

**Course Name- Samāsa in Pāṇinian grammar-II**

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**Week-10**

**Lecture-50**

**bahuvrīhi samās avidhāna**

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 saṁjarīhartti  
līlayā.

In this course we are studying the three important types of Samāsas in Sanskrit namely the Avyayībhāva Samāsa, Bahuvrīhi Samāsa and dvandava Samāsa. Out of them, we have already studied Avyayībhāva Samāsa and currently we are focused on the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa, which is an extremely important type of Samāsa in Sanskrit, a very peculiar kind of Samāsa. The structure of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa can be represented in the form of an equation, a brief equation at that in the following manner.

where we have X and Y as two independent, two different entities in terms of the word form as well as the meaning as well as the accent. There is a plus sign in between which indicates that they are semantically related and so the speaker of Sanskrit has decided to merge them together and then the process begins and culminates in the generation of the output in the form of XY namely one unit. So the input is in the form of two units, the output is in the form of one unit XY in terms of the meaning generated as well as the word form as well as the accent. So XY can be said to possess three features namely Aikārthya, Ekarthatā, Aikapadya or Ekapadatā and Aikasvarya or Ekasvaratā.

These are the features of Samatha in general. As far as the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa is concerned, none of X and Y are marked in the bold characters, which indicates that none of them acts as the head of the Samāsa. In case of Avyayībhāva and Tatpuruṣa, we showed the respective heads with the bold characters. In Avyayībhāva Samāsa, X was shown in the bold to indicate that X acts as the head of XY. In the Tatpuruṣa Samāsa, Y was marked with bold characters indicating that Y acts as the head of XY in the Tatpuruṣa Samāsa.

But in Bahuvrīhi Samāsa, neither X nor Y act as the head of this Samāsa. So the head of this Samāsa lies outside of this Samāsa which is very very peculiar. In the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa is dealt with at various places. Thus, Samāsa vidhāyaka Sūtras, namely the compound prescribing Sūtras, they are stated in the section beginning with 2 to 23, Śeṣo Bahuvrīhi , up to 2 to 28, Tena saheti tulya yoge. Incidentally, 2 to 29 is Cārthe Dvandvaha.

And we have studied all these Sūtras prescribing the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa. Then we have the Samāsānta Pratyaya vidhāyaka Sūtra s, which talk about the Samāsānta suffix. The suffix that is added at the end of the Samāsa. This is a very big section beginning with 5.4.113 up to 5.4.160 that is the end of the fifth adhyāya and as we have noted in this big section there is another small section in which the Samāsānta ādeśas are prescribed and not exactly the pratyayas. We are yet to see and study this particular section. Svara Vidhāyaka Sūtra are stated in 6.2.

6.2.1 is Bahuvrīhau Prakṛtyā Pūrvapadam and then we have Sūtras from 6.2.106 up to 120 and then another set namely 6.2.162 onwards up to 6.2.177. These are the Sūtras dealing with the Svara of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa. This is how the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa is stated in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Currently we are focusing on the Pumvadbhāva , a very important operation that happens in the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa mainly. We have already studied the Sūtra that states the conditions, the basic conditions when fulfilled the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa takes place and the Pumvadbhāva operation happens. In this lecture, in order to understand the Sūtra better, let us also study the counter-examples, the Pratyudāraṇas, as they are called in the tradition of the Pāṇinian grammar.

Let us study them one by one. What we do here is that we ask questions to each and every word and check what this word brings about in the overall Sūtra . The idea is that it is absolutely essential to have this word in the Sūtra for if this word is omitted from the Sūtra , the Sūtra would shape in a particular manner and would generate the output which is non desirable. So in order to avoid that we need to have a particular word in the Sūtra and that is how the Pratyudāraṇas is structured. This is dealt with in detail in our work called PratyudāraṇaVimarsha, a Sanskrit work which is yet to be published.

Let us come back to the question in hand. The question is what is Pumbadbhāva? And this is the explanation. Let us revisit it. A feminine form generated by adding a suffix to the nominal root. Nominal root is a Prātipadika goes back to the form of the nominal root. I repeat, a feminine form goes back to the form of the nominal root is called Pumvadbhāva . The location of this Pumvadbhāva is the Pūrvapada of a compound. This happens in the , its limited environment existing around, either in the Pūrvapada or in the Uttarapada, which we have already studied in the previous lecture. So, for example, the equation which is stated in the next bullets also explains this particular fact Now we have

Prātipadika plus strīpratyaya plus Su This is first pada and the second pada is Prātipadika plus Strīpratyaya plus Su.

Here we have two subantas. They are interrelated and now look at the internal structure. The Strīpratyaya is added after a Prātipadika. Now this Sūtra says that such a Prātipadika should be bhāṣitapuṃska. It also says that the Strīpratyaya should never be ūñ.

These are the two conditions on the Pūrvapada and the other condition is that it should be co-referential with the Uttarapada. After having studied these conditions on the Pūrvapada, let us now study the conditions for the Uttaravada. Uttaravada also has the structure Prātipadika plus Strīpratyaya plus Su. Now this Strīpratyaya is the first condition. The second condition is that the Pratyabhadiga plus Strīpratyaya in the second Pada should be co-referential with the S plus Strīpratyaya in the first Pada.

The other important condition is that the Strīpratyaya should not contain a Pūraṇa Pratyaya. And another condition is that the Strīpratyaya plus Strīpratyaya should not be a part of the list that begins with Priyā, etc. When these conditions get fulfilled, we apply the Pūmadbhāva technique. But first, we have the Samāsa Samjñā, then we apply the Prātipadika Samjñā and so on the final bullet on the slide, we apply the Supo dhātu prātipadikayoḥ and generate this output, namely Prātipadika plus three pratyaya plus zero, plus Prātipadika plus three pratyaya plus zero. Now we have Strīpratyaya plus Strīpratyaya.

This is the Pūrvapada plus Strīpratyaya plus Strīpratyaya as the Uttarapada. Here the Strīpratyaya in the Pūrvapada is removed. So this Strīpratyaya plus Strīpratyaya goes back to its Strīpratyaya form and so we have the next bullet, next step in the derivation process which is like this Strīpratyaya plus zero plus Strīpratyaya plus Strīpratyaya. And then the process continues. But Prātipadika plus zero plus Prātipadika plus Strīpratyaya is the effect of the operation of Pūmadbhāva.

This is the Sūtra. We have already studied this. Let us quickly re-look at it. The Sūtra is striyām puṃvad. That is the main sentence. striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūñ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇīpriyādiṣu| This is 6-3-304. I repeat this is the main sentence Now the rest is the qualification This is one unit This is the qualification of the pūrvapada These are the qualifications of the uttarapada So striyāḥ is 6 slash 1 of strī in place of a word denoting feminine gender. Pūmadbhāva means like a nominal root form. bhāṣitapuṃskāt is Pañcamī Ekavachana which means immediately after the word which is a bhāṣitapuṃska. So the overall meaning of the Sūtra is the following. Immediately before an Uttarapada that is in the Pūrvapada in place of a word whose nominal root or Prātipadika is such that it declines in all the three genders denoting the same core meaning and to which does not end in the suffix um ending in the feminine suffix is

placed its nominal root that is Prātipadika form If the Uttarapada is coreferential with it to it denotes the feminine gender 3.

It denotes it does not end in the Pūraṇa suffix and 4. It does not belong to the group of words which begins with the word Priyā etc. I repeat immediately before an Uttarapada that is in the Pūrvapada that is Uttarapade in place of a word whose nominal root or Prātipadika is such that it declines in all three genders denoting the same core meaning bhāṣitapumskāt which does not end in the suffix ūñ, aūñ, ending in the feminine suffix striyaḥ, is placed its nominal root or Prātipadika form, pumvat, if the Uttarapada is co-referential with it. samānādhikaraṇe, it denotes the feminine gender "striyām", it does not end in the Pūraṇa suffix apūraṇi, it does not belong to the group of words which begins with the word priyāḥ, So this is the equation form of the Sūtra where we have the input in the form of now the is marked with the bold characters mainly because it is this on which the operation of Pumvadbhāva takes place and this gets deleted. So we have as the Pūrvapada plus Prātipadika plus Strīpratyaya as the generated output.

To state it elaborately, we can say that the Prātipadika should be bhāṣitapumskā and then we should have a Strīpratyaya which is not ūñ. This is the status of the Pūrvapada . And then the Uttarapada should be having a samānādhikaraṇa Prātipadika plus the Strīpratyaya which is not Pūraṇa or the Uttarapada or it should not end in the group that begins with Priyā . And then the output is bhāṣitapumskā plus zero plus samānādhikaraṇa Prātipadika plus Strīpratyaya not Pūraṇa and not Priyādi. We have already seen two examples Citrāgau as well as Rūpavadbhāryā. Now let us proceed in understanding the Pratyudāraṇas which bring home the point that each and every word in the Sūtra is extremely crucial because it helps avoid under generation as well as over generation which would have caused in the absence of that particular word to which the question is asked Uddiṣṭa Praśna śabda striyāḥ iti kim.

This is the question. Here, striyāḥ is the Uddiṣṭa Praśna śabda. Itikim is the Praśna śabda. So, why should the Pūrva Pada be in feminine gender? What is the word, what is the necessity of the word Striyaha to be stated in this Sūtra as the condition for the Pūrva Pada? So why should the Pūrvapadabe in feminine gender denoted by adding a feminine suffix added to the Strīpratyaya or a nominal root? Because if the Pūrvapada is not in the feminine gender, then the operation of Pumvadbhāva will not take place. This is a necessary condition. So for example, if we have the meaning to be conveyed as one whose side is on the family which leads the village.

grāmaṇi and kulaṁ is the qualificand which is in neuter gender which indicates that grāmaṇi as an adjective which ends in short i is also neuter. dṛṣṭir yasya saḥ. So dṛṣṭir is the Uttarapada. So grāmaṇi plus Su plus dṛṣṭir plus Su, this is the alaukika vighraha. What happens here is that all other conditions except striyāḥ are fulfilled.

So for example, grāmaṇi is a word which is bhāṣitapuṁska. Then the word dr̥ṣṭir which is Uttarapada, which is in feminine, the word dr̥ṣṭir is coreferential with Grāmaṇi . The word Dr̥ṣṭir does not end in the Pūraṇa Pratyaya and the word Dr̥ṣṭir is not part of the priyādi group of words. Therefore, all conditions fulfilling, only one condition is not fulfilled, namely striyāḥ. The word grāmaṇi does not denote the feminine gender and that is the reason why had there been absence of striyāḥ in the Sūtra , the pumvatbhāva would have taken place also in case of this particular form and grāmaṇi would have also become pumvat.

which is not desirable. And so, Pumvadbhava does not take place over here. Now, after the Samāsa Samjñā takes place, we apply Supo dhātu prātipadikayoḥ, so we get Grāmaṇi plus zero, plus Dr̥ṣṭir plus zero, and then we join them together, and we get the form Grāmaṇi Dr̥ṣṭir as the finally derived output of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa. Then we add the suffix Su and we get the form Grāmaṇi Dr̥ṣṭiḥ. One whose sight is on the family which leads the village. Grāmaṇi means family which leads the village.

Now in this case, Pūrvapada is Grāmaṇi in neutral gender and this means one who leads a village. Grāmaṇi means one who leads a village. This is a qualification of any substantive in any of the three genders. In the present case, it qualifies a family, namely Kula. But this core meaning does not change even when the gender is changed.

So this qualifies to be termed as bhāṣitapuṁska. Now the Uttarapada is Dr̥ṣṭi. Now this Uttarapada also denotes feminine gender. It is coreferential with the Pūrvapada that is Grāmaṇi Now Dr̥ṣṭir which means sight is neither ending in a Pūraṇa suffix nor does it belong to Priyā di group of words. Thus all conditions fulfill except the one that the Pūrvapada does not denote the feminine gender and therefore the pumvadbhava does not take place.

This is the significance or importance of the word striyāḥ in the Sūtra . Having all conditions fulfilled, even if just one condition is not fulfilled, the Samāsa cannot take place. Let us now proceed further and try to see the importance of the other important word bhāṣitapuṁska. bhāṣitapuṁska adhitikyam. Here Uddiṣṭa Praśna śabda striyāḥ iti kim, Praśno Uddiṣṭa śabda is bhāṣitapuṁska.

Praśna śabda is iti kim. And the answer to the question lies in the fact that the word khaṭvābhāryaḥ is to be derived. So the question is, why should the Pūrvapada be bhāṣitapuṁska? What happens if the Pūrvapada is not bhāṣitapuṁska? when the core meaning of the Prātipadika or nominal root remains the same when the word is used in all three genders. The answer to this question is that if, because if the Pūrvapada is not bhāṣitapuṁska, then the operation of Pumbadbhāva will not take place. Thus being a bhāṣitapuṁska in the form of a Pūrvapada Prātipadika is a necessary condition for a

Bahuvrīhi Samāsa to take place. Let us look at the derivation of the example, namely khaṭvā bhāryā.

So the meaning to be conveyed is, someone whose bed is his wife. So khaṭvā bhāryā yasya saḥ, this is the laukika vighraha and the alaukika vighraha is khaṭvā plus su plus bhāryā plus su. Here khaṭvā plus su is the Pūrvapada , bhāryā plus su is the Uttarapada. So the word khaṭvā is in the feminine form when we add the suffix r to the word khaṭvā, so khaṭvā plus r.

So this is the feminine form, striyāḥ is there. Now if you go to the Uttarapada, The Prātiapadika is bhāryā. This is also formed by adding the feminine suffix R to the word Bhāryā. So this is also a strī Pratyayānta Uttarapada. This is samānādhikaraṇa with the Pūrva Pada, namely khaṭvā. This does not end in the Pūraṇa Pratyaya and this Uttarapada does not belong to the list which begins with Priyā .

All conditions fulfilled except one, namely that Khatvā is not bhāṣitapuṁska. That means that when you add the feminine suffix, then the word khatwa denotes the bed. Otherwise, the word khatwa denotes something else. And therefore, this is not bhashya-vamska. because the pravṛtti nimitta changes and so in the absence of this one condition the pumbad bhava does not take place and khaṭvā does not become khaṭvā rather it remains as khaṭvā so we have khaṭvā plus zero plus bhārya plus zero as the next step in the derivation and so we get khaṭvā bhārya after doing the shortening at the end of the samāsa by the Sūtra gostriyorupasarjanasya so we have khaṭvā bhārya So we have as the finally derived output Then we have and we get as the finally derived form to be used in the sentence Here the Pūrvapada is that is a bed. This word denotes only feminine gender in this meaning It is not used in all three genders to denote this core meaning.

Hence this is not a bhāṣitapuṁska word. So all other conditions applying, namely Pūrvapada denoting feminine gender, Pūrvapada being coreferential with the Uttarapada, Uttarapada denoting the feminine gender, it being coreferential with the Pūrvapada , the Uttarapada not ending in the Pūraṇa suffix, and the Uttarapada not belonging to the words which are part of the group Priyā di. The condition of the Pūrvapada being a bhāṣitapuṁska is not fulfilled and hence the operation of the Pumvatbhāva does not take place. And so we don't have this form Khatvā Bhāryā but we have the form Khatva Bhāryā as the finally derived Bahuvrīhi Samāsa output. Let us now study the next Pratyudāharaṇa namely anūn iti kim Why should the Pūrvapada denote femininity but not by the suffix ūn? That is the question. So anūn Iti, anūn is the Uddiṣṭa Praśnodhiṣṭa śabda iti kim is the Praśna Vācaka śabda, brahmabandhūbhāryaḥ is the word which is generated because of the mention of the word anūnin the Sūtra .

So the Praśna is why should the Pūrvapada denote femininity but not by the suffix ūn. ūn is a suffix added to the nominal root to denote femininity by the Sūtra ūn utaḥ 4.1.66 and

the answer to the question is because if the Pūrvapada ends in the suffix ūñ stated by 4.1.66 then the operation of Pumvadbhāva will not take place as simple as that So it indicates that the Pūrvapada should be devoid of, should not have the suffix ūñ. This is a necessary condition for the Pumvadbhāva to take place. Let us look at the example. When the example is this, which means someone whose wife is a characterless Brāhmin female who is not engaged in the activity of learning.

Repeat, someone whose wife is a characterless Brāhmin female who is not engaged in the activity of learning. This is the Laukika Vighraha. So we have brahmabandhū plus Su plus Bhāryā plus Su. brahmabandhū plus Su, this is the Pūrvapada .

Bhāryā plus Su is the Uttarapada. So Samāsa Samjñā takes place. Prātipadika Samjñā also takes place. And then we apply Supo dhātu prātipadikayoḥ. So we have brahmabandhū plus Bhāryā.

Now in this case, the conditions are fulfilled. namely that the Pūrvapada ends in the feminine suffix. It is co-referential with the Uttarapada. It also contains a Prātipadika brahmabandhū which is bhāṣitapuṃska. Uttarapada also ends in the feminine suffix.

Uttarapada is co-referential with the Pūrvapada . Uttarapada does not have the Pūraṇa Pratyaya, Uttarapada does not belong to the list of words that begin with Priyā . Having all the conditions fulfilled, except the one, namely anūñ , here the word ends in the suffix ūñ, prescribed by ūñ uta. And so, Pumvadbhāva does not take place, and the word brahmabandhū does not go back to its nominal root or prātipadika form, it remains as it is and so we have the Uttarapada hrasva taking place because of Gostriyopasarjanasya and so we have the finally derived compound output in the form of brahmabandhū bhāryā. Then we add the suffix su, we get brahmabandhū-bhāryaḥ as the pada to be used in the sentence.

Here the Pūrvapada is brahmabandhū. This word denotes feminine gender after adding the suffix ūñ to the prātipadika, namely brahmabandhū. The word brahmabandhū denotes the same core meaning, namely a brāhmaṇa who is characterless and who is not engaged in the activity of learning when used in all three genders. vṛttasvādhyāyahīnāyā brāhmaṇajātau etau bahuvrīhī vartete So brahmabandhū etc. These are the two bahuvrīhis which denote the brāhmaṇa jāti which is vṛttasvādhyāya hīna which is devoid of characters that is vṛtta as well as self-study that is svādhyāya. With the help of this explanation we can say that the word pūrva The word brahmabandhū is also a bhāṣitapuṃska word. So all other conditions applying namely Pūrvapada denoting feminine gender, Pūrvapada being coreferential with the Uttarapada, Pūrvapada being a bhāṣitapuṃska, Uttarapada denoting the feminine gender and it being coreferential with the Pūrvapada The Uttaravada not ending in the Pūraṇa suffix and the Uttaravada not

belonging to the words which are part of the group Priyādi, the condition of the Pūrvapada not ending in the suffix ūñ is not fulfilled.

Only one condition is not fulfilled and hence the operation of the Pumvadbhāva does not take place. To summarize, Pumvadbhāva is a peculiar operation stated to the Pūrvapada of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa. It requires both the Pūrvapadaas well as the Uttarapada, denoting feminine gender as well as same referent as the basic condition for the Sūtra to apply. In addition, there are certain conditions that the Pūrvapada has to fulfill and certain other conditions that the Uttarapada also has to fulfill. When all the specific conditions are fulfilled, the feminine form in the Pūrvapada goes back to its Prātipadika or nominal root form.

This is what is known as the Pumvadbhāva. We continue studying this and other aspects of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa in the next lecture. Thank you very much. Thank you.