

Course Name- Samāsa in Pāṇinian grammar-II

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Lecture-20

General remarks on compounding & historical development of Sanskrit Language

Welcome! I welcome you all to this lecture in the course samāsa in Pāṇinian grammar- II. As is our practice, we begin our lecture with the recitation of the maṅgalācaraṇa. viśveśaṁ saccidānandaṁ vande'haṁ yo'khilaṁ jagat carīkartti barībhartti saṁjārīhartti līlayā. We have said that in this particular course we are focused on the three types of samāsas, namely avyayībhāva, Bahuvrīhi and dvandva. Before actually studying each one of them in detail with the help of the Sūtras and the examples etc., we understood the theory of compounding with respect to these three compounds. We studied the Samartha theory and we studied this with the help of the primary sources.

We studied that the Samartha theory is stated by Pāṇini himself in his Aṣṭādhyāyī in the Sūtra Samarthaḥ Padavidhiḥ. We also studied the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali which is a commentary on this particular sūtra and we focused on the chapter of Samarthāhnikā which is a commentary on this particular sūtra. We noticed that Patañjali has explained samartha in four ways, samprekṣitārtha, sambaddhārtha, saṅgatārtha and saṁśṛṣṭārtha. Patañjali also uses two key technical terms namely Vyapekṣā and Ekārthibhāva .

Vyapekṣā refers to the interrelated meanings of the Padas and so the two meanings namely Samprekṣitārtha and Sambaddhārtha of Samartha explain the Vyapekṣā state. where the meanings are interrelated, they are tied, but they are independent and separate entities. So are the words. Patañjali has also used another technical term called Ekārthibhāva which explains what happens in the samāsa. And he has also used the two explanations of the word samartha to explain Ekārthibhāva.

Saṅgatārtha and also saṁśṛṣṭārtha. When the two meanings go together or when they are merged together, That is what is Samarth and that is what is Ekārthibhāva Samarthya. So Vyapekṣā and Ekārthibhāva , they are interrelated. Patañjali , in fact, gave an example of ghee as well as oil. When it is mixed with something, it becomes one with that something.

And therefore, that is a good example where two meanings get merged together and a new meaning as well as word is generated as an output. We also stated that the Samartha theory is based on the Kāraka theory. We studied the Kāraka theory in some detail. We said that for the samāsa process, sentence happens to be an input in the sense that the interrelated padas which are part of the sentence, they are the input and the process of compounding happens and the output generated is in the form of a prātipadika or a nominal root which again becomes an input for the sentential process. We studied the concepts of Nitya Samāsa and Anitya Samāsa.

In the process we studied the concepts of Laukika Vighraha and Alaukika Vighraha. We stated that the process of compounding begins with Alaukika Vighraha. Then the Pūrvapada Nirdharana happens, then Subluk, then Samasantha Pratyaya is added, then Subluk happens, then Pūrvapada Kārya happens, Uttarapada Kārya also happens, then Sandhi happens, and finally the Swara Kārya happens, and the output in the form of a Prātipadika is generated. We have studied these steps, these processes with reference to Avyayībhāva, Bahuvrīhi and Dvandva Samāsa in the previous lectures. Now is the time to conclude this general discussion and proceed towards studying each of these compounds in specific details.

In this lecture, we will conclude this general discussion by passing on some general remarks on compounding and historical development of Sanskrit language. In Pāṇini's grammar, different rules play different roles in the process of derivation. There are some rules which prescribe a particular operation. Such rules are called Vidhi Sūtras. These Sūtras state the initial process and also the intermediate processes and also the final process.

Then there are some metarules, some paribhāṣa Sūtras, which hold the entire system together and which apply the rules in a particular sequence. Then there are some rules which designate the technical terms. These are called the samjñā Sūtras. So Samāsa is a samjñā that is applied to a particular output. Pūrvapada is the samjñā.

Uttarapada is also another samjñā. Similarly, under the big umbrella of samāsa, there are four types of samāsas whose samjñās are extremely important. Then we have some rules which state the operation of substitution or atideśa. And this we have seen in the process of derivation when one step is derived with the help of a rule in the Pāṇinian grammar, it continues certain properties that it inherited from its previous stage. This is explicitly stated in the Pāṇinian grammar using a particular sūtra which is called Atideśa sūtra.

There are only about 100 basic vidhi Sūtras for Samāsa which prescribe the Samāsa. They are stated in 2.1 and also 2.2. Therefore the Sūtras which prescribe the avyayībhāva, they are very few in number.

Also, the Sūtras which prescribe the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa, they are also very few and the sūtra prescribing the Dvandava Samāsa is only one. There are 92 Vidhi Sūtras prescribing the Samāsānta suffixes stated in 5.4. and also the Samāsānta suffixes prescribing Sūtras for avyayībhāva as well as dvandva are very few, but there are a number of Sūtras prescribing the Samāsānta pratyaya with reference to the Bahuvrīhi samāsa, which we shall study in detail. There are almost 200 vidhi Sūtras prescribing the accent of samāsa.

Once again, the Sūtras prescribing the accent on avyayībhāva and dvandva are very few, whereas there are quite a few Sūtras describing and prescribing the accent of Bahuvrīhi samāsa. All these Sūtras may be exhaustively describing the language of Pāṇini's time, but as time grew, language also grew. These numbers started falling short of capturing the usage. The tradition of Pāṇini's grammar, on the other hand, gave authoritativeness to the system. Any speech form which is in accordance with this system was considered worth using, others not. Therefore, the pressure on the system increased due to the limited number of available rules and increasing and varied usage.

Then the P samāsa ṇinian grammatical tradition figured out some solutions to this particular problem. Now these solutions are primarily internal to the system in the form of reinterpretations of words in the Sūtras, types of Sūtras, as well as breakup of words in the Sūtras. These are the strategies that were adopted. The concept of generic prescription was also adopted. The concept of open-ended word bag was adopted.

Breakup of Sūtras is called Yoga Vibhāga. Then there were new statements made. New arguments were put forward in order to justify certain usages in particular manner. New concepts evolved in the course of time in order to account for certain usages. Let us look at the concept of generic prescription.

So the sūtra is So the sūtra is saha supā, 2-1-4 in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. This is originally an adhikāra sūtra governing 2.1 and 2.2 in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, where compound prescribing rules are stated. So all the rules will be constrained by the conditions stated in this particular sūtra, two Padas both ending in Sup as is shown on this slide.

This Pada ends in Sup and second Pada also ends in Sup and then this becomes eligible if they are interrelated. These two become eligible to be compounded. But if you have sup over here, but no sup over here, or if you have thing over here and thing over here, this sūtra says that these situations are not eligible for the process of compounding. So this is what the function of the sūtra saha supā. But now, in order to accommodate the newly generated varied usage, the tradition reinterpreted 2.1.4 as a vidhi sūtra, thereby making this a generic prescription.

Any subanta is compounded with any other samartha subanta. Any word that ends in a sup is compounded with any other semantically interrelated word which ends in a sub. This is what is a generic prescription without making any specific condition and meaning

bound specific condition which is part of several other rules as we observe in the Pāṇinian rules. Now with this generic prescription, any compound usage can be accommodated. Such a Samāsa is termed by the later tradition as kevala Samāsa or sup sup samāsa.

And we find several examples in the literature where samāsas of this kind are stated and are explained as sup sup Samāsa or kevala Samāsa. Then there is a concept of open-ended word bag, also known as ākr̥ti Gaṇa. So new compound words similar to the ones already listed are accommodated as part of the same list and such words are called Sarūpa ākr̥ti. Gaṇa is a list of words which is appended to the grammar of Pāṇini and which are referred to by Pāṇini in the Sūtras prescribing various operations to respective Gaṇas. Now there are some Gaṇas which are ākr̥ti Gaṇas where new compound words similar to the ones already listed are accommodated as part of the same list as a strategy to counter the problem stated earlier.

These are called Sarūpākṛti words. Then there are new words dissimilar to the ones already listed. They are also accommodated as part of the same list and they are called Virupākṛti words. For example, we have the sūtra Vāhitaganyādiṣu 2.2.37, which consists of the ākr̥tigaṇa āhitagnyādi.

If we throw a glance on the words in this particular sūtra , we see that Ahitāgni and Agnyāhita, these are the basic words, and then Jātaputra and Putrajāta, these are the other words that we get. These are the Sarupākṛti words, and then there are virūpākṛti words, which also are made part of this particular Gaṇa, gaḍukaṇṭha, as well as gaḍuśiras. We also have several Sūtras which are considered to be the ākr̥ti Gaṇas as far as the Samāsas are concerned. So tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca is a sūtra which consists of a list called tiṣṭhadgu etc. This is a very peculiar list consisting of elements which are very complex.

Similarly, nirudakādīni ca 6.2.184 discussing the accent. Similarly, ardharcāḥ pumsī ca 2.4.31 talking about the gender of the compound. One of the important techniques used by the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition to counter the problem mentioned earlier is Yoga Vibhāga. Now the word Sahasupa, which is an Adhikāra Sūtra , so all the rules will be constrained by this Sūtra and so we have Sup plus Sup is a yes condition for the process of compounding and where we have sup plus tiṅ or tiṅ plus tiṅ, it is a no condition for compounding. But to accommodate certain other usage, this rule is broken into two parts, saha and supā.

Now Saha which is 2.1.4 A means a soup can be compounded with any other word. So for example if a Pada ends in sup and another Pada ends in tiṅ, now this can also be a compound according to this 2.1.4A. And the examples provided are anuvyacalat as well as paryabhūṣayat. anuvyacalat consists of anu, vi and achalat. Where Anu and vi, these are the two Subantas and Achalat is a tiṅanta.

In Paryabhushayat, Pari is a Subanta but Abhushayat is the Tinganta. We also note that this Yoga Vibhag is done primarily to account for a few exceptions in the Vedic data. Similarly, Avyayam Vibhakti etc., this is 216, this is also broken into two parts, Avyayam as one and Vibhakti etc. as the second in order to account for certain usages.

Similarly, Vibhasha is broken into two rules and Vibhasha is stated to be one independent rule, which is also recognized as an Adhikara Sūtra . that makes the following compound prescribing Sūtras prescribing a Vaikalpika Samāsa and the previous Sūtras prescribing a Nitya Samāsa. Similarly, the Yoga Vibhāga is potential in all Vibhaktis. This technique is used by the later Pāṇinian grammatical tradition to account for usages in order to provide the sanctity of grammar to them. There are certain complex phenomenon which is also noted in the process of compounding in the course of time.

There is a type of compound or a set of words in which they are semantically Bahuvrīhi but formally they are avyayībhāva. And this is what we were mentioning about tiṣṭhadgu etc. where we have words which are semantically Bahuvrīhi but formally avyayībhāva. Similarly we also have words like unmattā gaṅgā yasmin deśe. This is typically a laukika vighraha of a Bahuvrīhi compound. However, unmattagaṅgam is listed as an avyayībhāva compound. Similarly, lohitagaṅgam and kṛṣṇagaṅgam also are semantically Bahuvrīhi but formally are avyayībhāvas and they are listed therefore as avyayībhāvas in Pāṇinian Grammar. Some Dvandva compounds take place only if Samāhāra is intended by the speaker. So this is a restricted kind of usage. And the Sūtra dvandvaśca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām 2.4.2 onwards, that is a set of Sūtras which talk about this restricted usage and we shall study this particular section in some detail when we deal with the Dvandva Samāsa.

So pāṇipādam can only be a Samāhāra. śirogrīvam, rathikāśvāroham and rathikapādātām are some examples where Dvandva Samāsa takes place but it is only if there is Samāhāra that is intended by the speaker. So to summarize, compounding is a very productive process in Sanskrit. It has been there since the time of the Vedas. Pāṇini has captured the data of his time. The tradition has considered the grammar of Pāṇini as authoritative and the tradition has 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 therefore should be evolved. Now we come to the close of this general discussion about the theory of compounding. From next lecture onwards, we will delve deep into the each type of samāsas.

We begin with the avyayībhāva Samāsa because that is what is stated first in the Sūtras of Pāṇini. Thank you. Thank you very much.