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

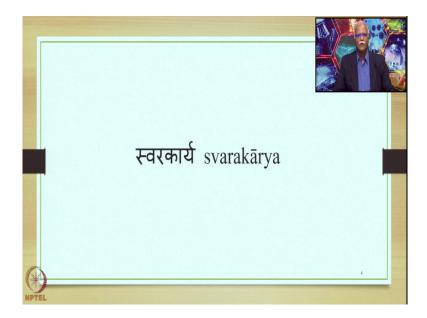
Lecture - 59 स्वरकार्य svarakārya

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

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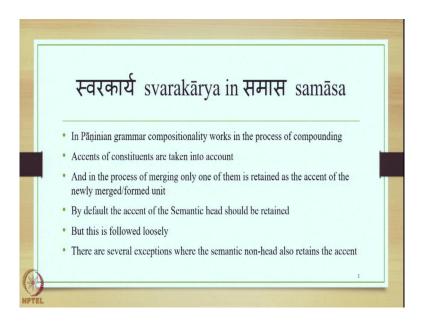
In this course we are focused on the tatpurusha samasa and we have seen several features of the tatpurusha samasa. We said that there are four types of samasas in Sanskrit avyayibhava, tatapurusha, bahuvrihi and dvandva stated in this particular order in Ashtadhyayi the core text of Paninian grammar and also the Paninian grammatical tradition.

We said that Panini has composed a number of sutras in order to explain the features of the tatpurusha samasa in comparison with the sutras he has composed to explain the features of other samasas. Tatpurusha samasa also has got quite a lot of varieties, subtypes – vibhakti tatpurusha, karmadharaya, ekadeshi samasa, nay tatpurusha, gati tatpurusha as well as upapada tatpurusha. And, we have already studied these types of that tatpurusha samasas in some detail.

We have also studied the process of derivation of the samasa where the laukika vigraha vakya plays a very crucial role as it shows us the interrelatedness between the padas vyapeksha lakshana samarthya namely [FL] and [FL] and then the process of compounding begins where we have alaukika vigraha vakya after which a samasanta pratyaya is added.

Then sup aluk takes place. Purva pada karya in the form of pumvadbhava or other morphological modifications etcetera takes place and then svara karya also takes place – accent related operation. In this particular lecture we shall focus on the svara karya or the accent related operation.

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In Paninian grammar, compositionality works also in the process of compounding. In the Paninian grammar the compositionality works at three levels artha, sabda as well as svara. In the other course introduction to Paninian grammar we have shown that the compositionality

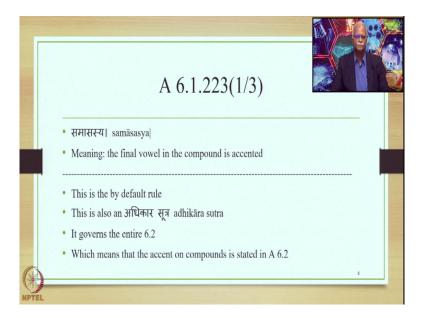
of artha, sabda and svara work in correspondence. A compositionality of artha and the compositionality of sabda and the compositionality of svara are all interrelated.

So, the compositionality of svara or accent also continues to work in the process of compounding. So, if X and Y are two separate and independent elements in a sentence; however, they are interrelated they are independent and separate because of three factors. We have constantly been saying this artha, sabda as well as svara each one has got these three features.

But they are interrelated and on the basis of the interrelation if the speaker of Sanskrit decides to merge these units together and form one unit as an output. Now, the features change and now there are not two features independent and separate, but there is only one feature. There is only one unit and this one unit will get the svara, the sabda and the pada in that reverse order the features. So, aikarthya, aikapadya and aikasvarya these are the three features that will be the features of X, Y as one unit.

So, accents of constituents are taken into account while deciding about the accent of the newly formed merged unit and in the process of merging only one of them is retained as the accent of the newly formed or newly merged unit. Now, by default the accent of the semantic head should be retained, that seems logical. But we see that this principle is followed somewhat loosely by the speakers of Sanskrit. There are several exceptions where the semantic non head also retains the accent as far as the samasa is concerned.

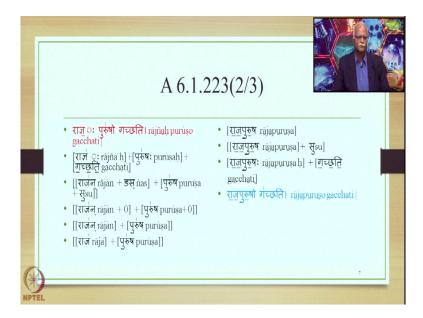
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Let us study this sutra 6.1.223 samasasya. Meaning: the final vowel in the compound is accented. This is the by default rule. It means I repeat the final vowel in the compound is accented. This is also an adhikara sutra which governs the entire 6.2 mind you this is the last sutra in 6. 1. So, it governs the entire 6.2.

So, in a nutshell we can say that the accent on compounds is stated in 6.2 and this sutra samasasya which means that the final vowel in the compound is accented is the only sutra in 6.1.223 that deals with the accent of samasa, but this is a very general very broad sutra applicable to even the tatpurusha samasa.

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So, here is a concrete example, but before going further we would like to go through the markings of the accent and the accent overall. So, when we say that the compound is accented what we are referring to is the udatta accent in the compound as is made clear in the other course there are three svaras which are talked about in the Paninian grammar udatta, anudatta and svarita in the present context.

Now, following the generally acceptable rig Vedic practice we also mark the udatta without any sign. So, in raja puruso gacchati this show does not have any sign whereas, the rest each and every vowel has got a horizontal bar below. So, the one which is unmarked is an udatta, raja puruso gacchati.

This is an unmarked this ga has got a vowel a which is anudatta, but this anudatta comes immediately after an udatta and therefore, this is shown as svarita with a vertical bar on top

the rest are anudattas which are shown with a horizontal bar below and so, all these four they are shown to be the anudattas. Now, if we go to the laukika vigraha rajnah puruso gacchati we see that there are two words rajnah and purusah who which are semantically linked, but they do have their independent separate status.

And, as is clear rajnah has got ra unmarked and in purusah pu is unmarked as well as. So, is unmarked now in rajnah ra is unmarked to which indicates that this ra is the udatta svara, jnah is marked as anudatta, but that is primarily because rajnah is immediately followed by puruso in which pu is udatta. So, an udatta vowel is always preceded by an anudatta marking and anudatta vowel.

And, therefore, in rajnah even though ra is udatta and the anudatta jnah therefore, should become a svarita because pu which follows is an udatta. So, jnah is shown as anudatta and not a svarita and that is why rajnah has got these peculiar accent markings; ra as udatta and jnah as anudatta. In puruso pu is marked without any sign and so, is also marked without any sign.

Now, so comes immediately after the vertical bar which is the sign of a svarita and therefore, so, is also an anudatta which is unmarked, but pu is marked as udatta and so, there is no sign primarily because it is preceded by an anudatta and it is followed by an anudatta which is converted into asvarita and there are sutras on the basis of which all these modifications do happen.

The one thumb rule that we follow is that anudattam padam [FL] in one unit of a pada there is one udatta. So, the rest is anudatta, the anudatta that precedes is shown with the horizontal bar below the letter and the anudatta that follows gets converted into a svarita which is shown with a vertical bar on top of the letter. The anudattas that follow the svarita in this manner are not given any mark and they are left without any mark as such.

So, in the sentence rajnah puruso gacchati which is the laukika vigraha, pu is the final udatta in the entire sentence and therefore, ru which is an anudatta that comes immediately after the udatta is marked as svarita. After that so is anudatta and gacchati ha got all the three vowels

marked as anudatta and therefore, now gacchati remains unmarked; so also remains unmarked.

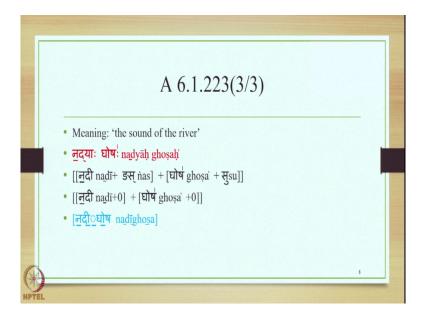
So, there are four anudattas that follow a svarita. All this is very pertinent in understanding the accent of the samasa. So, in this case rajnah puruso gacchati where we have rajnah plus purusah plus gacchati and where we have rajan plus nas plus purusa plus su and rajan as a pratipadika is also shown with the marking of the accent where ra udatta and ja is anudatta that follows an udatta.

So, ja is shown with a vertical bar on top. So, rajan has got ra udatta and purusa has got pu udatta and ru as svarita. So, rajan plus nas plus purusa plus su, the samasa takes place. So, the pratipadika [FL] takes place, supo dhatu pratipadika yoho applies. So, we have rajan plus 0 plus purusa plus 0. So, rajan plus purusa; now n at the end of rajan is deleted and so, we have raja purusa. Now, when raja and purusa are merged together; obviously, purusa which is the semantic head is expected otherwise to retain its accent.

But, now samasasya comes into play and says that do the final vowel of this samasa accented; that means, do the udatta on the final vowel of this samasa and therefore, in rajapurusa a at the end of raja purusa is accented; everything else becomes anudatta. So, all the four vowels that precede they are shown to be anudatta.

And, therefore, when we add the su pratyaya after the pratipadika raja purusa and then su pratyaya has got no accent at all. So, we have raja purusah with the final vowel accented and gacchati has got no vowel accented and therefore, when gacchati comes immediately after raja puruso that ga which is an anudatta is converted into a svarita. This is how samasasya works and this is how the accentuation within a compound will work. So, samasasya overrides the general thumb rules and the final vowel becomes accented in raja purusa.

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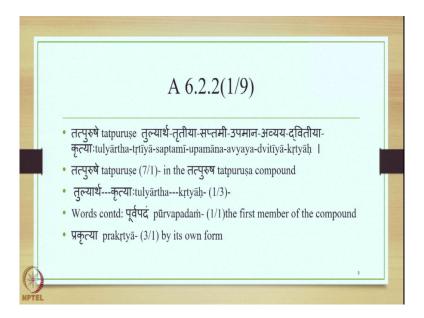
Similarly, nadyah ghosah the sound of the river and so, we have nadi plus nas plus ghosa plus su nadyah ghosah. So, nadyah has got na as anudatta marked, dyah is not marked and that is conveying us that dyah is udatta; in ghosah gho is not marked, sa is marked with a vertical bar on top. So, sa is the svarita and so, gho is the udatta.

So, now, in nadyah ghosah, we have nadi plus nas plus ghosa plus su as the alaukika vigraha. So, samasa [FL] takes place pratipadika [FL] takes place supo dhatu pratipadika yoho applies. So, we have nadi plus ghosah; nadi is finally accented; that means, the final I is udatta and so, it is unmarked and preceded by an anudatta shown with a horizontal bar below.

Ghosa has got initial accent which means the initial o is udatta. So, sa is anudatta, but because this anudatta follows an udatta. So, it becomes a svarita ghosah. Now, when the samasa happens the sutra samasasya comes into play and declares that the word nadi ghosa will have

the final vowel namely a in sa accented. And, so, all the other vowels are shown to be anudattas with a horizontal bar below each and every letter. This is how the sutra samasasya works and overrides the accent available through the thumb rule.

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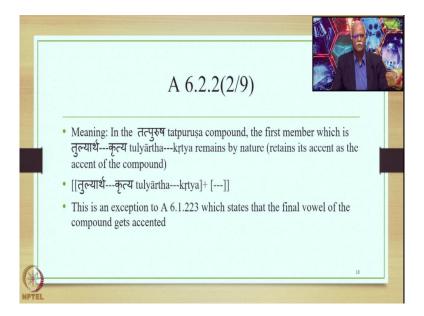


Now, with regards to the accent of the tatpurusha samasa it is important for us to study this one sutra there are many sutras and we would not be able to cover all the sutras in this course. It may require a separate course to deal with the accents as that is a very complicated matter subject matter for study.

However, in this course we shall study this one particular sutra related to the accent of the tatpurusha samasa. This is 6.2.2 and the sutra reads tatpuruse tulyartha tritiya saptami upamana avyaya dvitiya krtyah. I repeat tatpuruse I repeat tatpuruse tulyartha-tritiya-saptami-upamana-avyaya-dvitiya-krtyah. Now, in this sutra there are two

padas tatpuruse is 7 slash 1 which means in the tatpurusha compound and tulyartha tritiya saptami upamana avyaya dvitiya krtyah is 1 slash 3 words continued are purvapadam the first member of the compound. And, also prakrtya; prakrtya means by its own form.

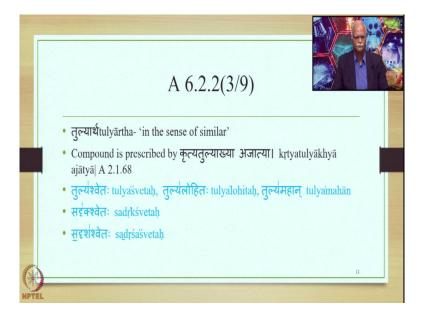
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So, the meaning of the sutra is the following. In the tatpurusha compound the first member which is tulyartha etcetera upto krtya remains by nature which means retains its accent as the accent of the finally, derived compound output. I repeat in the tatpurusha compound the first member which is tulyartha upto krtya remains by nature; that means, it retains it is accent as the accent of the compound.

So, tulyartha upto krtya these are the purva padas and the uttarapada is not mentioned and in this case the accent of tulyartha upto krtya is retained and this becomes the accent of the entire samasa which is an exception to samasasya 6.1.223 which states that the final vowel of the compound gets accented.

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Now, let us study the environments stated in 6.2.2 one by one and look at the examples. First one is tulyartha in the sense of similar this word tulyartha is referring to the samasa prescribed by the sutra krtyatulyakhya ajatya. 2.1.68, this sutra prescribes the karmadharaya samasa.

So, we have the examples tulyasvetah. So, here we have tulya as one word and sveta as the other word both having independent accents and by samasasya the vowel a in ta in sveta would get accented. But, 6.2.2 says that tulya will retain its own accent and that will be the accent of the samasa. So, tulya is initially accented which means that tu is not marked, lya is the anudatta remaining one and this anudatta is coming immediately after an udatta therefore, it is marked as svarita with a vertical bar on top of the letter.

And, now this udatta which is tu this becomes the svara of the entire samasa. So, all the other vowels become anudatta. Now, when all of them become anudatta sve and ta has got two vowels which come after the svarita mention lya and therefore, they are unmarked. Now, tulyasvetah has got tu as an udatta, lya as the svarita sve and tah as the anudatta unmarked tulyasvetah. And, similar is the case with tulyalohitah and also tulyamahan.

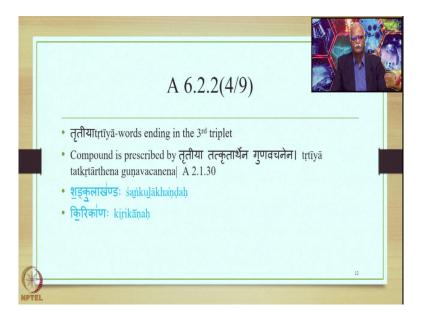
Now, in the words sadrksvetah the initial vowel is accented. So, we have sa unmarked and drk becomes anudatta. So, dr is an anudatta, but this r comes immediately after an udatta therefore, it is converted into a svarita and a vertical bar is given on top of dr. Now, when this is joined with svetah the accent of sadrk is retained which is the initial accent initial udatta vowel.

And, so, sadrksvetah has got the initial vowel udatta and therefore, everything else is anudatta and now dr which comes immediately after sa gets converted into a svarita, but a sve and a in ta remains anudatta. However, these two anudattas are following a svarita and therefore, these two anudattas they also remain unmarked but they are anudattas.

As far as the word sadrsasvetah is concerned, the vowel r is udatta and therefore, in sadrsa, sa is anudatta and sa is anudatta. Now, the anudatta that precedes this udatta r is marked with a horizontal bar below. So, su is anudatta and sa which follows the udatta r is shown with the vertical bar on top. So, in sadrsa sa is anudatta, r is udatta and sa is svarita.

Now, this sutra 6.2.2 says that in sadrsasvetah, the accent of sadrsa will retain it is own form and. So, the accent of sadrsa will become the accent of the compound sadrsasvetah. So, in sadrsasvetah, r remains udatta everything else becomes anudatta. Now, svetah has got (Refer Time: 27:21) vowels which are now anudattas. However, they are following a svarita and therefore, they remain unmarked.

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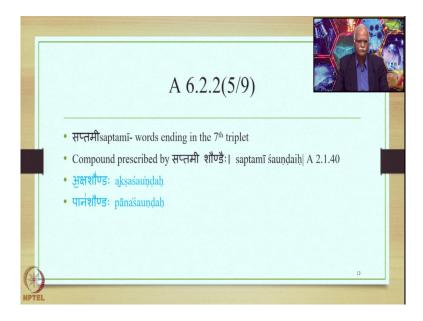


Similar is the case with the next condition tritiya. So, tritiya refers to the words ending in the third triplet and the compound is prescribed by the sutra tritiya tatkrtarthena gunavacanena 2.1.30 and in this case sankulakhandah is the output, but this sankulakhandah will retain the accent of sankula which is the final vowel a being udatta.

And, so, everything else becomes anudatta. So, san and ku these two elements have got a and vu as vowels they are anudattas kh and a, they are also kh and d they also have vowels a a they are also anudattas. But the vowels that precede the udatta they are marked with the horizontal bar below and the vowel which is anudatta which comes immediately after the udatta is marked with the vertical bar on top.

And, so, in sankulakhandah you have a as udatta a and vu as anudatta and the following a in kh also as svarita. Similarly, in kirikanah the word kiri retains it is udatta accent and that is the final udatta vowel. So, ki becomes anudatta and ka is marked with svarita.

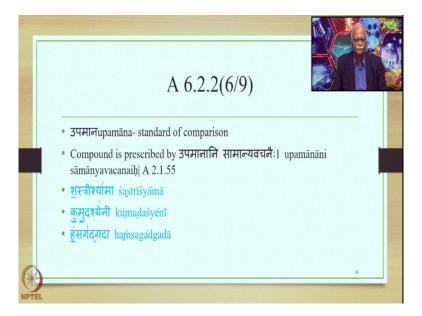
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The next environment is that of saptami referring to the words ending in the 7th triplet. And, referring to the compound prescribed by the sutra saptami saundaih 2.1.40. So, we have the examples aksasaundah and panasaundah. In aksasaundah ksa is udatta and that becomes the accent of the entire samasa and so, a is anudatta and sau is marked with svarita. In panasaundah pa is udatta and therefore, na is shown as svarita.

In saundah they are both anudattas and because they follow the svarita they remain unmarked.

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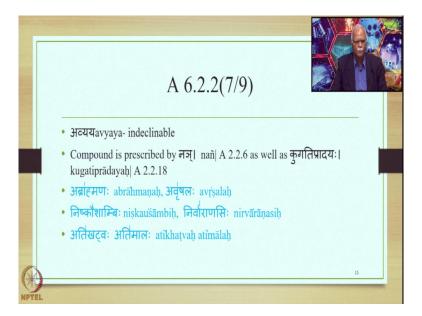


The next environment is upamana which means the standard of comparison. Now, the compound is prescribed by the sutra upamanani samanyavacanaih 2.1.55 and the examples are sastrisyama, kumudasyeni and hamsagadgada. Sastrisyama retains the accent of sastri which is the final udatta that is i as udatta.

And, therefore, sa is marked with a horizontal bar below indicating that this a is anudatta and sa is marked with the vertical bar on top indicating that this a is svarita. And, ma is not accented because this anudatta comes immediately after a svarita. Similar is the case with kumudasyeni where the final vowel is accented and so, the previous vowels are anudattas and the following vowel is shown to be a svarita and the next vowel is unmarked, but that is because it is following a svarita.

In hamsagadgada, hamsa has got the final udatta namely sa a and so ha is shown to be anudatta and gadgada has got ga which is marked as svarita.

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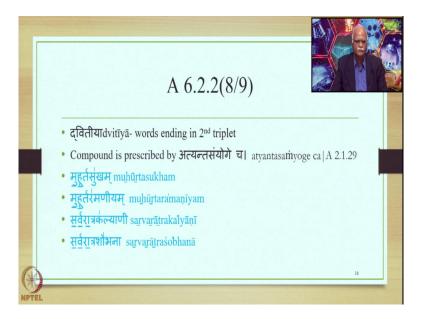
The next condition is avyaya; avyaya means an indeclinable and the compound referred to is the (Refer Time: 31:45) prescribed by nan as well as by kugatipradayah; nan is 2.2.6 and kugatipradayah is 2.2.18. So, the compound is abramanah in which nan is accented and everything else is unaccented. So, a is udatta and everything else is anudatta. So, a which comes immediately after a is marked with svarita and so, abramanah has got only one mark a vertical bar over brah.

In avrsalah once again a is marked with udatta. So, there is no mark and the remaining ones therefore, become anudatta and so, vr is marked with a svarita because it follows an udatta. In niskausambih and nirvaranasih the initial vowel is udatta. So, there is no marking and kau and

va they are marked with svarita sign and the rest of them are not marked. They are anudattas without any sign.

In atikhavah and atimalah ati retains its own accent which is the initial a and ti therefore, becomes the svarita, and khavah and malah they are marked with no sign which indicates that they and they are following a svarita therefore, they are anudattas without any marking.

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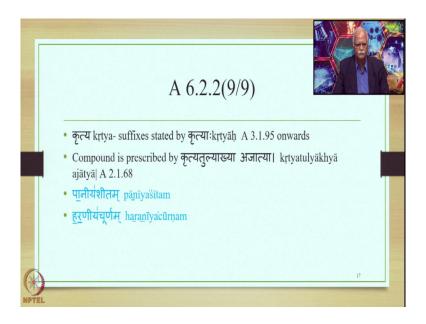


The next environment is dvitiya which means words ending in the 2nd triplet and the compound prescribed is by the sutra atyantasamyoge ca 2.1.29. So, the examples are muhurtasukham. So, muhurta is the purva pada and this is finally, accented and so, everything else becomes anudatta. So, the first two vowels are marked with the horizontal bar below.

And, the next vowel su in su is marked with a vertical bar indicating that it is a svarita. Similar is the case with muhurtaramaniyam were once again the final vowel in the purva pada is accented and everything else is anudatta. In sarvaratrakalyani because of the samasanta pratyaya also the final vowel in sarvaratra is udatta therefore, it is not marked and so, everything else becomes anudatta.

Now, the anudatta that precedes this udatta is shown with the horizontal bar below and all the vowels that proceed are also shown similarly. The anudatta that follows is shown with the svarita sign, and the anudatta that follow this svarita they are left unmarked. Similar is the case with sarvaratrasobhana.

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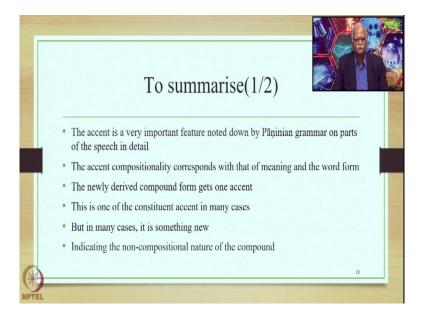


Finally, the environment is that of krtya; krtya is the title of suffixes stated by the sutra krtyah 3.1.95 onwards and the compound is prescribed by the sutra krtyatulyakhya ajatya 2.1.68.

Now, in paniyasitam, paniya is a krtya word and therefore, it retains it is own accent which is the i which is udatta. Now, because i is udatta a which precedes and ya which follows they are anudattas and pa is marked with the horizontal bar and ya is marked with the vertical bar on top. In sitam both of the vowels are anudatta, but because they follow a svarita they are left unmarked.

Similar is the case with haraniyacurnam where i is udatta and everything else is anudatta.

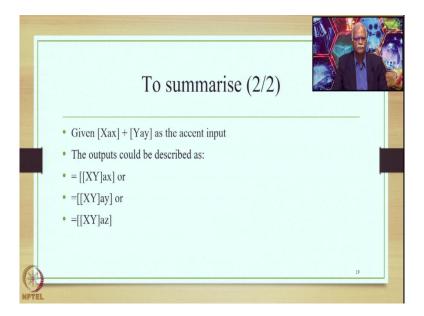
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The accent is a very important feature noted down by paninian grammar on parts of the speech in detail. The accent compositionality corresponds with that of the meaning and also

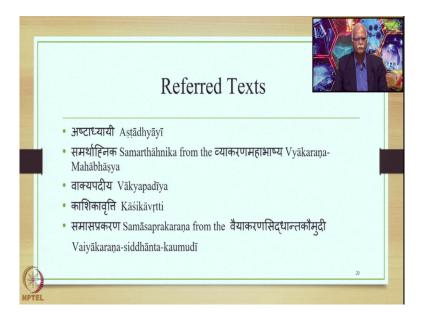
the word form. The newly derived compound form gets one accent. This is one of the constituent accents in many cases, but in many cases, it is also something over and above something new, indicating the non compositional nature of the compound [FL].

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We can also see why we have summarization namely that given Xax where ax indicates the accent and ay also indicates the accent. So, given Xax plus Yay as the accent input the outputs could be described as XY ax or XY ay or XY az, where z is a completely different completely new accent stated by some other sutra and this indicates the non compositionality of the samasa.

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These are the texts referred to.

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Thank you.