

समास samāsa in Pāṇinian grammar- I
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Lecture - 31

कर्मधारय karmadhāraya-1

Welcome, I welcome you all to this lecture in the course Samasa in Paninian Grammar, and this is the first course on samasa. We begin our lecture with the recitation of the mangalacharana.

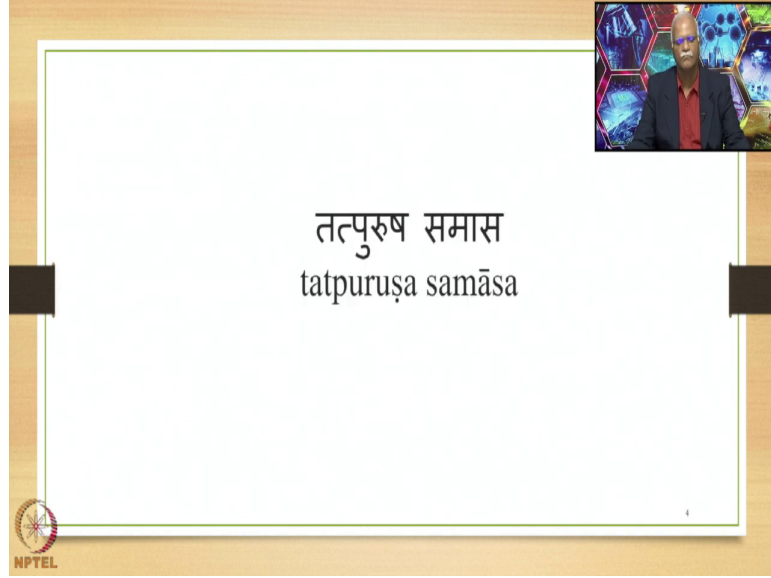
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मङ्गलाचरण maṅgalācaraṇa

- विश्वेशं सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत्।
चरीकर्ति बरीभर्ति संजरीहर्ति लीलया॥
- viśveśaṁ saccidānandaṁ vande'haṁ yo'khilam jagat |
carīkartti barībhartti saṁjarīhartti līlayā ||

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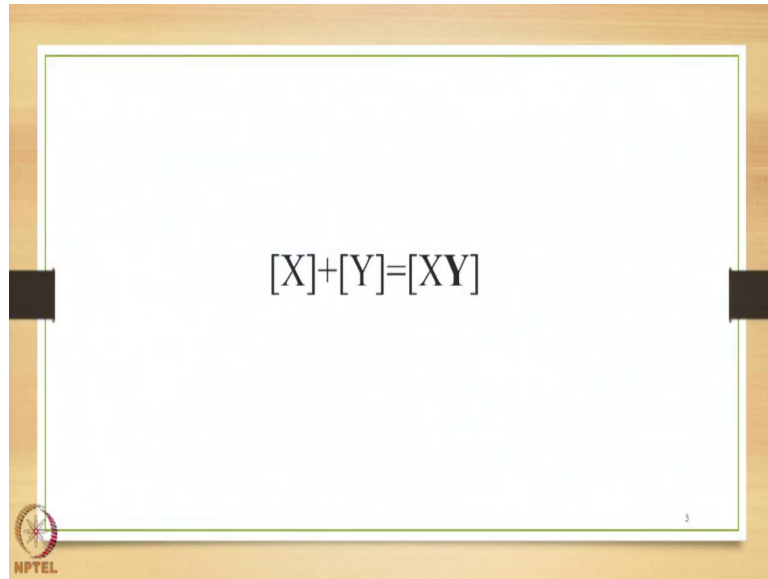
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[FL]. We are studying tatpuruṣa samāsa which is one of the major type of samāsas in Sanskrit. We have stated that there are four types of samāsas in Sanskrit; avyayibhava, tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi and dvandva in that order stated in the grammar of Panini. We also said that tatpuruṣa samāsa is explained in numerous sūtras in comparison with the other samāsas.

We have already studied the number of sūtras prescribing the tatpuruṣa compound prescribing the samāsantha suffixes and also the svāra or the accent. This number is far more than the other sūtras prescribing the other compounds other samāsas.

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$$[X]+[Y]=[XY]$$

The derivation of the tatpurusha compound is captured in the form of the simple equation. We have X plus Y; where, X and Y are two different independent entities in terms of meaning as well as word form, as well as an accent. And they the speaker things are to be merged together and then the speaker merges them together and forms one unit.

As far as one meaning is concerned, as far as the one word form is concerned and also as far as the one accent is concerned. So, there is ekarthibhava with the three features; namely, ekarthya, ekapadya and also ekasvarya. As far as the tatpurusha compound is concerned this newly formed unit which is X Y as Y acting as the head of the unit.

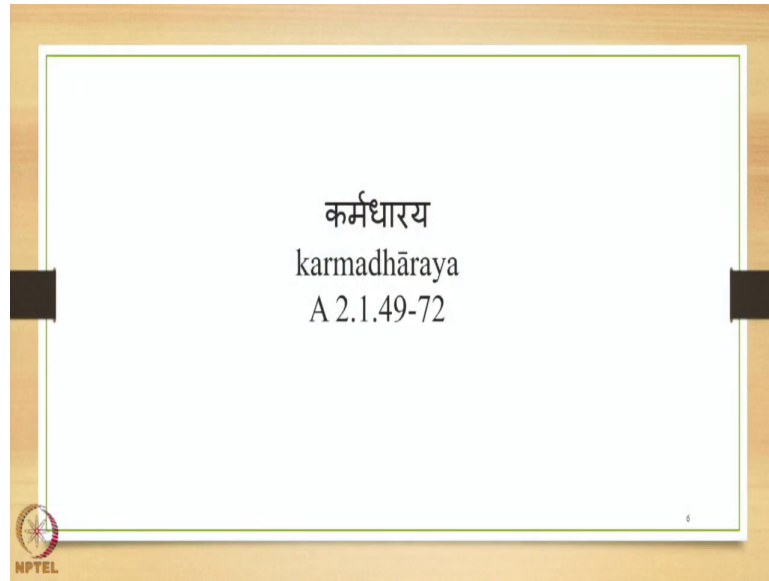
So, when this newly formed unit is to be linked with any other external member in the sentence, as we have already seen that the output of the process of compounding is nominal root or a pratipadika which is linked with other words in the sentence. So, Y is the head and

when X Y as a unit is linked with another element in the sentence it is through Y which is the head and never through X independently.

There are some exceptions where X is related to some other meaning, some other word independently such compounds are treated as exceptions and are termed as asamartha samasa which we have already studied before. So, far we have been studying the vibhakti tatpurusha which is a very big umbrella within the tatpurusha samasa.

And now, we have to study another equally important and big umbrella of samasas also known as karmadharaya, a very very important type of samasa within the tatpurusha samasa.

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In the vibhakti tatpurusha; we studied dwitiya vibhakti tatpurusha, tritiya vibhakti tatpurusha, chaturthi vibhakti tatpurusha, panchami vibhakti tatpurusha, saptami vibhakti tatpurusha.

This is the order in which they are stated in the astadhyayi and then comes shashti vibhakti tatpurusha.

The dwitiya vibhakti tatpurusha is stated by the sutras beginning with [FL], tritiya tatpurusha is stated by the sutras beginning with [FL], chaturthi vibhakti tatpurusha is stated by only one sutra [FL], panchami stated by a few sutras beginning with panchami [FL]. Saptami tatpurusha is stated by the sutras beginning with saptami [FL] and then Shashti vibhakti tatpurusha is stated by the sutra shashti.

And we also noted that within the Shashti tatpurusha samasa there is only one sutra prescribing the Shashti samasa and rest all are the negations, negating where all the Shashti tatpurushas cannot take place that is something amazing. When the in the vibhakti tatpurushas we kept saying that the vibhakti tatpurusha highlights the fact that the vibhaktis are the base for the samasa.

The karaka theory is at the base of the samartha theory, it is the sentence which is the input for the process of compounding. And the output is the pratipadika which once again becomes an input as far as the sentence is concerned. Now, amongst all these vibhaktis there is one vibhakti which is not mentioned anywhere in the grammar of Panini which is the prathama vibhakti.


This is a puzzle as to why Panini has not mentioned prathama vibhakti separately. But that can be studied and solution can be found out when we study the karmadharaya compound. The karmadharaya compound is stated in the Astadhyayi in 2 1 from the sutras 2.1.49 onwards up to 72 that is the final sutra of 2 1.

So, there are in all 23 sutras in which karmadharaya compound prescriptions are found. First of all let us see what is karmadharaya, how is it defined in the grammar of Panini.

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Definition

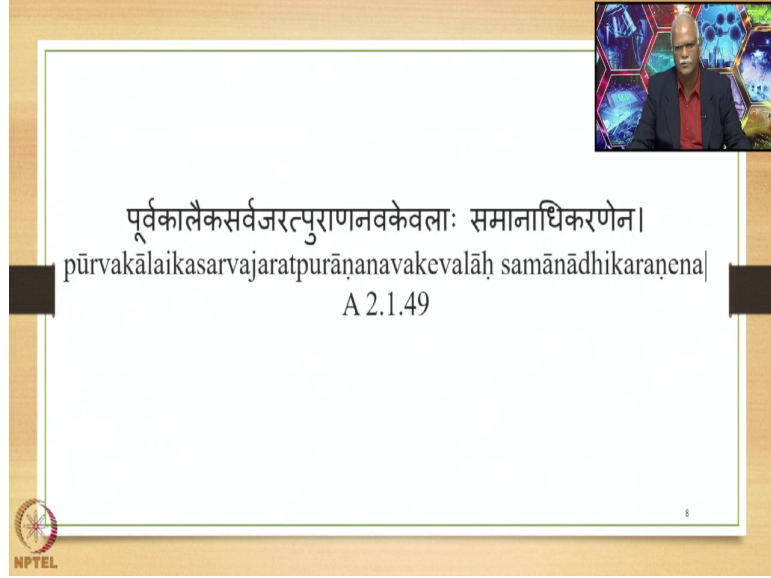
- तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः। tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ| A 1.2.42
- That तत्पुरुष tatpuruṣa in which the constituents denote one and the same entity as referent is termed कर्मधारय karmadhāraya
- भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तस्य अनेकस्य शब्दस्य एकस्मिन् अर्थे वृत्तिः सामानाधिकरण्यम्। bhinnapravṛttinimittasya anekasya śabdasya ekasmin arthe vṛtṭiḥ sāmānādhikaranyam|



In fact, there is a sutra 1 2 42 which defines what is a karmadharaaya. Here, it says tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ, tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ. What this means is that, that tatpuruṣa in which the constituents denote one and the same entity as referent is termed karmadhāraya. Obviously in the tatpuruṣa compound there are two words denoting two different entities, but when they denote one and the same entity as referent.

They may be denoting two different meanings, but referring to one and the same entity and then this type of tatpuruṣa whose feature is samānādhikaraṇa is termed as karmadhāraya. So, the feature of samānādhikaraṇa also known as samānādhikaraṇya, the state of being samānādhikaraṇa is defined in the tradition in the following manner [FL]. When different words having different pravṛttinimittas, when they refer to one and the same entity, then the words are said to be in the relation of samānādhikaraṇya co-referentiality.

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पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन।
pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena।
A 2.1.49


NPTEL

Let us study the sutras one by one; first we take up this sutra [FL]. Now, this sutra has got the word samanadhikaranena which continues from 2.1.49 up to the end of the pada that is 72 indicating the scope of this particular karmadharaya samasa prescription [FL].

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A 2.1.49(1/9)

- पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः pūrvakāla-eka-sarva-jarat-purāṇa-nava-kevalāḥ - (1/3) (उपसर्जनेन upasarjana and पूर्वनिपाते pūrvanipāte)
- समानाधिकरणेन samānādhikarāṇena- (3/1)- with the same referent
- Words contd: सुप् sup(1/1) (A 2.1.2), सह सुपा(3/1), saha supā (A 2.1.4)
- समर्थः पदविधिः | samarthah padavidhiḥ | A 2.1.1
- Meaning: Any सुबन्त subanta with elements पूर्वकालpūrvakāla etc. is compounded with any other interrelated सुबन्तsubanta, whose referent is the same



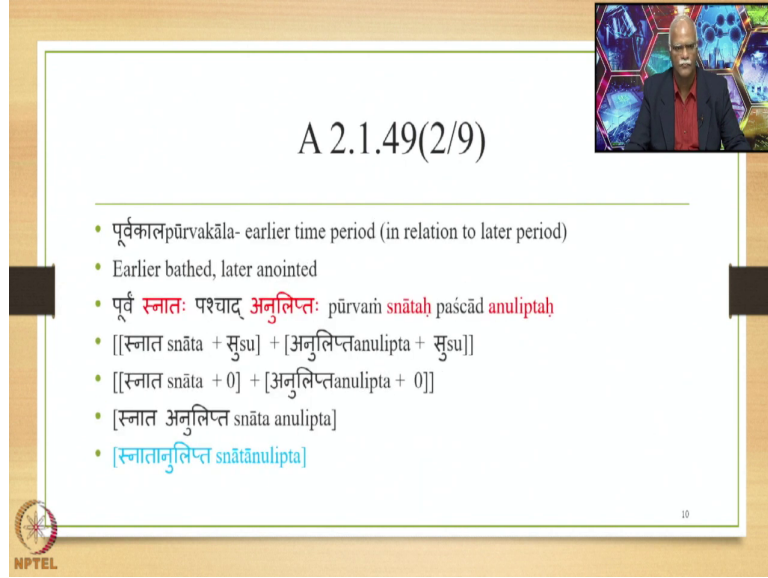
There are two padas in the sutra purvakala eka sarva jarat purana nava kevalah this is one pada and this has got these constituents purvakala eka sarva jarat purana nava and kevalah. Now, this word appears in the prathama vibhakti 1 slash 3 prathama bahuvachana. And this prathama ensures that this these words are termed upasarjana in accordance with sutra prathama nirdhistam samasa upasarjanam.

And then the sutra upasarjanam purvam ensures that these words occupy the initial position of the compound the purvanipata. The word samanadhikaranena which is an instrumental singular means with same referent; the words continued are sup, saha, supa and also of course, samarthah padavidhihi.

So, the overall meaning of the sutra is the following, any subanta with elements purvakala etcetera is compounded with any other interrelated subanta whose referent is the same. I

repeat any subanta with elements purvakala etcetera as part of it is compounded with any other interrelated subanta whose referent is the same.

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A 2.1.49(2/9)

- पूर्वकालpūrvakāla- earlier time period (in relation to later period)
- Earlier bathed, later anointed
- पूर्व स्नातः पश्चाद् अनुलिप्तः pūrvāḥ snātaḥ paścād anuliptaḥ
- [[स्नात snāta + सुsu] + [अनुलिप्तanulipta + सुsu]]
- [[स्नात snāta + 0] + [अनुलिप्तanulipta + 0]]
- [स्नात अनुलिप्त snāta anulipta]
- [स्नातानुलिप्त snātānulipta]

NPTEL

So, we have these elements now; purvakala first, purvakala refers to earlier time period referred to in relation to the later time period. For example, if the meaning is earlier bathed and later anointed someone who bathed first and then he got anointed purvam snatah paschad anuliptah, this is the laukikavighraha snatah anuliptah. Now, snatah and anuliptah they both are referring to one and the same entity the meaning is different, but the entity referred to is the same.

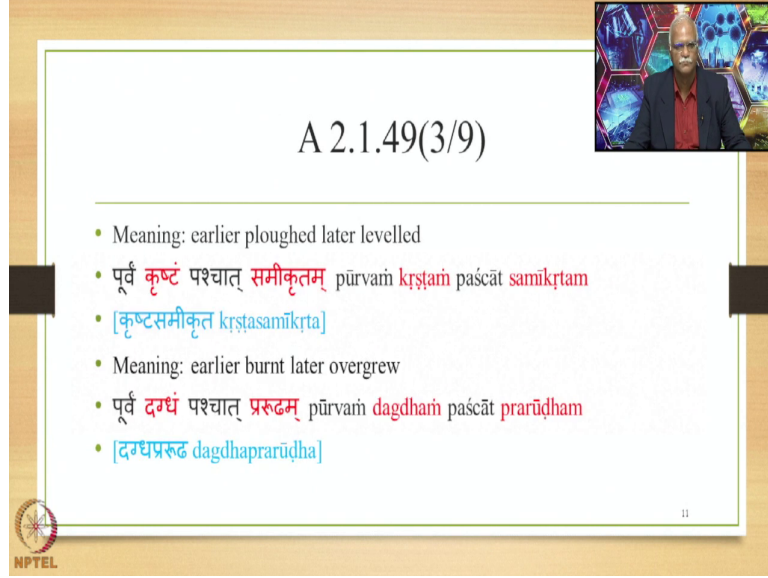
And therefore, they share this relationship of samanadikaranya and now they will have the samasa and since snata refers to an action that has happened before purvakala. Therefore, the

word snata occupies the initial position in the compound as it becomes upasarjana, because it is stated in the prathama vibhakti in this particular sutra 2 1 49 [FL].

So, now we have snata plus su plus anulipta plus su this is the alaukikavighraha and the process of compounding starts here the term samasa applies over here. And once this is the samasa this becomes a pratipadika by the sutra [FL] and [FL]. And once it is a pratipadika the two su pratyayas then are part of the pratipadika; therefore, supodhatu pratipadika yoho now applies and believes both the su pratyayas; so, we get snata plus anulipta as the next step.

Then we join them together do the suvarna dheergha sandhi which has scope of application and we derived the final compound output namely snatanulipta. Somebody who earlier bathed and later got anointed snatanulipta and we find several examples of this kind in the literature. Even in the other curricula we find references of this kind of compound as a peculiar and separate kind of compound.

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A 2.1.49(3/9)

- Meaning: earlier ploughed later levelled
- पूर्व कृष्टं पश्चात् समीकृतम् pūrvam kṛṣṭam paścāt samikṛtam
- [कृष्टसमीकृतं kṛṣṭasamikṛta]
- Meaning: earlier burnt later overgrew
- पूर्व दग्धं पश्चात् प्ररुद्धम् pūrvam dagdham paścāt prarūḍham
- [दग्धप्ररुद्धं dagdhaprarūḍha]

NPTEL

Similarly, we have another example where we have these meanings earlier ploughed and later leveled, purvam krstam paschaat samikrtam. And then we get the compound krstasamikrta also earlier burnt and later which overgrew purvam dagdham paschaat prarudham. In both these examples krsta and samikrta mean something different, but they refer to one and the same entity.

Similarly, dagdha and prarudha mean something different, but they refer to one and the same entity; so, they are having a relation of samanadhikaranya co referntiality and that is why they get compounded as krstasamikrta and also dagdhaprarudha.

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A 2.1.49(4/9)

- Meaning: one saree
- एका शटी ekā śāṭī
- [[एका ekā + सुसु] + [शटी śāṭī + सुसु]]
- [[एका ekā + 0] + [शटी śāṭī + 0]]
- [[एक eka + 0] + [शटी śāṭī + 0]]
- [एकशटी ekāśāṭī]

- Meaning: one alms
- एका भिक्षा ekā bhikṣā
- [[एका ekā + सुसु] + [भिक्षा bhikṣā + सुसु]]
- [[एका ekā + 0] + [भिक्षा bhikṣā + 0]]
- [[एक eka + 0] + [भिक्षा bhikṣā + 0]]
- [एकभिक्षा ekabhikṣā]

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The previous examples were also stated to be the examples of visheshana Ubhayapada tatpuruṣa in some literature. Now, we proceed to the next example of the word eka; so, now, we have the meaning one saree. So, eka sati; eka means one, sati means saree; now, the meanings are different, but both of them are referring to one and the same entity; so, they have the relationship of co-referentiality samanadikaranya; so, semantic relatedness is there.

And now because the word eka is mentioned in the prathama vibhakti in this particular sutra by the sutra prathama nirdhistam samasa upasarjanam. The word eka will be termed upasarjana and upasarjanam purvam will ensure that the word eka occupies the initial position in the compound. And so, sati will occupy the second position or the final position in the compound; so, eka will be purvapada, sati will be uttarapada.

And so, we have eka plus su and sati plus su as alaukikavighraha, and then this becomes a samasa, and then this becomes a pratipadika. And of course, then supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and then we have eka plus 0 plus sati plus 0 sups are deleted. Now, in this case because eka and sati they are having co-referentiality relation.

Therefore, another sutra which states pumvadbhava which we have studied earlier that applies [FL] 6.3.34 applies and converts eka back into its pratipadika form ek. And so, this pumvadbhava is taking place on eka, eka becomes ek and then we get the finally, derived compound output namely ekasati.

So, these are various operations taking place at different stages governed by different rules stated by Panini in his own grammar. And that is how from ekasati as the laukikavighraha we get the compound ekasati this is the finally, derived output. Similarly, if you have the meaning to be conveyed as one alms; so, the laukikavighraha is eka bhiska and then once again we have eka plus su and bhiksha plus su, eka and bhiksha are referring to one and the same entity; so, there is samanadhikaranya.

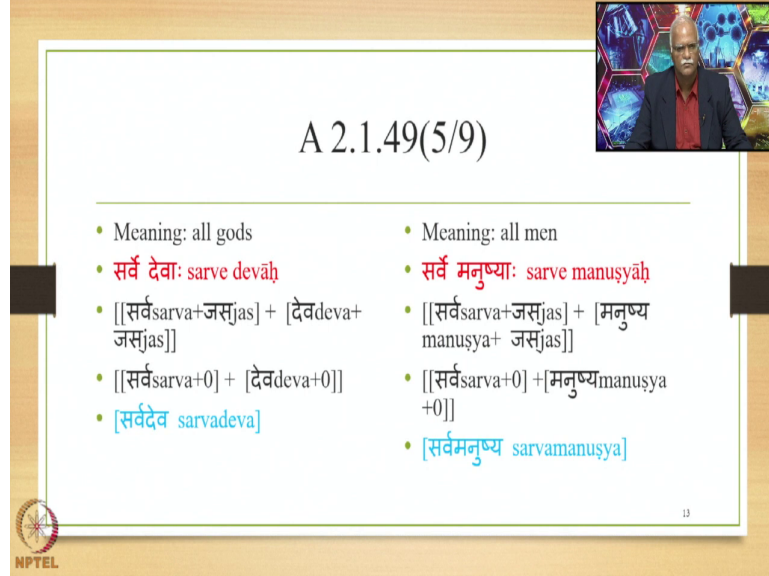
Where the word eka is mentioned here and ek is mentioned in the sutra in prathama vibhakti. So, it becomes upasarjana and then it takes the initial position of the compound because of upasarjanam purvam. So, we have now eka bhiksha and the laukikavighraha is eka plus su plus bhiksha plus su.

And then the su pratyaya is part of the pratipadika, because eka plus su plus bhiksha plus su becomes samasa and then it becomes pratipadika. And so, supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and both the su pratyayas get deleted; so, we have eka and bhiksha eka plus 0 plus bhiksha plus 0.

At this stage once again, we apply the pumvadbhava karya which is a purva pada karya primarily. And because of this pumvadbhava which says that eka which is a word in feminine is taken back to its pratipadika form which means that the feminine suffix indicating the feminine gender is removed and the pratipadika form is retained.

And so, we have eka in the next step of derivation and so we have eka plus 0 plus bhiksha plus 0. And therefore, we have ekabhiksha as the finally, derived compound output, the pumvadbhava takes place because of [FL] 6.3.34.

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A 2.1.49(5/9)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning: all gods • सर्व देवाः sarve devāḥ • [[सर्वsarva+जसjas] + [देवdeva+जसjas]] • [[सर्वsarva+0] + [देवdeva+0]] • [सर्वदेव sarvadeva] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning: all men • सर्व मनुष्याः sarve manuṣyāḥ • [[सर्वsarva+जसjas] + [मनुष्यmanuṣya+जसjas]] • [[सर्वsarva+0] + [मनुष्यmanuṣya+0]] • [सर्वमनुष्य sarvamanuṣya]
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13

Next, we have the example where the word sarva occurs, the meaning to be conveyed is all gods and so, sarve devah this is the laukikavigraha. So, we have sarva plus jas plus deva plus jas as the alaukikavigraha and then because there is co-referentiality the sutra purvakalaika applies. Sarva is stated there in the sutra in the prathama vibhakti; therefore, it is termed upasarjana.

And therefore, upasarjanam purvam ensures that it occupies the initial position of the compound. And so, we have sarva plus jas plus deva plus jas then the term samasa applies,

then the term pratipadika applies, then supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and deletes jas. So, we have sarva plus 0 plus deva plus 0 and then we get the finally, derived form sarvadeva.


Similarly, all men is the meaning that is to be conveyed and we have sarve manasyah as the laukikavighraha and then the finally, derived compound output is sarvamanusya, following the same procedure of supodhatu pratipadika yoho.

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A 2.1.49(6/9)

- Meaning: ailing elephant
- जरन् हस्ती jaran hastī
- [[जरत्jarat + सुसु] + [हस्तिन् hastin + सुसु]]
- [[जरत्jarat+0] + [हस्तिन् hastin+0]]
- [जरत् हस्तिन् jarat hastin]
- [जरद् हस्तिन् jarad hastin]
- [जरद्धस्तिन् jaraddhastin]

- Meaning: an ailing logician
- जरन् नैयायिक jaran naiyāyikah
- [[जरत्jarat+सुसु] + [नैयायिकnaiyāyika +सुसु]]
- [[जरत्jarat+0] + [नैयायिकnaiyāyika +0]]
- [[जरत् नैयायिक jarat naiyāyika]
- [[जरन् नैयायिक jaran naiyāyika]
- [जरन्नैयायिक jarannaiyāyika]



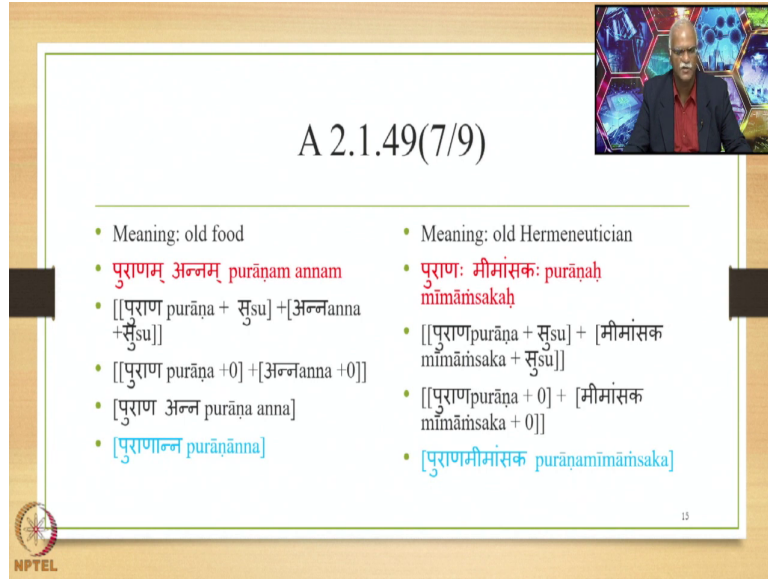
Now, let us go to the next example which is of the word jarat, jarat means ailing derived from the verbal root jru [FL]. So, an ailing elephant jaran, hasti both these words refer to the same entity; therefore, they have a relation of co-referentiality and therefore, the semantic related net relatedness exists and so they get compounded by this particular sutra.

So, now, we have jarat plus su plus hastin plus su as the alaukikavigraha and then this becomes a samasa, and then this becomes a pratipadika, and then supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and su gets deleted. So, we have jarat plus hastin and so, we have jaraddhastin and jaraddhastin is the finally, derived output and the prathama eka vachana could be jaraddhasti.

Then we have another meaning namely an ailing logician, jaran naiyayikah both these refer to one and the same entity. So, they have a relation of co-referentiality between them and so this samasa takes place there is semantic relatedness there; so, we have jarat plus su and naiyayikah plus su as the alaukikavigraha.

Now, this becomes a samasa and then it becomes a pratipadika, and then supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies, and the su get gets deleted. And so, we have jarat plus 0 plus naiyayikah plus 0 and; so, we have jarat naiyayikah and then ta is substituted by na by the assembly rule. And so, we get the finally, derived compound output in the form of jarannaiyayikah.

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A 2.1.49(7/9)

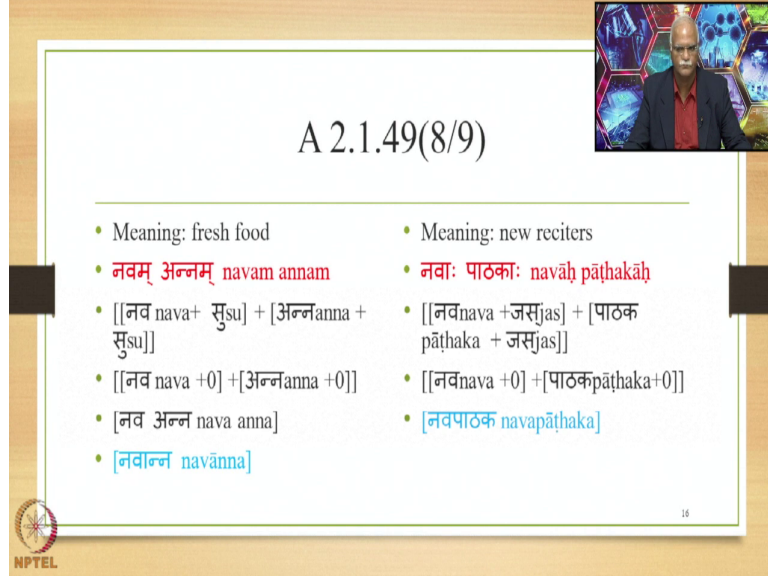
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Meaning: old food• पुराणम् अन्नम् purāṇam annam• [[पुराण purāṇa + सुsu] + [अन्नanna + सुsu]]• [[पुराण purāṇa + 0] + [अन्नanna + 0]]• [पुराण अन्न purāṇa anna]• [पुराणन्न purāṇānna]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Meaning: old Hermeneutician• पुराणः मीमांसकः purāṇaḥ mīmāṃsakaḥ• [[पुराणpurāṇa + सुsu] + [मीमांसक mīmāṃsaka + सुsu]]• [[पुराणpurāṇa + 0] + [मीमांसक mīmāṃsaka + 0]]• [पुराणमीमांसक purāṇamīmāṃsaka]
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15

Now, the example of the word purana; so, puranam annam is the laukikavighraha meaning old food. And we have purana plus su plus anna plus su as the alaukikavighraha, and then there is samasa samjna, and then there is pratipadika samjna, and then supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and both the sus get deleted. So, we have purana plus 0 plus anna plus 0 and; so, we get the form purananna and then there is the scope of application of savarna deergha sandhi.

So, we apply it and get the finally, derived compound output in the form of purananna. Similarly, when the meaning old hermeneutician is to be conveyed, we have puranaḥ mimamsakah as the laukikavighraha. And we do the same processing of course, there is the semantic relatedness in the form of co-referentiality and we derive the final compound output in the form of purana mimamsakah.

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A 2.1.49(8/9)

- Meaning: fresh food
- नवम् अन्नम् navam annam
- [[नव nava+ सुsu] + [अन्नanna + सुsu]]
- [[नव nava +0] + [अन्नanna +0]]
- [नव अन्न nava anna]
- [नवान्न navānna]

- Meaning: new reciters
- नवाः पाठकाः navāḥ pāṭhakāḥ
- [[नवनava + जसjas] + [पाठक pāṭhaka + जसjas]]
- [[नवनava +0] + [पाठकpāṭhaka+0]]
- [नवपाठक navapāṭhaka]

16

NPTEL

Then we go to the word nava, navam annam is the laukikavighraha meaning fresh food. So, we have the alaukikavighraha nava plus su plus anna plus su, then there is samasa samjna, then there is pratipadika samjna and (Refer Time: 27:07) su in the pratipadika are deleted by supodhatu pratipadika yoho.

And we get the finally, derived compound output after having perform the sandhi operation navanna. Similarly, when we have the meaning to be denoted new reciters navah pathakah as the laukikavighraha we do the same processing and derive the final compound output in the form of navapathaka.

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A 2.1.49(9/9)

- Meaning: alone food
- केवलम् अन्नम् kevalam annam
- [[केवलkevala + सुsu] + [अन्नanna + सुsu]]
- [[केवलkevala + 0] + [अन्नanna + 0]]
- [केवल अन्न kevala anna]
- [केवलान्न kevalānna]

- Meaning: alone a grammarian
- केवलः वैयाकरणः kevalah vaiyākaraṇah
- [[केवलkevala + सुsu] + [वैयाकरणvaiyākaraṇa + सुsu]]
- [[केवलkevala + 0] + [वैयाकरणvaiyākaraṇa + 0]]
- [केवलवैयाकरण kevalavaiyākaraṇa]

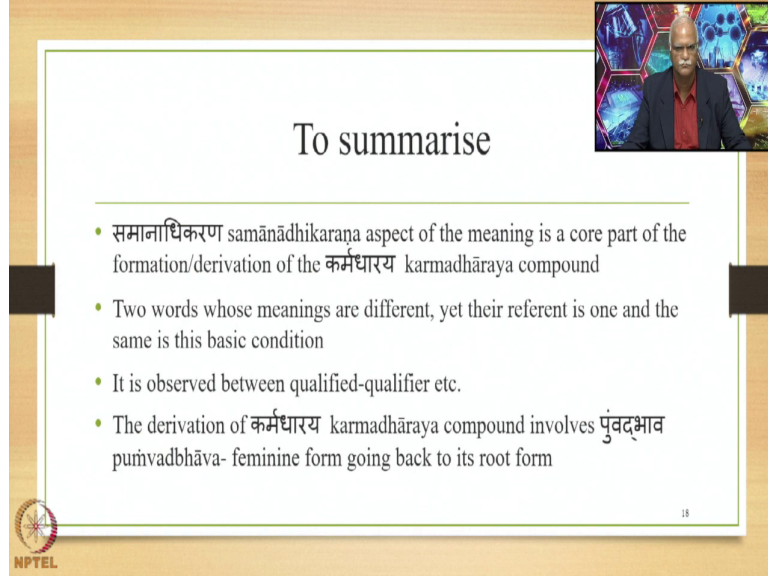
NPTEL

17

And then again with the word kevala; so, we have kevalam annam as the laukikavigraha meaning alone food and so we have kevala plus su plus anna plus su as the alaukikavigraha. And so, there is samasa samjna, pratipadika samjna and now we have two sus which are part of a pratipadika. So, supodhatu pratipadika yoho applies and both the su pratyayas are deleted.

So, we have kevala and anna and we join them together and we get the word kevalanna as the finally, derived compound output kevalaana. Similarly, alone a grammarian if this is the meaning to be conveyed when there is co-referentiality between these two elements and there is semantic relatedness. So, we apply the same process and we derive the compound output in the form of kevalavaiyakarana.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:45)



To summarise

- समानाधिकरण samānādhikaraṇa aspect of the meaning is a core part of the formation/derivation of the कर्मधारय karmadhāraya compound
- Two words whose meanings are different, yet their referent is one and the same is this basic condition
- It is observed between qualified-qualifier etc.
- The derivation of कर्मधारय karmadhāraya compound involves पुंवद्भाव puṁvadbhāva- feminine form going back to its root form


18

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To summarize the samanadhikarana aspect of the meaning is a core part of the formation or derivation of the karmadharaya compound. Two words whose meanings are different yet their referent is one and the same is this basic semantic condition, it is observed between a qualified and qualifier primarily etcetera.


The derivation of karmadharaya compound involves pumvadbhava a very important operation on the purvapada which means a feminine form going back to its root form that has a very important operation.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:29)



Referred Texts

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



19

(Refer Slide Time: 29:36)



अनुगृहीतो'स्मि

- मीकळ्यां ढुळंणी.
- अनेक धन्यवाद.
- बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद.
- आभारी आहे.
- ખૂબ ખૂબ આભાર.
- Muchas gracias.
- Merci beaucoup.
- Danke.
- Grazie mille.
- Thank you.

We continue studying the karmadharaya samasa in the next lecture, these are the texts that are referred to and.

Thank you for your patience.