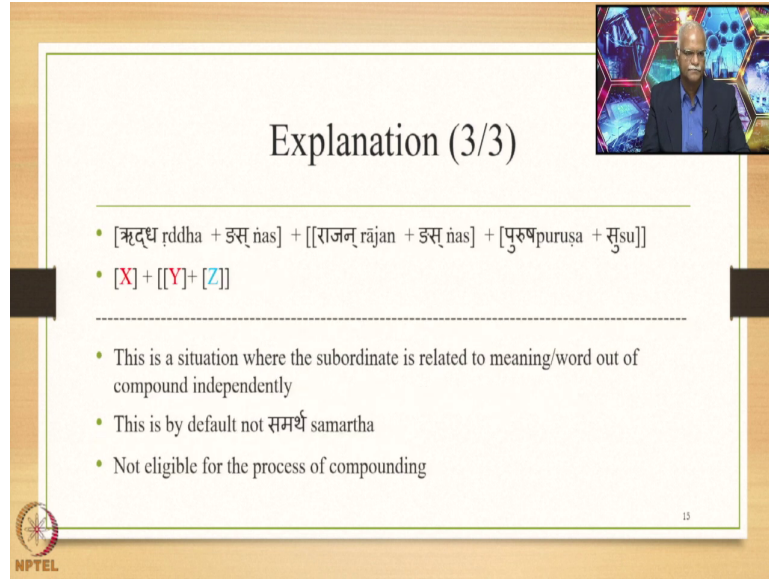
- Second member of the compound is the head in this unit
- पुरुषpuruṣa is the head
- So now the word राजपुरुष rājapuruṣa can be related to any other word and its meaning only through the head, namely पुरुषpuruṣa
- Here we have ऋद्ध rddha which is not linked to पुरुषpuruṣa
- But to राजन् rājan which is subordinate

NPTEL

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Now, the second member of the compound is the head in this unit, puruṣa is the head. So, now, the word rāja puruṣa can be related to any other word and meaning only through the head, namely only through puruṣa. But here we have raddha which is not linked to puruṣa. It is linked to rather rājan which is a non-head element in the compound. This is what causes the asamarthatva.

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Explanation (3/3)

- [ऋद्ध rdhha + ऊस् ŋas] + [[राजन् rājan + ऊस् ŋas] + [पुरुष puruṣa + सुsu]]
- [X] + [[Y] + [Z]]

- This is a situation where the subordinate is related to meaning/word out of compound independently
- This is by default not समर्थ samartha
- Not eligible for the process of compounding

NPTEL 15

This can be shown once again in the form of an aloukika vighraha rudha plus nas, where nas is the shasti suffix rajan plus nas, where nas is the shasti suffix, purusa plus su. So, here we see rudha and nas this is linked with rajan, this nas links rajan with purusa and now we have rajan plus nas plus purusaa plus su, compounded first.

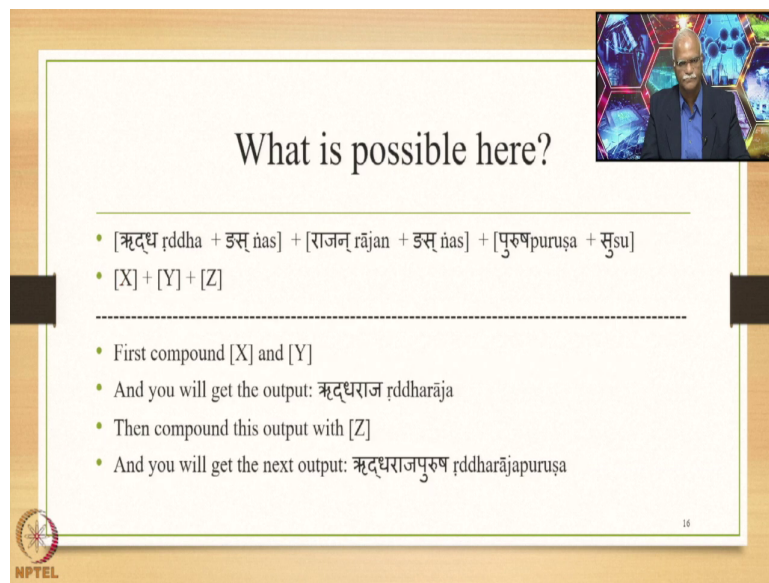
So, we have Y plus Z compounded first. And then, it is notice that there is an X which is linked with Y. If Y and Z are compounded first and a merged integrated output consisting of onle unit is generated, then obviously, amongst these two this Z is going to act as the head of that one unit.

So, this X must be such that it is linked to this Z or if it is linked to this Y, it has to be through this Z. But none of this is happening. X is directly linked with Y and that is the reason why

now this compound of Y plus Z will be declared as asamartha because the subordinate element Y is already linked with X without going through the Z, the head.

This is a situation where the subordinate is related to the meaning and word out of compound independently. This is by default not samartha. And so, Y and Z are not eligible for the process of compounding.

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What is possible here?

- [ऋद्ध ऀddha + डस् ऱnas] + [राजन् रājan + डस् ऱnas] + [पुरुष puruṣa + सु su]
- [X] + [Y] + [Z]

- First compound [X] and [Y]
- And you will get the output: ऋद्धराज ऀddharāja
- Then compound this output with [Z]
- And you will get the next output: ऋद्धराजपुरुष ऀddharājapuruṣa

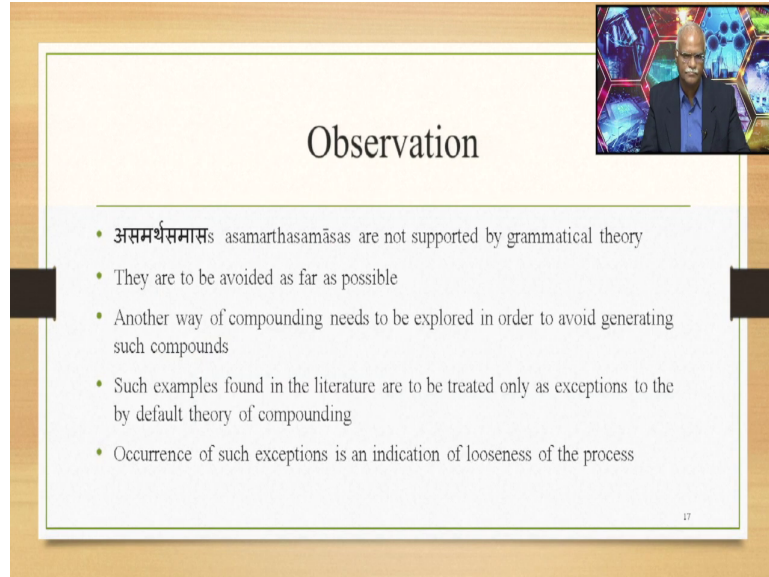
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What is possible here is the following. So, you have rudha plus nas plus rajan plus nas plus purusa plus su. So, you have the format X plus Y plus Z, first compound X and Y. So, tasya rajnah, this is possible.

And then, you will get the output rudha raja, this is perfectly valid. Then, compound this output with Z and then you will get the next output vrudha raja purusah. This is how this situation can be handled, and the samartha samasas can be generated.

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Observation

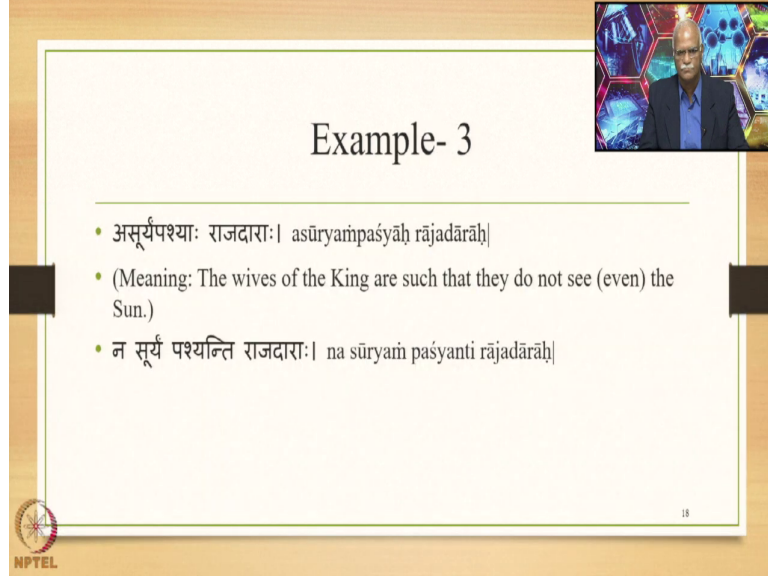
- असमर्थसमासs asamarthasamāśas are not supported by grammatical theory
- They are to be avoided as far as possible
- Another way of compounding needs to be explored in order to avoid generating such compounds
- Such examples found in the literature are to be treated only as exceptions to the by default theory of compounding
- Occurrence of such exceptions is an indication of looseness of the process

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What we observe here is once again that is asamarthasamasas are not supported by the grammatical theory. They are to be avoided as far as possible. Another way of compounding needs to be explored in order to avoid generating such compounds. Such examples of asamarthasamasas are found in the literature and they are to be treated only as exceptions to the by default theory of compounding and are able to be considered a by default process.

Occurrence of such exceptions is an indication of the looseness of the process of compounding at the cognitive level of the speaker.

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Example- 3

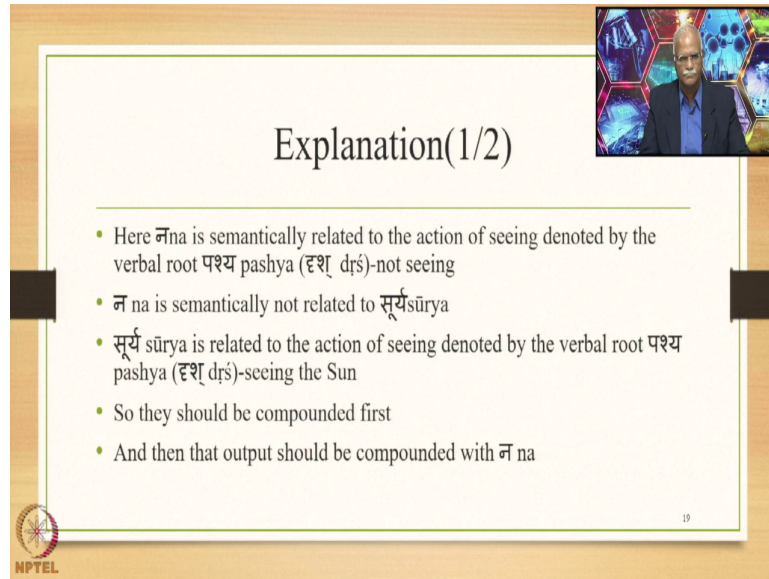
- असूर्यपश्याः राजदाराः। asūryaṁpaśyāḥ rājadārāḥ|
- (Meaning: The wives of the King are such that they do not see (even) the Sun.)
- न सूर्यं पश्यन्ति राजदाराः। na sūryaṁ paśyanti rājadārāḥ|

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Now, this is the third example. [FL]. This means the wives of the King are such that they do not see even the Sun. They are so very well protected that they do not see the sun. [FL], they do not see the sun.

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Explanation(1/2)

- Here नna is semantically related to the action of seeing denoted by the verbal root पश्य pashya (दृश्् drś)-not seeing
- न na is semantically not related to सूर्यsūrya
- सूर्य sūrya is related to the action of seeing denoted by the verbal root पश्य pashya (दृश्् drś)-seeing the Sun
- So they should be compounded first
- And then that output should be compounded with न na

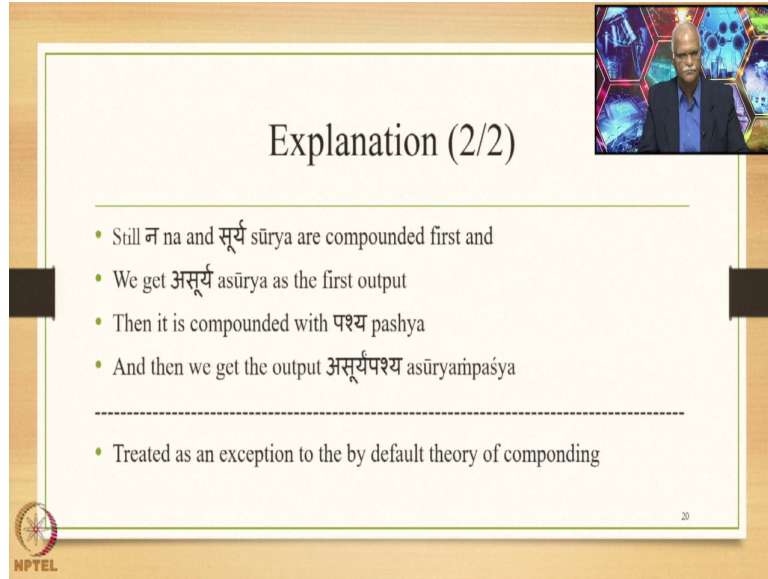
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Here na is semantically related to the action of seeing denoted by the verbal root pashya or drishya and so the meaning is not seeing. Na is semantically not related to surya. Surya is related to the action of seeing denoted by the verbal root drs pashya as karma as an object. So, one is seeing the sun.

Now, surya and drsya pashya, they are semantically linked. So, they should be compounded first. Na and surya are not semantically linked, so they should not be compounded first. So, first if you make a compound of surya and pashya, you will get something like surya pashya, and then that output could be compounded with na.

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Explanation (2/2)

- Still न na and सूर्य sūrya are compounded first and
- We get असूर्य asūrya as the first output
- Then it is compounded with पश्य pashya
- And then we get the output असूर्यपश्य asūryamṣāśya

- Treated as an exception to the by default theory of compounding

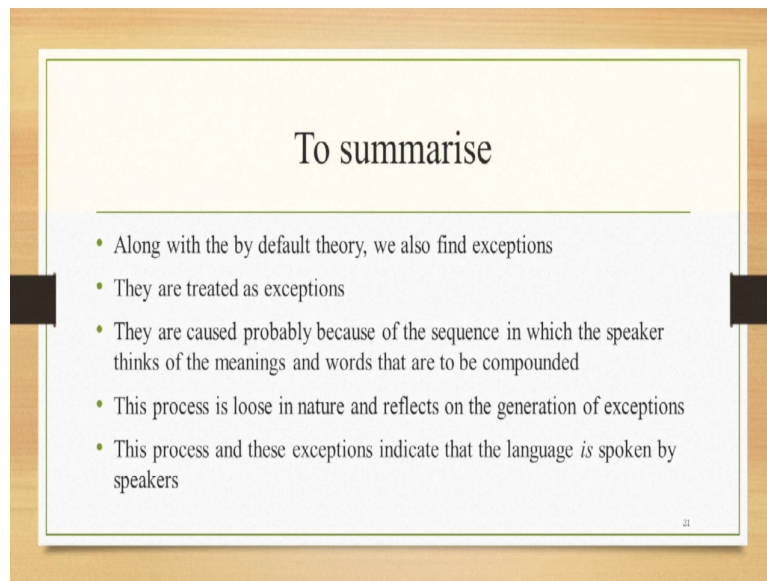
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Still, in this case na and surya are compounded first. These are not semantically linked. Na is linked with pashya, and then we get a surya as the first output. Then, it is compounded with pashya and then we get the output asuryam pashya. This, in fact, is stated by the sutras, one of the sutras of Panini, [FL] which we are going to study in detail when we study the upapada tatpuruṣa compound later on. But this example is cited over here as an example of asamarthasamasa.

This means that even in Panini's times, compounds were generated of this particular kind. So, this is to be treated as an exception to the by default theory of compounding where only samartha happens to be the base for the process of compounding.

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To summarise

- Along with the by default theory, we also find exceptions
- They are treated as exceptions
- They are caused probably because of the sequence in which the speaker thinks of the meanings and words that are to be compounded
- This process is loose in nature and reflects on the generation of exceptions
- This process and these exceptions indicate that the language *is* spoken by speakers

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So, to summarize along with the by default theory, we also find exceptions. And these exceptions are treated as exceptions. They are caused probably because of the sequence in which the speaker thinks of the meanings and words that are to be compounded.

This process is loose in nature and reflects on the generation of exceptions. This process and these exceptions indicate that the language is spoken by speakers.

(Refer Slide Time: 21:54)

Referred Texts

- अष्टाध्यायी Aṣṭādhyāyī
- समर्थाह्निक Samarthāhnikā from the व्याकरणमहाभाष्य Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya
- वाक्यपदीय Vākyapadīya
- काशिकावृत्ति Kāśikāvṛtti
- समासप्रकरण Samāsaprakaraṇa from the वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-kaumudī

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These are the texts referred to these are the traditional sources. And we shall deal with the other aspects of the theory of compounding stated in Paninian grammar in the coming lectures.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:03)

अनुगृहीतो'स्मि

• मीळवणं नुसंणी.	• Muchas gracias.
• अनेक धन्यवाद.	• Merci beaucoup.
• बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद.	• Danke.
• आभारी आहे.	• Grazie mille.
• ખૂબ ખૂબ આભાર.	• Thank you.



Thank you for your patience.