

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

Lecture - 20

General remarks on compounding and historical development of Sanskrit Language

Welcome. I welcome you all to this lecture in the course Samasa in Paninian grammar and this is the first course. We begin our lecture with the recitation of the mangalacarana.

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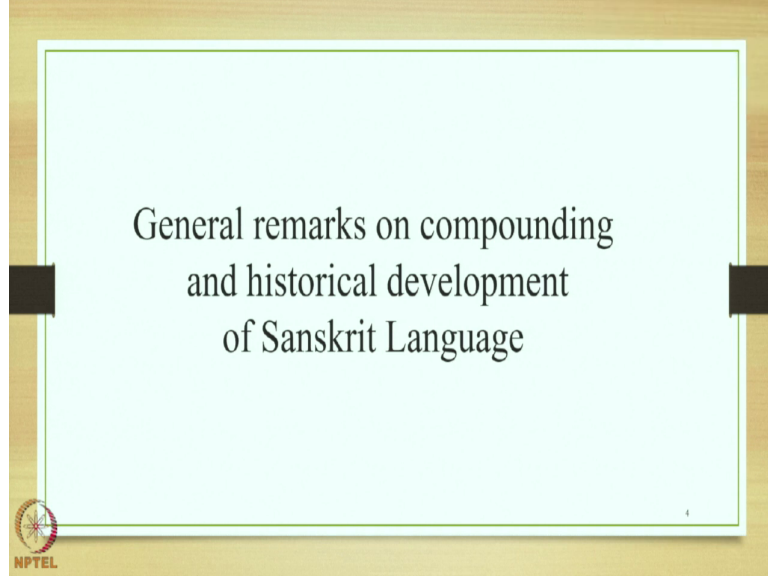
मङ्गलाचरण maṅgalācaraṇa

- विश्वेशं सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत्।
चरीकर्त्ति बरीभर्त्ति संजरीहर्त्ति लीलया॥
- viśveśaṁ saccidānandaṁ vande'haṁ yo'khilam jagat |
carīkartti barībhartti saṅjarīhartti līlayā ||

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[FL].

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In this lecture we will make some general remarks on the process of compounding and also the historical development of Sanskrit language. In the previous lecture we have seen the rules in Paninian grammar dealing with the swara karya which happens at the end of the derivation of the compound.

However, the constituents they already have the accent which is an inbuilt accent. We were looking at the swara karyas as part of the process of the derivation of the compound which starts with the semantic condition and we also noted the sutras in the Paninian grammatical system which trigger all these operations.

So, samarthah padavidhih we said is the one which lays down the very basic the foundational principle for the process of compounding to take place and this process happens in the arthakasa of the speaker and then there is a necessary condition in the form of sahasupa which

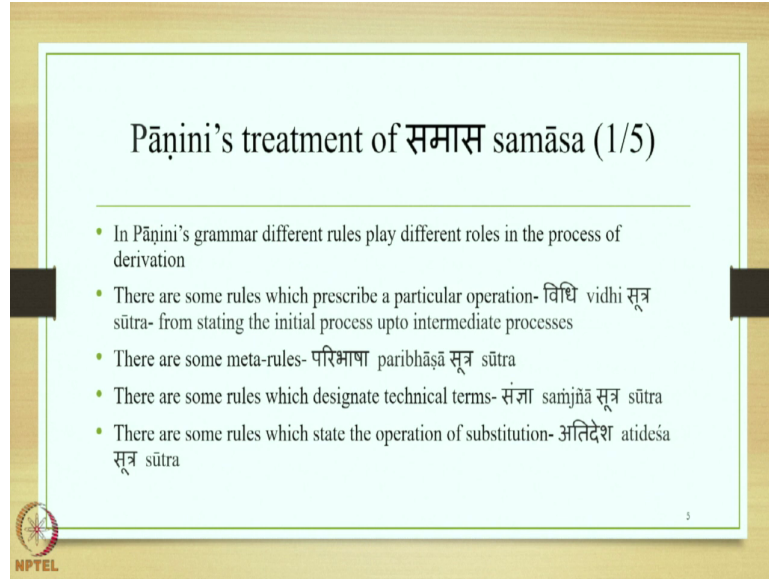
lays down once again a very generic principle of a subanta getting compounded with another interrelated semantically interrelated subanta.

So, the grammatical theory of Sanskrit excludes any compound between a subanta and tinanta and also a tinanta and another tinanta. It has to be between two subantas then we said that there is something called alaukika vighraha where the process of compounding begins.

Then we add the samasanta pratyaya, then before that we do the purva pada nirdharana and then the sup look takes place after which the morphological operations on the purva pada they take place, then there are some other phonological operations then finally, the sandhi that takes place and then you have the swarakaryas that also take place.

After having studied the theoretical background of the compounding the samasas and then also the sequence in which the process of compounding takes place in this lecture we will make some general remarks on this entire process and we shall also talk about the historical development of Sanskrit language with specific focus on the process of compounding.

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Pāṇini's treatment of समास samāsa (1/5)

- In Pāṇini's grammar different rules play different roles in the process of derivation
- There are some rules which prescribe a particular operation- विधि vidhi सूत्र sūtra- from stating the initial process upto intermediate processes
- There are some meta-rules- परिभाषा paribhāṣā सूत्र sūtra
- There are some rules which designate technical terms- संज्ञा samjñā सूत्र sūtra
- There are some rules which state the operation of substitution- अतिदेश atideśa सूत्र sūtra

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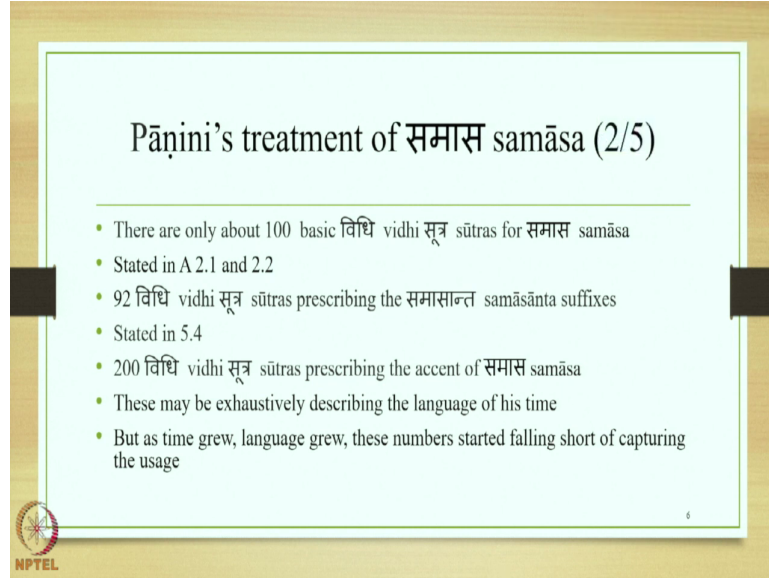
First let us talk about the Panini's treatment of samasa. In Panini's grammar different rules play different roles in the process of derivation as we have already seen. There are some rules which prescribe a particular operation and these rules are called vidhi sutras from stating the initial process up to the intermediate processes they are all stated by what is known as the vidhi sutra.

After which there are some meta rules that come into play these are called the paribhasa sutras in the system of Paninian grammar then there are some other rules which designate the technical terms and these are called samjna sutras and there are some rules which state the operation of substitution namely the atidesa sutras.

It is primarily because of these atidesa sutras that the derivation process retains its continuity whereas, the derived output shares similarity with the input stage and that is primarily

because of the concept of atidesa atidesa sutra stated in the Paninian grammar. So, these are the different rules which play different roles in the entire process of derivation of the compounding.

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Pāṇini's treatment of समास samāsa (2/5)

- There are only about 100 basic विधि vidhi सूत्र sūtras for समास samāsa
- Stated in A 2.1 and 2.2
- 92 विधि vidhi सूत्र sūtras prescribing the समासान्त samāsānta suffixes
- Stated in 5.4
- 200 विधि vidhi सूत्र sūtras prescribing the accent of समास samāsa
- These may be exhaustively describing the language of his time
- But as time grew, language grew, these numbers started falling short of capturing the usage

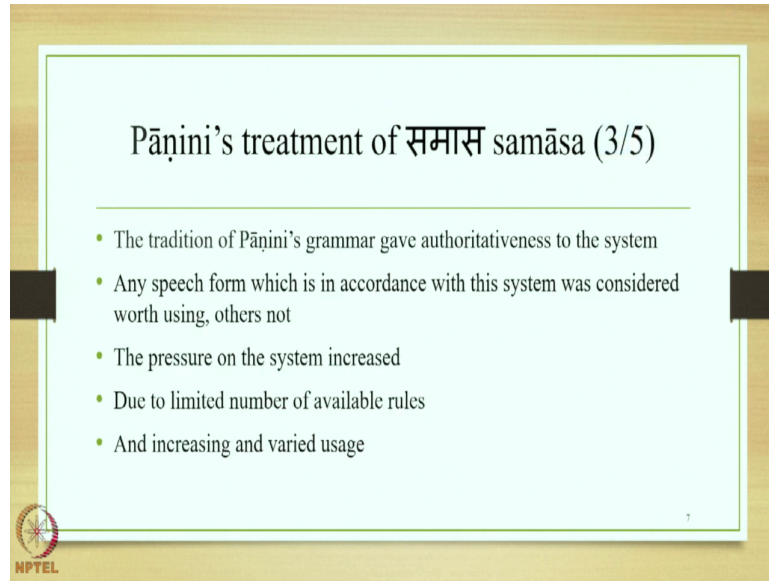
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However, we note that there are only about 100 basic vidhi sutras for samasa. They are stated in 2.1 and also in 2.2 in the Astadhyayi. There are 92 vidhi sutras prescribing the samasanta suffixes stated in 5.4 and there are about 200 vidhi sutras prescribing the accent of samasa stated in 6.2. These sutras overall may be exhaustively describing the language of Panini's time.

But as time grew language grew and these numbers started falling short of capturing the usage this is what is seen as far as the treatment of compounds in the later Paninian grammatical tradition.

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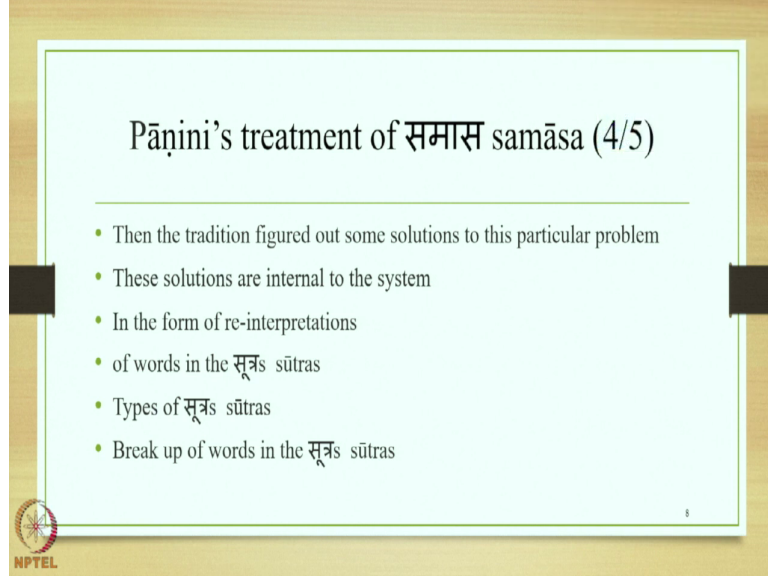
Pāṇini's treatment of समास samāsa (3/5)

- The tradition of Pāṇini's grammar gave authoritativeness to the system
- Any speech form which is in accordance with this system was considered worth using, others not
- The pressure on the system increased
- Due to limited number of available rules
- And increasing and varied usage

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The tradition of Panini's grammar gave authoritativeness to the system and any speech form which is in accordance with this system was considered sadhu or worth using and others which are not in accordance with this particular system are considered not worth using. So, in the course of time we observed that the pressure on the system increased due to two factors one the limited number of available rules and also the increasing and varied usage.

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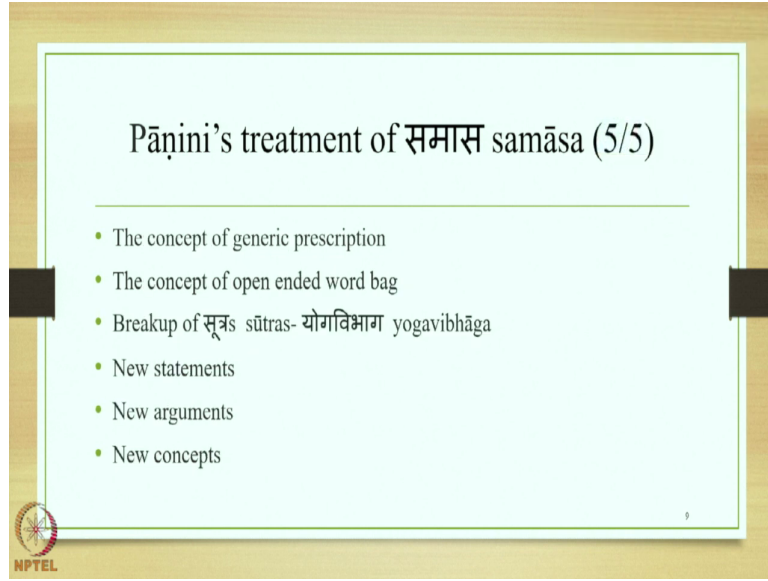
Pāṇini's treatment of समास samāsa (4/5)

- Then the tradition figured out some solutions to this particular problem
- These solutions are internal to the system
- In the form of re-interpretations
- of words in the सूत्रs sūtras
- Types of सूत्रs sūtras
- Break up of words in the सूत्रs sūtras

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Then the tradition figured out some solutions to this particular problem and these solutions are primarily internal to the overall derivational system of Paninian grammar in the form of reinterpretations. Reinterpretations of what? Reinterpretations of words in the sutras reinterpretations of types of sutras and also breaking up of the words in the sutras these are the means resorted to by the later Paninian grammatical tradition to figure out solution to this particular problem.

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Pāṇini's treatment of समास samāsa (5/5)

- The concept of generic prescription
- The concept of open ended word bag
- Breakup of सूत्रs sūtras- योगविभाग yogavibhāga
- New statements
- New arguments
- New concepts

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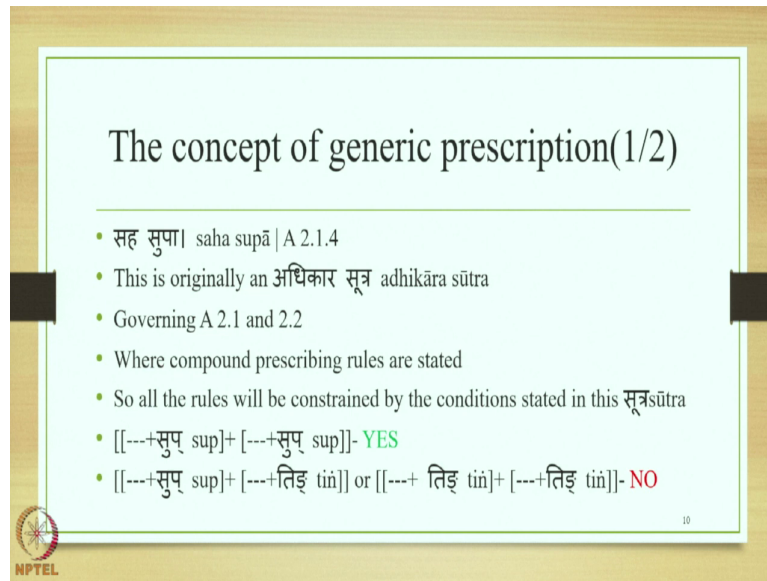
So, then we then we have the concept of generic prescription for example, we saw that sahasupa which is initially stated as an adhikara sutra that governs the entire samasa section and lays down the basic condition for the compounding to take place namely that only two subantas can be compounded was interpreted in a generic manner and any subanta which is interrelated to any other subanta can be compounded together and such a compound was also given a technical term as supsup samasa or kevala samasa.

This is one of the solutions figured out by the later Paninian grammatical tradition in order to account for and remove the problem where the limited number of sutras have to account for an increasing and varied usage. The other solution is the concept of open ended word bag also known as akritigana and there are several such word backs proposed by Panini and we shall study some of them over here and also when we study some other sutras.

Similarly, there are breakup of sutras also known as yoga vibhaga and yoga in this context means a sutra yoga means sutra. So, yoga vibhaga means sutra vibhaga. So, you divide a sutra into two A and B and A may mean some generic meaning once again and B when joined with A would give you the normal generally understood meaning of the sutra.

So, breakup of sutras is one such solution also there are new statements made by the later Paninian grammatical tradition to account for the new usages. There are new arguments which are put forward there are new concepts which are discovered and which are stated in order to account for such usages.

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The concept of generic prescription(1/2)

- सह सुपा | saha supā | A 2.1.4
- This is originally an अधिकार सूत्र adhikāra sūtra
- Governing A 2.1 and 2.2
- Where compound prescribing rules are stated
- So all the rules will be constrained by the conditions stated in this सूत्रsūtra
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [---+सुप् sup]]- YES
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [---+तिङ् तिं]] or [[---+ तिङ् तिं]+ [---+तिङ् तिं]]- NO

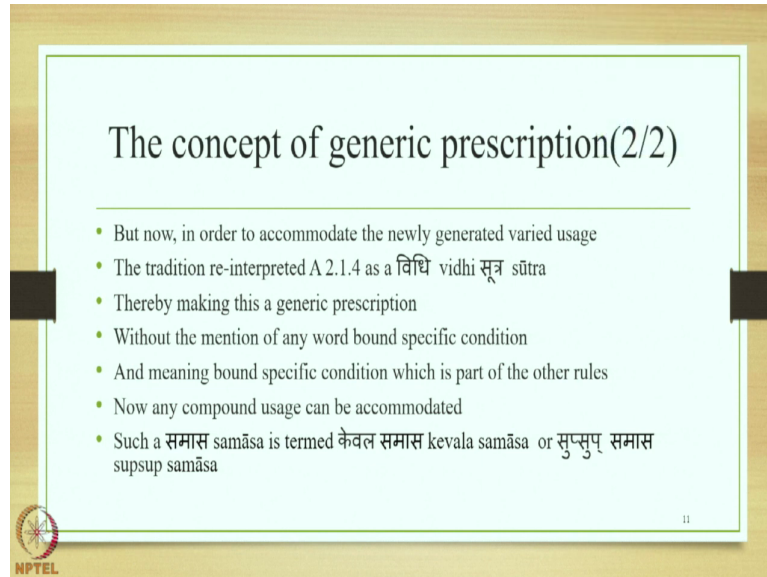
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Let us study these one by one first let us take the concept of generic prescription saha supa 2 1 4 is originally an adhikara sutra governing 2.1 and 2.2 where compound prescribing rules are stated. So, all the rules will be constrained by the conditions stated in this particular sutra; that

means, if we have this structure which means that there are two padas where the pratyaya in both the padas is a sup over here and over here we do not mind what is the prakruti.

The only thing we need is that they should be interrelated, but these two should be sups this is the essential condition and then we would say yes to the compound, but if we have sup plus thing then we would say no to this combination or if you have tin plus tin we would say no to this combination following the sutra saha supa 2.1.4. This is the generic prescription of the compound this is the adhikara sutra.

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The concept of generic prescription(2/2)

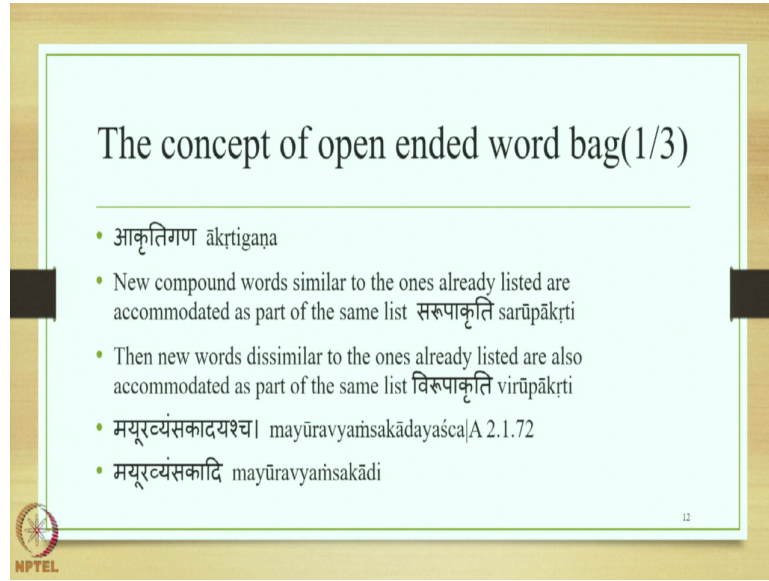
- But now, in order to accommodate the newly generated varied usage
- The tradition re-interpreted A 2.1.4 as a विधि vidhi सूत्र sūtra
- Thereby making this a generic prescription
- Without the mention of any word bound specific condition
- And meaning bound specific condition which is part of the other rules
- Now any compound usage can be accommodated
- Such a समास samāsa is termed केवल समास kevala samāsa or सुप्सुप् समास supsup samāsa

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Now, in order to accommodate the newly generated varied usage the tradition reinterpreted 2.1.4 as a vidhi sutra. So, an adhikara sutra is reinterpreted as a vidhi sutra thereby making this a generic prescription without the mention of any word bound specific condition and meaning bound specific condition which we see is part of the other rules.

Now if you have this generic prescription any compound usage can be accommodated with this particular rule such as samasa is termed kevala samasa or supsup samasa by the later Paninian grammatical tradition. This is how the Paninian grammatical traditions solve the problem of the shortness of the sutras and the increase in the usage.

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The concept of open ended word bag(1/3)

- आकृतिगण ākṛtigāṇa
- New compound words similar to the ones already listed are accommodated as part of the same list सरूपाकृति sarūpākṛti
- Then new words dissimilar to the ones already listed are also accommodated as part of the same list विरूपाकृति virūpākṛti
- मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च | mayūravyaṁsakādayaśca | A 2.1.72
- मयूरव्यंसकादि mayūravyaṁsakādi

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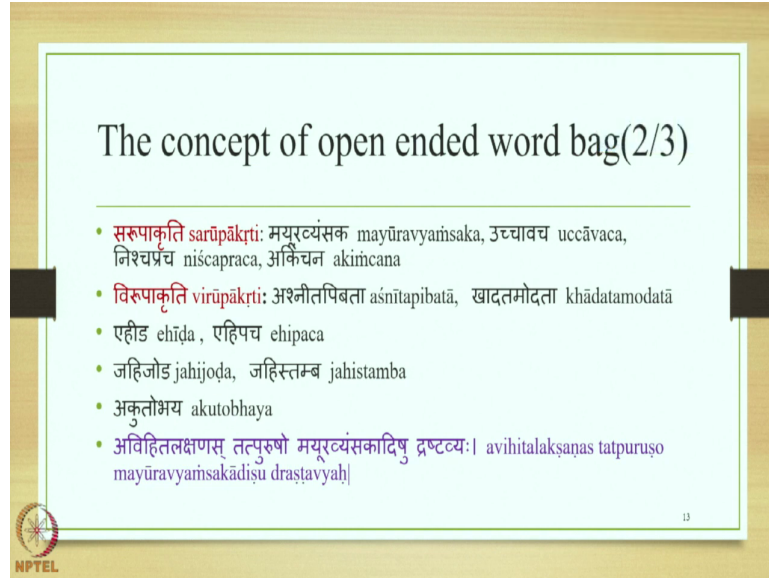
The second solution is the concept of open ended word banks also known as akritigana. So, new compound words which are similar to the ones already listed in the ganas are accommodated as part of the same list. So, they are called sarupakrti that is the primary intention of this being an open ended word back.

So, akrti which is similar attracts the similar words into this particular bag which are not actually formally stated; however, then this word back takes a different shape when new words dissimilar to the ones already listed are also accommodated as part of the same list

which can be called as virupakrti whose form do does not match with the form of the words already part of the bag yet those are included in the same bag and that makes this bag an open ended word bag we have an example mayuravyamsakadi stated in the sutra mayuravyamsakadayasca 2.1.72.

Mayuravyamsakadi is such a list where initially this takes the shape of collecting the sarupakrti words, but later on we also see a several virupakrti words also being dumped in this particular bag making it an open ended word bag.

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The concept of open ended word bag(2/3)

- सरुपाकृति sarupākṛti: मयूरव्यंसक mayūravyaṁsaka, उच्चावच uccāvaca, निश्चप्रच niścāpraca, अकिंचन akimcana
- विरुपाकृति virupākṛti: अश्नीतपिबता aśnitapibatā, खादतमोदता khādatamodatā
- एहीड ehiḍa, एहिपच ehipaca
- जहिजोड jahijoda, जहिस्तम्ब jahistamba
- अकुतोभय akutobhaya
- अविहितलक्षणस् तत्पुरुषो मयूरव्यंसकादिषु द्रष्टव्यः। avihitalakṣaṇas tatpuruṣo mayūravyaṁsakādiṣu draṣṭavyah|

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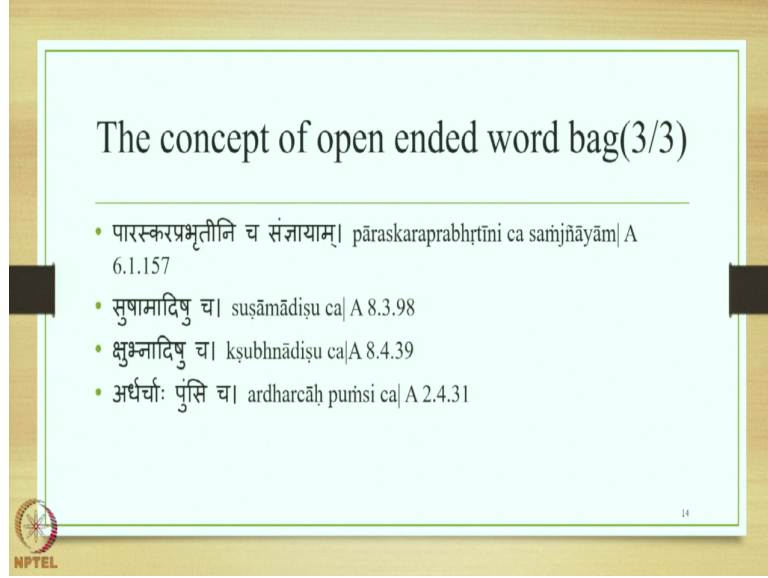
So, if we study the mayuravyamsakadi gana we will find a sarupakrti words like mayuravyamsaka uccavaca niscapraca akimcana etcetera and then we find virupakrti asnitapibata khadatamodata ehida ehipaca jahijoda jahistamba and also akutobhaya all these are virupakrti.

Mayuravyamsaka uccavaca niscapraca and akimcana these are the compounds where both the elements of the compounds are sups mayura and vyamsaka ucca and vaca nisca nis and praca and a and kimcana these are all sups whereas, in asnitapibata khadatamodata both of them are things which is completely different than what is stated then what is the basic foundational principle.

Still these words are put in this particular bag of mayuravyamsakadi same is the case with ehida ehipaca jahijoda and jahistamba where there is one element which is a tinanta and finally, we have a statement in the traditional commentators who say [FL] a tatpuruasa compound which is not specifically prescribed by any of the available Paninian sutras should be seen as part of the mayuravyamsakadi bags.

[FL]. This statement makes it further open ended any tatpuruasa for which you will not find any sutra supporting it generating it should be put into this particular bag whether it matches formally with mayuravyamsakadi are not does not matter that is the technique the traditional commentators have resorted to.

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The concept of open ended word bag(3/3)

- पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्। pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca sañjñāyām। A 6.1.157
- सुषामादिषु च। suṣāmādiṣu ca। A 8.3.98
- क्षुब्धनादिषु च। kṣubhnādiṣu ca। A 8.4.39
- अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च। ardharcāḥ puṁsi ca। A 2.4.31

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We have similar such akrtiganas like paraskaraprabhrtini ca samjnayam in 6 1 57. Susamadisū ca in 8 3 98 ksubhnadisū ca 8 4 39 and also, we have ardharcāḥ puṁsi ca in 2 4 31 all these elements dealing with different aspects for example, ardharcāḥ puṁsi ca deals with the gender of the compound and clubs together similar words and then also some other types of words together.


Ksubhnadisū ca is the bag of exceptions where the retroflex does not happen susamadisū ca is the bag of words where the retroflex in the form of ca happens and so on.

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**Breakup of सूत्रs sūtras-
योगविभाग yogavibhāga(1/3)**

- सह सुपा | saha supā | A 2.1.4
- So all the rules will be constrained by the conditions stated in this सूत्रsūtra
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [---+सुप् sup]]- **YES**
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [---+तिङ् tiṅ]] or [[---+ तिङ् tiṅ]+ [---+तिङ् tiṅ]]- **NO**
- But to accommodate certain usage this rule is broken into two parts:
- सह saha | A 2.1.4a
- सुपा supā | A 2.1.4b

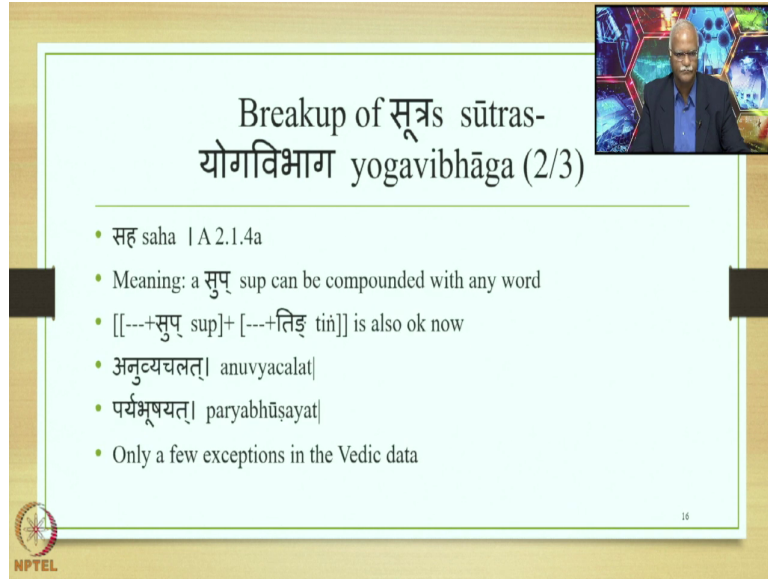
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Let us now study the breakup of the sutras which is yogavibhaga as one of the means resorted to by the tradition. We once again take up saha supa 2.1.4 and we know that all the rules will be constrained by the conditions stated in this particular sutra say if you have two padas with sups at the end we say yes for the process of compounding in accordance with 2.1.4, but if you have sup plus tin or tin plus tin then in accordance with 2.4 the system says no to such elements.

But to accommodate certain usage of precisely this kind this rule is broken into two parts 2.1.4 a is saha and 2 1 4 b is supa this is how the rule is broken.

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Breakup of सूत्रs sūtras-
योगविभाग yogavibhāga (2/3)

- सह saha | A 2.1.4a
- Meaning: a सुप् sup can be compounded with any word
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [---+तिङ् tiṅ]] is also ok now
- अनुव्यचलत्| anuvyacalat|
- पर्यभूषयत्| paryabhūṣayat|
- Only a few exceptions in the Vedic data

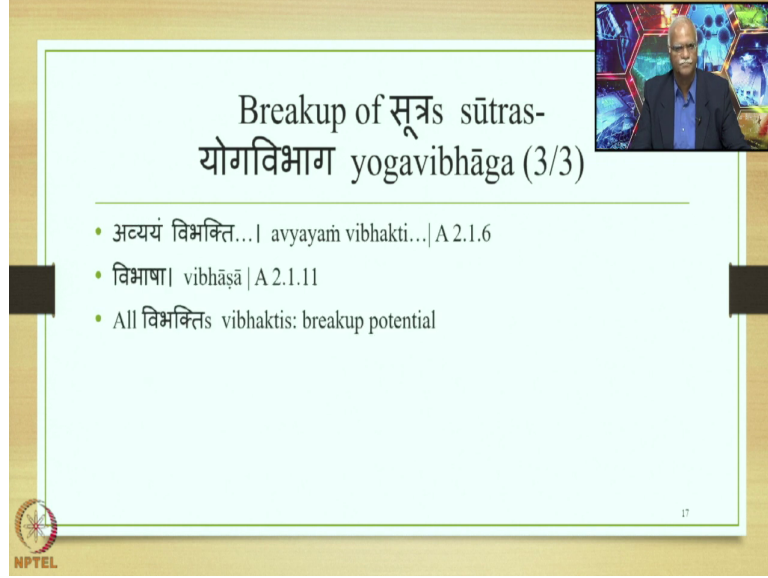
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So, what is the meaning of saha? Saha means with. So, the sutra 2.1.4 a means a sup can be compounded with any word without any restraining condition. A sup can be compounded with any word which is semantically related. So, now, if you have sup over here and tin over here this is also ok as far as 2.1 a 4 a is concerned.

And so, you have examples like anuvyacalat and paryabhusayat where you have anu and v and cala and in pary and bhusa where anu v and pary these are the sups acalat and abhusayat these are the things. So, sup and tin also get compounded; however, we must note that there are only a few exceptions in the vedic data of this kind which need to be accommodated in this particular manner nonetheless the tradition had to do the yogavibhaga as one of the means.

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Breakup of सूत्रs sūtras-
योगविभाग yogavibhāga (3/3)

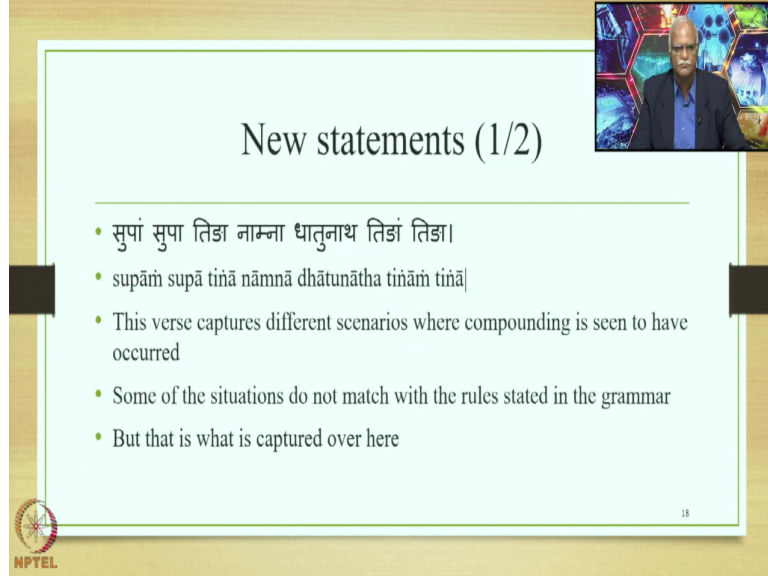
- अव्ययं विभक्ति...। avyayaṁ vibhakti...। A 2.1.6
- विभाषा। vibhāṣā। A 2.1.11
- All विभक्तिस vibhaktis: breakup potential

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Similar is the case of the sutra 2.1.6 which is a very big sutra it reads something like this [FL] etcetera and then this is broken into two avayam and the rest and then any avyaya is compounded with any other subanta. Similarly, we have 2.1.11 and the sutra is [FL] and vibhasa is broken as the separate sutra and now this vibhasa is considered as an adhikara and all the compounds stated hereafter they are optional compounds.

That means, the compounds and the sentences both are possible; that means, the compounds are not nitya samasa and so on. Similarly, all the vibhakti tatpurusas stated in two one starting with [FL] and so on [FL] and [FL] all these sutras they can be also potentially broken up into two to account for other compounds which are not accounted by the existing rules for different reasons.

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The slide is titled "New statements (1/2)" and features a small inset image of a man in a suit in the top right corner. The main content is a list of four items:

- सुपां सुपा तिडा नाम्ना धातुनाथ तिडां तिडा।
- supāṃ supā tiṅā nāmnā dhātunātha tiṅāṃ tiṅā|
- This verse captures different scenarios where compounding is seen to have occurred
- Some of the situations do not match with the rules stated in the grammar
- But that is what is captured over here

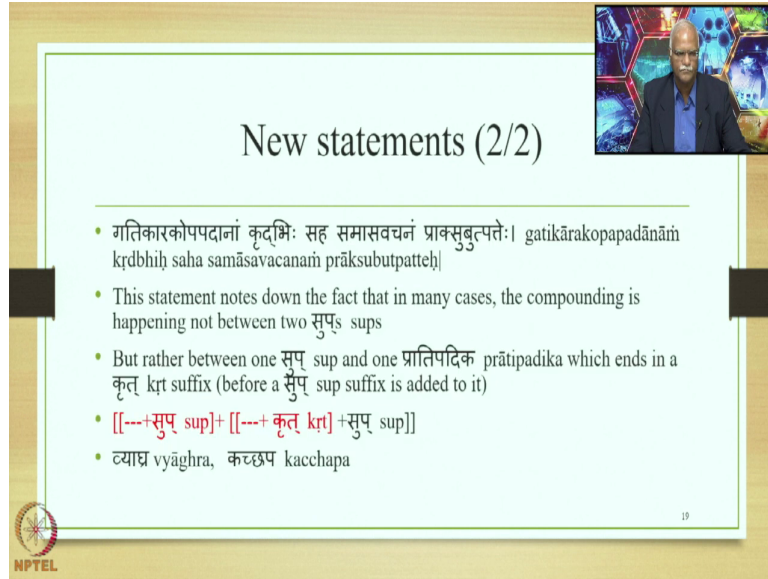
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We also see that there are new statements coming up in order to account for the varied usage. So, for example, [FL] this is a new statement this verse captures different scenarios where compounding is seen to have occurred like supam supa this is the common one.

But supam tina not stated by a Panini, supam namna not explicitly stated by Panini, supam dhatuna not stated by Panini tinam tina not stated by Panini, but these new statements do account for some of the forms that we have already seen in the mayura vyamsakadi akrti gana where we had tin plus tin compounded and so on.

Some of the situations do not match with the rules stated in the Paninian grammar, but that is what is captured over here in this particular half verse.

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New statements (2/2)

- गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेः। gatikārapapadānām kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prāksubutpatteḥ।
- This statement notes down the fact that in many cases, the compounding is happening not between two सुप्s sups
- But rather between one सुप् sup and one प्रातिपदिक prātipadika which ends in a कृत् kṛt suffix (before a सुप् sup suffix is added to it)
- [[---+सुप् sup]+ [[---+ कृत् kṛt]+सुप् sup]]
- व्याघ्र vyāghra, कच्छप kacchapa

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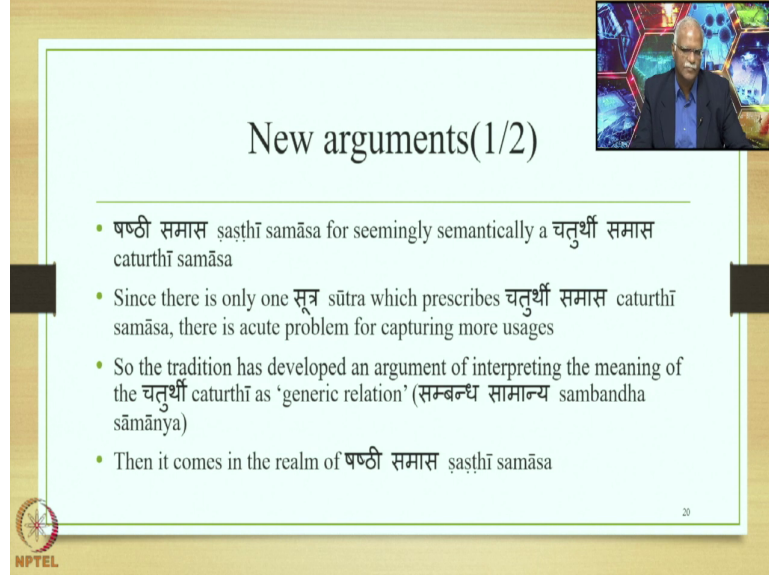
Similarly, we have [FL] a new statement this statement notes down the fact that in many cases the compounding is happening and not between two sups, but rather between one sup and one pratipadika which ends in a krt suffix before the second sup suffix is added to it.

So, this is the general condition that this is a sup and then this should also be a sup and then these sups should get compounded, but what happened what is what happens over here is that this sup is compounded only with this krt before we add the sup to it this is an exception a sup and a kridanta pratipadika is compounded. And so, we get the forms like vyaghra and vyaghri kacchapa and kacchapi.

In these cases, one sup is not compounded with another sup one sup is compounded with another krt that is what this statement says [FL]. So, gaticaraka and upapadas these three they are compounded samasa vacanam with krt suffixes before prak the sup is generated after

those kridanta forms. So, this statement accounts for several upapada tatpuruṣa samāsa which we shall study in detail in this particular course in the later part.

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New arguments(1/2)

- षष्ठी समास ṣaṣṭhī samāsa for seemingly semantically a चतुर्थी समास caturthī samāsa
- Since there is only one सूत्र sūtra which prescribes चतुर्थी समास caturthī samāsa, there is acute problem for capturing more usages
- So the tradition has developed an argument of interpreting the meaning of the चतुर्थी caturthī as 'generic relation' (सम्बन्ध सामान्य sambandha sāmānya)
- Then it comes in the realm of षष्ठी समास ṣaṣṭhī samāsa

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NPTEL

There are also new arguments that we find in the tradition. So, for example, sasti samasa is stated in order to explain the seemingly semantically caturthi samasa. Since there is only one sutra which prescribes caturthi samasa there is an acute problem for capturing more usages.

So, the tradition has developed an argument of interpreting the meaning of the caturthi vibhakti as generic relation sambandha samanya then it comes in the realm of the sasti samasa.

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New arguments (2/2)

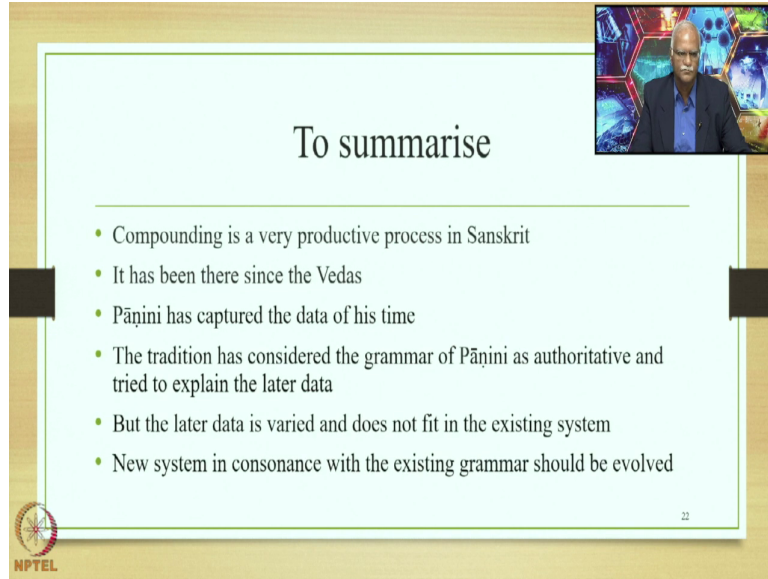
- Then apply षष्ठी| ṣaṣṭhī| A 2.2.8
- And derive a षष्ठी तत्पुरुष ṣaṣṭhī tatpuruṣa compound
- Many compounds are explained by commentators in this fashion
- अश्वघास aśvaghāsa
- अश्वाय घासः aśvāya ghāsaḥ (food for horse) is interpreted as
- अश्वस्य घासः aśvasya ghāsaḥ (food of horse)

NPTEL 21

And then you can interpret it as sashti tatpuruṣa by applying the sūtra sashti and deriving a sashti tatpuruṣa compound. Many compounds are explained by commentators in this particular fashion for example, food for horse and you have the compound asvaya ghasah which is actually asvaya ghasah food for horse.

But now because there is no explicit sūtra which can be coated to have accounted for this particular samasa as caturthi tatpuruṣa the compound is interpreted as asvasya ghasah and not the food for horse, but food of horse this of indicates generic relation between horse and food it could be anything in tis case it is obviously, far, but that is not explicitly stated by the words and this argument is resorted to account for several compounds of this kind.

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The slide is titled "To summarise" and contains a list of six bullet points. In the top right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man speaking. The slide is framed by a light green border and has a yellow background. The NPTEL logo is visible in the bottom left corner, and the number 22 is in the bottom right corner.

To summarise

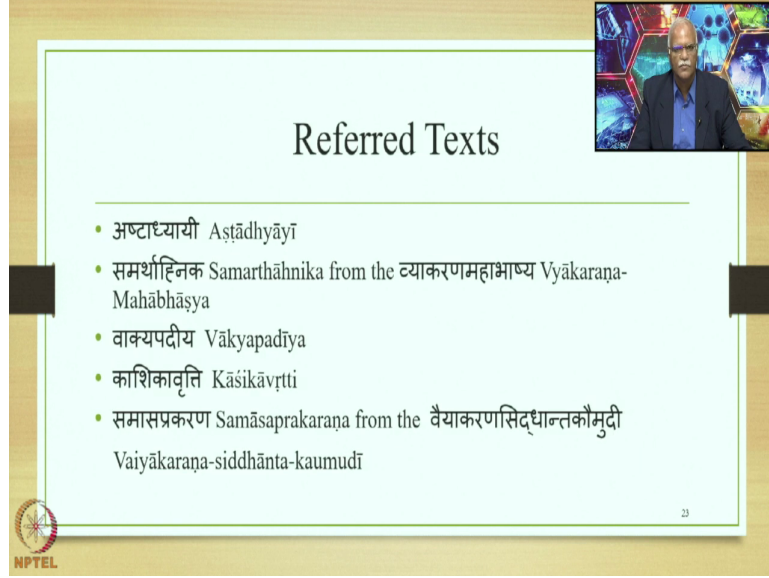
- Compounding is a very productive process in Sanskrit
- It has been there since the Vedas
- Pāṇini has captured the data of his time
- The tradition has considered the grammar of Pāṇini as authoritative and tried to explain the later data
- But the later data is varied and does not fit in the existing system
- New system in consonance with the existing grammar should be evolved

NPTEL 22

To summarize compounding is a very productive process in Sanskrit it has been there since the vedas and we have the vedic compounds also explained by the vedas themselves Panini has captured the data of his time and the tradition has considered the grammar of Panini as authoritative and the tradition has tried to explain the later data in the light of the grammar of Panini.

But the later data is varied and does not fit in the existing system and then the tradition figures out some solutions by interpreting the same sutra etcetera all those things we have seen in this lecture. However, we think that new system in consonance with the existing grammar should be evolved in order to account for these new data.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:11)



Referred Texts

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

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These are the texts that are referred to and from now on we shall delve deep into the tatpuruṣa compound and we shall study the sūtras prescribing the tatpuruṣa compound in the coming lectures.

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अनुगृहीतो'स्मि

• ढीकडडडं ढुणंढुी.	• Muchas gracias.
• अनेक धनडडड.	• Merci beaucoup.
• डहुत डहुत धनडडड.	• Danke.
• आडडडी आहे.	• Grazie mille.
• डूड डूड आडडड.	• Thank you.



Thank you for your patience.