CHAPTER 2

***************

* AVYAYĪBHĀVA COMPOUNDS *

***************
2.1  

prākkaḍārāt samāsah  
P. 2.1.3

The units resulting from the operation of the rules of compounding given in the Astādhyāyī from 2.1.5 to 2.2.38 receive the class name of samāsa, 'compound'.

avyayībhāvaḥ  
P. 2.1.5

'avyayībhāva compound follows'

This is the section heading rule. All cp.s formed by the rules from P. 2.1.5. to 2.1.22 are termed avyayībhāva [avy.,]

The definition of the avy. cp. is of enumerative type. It does not provide any semantic description about the avy. cp.

avyayībhavāśca  
P. 1.1.41 'The avy. cp. becomes an indeclinable.'

avyayībhavāśca  
P. 2.4.18
[ sa napumsakam ]  
P. 2.4.17

The avy. cp. is used in neuter gender.

nāvyayībhāvādatō'ntvapañcamyāh  
P. 2.4.83

All the case endings after the avy. cp. ending in 'a' are substituted by 'am' except when the avy. cp. takes ablative case ending.

trtiyāsaptamyortbahulam  
P. 2.4.84

The instrumental and locative case endings of avy. cp. are retained diversely.
All *avy* cp.s are uniformly taken as neuter in gender irrespective of the gender of its components.[1] Hence, eventhough the final component of the cp. is in feminine gender, the cp. is declined as neuter. *pāregaṅgāt*, 'from beyond Gaṅgā' can be sited as an example.

As *avy* cp. takes the neuter gender, the long vowel of the final component is shortened.[2] The *avy* cp. *adhīdevatam* 'pertaining to divinity' may be considered as an example.

According to Patañjali, the referent of the first component is predominant in the *avy* cp. [3] Here the first component may be taken as referring to the indeclinable in general; so the definition holds good in cases having the indeclinable as the final component, e.g. *sūpaprati*, 'a little broth', or *aṅsaparī* 'an unlucky throw of dice that results in loss in gambling.'

*na yeti vibhāśā* P. 1.1.44

The term *vibhāśā* is defined as *na vā*, 'or not', that really means optionally.

*vibhāśā* P. 2.1.11 This is a section heading rule.

Henceforth all the compounds derived by the rules given hereafter are, unless otherwise stated, optional.

1. *avyayībhāvaśca* P. 2.4.18

2. *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* P. 1.2.47

3. *pūrvapadapradhano'vyayībhāvah* MB. I.339.1-5
Specifically the option as stated is between a cp. and a corresponding word group. Starting with the same words, we can derive a syntactic string by one set of rules and a cp. by another set of rules. It further implies that cp.s derived by the rules preceding P. 2.1.11 are not optional. In these cases it is not possible to derive both a syntactic string and a corresponding cp. from the same word group.[1]

Patañjali explains the designation avyayībhāva as 'what previously was not an indeclinable now becomes an indeclinable.'[2] Avyaya, 'indeclinable', is described as non-substance, having no gender, no number, and no case endings.[3]

Though avy. cp. is treated as indeclinable, and though it shows the same morphological features as those of an indeclinable, it betrays its distinct nature.

The substitute, am, is supplied for all case endings after the avy. cp. ending in 'a' except the ablative case.[4] It is optionally supplied for instrumental and locative case endings.[5] As the 'am' is a substitute for the case endings, it can not be maintained that avy.cp. does not possess either the case ending or the number.

1. avigraho nityasamāsaḥ avapadavigraho vā sk. Vol. II. P.186
2. anavyayamavyayam bhavati MB on P. 5.4.50; P. 7.4.32
3. P. 2.4.82
4. P. 2.4.83
5. P. 2.4.84
All avy. cp.s are uniformly taken as neuter in gender [1] irrespective of the gender of its components.

2.2. The distribution of avy. cp.s according to each Up. is as follows.

7) Āi. 2 [2] 8) Chān. 16 [38]
9) Br. 16 [42] 10) Śve. 1 [1]
14) Jai. 16 [30]

The figures outside the bracket show the forms of cp.s occurring in a text while the figures in the parenthesis indicate the actual occurrence of the cp.s in that text.

The total number of avy. cp.s is eighty eight and their actual occurrence is one hundred and fifty eight.

Avy. cp.s are not found in the Ī. ; Pā. ; and Chā. Ups.

The Br. and Jai. Up. has the highest number of avy. cp.s and the frequency of occurrence is more in the Br. Up. as well as in the Chān. Up.

---------------------------------------------
1. P. 2.4.18
The indeclinables used as the first component of the avy. cp. are as follows.

adhi [25], any [1], antar [13], abhi [2], āṇ [4], upa [1], para [14], prati [8], vatra [1], vathā [24], vāvat [2], and saha [1]

The indeclinables adhi, antar, and vathā are frequently used.

2.3 The final component ends in 'a' in thirty nine cp.s. All of them take 'am' in compliance with P. 2.4.83.

The final component of avy. cp.s retains its ablative case ending. There is a single case of avy. cp. which can be given in support of this exception. The cp. is: ākālāt Jai. 4.25.4 'till the time of death'.

The final component of the avy. cp.s retains their instrumental and locative case endings optionally.[1] The following are some examples in support of this exception.

i) vathākramena Mai. 6.26 'in its order'
ii) antarvivarena Mai. 7.2 'through the opening'
iii) parokṣena Ai. 1.3; Br. 4.2.2; Jai. 1.40.3; 3.12.6 'indirectly'.
iv) antahsārīre Pra. 6.2 'inside the body'.

The cp.s vathākramam and antarvivaram are not found.

1. P. 2.4.84
The cp. parokṣa ending in 'am' is found only in the Jāi. Up. [1] The use of this form is more frequent in later literature.

The final components of avy. cp. ending in any vowel other than 'a' do not retain their case endings. The examples are:

i) pratīvonī Br. 4.3.15 'towards the place of origin'

ii) antarvedi Jāi. 3.8.7 'inside the fireplace'

All avy. cp. s are uniformly declined in neuter irrespective of the gender of the components. As the cp. stem is neuter, the final long vowels of the final components are shortened.[2] The following compounds are presented in support of the rule.

i) adhiprajam Jāi. 1.3 'with regard to progeny'

ii) adhidevatam Jāi. 1.57.7 'with regard to divinity'

iii) adhimātram Mā. 8 'with regard to element'

iv) adhividvam Tāi. 1.3 'with regard to knowledge'.

2.4 The final component of the avy. cp. ending in 'an' takes samāsānta suffix ṭac.[3]

1. Jāi. Up. 1.20.4; 1.24.2; 2.8.7
2. P. 1.2.47
3. P. 5.4.108
The compound, adhyātmam, 'with regard to self' can be derived as follows.

adhi + ātman + tac + am [ P. 5.4.108 ]
adhi + ātman + a + am [ P. 1.3.7; P. 1.3.3; P. 1.3.9 ]
adhi + ātm + a + am [ P. 6.4.144 ]
adhi + ātma(am) [ P. 2.4.83 ]
adhyātmam [ P. 6.4.107 ]

If the final component of avy, cp. is neuter and ends in an, it optionally takes the sāmāsānta suffix tac.[1] When the compound takes the suffix tac, it finally ends in am and when it does not take the suffix tac, it does not end in am. There are attestations illustrating both the options. The number of cp.s not ending in am is more than those ending in am. The examples are:

i) pratilomam Br. 2.1.15; 6.1.12 'in inverted order'  

ii) anuvartma Jai. 1.2.4; 1.2.7 'according to the course'  

iii) yathākarma Kau. 1.2; Br. 1.5.21 'according to functions'  

The avy, cp. with its final component the word aksī 'eye' preceded by prati, or para, or sam, or anu takes the sāmāsānta suffix tac. These forms of cp.s are derived by the operation of ganaśūtra. [2]  

1. napaṃsakādanyatarasyām P. 5.4.109  
2. pratiparasamanubhyo'kṣṇah. gana śūtra 148
The cp.s using prati and para are found.

I pratyaksam Chān. 5.2.1; Jai. 1.33.5; Sau. 5;
Tai. 1.1;1.2 'perceptible'.

II parokṣam Jai. 1.20.4 'Indirect'

III parokṣena Jai. 1.40.3; Ai 1.3.14; Br. 4.2.2
'indirectly'

The word para in the cp. parokṣam is not an indeclinable. Even then the word para forms the avy. cp. on the strength of the samāsānta suffix tāc which is ordained by P. 5.4.107. The word para occurs in the gaṇa sūtra(1) along with the indeclinables prati, sam, and anu.

The cp. of para + aksi + tāc should be parāksam according to sandhi rule.[2] As P. has used the form parokṣa(3), it has been conventionally accepted as correct.

If the avy. cp. has its final component from the list called śaratprabhṛti [4], then such a cp. takes the samāsānta suffix tāc. The word catura 'four' from the śaratprabhṛti list forms the avy. cp. and takes the samāsānta suffix tāc.

I caturam Jai. 3.34.1 'up to four
[generations]'

1. pratiparasamanubhyo 'ksñah. gaṇa sūtra 148
2. aha śavarne dīrghah P. 6.1.101
3. parokṣa lit [ P. 3.2.150] iti nipātānād. rasyaukārādesah Sk. on P. 5.4.107
4. avyayibhavye śaratprabhṛtibhyah [tāc] P. 5.4.107
The *samāsanta* suffix *tac* is also added in the following cp.s

*īlāvadāyuṣam* Chān. 5.9.2; 8.15.1 'as long as the length of life'

*īlādhījotisam* Tai. 1.3 'with regard to luminaries'

The *samāsanta* suffix *tac* which is added after the words *āyus* and *jyotis* can not be considered as regular unless these two words are included in the word list, *śaratprabhrī*. The *samāsanta* suffix *ac* is added after the word *lomana* when the preposition, *prati*, preceds the word.[1] The cp. illustrating the rule is:

*pratilomam* Br. 2.1.15; 6.4.12 'in inverted order'

P. 2.1.17 gives the list of well formed *avya* cp.[2] The single attested cp. from the list is:

*sampratī* Jai. 1.45.3; 3.31.2 Chān. 5.11.6; 8.11.1 'at the right time'

2.5 The indeclinable *adhi* is used only in the sense of the seventh case triplet. The locative case here is *visaya saptāmī*. [3] The following are some examples.

---

1. ac pratyavavapūrvāt sāmalomnā P. 5.4.75

2. tiṣṭhadguprabhrītini ca P. 2.1.17

3. avyavām vibhakti samīpa samṛddhi

vyṛddhyarthābhāvāṭyāsāmsampratisabdapradurbhāvapaścādyathānupūrṇa

vyāugapadyasādṛṣyasāmpattīśakalyāntavacanēsu P. 2.1.6
iladhiprajaṁ Tai. 1.3 'with regard to progeny'

iladhiprajñaṁ Kau. 3.8 'with regard to intelligence'

iladhyātmam Tai. 1.3 'with regard to self'.

The indeclinable antar 'inside' is used in the sense of ādhāra 'locus, support' in the following cp.s.

ilantarvedi Jai. 3.8.7 'in the fireplace'

ilantarvivarena Mai. 7.2; 7.3 'through the opening'

ilantarhrdave Br. 2.1.17 'inside the heart'.

The indeclinable upa 'near' is used in the sense of nearness in the following cp.[1]

ilupāstamayam Jai. 1.12.4 'approaching the time of setting.'

The indeclinable prati is used in the sense of vīpsā 'repetition, which is one of the meanings of the indeclinable yathā [2] in the following cp.

il pratipuruṣam Mai. 2.5 'in every person'.

The indeclinable yathā is used in the sense of padārthānativṛtti 'not crossing the limit of [2] in the following cp.s

kālam Jai. 1.2.5 'at proper time'

ilvathākrameṇa Mai. 6.26 'in its proper order'

1. P. 2.1.6

2. vogyatāvīpsāpadārthānativṛttisādṛṣyāni yathārthāh KV.

on P. 2.1.6
The indeclinable anu is used in the sense of 'similarity' [1] in the following cp.

anuvartma Jai. 1.2.4; 1.2.7 'similar to the course of [wind or water]'.

The indeclinable saha is used in the sense of sākalya 'entirety' [1] in the following cp.

ilsamūtam Br. 3.9.7 'even to the roots'

The indeclinable saha is substituted by 'sa' by P. 6.1.81 [2]

The indeclinable yathā implies the meaning 'corresponding to' or according to when it becomes the first component of the avy. cp. [3]. It never implies 'similarity'. The following are some examples.

iłyathānuśāsanam Chān. 8.1.5 'according to command'

iilyathānikāyam Śve. 3.7 'according to form'

iilyathāśrīśatam Ka. 5.7 'according to knowledge'

The indeclinable āy is used in the sense of abhividhi 'inclusive limit' in the following cp.s [4]

1. vogyatvāvīpsāpadārthānativrttisādṛṣyāṇi vathārthah KV. on P. 2.1.6

2. avyayibhāve cākāle P. 6.1.81

3. yathāśādṛṣyē P. 2.1.7

4. ānmaryādabhividyōh P. 2.1.13
ilākītapatāṅgapi pīlakām Chān. 7.2.1 'upto worms flies and ants'

ilācaturam Jāi. 3.34.1 'upto four [generations]'

It is used in the sense of maryādā 'exclusive limit' in the following cp.s [1]

ilākālāt Jāi. 4.25.4 'till the time of death'

ilāsaṅgavam Jāi. 1.12.4 'upto the time when cows are called for milking'

The indeclinables abhi and prati are used in the sense of 'towards' in the following cp.s [2]

ilāabhāpṛatā Br. 6.4.19 'towards the morning'

ilāabhīsāvam Chān. 4.6.1 'towards the evening'

ilāpratyakṣam Āj. 5 'evident' [before the eyes]

The indeclinable vāvat is used in the sense of avadāraṇa 'as much as, as many as' in the following cp.s [3]

ilāvāvadāyusam Chān. 5.9.2; 8.15.1 'as long as the length of life'

ilāvāvatsampātam Chān. 5.10.5 'as long as there is residue [of action]'
As the rule P. 2.1.13 is stated after the rule P. 2.1.11 vibhāsa the avy. cp. using the indeclinable ān can either be expressed in a cp. form or in a corresponding syntactic word group. Some expressions which support the rule of vibhāsa are found in the text. These are as follows.

\[ \text{ili} \text{ā lomabhyaḥ ā nakhāgrebhyaḥ Chāṇ. 8.8.1} \]

'from hair up to nail'

\[ \text{iliā pranakhāt Chāṇ. 1.6.6 'upto each nail'} \]

A similar example of corresponding word group using the indeclinable abhi and prati is not found in the text.

2.6 Non-pāṇinian aspects of some avy. cp.s

al Vibhāsa P. 2.1.11 is the section heading rule. The rules of compounding coming after this rule are optionally applicable. It implies that rules which are stated before the rule of vibhāsa do not provide for option. The cp.s derived by those rules are nitya 'inconvertible'.

The rule P. 2.1.6 prescribes that any indeclinable having the meaning of any case triplet is invariably compounded with any semantically connected case-inflected word. However, the cp. and its corresponding word group is found in the following examples.

\[ \text{ilantarvedi Jāi. 3.8.7 'inside the fireplace'} \]

\[ \text{ilantarvedyām Mai. 6.36 'in the fireplace'} \]

The indeclinable antar 'inside' is used in the
sense of locative case triplet and the rule prescribing this cp. occurs before the rule of \( \text{vibhāsā} \).

b) When a component of a cp. is dependent syntactically on any word which is outside the cp. that word is described as \( \text{sāpekṣa} \), 'with expextancy'. One attestation illustrating this situation is found and is given below.

\[ \text{ilanuvartma Jai. 1.2.4; 1.2.7 'following the course of'} \]

The indeclinable \( \text{anu} \) is used to show the similarity and it is connected syntactically with a word which is not the component of the cp. The text is as follows.

\[ \text{'tadetadvāyāścaivaśām cānuvartma geyam' Jai. 1.2.7 'one should sing in the manner similar to that of either wind or water. The word anu in the cp. is connected with the words vāyu 'wind', and ap 'water'.} \]

c) The \( \text{vrddhi} \), 'second modification of the initial vowel of the final component in the \( \text{avy. cp.} \) is not supported explicitly by any rule. In the cases mentioned below, however, the second components are used in their \( \text{vrddhi} \) form.

\[ \text{iladhidaivatam Kau. 2.12 'with regard to divinity'} \]

\[ \text{iiladhidaivam Chān. 1.3.1 'with reference to shining one'} \]
This irregularity can be explained in the case of the first cp. by the application of the rule P. 5.4.38.[1] The word devatā 'divinity' is enumerated in the word-list. The pleonastic suffix an is added to the word devatā and it is compounded with the indeclinable adhi afterwords.

The word deva 'shining' is not mentioned in the word inventory. The suffix an, therefore, can not be added to the word deva. This irregularity may be removed if the word deva is added to the word inventory stated in the rule P. 5.4.38.

d) The indeclinable prati in the sense of 'towards' is used in the avy. cp. by the application of the rule, P. 2.1.14. However, its use in the sense of 'opposite' or 'according to' is not covered by any available rule. The following are the examples.

i) pratiolomam Br. 2.1.15; 6.4.12 'in the inverted order'

The cp. takes the samāsānta ac by P. 5.4.75. This cp. is often attested.[2] The use of the indeclinable prati in the sense of 'opposite' is, however, not covered by any available rule.

1. Prajinādibhyasāca P. 5.4.38
2. Tai. Sam. 3.5.1.3; 3.4.8.5;
   Sa Br. 11.4.3.8
   Asva. Sū. 2.11.4 rule.
pratiyāyam Br. 4.3.15; 4.3.16 'according to entrance'

prativiṇī Br. 4.3.15; 4.3.16 'according to the place of origin'

These two cp.s are recorded as the cases of hapax legomenon.[1]

The indeclinable prati is used in the sense of vathā 'as' in the same manner. This meaning of the indeclinable prati is not covered by any available rule.

The text in which these two cp.s are used is as follows.

śa vā esā etasminsamprāsāde ratvā carītvā drśṭaiva puṇyaṁ ca pāpaṁ ca punah pratiyāyam prativyādvavati svapnāyaiva ..... asaṅgo hyayaṁ puruṣaḥ Br. 4.3.15

'having had enjoyment in this state of deep sleep, having travelled around and seen good and bad, he hastens again according to the entrance and the place of origin, back to sleep........ for the person is without attachment.'[2]

The individual self moves from the waking state to the dream state and then to the state of deep sleep. He, then, returns back to the waking state following exactly the same reverse order. This journey of his is explained by these two cp.s, viz., pratiyāyam and prativiṇī. The word nyāya

--------------------------------

2. Tr. Hume 'The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads' pp.135 is
used here to mean 'the path', and the word yoni to mean 'the state', such as, 'the waking state' etc.

Thus, in this case, the indeclinable prati is used in the sense of vathā 'in the same manner'.

Śaṅkarācārya explains these two terms in his commentary on the text as:

" tataḥ saṃprasādānubhavottarakālam punah pratinyāyam vathānyāyatam vathāgataṃ, niścitam āyo nyāyāh, ayanamāyo nirgamanaṃ, punah pūrvagamanavaiparityena yadāgamanāṃ sa pratinyāyāḥ .......... pratiyoni vathāsthānaṃ svapnasthānādhdhi susūptam pratipannah sanyathāsthānameva punarāgacchati " [1]

Some times a cp., such as the one given below, can be rendered in two different ways.

samūlam Br. 3.9.7

it can be taken as avy. cp. as explained above or it can be rendered as saha bahuvīhi.

The text where the compound is used is:

" vat samūlamāvhevurvṛksaṁ na punarābhatvaḥ .......... " i

'if a tree is cut even to the roots, it will not grow again'

The cp. samūlam can also be an adjective of the word vṛksa 'the tree along with roots'

The exact nature of the cp. can not be ascertained in the absence of the accent.

-----------------------------------------------

1. Īśadādiśaśopanisadah with Śaṅkarabhāṣya.
2.7 An **avy.** cp. becomes an indeclinable by P. rule 1.1.41. But as all the indeclinables lose their case endings by P. 2.4.82, the case endings after the **avy.** cp. are not dropped but are replaced by **am** when the cp. end in **a.** No case endings are applied to the **avy.** cp. when these end in vowels other than **a.** An **avy.** cp. becomes a **prātipadika** by P. 1.2.46 and if the **prātipadika** is neuter, then the final vowel, if long, is made short by P. 1.2.47. An **avy.** cp., thus functions as an adverb as regards declension and performs diverse functions of a **prātipadika** as regards concordance in a sentence. The **avy.** cps. are used in different capacities in the sentences in the texts of Up. Following are some examples.

1. **avy.** cp. used as **karmaṇ**

   [a] **vathāyatanaṁ** **praviśaṭa** **Ai.** 1.2.3

   'enter into your respective abodes'

   [b] **vāg** **va** **Rgvedaṁ** **vijñāpayati** ........

   ākīṭapataṅgapi pīlakam **Chān.** 7.2.1 'speech makes known the Rgveda ...... [animals] together with worms, flies, and ants.'

   [c] **adhyātmaṁ** **caiva** **prāṇasya** **vijñāva**

   amṛtamaṇḍute **Pra.** 3.2 'by knowing the relation to self of the life, one obtains immortality.'

2. **avy.** cp. used as an adverb.

   [a] **sa** **vāvadāyusāṁ** **jīvati** **Chān.** 5.9.2 'He lives as long as the length of life.'
[b] sa khalvevam vartayan yavadayusam
brahmalokam abhisampadyate Chân. 8.15.1 'He, indeed, who
lives thus throughout his length of life, reaches Brahma
world.'

3. avy. cp. used as adjective.
   [a] prañah ....yathãsañkalpitam lokam navati
Pra. 3.10 'breath .... leads to whatever world had been
fashioned.'
   [b] tvameva pratyaksam brahmãsi Tai. 1.1.1
'Thou, indeed, are the perceptible Brahman'

4. avy. cp. used in the sense of adhikarana
'support, place.'
   [a] esa gãyatri adhyatmam pratishhitã
Br. 5.14.4 'thus is that Gãyatri based with regard to the
self.'
   [b] atha yo ha khalu vavaitasya som'oyam
cetamatrah pratipurusam ksetrajñah Maj. 2.5
'now, assuredly, indeed, that part of Him is what the
intelligence -mass here, in every person, is -- the spirit,
.....'

5. The avy. cp. are frequently used as the section
heading or as the concluding remark about the corresponding
statement. The cp. necessarily begins with the word atha
when it is used as the section heading and with iti when used
as a concluding remark.
2.8 Observations:

1. The frequency of occurrence of the avy. cp. in all Up. is very low.

2. All the avy. cp.s have only two components except in one case, e.g., ākītapatāṅgapiṇḍilakam Chān. 7.2.1

3. Almost all avy. cp. are regular.

4. The cp. like unmattagāṅgam or like madhyegaṅgam, are avy. cp. in form but bahuṣrīhi in meaning. Such cp. are not found.

5. The indeclinables adhi and yathā are frequently used.

6. The rule of vibhāṣā is supported by the cp. using the indeclinable āṅ. In such a case, both the forms of expressions are obtained - a cp. such as, ākālāt, and a syntactic string such as, ā pranakhāt.

7. The indeclinable antar is used in the sense of locative meaning [antarvedi] as well as in a corresponding word group [antarvedhyām]. The rule P. 2.1.6 is applicable to the given example but the rule of vibhāṣā is not applicable to the above rule.