CHAPTER 3

* TATPURUṢA COMPOUNDS *

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3.1 VIBHAKTI TATPURUSA
3.1. Tatpuruṣaḥ (Samāsah) P. 2.1.22

'The tatpurusa cp. follows.'

This section heading rule cancels the section heading rule 'avyayībhāvah' P. 2.1.5. The mutual incompatibility of these adhikāras is decided by ākaḍārādeka samjñā P. 1.4.1 and the latter will prevail over by Vipratisedhe param kāryam P. 1.4.2. Pāṇini has not mentioned the limits of this adhikāra. The adhikāra bahuvrīhi is stated in śeso bahuvrīhiḥ P. 2.2.23. Since tp. and bv. are read under the jurisdiction of P. 1.4.1, bv. will prevail over tp. cp. when a mutual conflict arises. It, thus, implies that the section heading rule tp. governs from P. 2.1.22 to P. 2.2.22.

The treatment as given above by Pāṇini is of enumerative type. Pāṇini found it convenient to group these cp.s together under the heading of tp. because he could phrase a single rule for the gender of a cp. called tp. and could treat these cp.s as one group as far as accentuation was concerned. [P. 6.2.2. --162]

Patañjali defines a tp. cp. as a cp. in which the meaning of the last member is predominant.[1] This means that the last member determines the reference of the cp. For example, the cp. rājavuruṣah, 'the king servant', does not refer to a king but to a servant.

1. uttarapadapradhānāḥ tatpuruṣāḥ MB. on P. 2.1.6 1.379.1-5
Another criterion to define a *tp.* cp. is a syntactic one. A *tp.* cp. is a cp. whose *vigraha* 'constituent analysis', shows a case relation between the meanings of the first and the second constituent. For example, the cp. *rajapurusah* is analysed as *rajinah purusah* 'a king’s person'. However, this criterion holds true only of *vibhakti* *tp.* cp. and rules out a great number of *tp.* cp.s, in which the meaning of the final member is predominant and therefore, traditionally known as *tp.*

The meaning of the term, *tp.*, is 'his man'. It is itself a *vibhakti* *tp.* cp. prescribed by P. 2.2.8. Its constituent analysis is *tasya purusah* 'his servant'.

The gender of a *tp.* is determined by that of its last member, P. 2.4.26

3.1.1. The *tp.* class is a very wide type embracing several types of cp.s exhibiting contrasting features. In spite of this, these are accommodated into a single class for some technical advantage of the grammarians. Pāṇini names a certain type of *tp.* as *kdh*. *Dvigu* is a subclass of *kdh*. Further division of *tp.* is mainly based on the nature of its components. The main structure remains the same. According to Pāṇini’s treatment,[1], the *tp.* cp. are divided as:

a) vibhakti tatpurusa
   P. 2.1.24 - 26
   P. 2.1.28 - 45
   P. 2.1.47 - 51
   P. 2.1.53 - 54
   P. 2.2.8 - 17

This includes the major variety. It covers cp.s such as,
dvitiya tp., tertiya tp., etc.

b) Dvigu
   P. 2.1.52

The name Dvigu is introduced by P. 2.1.23.

c) Upamanapurvapada tp.
   P. 2.1.55

d) Upameyapurvapada tp.
   P. 2.1.56

e) Karmadhara (samanaadhikaraṇa tp.)
   P. 2.1.57 to 2.1.72

The name kdh. is introduced by P. 1.2.42

f) Sasthyuttarapada tp.
   P. 2.2.1 to 2.2.5
   [including Ekadesisamasa]

g) Avyayapurvapada tp.
   [i] sami samasa
      P. 2.1.27
   [ii] tatra samasa
      P. 2.1.46
   [iii] nañ samasa
      P. 2.2.6
   [iv] isat samasa
      P. 2.2.7
   [v] kusamasa
      P. 2.2.18
   [vi] gatisamasa
      P. 2.2.18
   [vii] pradisamasa
      P. 2.2.18

vt.s IV on 2.2.18
   [saunaga Vartikas]

h) Upapada samasa
   P. 2.2.19 to 2.2.21
The illustrative cp. of *sasthyuttarapada, sāmi, tatra, ḫat, and kusāsā* are not found in the extant literature of the major Up.s. The cp.s known as *ekadesi samāsa* are found. They are treated under the section of *sasthī tp.* as they are exceptions of *sasthī tp.*

3.1.2. **Vibhakti tp.** is that subclass of *tp. cp.* in which a noun functions as a qualifier. The relation it bears with the second component can only be any oblique case which is in accordance with the usual relation with one noun to another in a sentence. This class of cp. is specially treated as *svaddha tp.* 'dependent determinative cp.' It is further divided into six subdivisions on the basis of the nature of the case relation of the first component to the following one. The qualifier is always placed as the first member and the qualificant as the second. The rules dealing with the formation of cp.s are governed by *adhikāra sup .... saha supā* [P. 2.1.2 and 2.1.4]. Therefore, *dvitiyā* 'the second case triplet' mentioned in P. 2.1.24 is interpreted as *dvitiyāntam* [ending in the second case triplet] by P. 1.1.72 -- " *vēna vidhistadantasya* ". In other words, *dvitiyā* in this rule refers to a *pada* containing 'the second case triplet'. This reasoning holds valid in all such cases of the use of the names of the case triplets like *dvitiyā*[1]

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1. P. 2.1.30; 2.1.36; 2.1.37; 2.2.8; and 2.1.40
3.1.3 The Up. wise distribution of the dvitiyā tp. 'accusative dependent cp.' is as follows.


The figure outside the paranthesis denotes the number of cp.s of a particular type in a given Up., and the figures in the paranthesis are indicative of the actual occurrences of the cp.in the Up.s. The number of the dvitiyā tp. cp. is nine and their actual occurrence is eleven.

The dvitiyā tp. cp.s are not found in the Ī.: Ke.: Pra.: Tai.: Chān.: Br.: Kau.: Bā.: Chā.: Ā.: Śau.; and Jai Up.

The three cp.s have a compound-word as the first component. They are as follows.

iltādhvākatena Mun. 2.2.3 'directed to the essence of that'

iltārikālātītām Mā. 1 'beyond the three durations of time'

iltādbhāvantah Śve. 1.3 'those who have followed meditation and abstraction'

The first cp. has saṣṭhā tp., the second dvigu, and the third itaretara dvandva cp. as the first member. All the remaining dvitiyā tp. cp.s have two components.

The rule that defines the nature of dvitiyā tp. cp. is as follows.

dvitiyā śritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaḥ P. 2.1.24
[a word ending in ] the second case [accusative case] [is optionally compounded] with [the semantically connected, case inflected words] śrita 'resorted to'; atīta 'passed'; patita 'fallen'; gata 'gone'; atyasta 'thrown beyond'; prāpta 'attained'; āpanna 'arrived' [and the cp. is called tp.]

The rule is supported by the following cp.s.

i) śrita prthiviśritaḥ Mai. 6.11 'dwelling on the earth'

ii) latīta trikālātītam Mā. 1 'one who has transcended threefold times'

iii) gata al vyonigatasya Sve. 1.13 'latent in its source'

b) vayogataḥ Ai. 2.4 'having reached his age'

c) sarvagataḥ Sve. 3.11; 3.21; Mun. 1.1.6 'all pervading'

d) tadbhāvagata Mun. 2.2.3 'directed to the essence of that'

e) dhyānayogānugataḥ Sve. 1.3 'those who have followed dhyāna 'meditation' and yoga 'abstraction'

iv) prāpta brahma prāptaḥ Ka. 6.18 'one who has attained Brahman'

The cp.s using the words patita, atyasta, and āpanna are not found. Any cp. illustrating the vārtika śritādiṣu gamigāmyādināmupamasaṅkhyaṇam is not found [1]

1. kvt. P. 2.1.24.1
The following are the observations of some peculiarities of expressions.

1. P. 2.1.24 prescribes dvitiyā tp. only with the words śritā, atīta, pātita, gata, atyasta, prāpta, and āpanna. The kvt. 2.1.24.1, makes the addition of gāmi and gāmi to the rule.

The rule does not imply the possibility of compounding of the words of the same meaning. If that provision were made in the rule P. 2.1.24, the following cp. can be considered as regular.

ilsamvṛddhyupetam Mai. 3.4 'fully developed'

The word upeta is used in the sense of prāpta. The text which uses this compound is as follows.

śarīramidām maithunādevodbhūtam samvṛddhyupetam niraye ...

Mai 3.4 'this body arises from sexual intercourse.... it passes to development in hell ....'

2. The word pravistā 'entered' can be used synonymously for āpanna which is given by the rule P. 2.1.24. However, this word does not form a cp. even if the conditions are favourable as illustrated by the following examples.

i) bhuvanam pravistah Ka. 5.9 '[the fire] that has arrived in the world'

ii) guhā pravisthau Ka. 3.1 'two who have entered a secret place'

The rule P. 2.1.11 can be accounted for by the absence of compounding in the above mentioned expressions.
3. The word *gata* 'gone', which occurs in the rule P. 2.1.24, forms the *dvitiyā* tp. cp. with the semantically connected word, e.g. *grāmagataḥ* 'gone to a village'.

When the same word form *gata* is used in the sense of 'scope, range', it is not used with the accusative case ending. In such cases, it does not form a cp. The following expressions support the observation.

i) *nāmnaḥ gatam* Chān. 7.1.5 'range of name'
ii) *vācaḥ gatam* Chān. 7.2.2 'range of speech'
iii) *annasya gatam* Chān. 7.9.2 'range of food'

4. The word *gata* with a preverb, *anu*, forms a *dvitiyā* tp. cp. in the following attestation.

i) *dhyānayogānugatāḥ śve*. 1.3

3.1.4. In the *tritiyā* tp. cp. the first member is related with the final member by an instrumental relationship. This relationship is expressed by the third case. The Up. wise distribution of the *tritiyā* tp. cp.s is as follows.

1) Ke. 1 [1] 2) Ke. 3[4]
7) Chān. 13[29] 8) Br. 11[13]
13) Jai. 4 [4]
This type is not found in the Ī. Mā.  Bā.  Chā.  and Sau. Up.s.

The total number of cp.s of this type is 81, and their actual occurrence is 100. Mai. Up. has the highest number of these cp.s.

Twenty four cp.s of the saunty nine have a compound-word as their first component. This complex structure of the cp.s is prominent in the Mai. and Śve. Up.s. The Mai. Up. has twelve and the Śve. Up. has eight such cp.s. The Chān., Ka., Pra., and Mun. have one each. Kdh cp. is the first member in nine cases. Dvandva cp. is the first member in five cases. Sasthī tp. cp. is the first member in five cases. One case each is found with bv., dvigu, avy., and nañ cp. as the first member.

The case reported below is the only one case where both the members are compound-words.

pañcayonyugavakrām Śve. 1.5. The analysis of the cp. would be pañcayonya vgrā ca asau vakrā 'impetuous and crooked by five sources'.

[trāṭiyā]tatkrtārthena guṇavacanena P. 2.1.30

'A word ending in the third case [is optionally compounded] with a [semantically connected, case inflected word] denoting a quality, provided that [the quality meant] is caused by that [object meant by the word in the third case] [and the cp. is called tp.] [1]

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1. Vyākaraṇa MB. AT. By S.D. Joshi pp. 168
Patañjali divided the word *tatkrārthena* in the *sūtra* into two words, *tatkrtena* and *arthena*. *Tatkrttena* is construed with *guṇavacanena* and *arthena* forms a separate statement. Thus, according to Patañjali, the *sūtra* means, 'a word ending in the third case is optionally compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word, denoting a quality, provided that this quality is caused by the meaning denoted by that word in the third case, and that it is [invariably compounded] with the word *artha* 'wealth' and the cp. is called *tp*. [1]

The cp.s illustrating the first semantic condition are as follows.

i) *pañca* *yugravakram* *Sve*. 1.5 'a river made impetuous and crooked by five sources [in the form of five sense organs].

ii) *jaṭābirupaḥ* *Mai*. 6.35 'appearing beautiful with matted hair'.

iii) *vidharmondham* *Mai*. 6.35 'blinded by two properties'.

iv) *ragandham* *Mai*. 4.2 'blind with passion'.

An example supporting Patañjali's revised interpretation of the *sūtra*, e.g., a cp. with a word *artha* 'wealth' is not found.

*kartpkarane kṛtā bahulam* *P*. 2.1.32

' a word ending in the third case signifying agent or

1. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini*. ed. by S. C. *Vasu*
instrument is variously compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word derived by means of a kṛt suffix and the cp. is called tp'. [1]

Kātyāyana replaces the word bahulam in the rule by the word ktena 'by the past participle', to avoid the overapplication of the rule to the case like dātrenā lūnavān 'who has cut off by a sickle'.

Patañjali thinks this rewording unnecessary as the word bahulam in the rule takes care of the overapplication or underapplication of the rule.

Forty four trātivā tp.cp.s can be explained by this rule. The words ending in kta are the second components in all these cases.

The first component is used in the sense of karaṇa 'instrument' in thirty cp.s and in the sense of kartr 'agent' in the remaining cases.

There is a single attestation where the second component is krdanta word but the kṛt suffix is not the kta suffix.

ilbhāiksācaryā Mun. 1.2.11 'a living by alms'
pūrvasaḍṛsasamomārthakālāhanipunāmiśrāslqksṇaḥ P. 2.1.31 'a word ending in the third case is optionally compounded with [the semantically connected, case inflected words] pūrva.

'earlier'; sādṛśa, 'alike'; sama, 'same'; ūṇa, 'less'; artha, 'money'; kalaha, 'quarrel'; nipuna, 'skilful'; mīśra, 'mixed'; ślaksna, 'gentle'; and the cp. is called tp. [1]

According to Kaiyata, the word artha in the rule is not meant to justify a cp. such as, dhāṇyārtha, as it is taken care of by the earlier rule 2.1.30. It is, however, connected with ūṇa as unārtha to indicate that ūṇa here does not stand for its own form but includes its synonyms also. For this purpose, Pāṇini uses the same word unārtha in P. 6.2.153. This interpretation of the rule explains the cp. balahinena Mun. 3.2.4 'by one without strength'. The word hīna has the meaning of ūṇa 'less'.

The cp.s using the words sama and mīśra as stated in the rule 2.1.31 are as follows.

īltatsamah Śve. 6.8 'similar to that'.
īlsudramiśrāni Ai. 3.3 'mixed with fine things'.

The cp.s using pūrva, sādṛśa, kalaha, nipuna, and ślaksna are not found.

krtyairadhiyārthavacane P. 2.1.33

'[A word ending in the third case] signifying agent or instrument [is] compounded with semantically connected, case inflected words [derived by means of] krtya [suffix], when the cp. expresses exaggeration and the cp. is called tp. [2]

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1. Vyākaraṇaṭṭṭha MB. AT. by S. D. Joshi. pp. 181
2. ibid pp. 188
The words ending in the kṛtya suffix are used in the following cp.s

iloḥvagrāhyam Śve. 5.14 'to be apprehended by experience'.

ii) indhanayonigrhyah Śve. 1.13 '[that fire] which can be grasped [by means of the drill] in its source'.

iii)sānkhyayogādhyagamyam Śve. 6.13 'attainable by sāṅkhya [discrimination] and yoga [abstraction]'.

In the above mentioned cp.s, the final member is kṛtyanta but no cp. implies the sense of either blame or exaggeration. As the idea of instrument is very much implied, the cp.s can be explained by the rule 2.1.32. The kṛtya in the sūtra allows the application of that rule to these cases.

annena vyāñjanam P. 2.1.34

' ... a word ending in a third case, a flavouring ingredient is optionally compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word signifying an article of food and the cp. is called tp.'[1] The following cp.s can be explained by the rule.

iludaudanam Br. 6.4.16 'cooked rice with water'.

iddadhyodanam Br. 6.4.15 'cooked rice with curds'.

immamsaudanam Br. 6.4.18 'cooked rice with meat'.

1. Vyākarana MB. by S. D. Joshi, pp. 192
iv) tilaudanam Br. 6.4.17 'cooked rice with sesame'.

v) ksiraudanam Br. 6.4.14 'cooked rice with milk'.

The kv. on the present rule explains samskāryam annam, samaskaranam vyāñjanam 'that to which flavour is added is called anna [food], and that which adds flavour is called vyāñjanam [flavouring agent]. The rice in all the above cp.s is anna, and udaka, 'water'; dadhi, 'urds'; māmsa, 'meat'; tila, 'sesame'; and ksira, 'milk' are flavouring agents. The semantic property between the two words is achieved by supplying the acting word upāseka 'flavouring'.

kv. remarks : vrṭtau kriyāvāḥ antarbhāvādannavyāñjanayoh śamarthyam.

Some cp.s have pronoun as their first member, and therefore, the first member necessarily refers to the noun which has been previously used. The example is,
tatsamah Śve. 6.8 'similar to that'. The pronoun tat refers to God stated in the foregoing verse[1] Sometimes two cp.s which are syntactically related as the relative pronouns, are used as the first members. For example,
ilyadamṛtaḥ Chāṇ. 1.4.5; Kau 2.4 'immortal by which'.

1. ....... vidāma devam bhuvanēśamīdayam Śve. 6.7
.... na tasya kāryam karaṇam ca vidyate na tatsamah Śve 6.8
iiltadamrtah Chāṇ. 1.4.5; Kau. 2.14 'immortal by that'.

The sentence in which these cp.s appear is,

tatpravīṣya yadamṛtā devaṣtadamṛtō bhavati Chāṇ. 1.4.5

'Since the gods became immortal by taking refuge in it, therefore he becomes immortal'.

The peculiar style of narration in the Up.s is shown by the use of these cp.s in the above sentence.

When the word udaka 'water' is the first component of a tp. cp., it is substituted optionally by a word uda by P. 6.3.60. An example is given below.

udātkanam Br. 6.4.16 'rice cooked with water'.

Non-Pāṇinian features of some trītiyā tp.cp.:

1) The words like yukta 'joined'; sāmyukta 'perfectly joined'; anvita 'endowed' are kṛdanta words and is the kṛt ending kta suffix. Such words are found as the final components in the cp.s mentioned below.

   il śamānvitāya Mun. 1.2.13 'to the one endowed with calmness'.

   iil bhoktrbhogārthayuktā Śve. 1.9 'connected with the enjoyer and the objects of enjoyment'.

   iili prāṇoṅkāramoṃyuktaśey Ma. 6.21 'connected with the breath, oṅkāra, and the mind'.

The prior components in the above cp.s, though connected with the words ending in kṛt suffix, are not used
either in the sense of an agent or in that of an instrument. They can be explained by extending the scope of rule P. 2.1.32

b) The second components of the cp.s mentioned below are kṛdantas and these kṛt suffixes are kṛtya suffixes.
   i) bhāvagrāhyam Śve. 5.14
   ii) indhanayonigrhyah Śve. 1.13
   iii) sānkhyayogādhigamyam Śve. 6.13

These cp.s do not imply exaggeration which is the semantic condition in P. 2.1.33. These cp.s are explicable rather by P. 2.1.32 since, the former components are connected in the sense of karana 'instrument'.

c) The meaning saha 'together' is implied by the instrumental case-ending in the cp.s mentioned below. trātiyā
tp. cp. of this type is not covered by any P. rule.

brahmaikatā Mai. 6.35 'unity with Brahman'.

d) The third case-ending implies a general cause by P. 2.3.23 [1]. This relation is very well expressed in the following cp.s.
   i) ājanadevaḥ Br. 4.3.33 'gods by birth'.
   ii) karmadevānām Tai. 2.8 'gods by work'.
   iii) kāmacāraḥ Jai. 3.28.3 'movement by wish'.
   [d] kāmapraśnam Br. 4.3.1 'question according to desire'.

The compounding of the words ending in the third case-endings, and implying hetu 'cause' with the semantically

1. hetau P. 2.3.23 connected case inflected word,
is not directly stated by any rule. They are, however, considered to be regular as the saṃarthya exists between the components of the cp.s

3.1.5. caturthī tadarthārthabalihitasukharaksitaḥ

P. 2.1.36 'A word ending in the fourth case is optionally compounded with semantically connected, case inflected words signifying, 'a thing for the sake of that' [meaning expressed by the word in the fourth case] and with the semantically connected, case inflected words artha, 'thing'; bali, 'food offering'; hita, 'good'; sukhā, 'pleasant'; and raksika, 'reserved', and the cp. is called tp.[1]. The number of caturthī tp. cp.s is very small. The total number of cp.s is eleven and their occurrences in the Up.s are as follows.


The Up.s Ī., Ke., Ka., Mā., Tai., Ai., Chān., Br., Śve., Bā., Chā., Ā., Sau., and Jāi. do not have any case of caturthī tp. cp.s.

Four cp.s of the eleven have a compound word as their first member and all these cp.s occur in the Mai. Up.

The word tadartha in the rule means 'a thing for the sake of that' and this is a simple and direct signification of the dative case. The eight cp.s are

explained by this interpretation of the word *tadartha* and are
given below.

*iilmūtradvāram* Mai. 3.4 'a passage of urine'.

*iilvāsavrksam* Pra. 4.7 'a tree for resting'.

*iilbrahma}ayajñāḥ* Mai. 1.1 'a sacrifice to *Brahman*'.

*iilatma}ayajñāḥ* Mai. 6.10 'a sacrifice to the
self'.

*iilatmejyāna}ah* Mai. 6.9 'sacrificing for the
self'.

*iilya}nopavitam* Kau. 2.7 'a sacred thread for
sacrifice'.

*iilbrahmadhiyālam}am* Mai. 7.11 'a support for
the meditation upon *Brahman*'

*iilijatprayogakalpa}ah* Mai. 6.18 'a precept for
effecting this [unity]

Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali restrict this word
*tadartha* in the rule to signify only the product material
relation. According to them, if the meaning of the word
*tadartha* is not restricted to this relationship then the
words *raksita*, *bali*, *hita*, and *sukha* would be redundant as
their use would have been covered by the word *tadartha* alone.
Secondly, the use of the word, *tadartha* in the sense of 'a
thing for the sake of' would lead to the overapplication of
the rule. All the above cp.s will have to be treated as
*sasthi* tp cp., if Kātyāyana's interpretation is accepted.
Sāsthī covers all relations which are not directly stated[1].

It is interesting to note that no cp. illustrating the prakṛtivikṛtibhāva which is implied by the word tadartha in the rule suggested by Kātyāyana is found.

The cp.s with the words bali, hita, raksita, and sukhä are not found.

The word bali 'offering' is found in some texts always with a semantically connected word in a dative case, but the conditions are not favourable to form a cp. as illustrated by the following examples.

i)ṭubhyam prāṇa prajāstvimāḥ baliṁ havanti Pra. 2.7 'oh! breath, creatures, bring for thee the offerings.'

ii)sarvā diśo balimasmai havanti. Chān. 2.21.4 'all quarters fetch him offering.'

iii)ṭosmai vā etasū... devatā ayācamānāya baliṁ havanti. Kau. 2.1 'to him who does not beg, gods bring offering.'

In the first two sentences, the words ending with a fourth case, though semantically connected with the word bali, are separated by other words. In the last sentence, the word with a fourth case is placed near the word bali. A cp. is not formed because here the fourth case is a kāraka case and is semantically connected with the word havanti. The cp. has not taken place in all these cases, perhaps because, equal emphasis is intended on both bali and its recipient.

1. Sāsthī sēse P. 2.3.50
The word *artha* in the rule means 'for the purpose of'; for the sake of'. Kātyāyana prescribes *nityasamāsa* 'inconvertible compounding' with the word *artha*, 'a thing for the sake of', as it can not be used separately, especially when the sense is already conveyed by the dative. A cp. with the word *artha*, therefore, will always be inconvertible. The cp.s stated below belong to this category.

*iilatmasāmbodhanārtham*. Mai. 6.1.4 'for the cognisance of the thing itself.'

*iilvijñānārtham*. Mun. 1.2.12 'for the sake of specific knowledge.'

*iilpunyaiokavijityarthāya*. Mai. 6.36 'for winning of the holy world.

In the first two cases, the cp.s are used adverbially while in the third a double dative is used as the dative meaning is already implied by the word *artha*. Here, the word *artha* takes the meaning 'purpose' rather than the meaning 'a thing for the sake of.'

*brahmadhiyālambam*. Mai. 7.11 'support for the meditation upon Bhrahman.' The word *dhi* 'meditation', changes to dhīya. This is a case of glide. This morphophonetic change is peculiar to Mai. Up.[1]

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Linguistic Studies 14, Ling. Soc. of Japan, Tokyo 1949 - 1 to 21
3.1.6. A word in a fifth case is optionally compounded with semantically connected, case inflected word and the cp. is called *tp*.

The number of cp.s of this type is very small. In all 16 cp.s are found in the Up.s given below.

7) Jai. 2 [2]

The Up.s Ī., Ke., Ka., Pra., Muṇ., Mā., Tai., Ai., Bā., Chā., and Śau. do not contain cp.s of this type. They occure mainly in the śve., and Mai. Up.s.

*pañcamī bhayena* P. 2.1.37, restricts the use of the ablative case only with the word bhaya 'fear.'

Kātyāyana extends the scope of the rule by reframing the rule in his *kṛt.* bhavabhītabhītibhīriti vaktavyam [1] He suggests that, not only the word bhaya but also its synonyms form *pañcamī tp.* cp.

Patañjali changes the *kṛt* slightly and includes two more words, nirgata 'departed', and jugupsu 'disgusted' in the rule. bhayanirgatajugupsabhibhīriti vaktavyam [2]

No cp. illustrating any one from the above list is found in the entire body of the Up.s. Only once the word bhaya is used in a sentence form, dvitiyādvai bhayām bhavati Br. 1.4.2.

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1. MB. 1.390.21
2. MB. 1.390.23 - 24
'There is indeed a fear from the second.' The word in the fifth case is separated from the word bhaya by one interjection vai, as a style of the text and the cp. is not formed to avoid the shift of emphasis.

apetāpodhamuktapatitapatrstailpaśaḥ  P. 2.1.38

'pañcāmī tp.cp. is formed also with the words apeta, 'gone away'; apodha, 'carried away'; mukta, 'freed'; patita, 'fallen'; and apatrasa 'frightened'.' The word alpaśaḥ indicates the low frequency of the cp.s with these words.

iljīvapetam  Chān. 6.11.3 'departed from life'
ilcakṣurapetam  Kau. 3.3 'destitute of eyes'
ilprajñaapetam  Kau. 3.7 'apart from intelligence'

invmanopetam  Kau. 3.3 'void of mind'

vlvāgapetam  Kau. 3.3 'destitute of speech'

vilṣrotrāpetam  Kau. 3.3 'destitute of hearing'

viyonomuktaḥ  Śve. 1.7 'free from womb'

viiīkāryakarananirmuktaḥ  Mai. 6.7 'free from cause and effect'.

In the last example the cp. is formed with the word mukta with its preposition nir. The expression using the words apeta, apodha, etc. in a corresponding word group is not found.

Some non-Pāṇinian aspects of the pañcāmī tp.cp.

al The cp. using the word patita 'fallen', from the rule 2.1.38, is not found but a cp. using its
synonymous word *cyuta* 'fallen' is found.

\[ \text{vr̥tacyutasya} \quad \text{Mai. 7.9 'of the one who is deviated from the proper course'} \]

b1 The word *viparīta* 'different', is not mentioned by Pāṇini in any rule. There is, however, one attestation in which the word *viparīta* forms a *pañcamī* tp.cp.

\[ \text{tadviparītah} \quad \text{Mai. 6.30 'different from that'} \]

As the first component in the cp. is a pronoun *tat* it refers to the noun going before it. The expression with the cp. is:

\[ \text{puruśo'dhyavasāyasaṅkalpābhimānaliṅgaḥ baddhah atastadviparīto muktah} \quad \text{Mai. 7.9 'a man having marks of determination, concepception, and self conceit is bound and the one different from that is free'} \]

c1 The order of the words in a cp. is violated in the cp., *parorajāḥ* Br. 5.14.3 'beyond darkness'. The analysis of the cp. is as *rajasah parah*. Paras is an indeclinable and is connected with the word *rajas*, which is in the fifth case. The cp. should be considered as one from the *rajadantādi ākṛtigana* 'from a list of specimen' P.2.2.31, as the case inflected word *rajas*, though it is an upasajana by P. 1.2.43 occupies the second place in the cp.

d1 *Pañcamī* tp.cp. is formed when the fifth case conveys the cause of creation[1]. It is a kāraka case - relation. The cp.s derived by this case meaning are as follows.

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1. *janikartuh prakṛtiḥ* P. 1.4.30
i) amṛtajātam ā. 9 'born from nector'.

ii) vākprabhūtam Jāi. 1.10.1 'born from speech'.

These type of compounding is not covered by any rule dealing with pāncamī tp.cp.

el) Pāncamī tp. is also formed when there is implied comparison. The rules which deal with pāncamī tp. do not provide for such type of cp.s. Consider the following.

i) garvāparam Mai. 6.38 'different from all'.

ii) Indrajyeṣṭham Jāi. 1.10.1 'superior to Indra'.

iii) gūkṣmātisūkṣmam Śve. 4.14 'subtler than subtle'.

iv) viśvādhikah Śve. 4.12 'greater than the world'.

Some peculiarities of Pāncamī tp. cp.s.

amṛtajātam ā. 9 'born from nector'. The cp. appears to be an outcome of faulty text. The sentence in which the cp. appears is:

vaiśvānaram amṛtajātam gamadhyayi ā. 9 The word index does not show the entry of the word amṛtajātam. The index has the entry ṛtajātam [11].

1. Eighteen Principal Upanisads Vol.I Ādīvākyasūcī pp.580

The cp. ṛtajātam is also found in AV. V. 15. 1.11; XVIII. 2.15
The cp., rtaiah 'born of rta has a similar meaning. [2]

3.1.7. sasthi  P. 2.2.8 'A word in the sixth case enters into a composition with a semantically connected case inflected word and the cp. is called tp.

This is a very common type of cp. as indicated by the vast number of examples which are found in the text. The total number of sasthi tp. cp. is 513, and their actual occurrence is 829.

The occurrence of the sasthi tp. cp. s in the major up. s is as follows.

17] Jai. 49[114]

1. ka. 5.2
sasthī \textit{tp.} is not found in Ke. Up. and its occurrence in Ṛ., and Ā. Up.s is very low. Chān., and Mai. Up.s have highest number of \textit{sasthī tp. cp.s.}

Generally all \textit{sasthī tp. cp.s} have two components. The tendency of forming a cp. with a cp. word is also on increase. The \textit{sasthī tp. cp.s} with a cp. words as their first members are found in the following Up.s.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Ka. & 4; & Pra. & 3; & Mun. & 5 \\
Chān. & 7; & Br. & 5; & Śve. & 19 \\
Kau. & 4; & Mai. & 25; & Chā. & 1 \\
Jai. & 4. & & & &
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The tendency for its usage is clearly very high in Śve. and Mai. Up.s. The preceding compound words are generally \textit{karmadhārava, dvandva, or sasthī tp.}

a) Some cases as \textit{kdh cp.} as first member are given below.

\begin{itemize}
\item[i]] \textit{anantalokāptim} \textit{Ka. 1.14} 'attainment of infinite world'.
\item[ii]] \textit{sarvabhūtāntarātmā} \textit{Ka. 5.9} 'the inner soul of all'.
\end{itemize}

b) The cases when the \textit{dvandva} cp. is the first member may be divided into two types. In the first type, the \textit{dvandva} cp. is formed first and then it is related with the following word in a genative case relation. In the second
type, the dvandva cp. is the first member and the following word is semantically connected with each member of the dvandva cp.

The examples of the first type are as follows.

i) āntaryāndopayogāt Mai. 6.36 'because of the combination of the inner one and the [world egg]'.

ii) śravanārigusthayogena Mai. 6.22 'by the connection of the ear and the thumb'.

iii) janamamṛtyuprahāniḥ Śve. 1.11 'cessation of birth and death'.

The examples of the second type are as follows.

i) devapitākāryābhyaṣam Tai. 1.11 'by a duty to god and duty to father'.

ii) prāṇāsārīranetā Mun. 2.2.8 'the leader of breath and also the leader of body'.

iii) guhānivātāśrayane Śve. 2.10 'in the retreat of a cave and in the retreat which is free from wind'.

iv) jñānabalakriyā Śve. 6.8 'the working of intelligence and strength'.

The semantic tendency seen in the above cases is explicitly stated in one paribhāṣā, thus,

dvandvānte śrūyaṃāṇām padam pratyekāṃ abhisambadhyaṃ (1)

c] The साष्ठि tp. cp.s in which the first component is a साष्ठि tp. cp. are as follows.

i) karaṇādhipādhipah Sve. 6.9 'the lord of the lord of sense organs'.

ii) sātyogānimittahetuh Sve. 6.5 'the origin of the causes responsible for the combination'.

iii) vedādiśāstra hiṃsakadharma bhidhyānam Mai. 7.6 'attention to the law which is destructive to the veda and to the other scriptures'.

The last mentioned cp. is a combination of many small cp.s. Thus, vedādiśāstra and hiṃsakadharma are two cp.s, which together form the first member of the साष्ठि tp. The tendency to formulate cp.s of more complex type has started manifesting in these texts.

साष्ठि P. 2.2.8

A case inflected word ending in the sixth case is optionally compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word and the cp. is called tp. [1]

The sūtra 2.3.50 साष्ठि seṣe prescribes the general use of genitive case, covering all relations, which are not directly prescribed by other cases so far. After this general rule, the sūtras from 2.3.51 to 2.3.64 prescribe the use of genitive case with each word. Thus, this साष्ठि is known as pratipadavidhāna साष्ठि and the genitive prescribed by P. 2.3.65 is called kṛdvyogā साष्ठि.

1. Vyākaraṇa MB. TA. by S. D. Joshi pp. 123
pratipadavidhana śaṣṭhi na samasyate [1].

This kvt. rules out the compounding of those genitive cases covered in the section of pratipadavidhāna.

The sūtra: kartrkarmanoh kṛtī 2.3.65 prescribes the genitive either to the agent or to the object, when followed by kṛdanta formation. However, compounding is prohibited by the above vt. as this rule belongs to the section of pratipadavidhāna.

Another kvt. krḍyogā ca śaṣṭhi samasyate [2] removes the prohibition in the cases of these words, which are followed by kṛdanta words making the cp.s stated below regular.

iśtiyājukah  Br. 1.5.2 'one who offers īṣṭi'.
iśomasānavah Čāh. 8.5.3 'yielder of soma'.
kartari ca P. 2.2.16 This rule prohibits compounding of genitive when followed by any kṛdanta with trc or aka suffix. These two suffixes indicate the agent.

vājakādibhiśca P. 2.2.9 cancels this prohibition and allows the compounding of genitive with the words from the vājaka 'list'. The cp. stated below, thus, becomes regular.

ayājyayājakah Mai. 7.8 'performer of the sacrifice for the unworthy'.

1. kvt. 2.2.10.1.
2. kvt. 2.2.9.1.
A case inflected word ending in a genitive is not compounded with

a) an ordinal number,
b) a word denoting quality,
c) a word having the meaning suhita 'satiated',
d) a word formed with the participle suffixes called sat,
e) an indeclinable,
f) a word ending in a suffix tavya,
g) a syntactically agreeing word [1]

The gaśthī op.s of the words indicative of the quality are non - Pāṇinian by P. 2.2.11.

tasthaisca gunaṁ gaśthī samasyate kvā. 2.2.8.2.
'Saśthī tp. of the words indicating quality is allowed if the word implying substance inheres that quality'. The op.s given below become regular by the application of this kvā.

īlabrahmayaśaḥ Kau. 1.5 'glory of Brahman'.
īlabhumagandaḥ Kau. 2.3 'smell of smoke'.
īlabrahmagandaḥ Kau. 1.5 'flavour of Brahman'.
īvlannarasaḥ Br. 6.4.9 'flavour of food'.
īlabrahmarasaḥ Kau. 1.5 'flavour of Brahman'.
īvlaṅgakarṣyaḥ Br. 6.4.9 'essence of limbs'.
īvilsadavarnah Jai. 4.23.7 'color of sāman'.
īvilpurusarūpam Br. 4.2.3 'form of man'.

1. Vyākaraṇa MB. TA. by S. D. Joshi pp. 142
The word *guna* 'quality' is also compounded with the word by *saṣṭhi* relation, e.g.,

**īlsvagunaiḥ** *Sve.* 1.3 'by one's own qualities'.

**īlvagunaiḥ** *Sve.* 2.12 'by the quality of yoga'.

**īlīkriyāgunaiḥ** *Sve.* 5.12 'by the quality of action'.

**īlvātmaγunena** *Sve.* 5.8 'by the quality of body'.

Kaiyāṭa described two types of qualities. The first type always shows the case relation with their substance. An example of this type is, *puspasya gandhaḥ* 'smell of a flower'. The other type of qualities have case as well as syntactic relation with the substance. The examples of the second type are, *patasya śuklam* 'whiteness of cloth', *śuklaḥ pataḥ* 'white cloth'.

The quality words like *rūpa* 'form', *rasa* 'taste', *gandha* 'smell', always have case relation with the substance. They never stand in the syntactic relation with their substance.

Kaiyāṭa opines that these quality words form *saṣṭhi* tp. and this is the import of the *kvt.* Tasthaiḥ gunavacanaḥ *saṣṭhi samasyate* (1).

This implication of the *kvt.* further suggests that there is a relation between the substance and the quality,

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1. *kvt.* 2.2.8.2.
and that the substance inheres that quality. This is clearly illustrating by the following examples.

i) **brahmaṇasāh**  Kau. 1.5 'glory of Brahman'.

ii) **brahmagandhaḥ**  Kau. 1.5 'smell of Brahman'.

iii) **brahmarasah**  Kau. 1.5 'taste of Brahman'.

The supporters of **dvaita** 'dualist' or **viśiṣṭādvaita** 'qualified monism' will not find any difficulty in explaining such cp.s but the followers of **advaita** 'monism' find it difficult. This is because, in such cp.s they have to accept some relation to exist between **Brahman** and other qualities.

**ekahalādau pūrayitavye**  P. 6.3.59 prescribes the replacement of the first member **udaka** 'water' by the substitute word **uda**, provided the word **udaka** is immediately followed by a non-conjunct consonant and the meaning of that word is a vessel for storage. The following cp.s illustrate this rule.

i) **udakunībham**  Kau. 2.15 'bowl of water'.

ii) **udapātram**  Kau. 2.15; Br. 6.4.19 'bowl of water'.

The **vt. śuno dantādāmstrākarnakunda varāhapucchanadesu** dīrgho vācyah [ sk. P. 6.3.130 vt. 5049] prescribes the lengthening of the final vowel a of the word **sva** 'dog' when followed by any word from the list. The converse of the rule is that lengthening is not desired when it is not followed by any word from the list. The converse is illustrated by the following example.
śvayonim Chāṇ. 5.10.7 'species of dogs'.

prasodārādīnī vatthopadaṇḍam P. 6.3.109 This rule gives a list of certain words which are to be accepted as readymade cp.s, e.g.

i) jīmūtān Jai. 1.3.3 'clouds'.

ii) smaśānānī Jai. 1.13.1 'cremation grounds'.

These words occur in the word inventory given in the sūtra 6.3.109.

Pronouns also become the first members of the sāsthi tp. and naturally these pronouns refer to the foregoing nouns. The following examples may be considered.

i) tallakṣyam Mun. 2.2.4 'target of that [arrow]'.

ii) asmatkulīnā Chāṇ. 6.1.1 'belonging to our family [family of Arunī].

iii) asmadvidyā Chāṇ. 4.14.1 'knowledge about us [fires]'.

iv) jetadātmā Kau. 2.6 'the nature of that [udgātha]'.

v) tadbhāvam Mai. 6.27 'condition of that [tejas]'.

The rule P. 2.1.31 prescribes the trātiyā tp. optionally with the words sādṛśa and sāma. This option is between the cp. and its parallel analytical string. The rule P. 2.3.72 prescribes either trātiyā or sāsthi with the synonyms of tulya 'similar', except the words tula and upama. So tula and upama necessarily form a sāsthi tp. cp.
or a parallel analytical word form.

ilmajopama Br. 3.9.28 'resembling pith'.
ilmānuṣaṇikāśanam Jai. 3.14.7 'resembling a human form'.

By the application of the rule P. 2.3.32, the cp. mānuṣaṇikāśanam can either be a tr̥ṭīyā tp. or a gastosā tp., but the rule P. 2.1.31 restricts it to the sphere of gastosā tp. alone. It is because only two words sama and sadṛsa, and not their synonyms, are used in the sūtra.

P. 6.1.157 sk. (vt. 3713) ॥

The vt. prescribes two cp.s, namely, taskara 'a thief' and bhāspati 'a name of a deity'. The analysis of the cp.s is as follows.

tad + kara = ta + sut + kara = taskara
bhṛhat + pati = bhṛha + sut + pati = bhāspati.

The infix sut is added after deleting t in both cp.s.

The cp. bhāspati occurs with its own etymology in Br. Up. 1.3.20. The text is as follows.

vāg vai bhṛhati, tasyā eṣa patistasmādu bhāspatīh.
'speech is indeed a bhṛhati [growing] and he [prāna] is her lord, so he is considered as lord of speech'.

If the etymology be taken valid, the cp. in that case, should be bhṛhatipatiḥ. It further implies that Up. interpretation should not be regarded as grammatical analysis.
Samhitā texts do not treat brahma-spatih as a cp. but the Up. texts treat the word as a cp.

esa u eva brahma-spatih vāgvaibrahma tasya
esa patistasmādu brahma-spatih. By. 1.2.21.

manasaspatih Tai. 1.6 'lord of mind'. The cp. occurs in the list of other similar cp.s where pati 'lord' is a second member. The text is as follows.

āpnoti manasaspatim vākpatiścakuspatiḥ śrotrapatirvijñānapatih. Tai. 1.6

As vākpatiḥ and śrotrapatih are certainly cp.s, and as the expression manasaspatim appears in the same text, it is also treated as a cp.

Both the cp.s, brahma-spatih and manasaspatih are used as cp.s even in earlier vedic literature and their samāsatva is undoubtedly established. In both, the genitive case is not elided and the rules dealing with aluk cp.s do not treat these cases. As the text of the Up. s is unaccented, no definite statement is possible on the basis of accent.

As both the cp.s take nominative and accusative cases respectively, no definite statement about their being cp.s can be made with the help of the rule P. 1.4.8. The word pati becomes ghi only in the cp.
The following are some peculiarities of gaṣṭī tp. cp. found in the texts.

ilannabahum Mai. 6.37 'abundance of food'.

The word bahu in mas. in the sense of abundance is used.

ii\(\text{il}^{\text{brahma}}\text{d}\text{vāra}\text{pāra}\text{m} \text{Mai.} \text{6.28} '\text{the wonder of the door of Brahman}'. \text{It appears that through scribal error the syllable, ra is used in the place of la in the word, dvārapāram, since the context demands this meaning.}

ii\(\text{li}^{\text{āśi}}\text{hsamṛddhiḥ} \text{Chān.} \text{1.3.8} '\text{fulfillment of wishes}'. \text{The lengthening of the final vowel of the word āśis, is irregular.}

ivldosaksayāt Mai. 6.30 'due to the elimination of faults'. \text{The cp. is syntactically dependent on the word outside the cp. The sentence containing the cp. is : adhyavasāyasya doṣakṣayāt Mai. 6.30. The word doṣa is syntactically connected with the word adhyavasāya which is not a part of the cp. This is an example of asamarthasamāsa.}

v\(\text{l}^{\text{sattrāyaṇam} \text{Chān.} \text{8.5.2} '\text{series of sacrifices}'. \text{The word originally appears to be a part of a mantra in the text. atha yat sattrāyaṇamityācaksate. The Up. text tries to split the cp. in a manner to suit its new explanation. The text is as follows. brahmacaryena hyeva sataḥ ātmanah tṛānām vindaṭe. 'he obtains protection of the self by following holy life'. Thus, instead of sattrāṇām ayanam, the Up. solves the cp. as sataḥ tṛāyanam.}
vilrathanābhau Mun. 3.2.9 'in the hub of a wheel'. In this cp., the whole, ratha 'chariot' is used to signify its part, 'wheel'.

vilprajātāntum Tai. 1.2 'a line of descendant', and
brahmaçakram Śve. 6.1 'a wheel of Brahman' can also be considered as kdh having implied comparison.

vilpadavyomānusmaranam Mai. 6.34 'The first member of the cp. is syntactically connected with a word outside the cp. The sentence is: brahmañah padavyomānusmaranam This can be considered as a case of asamasarthasamāsa.

ixlupāyanakirtyā Br. 6.2.7 'by declaring one's approach'. This cp. gets the status of a phrase, and a contextual information is necessary for the full understanding of the cp. When a brahmin, who is a member of a superior caste, accepts a studentship of either a warrior or a trader, who are inferior to him in the social hierarchy, needs only declare his intension of learning and need not follow the regular procedure of upanayana.[1]

1. vācā kila pūrve brahmañah kṣatriyāt vaiśyādvidvārthinah santah .... sīṣyavṛttyā upagacchanti na upāyanasūrūṣādībhīḥ Sāṅkaṛbhāṣya from Ṛśadādīdaśopanisadaḥ pp. 988
Some non-Pānini aspects of saśthī tp. cp.

a) P. 2.2.15 prohibits the saśthī tp. with the kṛdanta words formed by trc or aka suffixes showing agent. The rule P.2.2.9 lifts up this prohibition in case of the words from the vājaka list and ending in the kṛd suffixes trc and aka. It suggests that in case of all other words formation of a saśthī tp. cp. is not possible. However, in the following list, cp.s are formed from the words which are not in the vājaka list.

ilvisvāsāstā Bā. 24 'the ruler of all'.

ilprānasārīranetā Mun. 2.2.8 'the leader of breath and body'.

iiil phalakarmakartā Śve. 5.7 'the doer of deeds with a hope for a reward'.

ivl aprīyavetā Chān. 8.10.2 'experimenter of unpleasant'.

The addition of the words śāstr, netr, kartr, and vettr to the vājaka list would make the cp.s regular.

b) P. 6.3.59 prescribes substitution for the word udaka by the word uda provided the word udaka is followed immediately by a non-conjunct consonant and the meaning of the word is a vessel for storage. There is one attestation in which the substitution takes place but the semantic condition is not fulfilled. The cp. is as follows.

udapānam Chān. 1.10.4 'drinking of water'.
If the word uđa is not treated as substitute but as an independent word, the cp. is a normal sāṣṭhī tp. cp.

C1 P.6.3.65 prescribes the shortening of the final vowel of the words igṭakā, isīkā, and mālā when followed by the words cita, tūla, and bhāra respectively. However, it is not followed in the following cp.

isīkāṭūlam Chān. 5.24.3 'upper part of reed'.

D1 brahmabandhuh Chān. 6.1.1 'a nominal brahmin / a brahmin through connection'. The cp. is used in a derogatory sense in the expression, na vai somyāśmatkulino'nanūcya brahmabandhuriva bhavati. 'verily my dear, from our family there is no one unlearned, a brahmin by connection'. However, the rule P. 6.3.21, sāṣṭhya ākrose, prohibits the compounding if the censure is implied.

E1 rājanyabandhuh Br. 6.2.3 'a member of the princely class'. This cp. also has a derogatory implication. Sānkaraśārya remarks on the cp.: paribhāvavacanametadrājanyabandhuh [1] 'the expression rājanyabandhu implies a sense of insult'. Svetaketu who was a brahmin and yet a plain warrior, was asked five questions which he could not answer. Such an insult is suggested by the

1. Ṣadādīdasopanisadāḥ Śāṅkarabhāṣya pp. 986
cp. So, though, the derogatory meaning is clear, the formation of a cp. from such words is against the prohibition stated in the rule 6.3.21.

Pāṇini prescribes a number of tp. cp.s in which the meaning of the first member is predominant. P. rules 2.2.1 to 2.2.3 deal with these cp.s which are termed as ekadesīsamāsa 'the cp.s dealing with the whole'. All ekadesīsamāsa show part and whole relation and therefore, are grouped together.

According to P. 2.2.1 to 2.2.3, the genitive member of the cp. which stands for the ekadesīn 'whole' takes the last place in the cp. Normally the genitive word takes the first place in a cp. formed with such a word [P. 1.2.34, 2.2.8, 2.2.30]. Thus, as far as the word order is concerned the ekadesīsamāsa is an exception to the șașṭhī tp. prescribed by P. 2.2.8.

pūrvāparādharottarmekadesīnaikādhiśikāraṇe P. 2.2.1

This rule prescribes the cp. of the words pūrva, aparā, adhara, and uttara, all meaning 'parts' with any word making ekadesīn 'whole', with a genitive case, provided their locus is the same. The cp.s illustrating this rule are as follows.

i) aparāhnaḥ Jai. 1.2.4; Chān. 2.9.7 'afternoon'.

ii) pūrvāhna Chān. 5.11.7 'in the morning'.

The scope of this rule is extended further by later commentators [1] to accommodate the following op.s:

i) sāvāhani Chā. 5 'at the evening time'.

ii) virātre Jai. 4.5.3 'at the end of night'.

iii) apararātre Jai. 4.5.3 'in the later part of night'.

iv) mādhyandine Jai. 4.10.14 'at midday'.

The words sāya and vi are not stated in the list given by P. 2.2.1

The rule P. 6.3.110 which is presented as the jānapaka 'clue' by later commentators [2] provides for the word ahan 'day' and not words like rātri 'night' or dina 'day'.

The author of Bālamānoraṃā, a commentary on sk clearly states that the jānapaka is given to extend the scope so much that it becomes the general overapplying rule. jānapakasya sāmānyāpeksatvāt 'clue is the general statement'.

In the op. madhyandine and its taddhita form mādhandine, an augment nur is inserted between the two words, however, this insertion of nur is not found in the op. madhyāhne.

1. kv. on P. 2.2.1 ; sk on P. 2.2.1
2. sarvop'pyekadeso'hna samasyate. saṅkhyāvisaya [su 238] iti jānapakāt. sk on P. 2.2.1
ardham napumśakam P. 2.2.2

The case inflected neuter word *ardham* 'the half' is optionally compounded with a semantically connected case-inflected word, provided that the whole is one single entity and the cp. is called *tp*. The following example illustrates the rule.

*ardhamāsāh* Jai. 1.46.5 ; Br. 1.1.1

'fortnights'.

*māsa* 'month' is considered here as one unit of time and its exact half is a fortnight so the word *ardham* is connected with the word *māsa* in a genitive case. The plural number of the cp. *ardhamāsāh* means a collection of many fortnights. Initially, the cp. *ardhamāsāh* is derived by

P. 2.2.2, then to indicate many fortnights ,the cp. *ardhamāsāh* is used in plural number. The plural is formed by *ekāśeśavrtti* in Pāṇini's system. *ekāśesa* means the one item remaining out of two or out of many. A dual or a plural ending is added according to the number of items referred to.

If the word *ardha* does not mean exact half but loosely indicates only a portion, then the cp. is formed under the general rule *ṣaṣṭhi* 2.2.8, and naturally, the cp. word *ardha* occupies the second place in the cp., for example, the cp. *grāmārdhah* 'a part of a village' can be considered.

sūryah yoniḥ kālasya tasyaitadrūpaṁ vannimēśādikālāt
saṁbhūtām dvādaśātmakām vatsaraṁ etasyā'gneyamardhamardham
vāruṇām maghādyām śravistārdham āgneyām krameṇa
utkrameṇa sārpādyām śravistārdhāntaṁ saumyamām

The sun is the source of time, the form thereof is the year,
which is composed of the moments, other durations of time,
and which consists of twelve [months]. Half [used neu. sing.]
of it is sacred to Agni, half to Varuṇa. From asterism maghā
[sickle] to half of śravisthā [drum] in the [sun's southward]
course is sacred to Agni, and in its northward course, from
sarpa [serpent] to the end of the half of śravisthā is sacred
to soma [Varuṇa].

The year is divided exactly into two parts; the
asterism maghā and sarpa are the two limiting points of the
course of the sun's annual movement and śravisthā is the
midpoint. The southward journey of the sun is from the point
in maghā to the half of śravisthā and the northward journey
from the remaining half of śravisthā to a point in sarpa.

If the astronomical interpretation of the text is
correct then the cp. śravisthārdham is an exception to the
rule P. 2.2.2. If an exact half is not implied, the cp. may
be considered as regular as formed by P. 2.2.8.

3.1.8. A word in the seventh case is optionally
compounded with the semantically connected, case -inflected
word , and the cp. is called tp.
The total number of the saptamī tp. cp.s is 24, and the number of their actual occurrence is 26. The occurrence in the Up.s is as follows.


The saptamī tp. cp.s are not found in the Ī., Ke., Mun., Mā., Tai., Ai., Br., Chā., Bā., Ā., and Śau. Up.s. The highest occurrence of these cp.s is found in the Mai. Up.

Generally all these cp.s have two members except the six found in the Mai. Up. These six cp.s have a compound word as the first member.

P. rules from 2.1.40 to 2.1.48 deal with the saptamī tp. cp.s. These rules deal with specific cases of saptamī tp. and do not provide any rule for general application. No cp. found sofar can be explained by the available rules. The relation which exists between the two component is a locative one and implies adhikārāya 'support' in all the cases.

Four

These twenty three cp.s can be divided into four groups on the basis of the nature of the second component as follows:

[a] The cp.s in which the second component shows some action. The following examples may be considered.
1) prānasākhitam Jai. 1.10.1 'gathered in prāṇa'.

ii) caksurāvattā Mai. 6.6 'depending on eye'.

iii) brahmāpyavam Śve. 6.10 'merging into Brahman'.

[b] The cp.s in which the word antara is used in the sense of 'inside'. They are as follows.

i) hrddantarāt Mai. 2.6 'from within the heart'.

ii) sarvāntarāḥ Mai. 7.6 'the interior in all'.

iii) antarāntarāḥ Mai. 7.1 'innermost being'.

In one case the word antara is found to be used in the sense of 'distinction / difference'. It is:

vedavyāntaram Mai. 7.8. 'distinction [that exists] between knowledge and science'.

[c] The cp.s in which the word with a locative case is the object. These, as listed below, are the cases of viśaya saptamī.

i) brahmaparāḥ Pra. 1.1 'devoted to Brahman'.

ii) tatparāḥ Śve. 1.7 'intent on that'.

[d] According to kv., when the words forming the saptamī tp. cp. are nouns, the locative case of the first component is adhikaraṇa saptamī. adhikaraṇa is a kāraka. It means that some action must follow the word. kv. explains this point as: vṛttāu prasaktikriyāyāḥ antarbhāvādaksādisu adhikaraṇe saptamī [1].

1. kv. on P. 2.1.40
The problem of kāraka vibhakti as samarthavibhakti arises throughout the cp. section. kv. explains the term sāmartha as follows. vigrahavākyābhidhāne yah śaktah saḥ samarthah veditavyah. 'The words which are syntactically connected in the analytical stage of a cp. are to be known as śakta or as sāmartha. It is, therefore, not necessary to restrict to compounding to kārakavibhakti as indicated by kv. The cp.s can be considered as regular if the words have syntactical compatibility. The cp.s listed below are in support of the above argument.

i) puravācakāh Mai. 7.8 'beggers in town'.

ii) chāyāpurusah Kau. 4.13 'a person in the shadow'.

iii) tāpottvisarpīh Mai. 6.26 'ghee in a heated couldron'.

iv) tātpurusah Chān. 4.15.5 'the person in that [moon]'.

v) antarhrdayākāśam Mai. 6.27 'the space within the heart'.

vi) kāyāgnim Mai. 7.71 'a fire in the body'.

vii) antarhrdayākāśasabdam Mai. 6.22 'the sound existing in the space of the heart'.

The saundādi list consists of the word antar with only one meaning, adhikarana. The statement to this effect found in kv. is: antaśābdastvatrādhikaranapradhāna eva pathyate. P. 2.1.40

The cp. illustrating antar as the second member
is not found, but the word antargata 'entered' forms a cp.
hṛdayāntargate Mai. 7.11 'within the hollow of the heart'.

The word antar is used with the word in a
locative ending in the expression, such as, hṛdi antarīyotiḥ
puruṣah Br. 4.3.7 'a person of the nature of light is in
the heart'.

Non-Pāñinian aspects and peculiarities of saptamī tp. cp.

1) tālurasanāgrapidanaṁ Mai. 6.20 'on
account of the pressing of the tongue tip against a palate'.

Strictly speaking the cp. can not be formed. The
meaningful analysis of the cp. would be: tāluni
rasanāgrasya pidanam. In this cp., the action word is
related to the word tālu with the locative case in the
meaning of adhikarana and the word rasanāgra is the object
of the action of pressing.

The saptamī tp. cp.s are optional cp.s as the
rules dealing with them come under the adhikāra vibhāga P.
2.1.11. The word kuśala 'expert' from the saundādigana is
used in a sentence, trayo hodgīthe kuśalā babhuvuh ...
Chān. 1.8.1. The cp. udāgīthakusālaḥ is not found.

2) Some times a pronoun becomes the first member
of the cp. and it represents the noun occurring before it. The
following cp.s are sited as examples.
1) tatpurusah  Chân. 4.15.5 'a person in that [moon]'.

ii) tatparah  Śve. 1.7 'intent on that [samādhī]'.

3) The word hrdayā 'heart' is substituted by the word hrd provided it is followed necessarily by any of the words, lekha, yat, an, and lāsa P. 6.3.50, and optionally by the words śoka, śyan, and roga P. 6.3.51. However, in the cp.,

hrdantarati  Mai. 2.6, the word hrdaya is followed by the word antara and still it is substituted by the word hrd.

Observations on vibhakti tatpurusā op.s.

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1) The total number of the vibhakti tp. op.s is 668.

2) The tritiyā and the gaśthi tp. are more in number. A number of the tritiyā tp. op.s are not covered by the available Pāṇinian rules. The words with an instrumental case ending or meaning hetu and saha only form op.s. The op.s of kṛtyanta words do not show adhikārtha. The tritiyā tp. of kṛtānta words are more frequent and are used more and in the sense of karana than in the sense of an agent.
31 Any attestation of caturthī tp. with the meaning of tadārtha as product-material relation, as also with the words, bali, hita, sukha, raksita is not found.

41 Pañcamī tp. with the words, bhaya, bhīti, or their synonyms are not attested. Some cp.s can be considered as regular if the scope of P. 2.1.38 is extended. Pañcamī tp. based on comparison as well some with a kāraka relation are found.

51 A number of the sasthī tp. are explainable by applying vt. Many more cp.s can become regular if the scope of P. 2.2.9 is extended.

61 Saptamī tp. cp.s can not be explained by rules dealing with saptamī tp. These, however, can be explained by the general principle of sāmarthya between the two paddas.
3.2 KARMADHARAYA
3.2.1 Tatpurushah samānādhikaranah karmadhārayah

P. 1.2.42

'A ṭp. cp., the case of each member of which is the same, is called karmadhāraya (kdh.) or appositional determinative cp.'

kdh is a subdivision of the ṭp. cp. The two members of the kdh cp. are collocatively related with each other and placed in the nominative case in the analytical sentence. Cp.s like nilotpalam 'the blue lotus', and paramātmā 'the supreme spirit', are the examples of kdh. cp.s. The cp. nilotpalam is analysed as nilam [cal] [tad] utpalam [cal], and the cp. paramātmā is analysed as paramah [cal] [asau] ātma.

Collocativeness may be defined as the denotation of the same sense by words of different denotative meanings.[1]

As two words are in the same case, and as both the words have the same referent, the semantic relation between the meanings of the two words is generally a qualifier - qualificant type. kdh., therefore, is also considered as a descriptive cp. on the basis of the semantic and morphological differences. This subclass of ṭp. may be divided into five classes.

1. viṣeṣanapūrvapadakarmadhāraya [2]

1. bhinnapravṛttinimittanāṁ śabdānāṁ ekasminnarthe vṛtthiḥ
Rāmānuja vedaṛthasaṅgraha pp.24

2. P. 2.1.57, 2.1.49, 2.1.54, 2.1.58, 2.1.61, 2.1.68. cp.s derived by this rule belong to this class.
A large number of regularly formed kdh. fall into this group in which the qualifier is placed before the qualificant.

The viśesana is bhedaka which separates the viśesyā which is bhedyā from its class. [1] Examples of this type are: nilotpalam 'blue lotus' nilām [ca] [tat] utpalam; alpavātah 'gentle breeze' alpāh [ca] [asau] vātah.

2. viśesanottarapada kdh. [2]

In this division, the qualifier occupies the second place in the cp. For example,

mayūravyāmsakah 'cunning peacock'. The cp. is analysed as vyāmsakah [ca] [asau] mayūrah.

3. viśesanobhayapada kdh.[3]

Both the components are adjectives in this class of cp.s. In this case, one of them must be treated as the qualificant and therefore, must be placed second in the cp. An example is given below.

kṛṣnasārāṅgah 'spotted deer' kṛṣnah [ca] [asau] sārāṅgah.

4. upamānapūrvapada kdh.[4]

5. upamānottarapada kdh. [4].

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1. bhedaṁ viśesāṁ bhedyāṁ viśesyaṁ kv. on P. 2.1.57
2. P. 2.1.53, 2.1.62, 2.1.65, 2.1.66, 2.1.67, 2.1.70. The cp.s derived by this rule belong to this class.
3. P. 2.1.69
4. P. 2.1.55, 2.1.56
There is a group of kdh. cp.s in which, beside the relation of the qualifier and qualificant the relation of comparison based on the attributes common to both qualifier and qualificant is involved. This comparison may be expressed in two ways; one is to combine a word expressive of standard of comparison [upamāna] and a word expressive of a common attribute [sāmānyavacana]. An example follows.

kaumudaviśada  'white as moonlight'. The cp. is analysed as kaumudamaya iva visada. Here, the word denoting upamāna is placed first.

The second method is to combine a word expressive of upameya 'the object of comparison' with a word denoting upamāna 'the standard of comparison' without a mention of the common attribute. The word denoting upameya is placed first. An example of this type is:

karakisalaya  'palm like a tender leaf'. The cp. is analysed as karaḥ kisalayah iva ...

3.2.2 The kdh. cp.s found in the Up.s are classified into ten groups. The principle underlying this classification is a semantic one. The nature of the function of the component is also taken into consideration. The detailed account of these ten groups is given below.
The Up. wise distribution of the kdh. cp.s of this type is as follows.


The total number of cp.s is ninety sauṇ and the actual occurrence is 131. The kdh. of this type is not found in the T., Mā., Bā., Ā., and Sau. Up.s. Their maximum occurrence is in the Mai. and the Jai. Up. In the Ke., Ā. and Chā. Up.s the occurrence is quite low.

viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena bahulam P. 2.1.57

This states the general nature of the kdh. cp. in which a word which is a qualifier is compounded optionally with a word which is a noun and the qualifier is necessarily placed first. The word bahulam implies the flexibility of the cp. formation, though the rule comes under the domain of vibhāṣā

P. 2.1.11. A large number of cp.s found in the texts of Up.s can be explained by applying this rule.

When the qualifying word is denotative of color, it is placed first in all the cases. Some examples are as follows.
i) haritatṛṇābhyaṃ Kau. 2.8 'by green grass'.

ii) pāndvāvikam Br. 4.2.3 'white woolen garment'.

iii) lohitapindaḥ Br. 4.2.3 'red lump'.

iv) kṛṣṇapakṣaḥ Pra. 1.12 'dark fortnight'.

The qualifying word is a descriptive word and sometimes describes the position of the thing it qualifies. The examples are:

i) ārdhvaganena Jai. 1.57.2 'by upper group'.

ii) bāhyadosaiḥ Ka. 5.11 'by external shortcomings'.

The qualifying word is denotative of quality which is inhered by the thing they qualify. Examples are:

i) pṛṣadājyam Br. 6.4.24 'spotted butter'.

ii) punyakṛtyāvai Jai. 1.30.4 'for the holy act'.

iii) pāpakṛtyām Chān. 4.11.2 'evil doing'.

iv) āmaṇḍtatre Br. 6.4.12 'in unbaked pot'.

v) dustāsvāh Ka. 3.5 'vicious horses'.

The rule P. 2.1.57 comes under the domain of vībhāṣa 2.1.11. The rule provides the option for a linguistic expression either in the cp. form or in a non- cp. form. The word bahulam in P. 2.1.57 implies the following four possibilities.

a) forbidding the cp.

b) an inconvertible cp.
c) formation of a cp.
d) an analytical expression or a meaningful word group.

[a] The examples where the kdh. cp. is forbidden are given below.

i) śilakah śālāvatyah Chān. 1.8.1
ii) caikitāyanah dālbhyah Chān. 1.8.1
iii) pravahano jaivalīḥ Chān. 1.8.1

[b] The special meaning is conveyed only by the words in a cp. form and not by the parallel word string. Such cp.s are nitya 'inconvertible cp.s. The examples are:

i) lohāyasam Jai. 3.17.3 'copper'.
ii) kārśṇāyasam Jai. 3.17.3 'iron'.

[c] The cases illustrating the third and the fourth possibility are amply found in the text. The word, ūrdhva 'above' is used both in a cp. form and in an analytical form in the following examples.

i) ūrdhvaganena Jai. 1.57.2 'by an upper group'.

ii) ūrdhvapavitraḥ Tai. 1.10 'pure above'
iii) ūrdhvā nādiḥ Br. 4.2.5 'upgoing channel'.
iv) ūrdhvā dik Br. 4.3.4 'zenith'.
v) ūrdhvā udānaḥ Pra. 3.7 'upgoing udāna'.

The word bāhyā 'external' is used as an adjective in the following cp.s.

i) bāhyadosaiḥ Ka. 5.11 'by external faults'.

The same word is used in an analytical form in the
following expressions.

i) bāhyah prāṇah Pra. 3.8 'outside breath'.

ii) bāhyān śabdān Br. 2.4.7 'outside sound'.

The words denotative of color are used as a qualifier in op.s as well as in analytical word groups. The number of op.s of this type are ten, whereas, the analytical word groups are only five. The following are the examples of the analytical word groups.

i) kṛṣṇam rūpam Čhān. 3.5.4 'dark form'.

ii) nilām rūpam Jai. 1.26.7 'dark form'.

iii) svetēbhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ Br. 3.2.9 'from white mountains'.

iv) nilah pataṅgaḥ Śve. 4.4 'a dark moth'.

v) svetām rūpam Jai. 1.26.6 'bright form'.

In the following op.s the words denotative of color are used as adjectives.

i) kṛṣṇapakṣaḥ Pra. 1.12 'dark fortnight'.

ii) lohitapiṇḍañ Br. 4.2.3 'red lump'.

The adjective anu 'subtle' is used in the following op. forms.

i) anvāntān Br. 4.1.1 'subtle disputation'.

ii) anupramānāḥ Ka. 2.8 'subtle measure'.

It is also used in the following analytical word groups.

i) anuḥ panthāḥ Br. 4.4.8 'subtle path'.

ii) anuḥ ātmā Mun. 3.1.9 'subtle self'.
The word sādhu 'good' is used in a cp. form as well as in an analytical word group in the following attestations.

i) sādhyuvā Chān. 2.8 'a young man'.
ii) sādhavaḥ ghosāḥ Chān. 3.19.4 'pleasant shouts'.

The word satya is used in a cp. only once.

i) satyavacanam Chān. 3.17.4 'true statement'.

In the following it is used in an analytical word group.

i) satye nabhāsi Mai. 7.8 'in the real ether'.

ii) satyam aksaram Jai. 1.10.2 'real syllable'.

iii) satyakāmān Chān. 8.1.6 'real desires'.

iv) satvāḥ kāmāḥ Chān. 8.3.1 'real desires'.

The word kṛtsna 'total' is used once each in a cp. and in analytical style.

i) kṛtsnākṣaye Mai. 4.6 'in total destruction'.

ii) kṛtsnā devatā Jai. 3.1.1 'complete divinity'.

Only one cp. formed with the word papa 'evil' is found.

i) pāpakṛtyām Chān. 4.11.2 'sinful deed'.

As given below, it is used at five places in an analytical form.

i) pāpam karma Chān. 4.14.3 'sinful act'.


ii) pāpam gandham Jai. 2.1.16 'evil smell'.
iii) pāpāt karmanāḥ Jai. 4.25.4 'from evil deed'.
iv) pāpmāne bhrātrvyāya Jai. 1.7.2 'to evil relative'.
v) pāpmānāṃ mṛtyum Br. 1.3.10 'sinful death'.

The rule pāpāṅake kutsitaḥ P. 2.1.54 is applicable only to a single cp., namely,

il pāpakṛtyām Chān. 4.11.2

The word punya 'holy' is used equally in a cp. as well as in an analytical style as shown below.

il punyakṛtvāyai Jai. 1.30.4 'of holy deeds'.
iii) punyāhe Br. 6.3.1 'on holy day'.
il punyena karmanā Br. 4.4.5 'by holy act'.
iii) punyām karma Br. 1.4.15 'holy deed'.

The analytical expression of adjectives and nouns are not found in the cases stated below.

il aṃapatre Br. 6.4.12 'in baked pot'.
iii) cirajvikām Ka. 1.24 'long life'.
iii) ciralokāh Jai. 2.8 'long enduring worlds'.
iv) śūnyāgāre Mai. 6.10 'in deserted hall'.
v) prasadājīvam Br. 6.4.24 'spotted ghee'.

This is a specification of the general rule P. 2.1.57. The words sat 'good', mahat 'great', parama
'supreme', *uttama* 'best', and *utkṛṣṭa* 'excellent' are [optionally] compounded with the words which denote the objects to which respect is shown. Several cp.s are formed by this rule. The word *mahat* is used in twenty five cases and the word *parama* in six cases.

The word *mahat* either denotes greatness achieved through the excellence of any virtue or vastness or enormousness of size of the object. The following are the cp.s in which the word *mahat* is used to denote the greatness due to virtue.

i) *mahāsram* Mun. 2.2.3 'a great weapon'.

ii) *mahāsaṁhitāḥ* Tai. 1.3 'great combinations'.

iii) *mahāśrotrivāḥ* Chān. 5.11.1 'a great scholar'.

iv) *mahābrāhmaṇaḥ* Br. 2.1.18 'a great brahmin'.

In the following cp.s the word *mahat* denotes largeness of objects which it qualifies.

i) *mahānyagrodhaḥ* Chān. 6.12.2 'a great fig tree'.

ii) *mahāndhakāraṁ* Mai. 4.2 'gross darkness'.

iii) *mahāmāṁsaṁ* Jāi. 1.48.5 'a great quality of flesh'.

iv) *mahāmatsyaḥ* Br. 4.3.18 'a big fish'.

The term *pūjyamāna* 'respectful' used in the rule states the semantic condition necessary for the formation of
the cp. This condition is rightly fulfilled in those cp.s in which an excellence of any virtue is implied and not in those in which the enormous size of the object is implied by the word mahat. The phonetic changes which the word mahat undergoes while entering into a cp. form are regular and may be divided by P. rules as:

* mahat [sup] + brâhmaṇa [sup] P. 2.1.4
* mahat + brâhmaṇa P. 2.1.61; 2.4.41
* mahâ + brâhmaṇa P. 6.3.46
* mahâbrâhmaṇah P. 2.4.46; 8.2.66; 8.3.15

The word parama 'supreme' is compounded with a word denoting respect due to the excellence of any quality as illustrated by the following examples.

i) paramālayam Mai. 6.27 'the final resort [liberation].'

ii) paramātma Mai. 6.8 'the supreme soul [the lord].'

iii) paramākāśam Mai. 6.38 'the higher space'.

iv) paramapurusha Mun. 3.2.1 'the great Person'.

The word sat 'true, wise, good' is compounded with the words denoting respect due to excellence of any virtue. The examples are:

i) sadaśvah Ka. 3.6 'good horse'.

ii) satpatiḥ Pra. 2.11 'the true lord'.

iii) sadbrahmaṇi Mai. 6.30 'in the real Brahman'.

Use of the word \textit{uttama} is found in only one cp. \textit{iluttamapurushah} Chān. 8.12.3 'the supreme person'.

Any cp. using the word \textit{uktṛṣṭa} is not found.

The words \textit{para} 'higher excellence'; \textit{vibhu} 'large'; \textit{īyestha} 'oldest'; \textit{brhat} 'great'; and \textit{uru} 'great' are not included in the list of the words in the rule P. 2.1.61. All these words are, however, compounded with the words denoting respect through the excellence of virtue, or the size of the object. These cp.s may be explained by the general rule P. 2.1.57. as all are the adjectives qualifying their suitable nouns. The examples are:

\text{\begin{itemize}
\item \text{i} \text{\textit{parāyanam} Mai. 6.8 'final goal'}.
\item \text{i} \text{\textit{paramṛtam} Mun. 2.1.10 'the excellent imperishability'}.
\item \text{\textit{parārdhe} Ka. 3.1 'in the upper sphere'}.
\item \text{\textit{īyesthaputrāya} Mun. 1.1.1 'to the eldest son'}.
\item \text{\textit{īyesthabṛāhmanam} Jai. 4.23.1 'the oldest Ḫṛāhmana'}.
\item \text{\textit{vibhupramitam} Kau. 1.3 'far extending enclosure'}.
\item \text{\textit{brhajjyotih} Sve. 2.3 'the great light'}.
\item \text{\textit{urugāyam} Ka. 2.11 'great fame'}.\end{itemize}}

The rule \textit{varṇo varṇena} P.2.1.69 prescribes compounding of two words which are denotative of colors. This rule is the extension of the rule P. 2.1.57. The cp.s
illustrating this rule are as follows.

i) harinīlāh Jai. 4.1.1 'brownish blue'.

ii) kadrunīlāh Mai. 6.30 'brown as well as blue'.

iii) sitāsitāh Mai. 2.7 'by bright as well as dark'.

iv) lohitāsukiakrṣṇāṃ Śve. 4.5 'that which is red, white, as well as dark'.

All the components of the above mentioned cp.s are denotative of the quality of color. As the colors simultaneously refer to one locus, these cp.s are not dvandva.

Thus, harinīla refers to Varunā; kadrunīla to veins; sitāsīta to the fruit of action and lohitāsukākṛṣṇā to prakṛti.

There are some cp.s in which both the components are adjectives of opposite characters. The following are the examples.

i) parāvare Mun. 2.2.8 'in the higher as well as the lower'.

ii) sitāsitāh Mai. 2.7 'by bright as well as dark'.

iii) parāparah Mai. 6.23 'higher as well as lower'.

iv) śubhāśubham Mai. 6.16 'good as well as bad'.

Some cp.s have both the components adjectives but the one that is placed first acts as a qualifier of the adjectives which is placed afterwards. The examples are:
mrudulohitāh Mai. 6.30 'pale red'.

bahuśobhamānām Ke. 3.12 'excessively beautiful'.

bahuvyāhitāh Jai. 3.28.5 'very ill'.

The word ardha 'half' forms a cp. either with a noun or with a participle. It functions as an adjective when it qualifies a noun, and as an adverb when it qualifies a participle. The following examples clarify the point.

ardhabrgalām Br. 1.4.3 'half fragment'.

ardhadevā Jai. 3.1.1 'semi divinity'.

ardhodhitā Jai. 1.12.4 'half risen'.

Some peculiarities of the cp.s are noted below.

kṛṣṇāyasam Chān. 6.1.6 'iron'.

kārśṇāyasam Chān. 6.1.6 'iron'.

The component kṛṣṇa is also used in its vṛiddhi form after taking pleonastic suffix an.

hiranyavasthāt Mai. 6.1 'from the golden seat'. The cp. illustrates the pararūpa sandhi. The analytical word group may be hiranyāt avasthāt.

c) The qualifying words in the cp.s below occupy the second place as against the rule P. 2.1.57

istomamahat Ka. 2.11 'great praise'.

annasūbhām Jai. 1.10.1 'holy food'.

vraşapavitram Jai. 1.10.1 'pure shower'.

prānasāṁsitam Chān. 3.17.6 'subtle breath'.

d) The cp.s given below illustrate the rule P. 6.1.128
ilparamarsibhyah  Mun.  3.2.1  'from great sages'.

ilparamarsibhyah  Pra.  6.8  'from great sages'.

e1  haridrāmahārajanābhyāman  vaktavyah  The cp. below is the secondary derivative taking the suffix an prescribed by the  kvt.  4.2.2.4.

māhārajanam  Br.  2.3.6  'saffron colored'.

f1  The word  sat  'the real'  is interpreted in two ways by Sankarācārya in the following cp.

satpatih  Pra.  2.11

It can be considered as  gastics  tp.  cp.  if it is analysed as visvasya  sataḥ  patiḥ  sādhuh  va  patih  'the lord of the universe'.  On the other hand, the interpretation, 'the true lord' makes it  kdh.

g1  parāmṛtaḥ  Mun.  2.1.10  'the supreme imperishability'.  Sankarācārya solves the cp. as  kdh.  as param ca tat amṛtam brahma.  Hume analyses it as mṛtātpara[1]

h1  vibhupramitam  Kau.  1.3  'far extending enclosure'.  The  Chān.  Up.  8.5.3 uses the expression prabhuvimitam.  Dr. Vadekar opines that this might be the original reading of the  Kau. Up.[2]

i1  urugāyam  Ka.  2.1  'great praise'.

urugāyavataḥ  Chān.  7.12.2  'with great praise'.

1. Hume,  The thirteen Principal Upaṇiṣads  pp. 371
2. aśṭādaśa upaṇiṣadah by Prof. Vadekar  pp. 303
This cp. is interpreted in three different ways by the following three interpreters.

MW. interprets it as wide striding, on the support of Nirukta ii.7. The word gāya is derived from the root gā 'to go'.

Śāvāna derives it from the root gai 'to sing' and solves the cp. to the effect of tritiya tpa.[1]

Śankarācārya solves it as MW. [2] vistīrṇām gatim.

[B] κdh. cp. having substantive as first component.

The Up. wise distribution of these cp.s is as follows.

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The total number of cp.s of this type is 44, and the number of the actual occurrence is 58. The cp.s of this type are not found in the Ī., Ke., Mun., Mā., Ai., Bā., Ā. and Śau. Up.s. They are used quite frequently in the Mai. Up. whereas, are found only once each in the Pra. and Kau. Up.s

1. urubhir mahadbhiḥ gīvamānāḥ on Rv. 1.154.1
2. Īśādidasopanisādah Śaṅkarācārya pp. 73
Both components of the kdh. cp. of this type are substantives. They are in apposition and imply different semantic relations. The following are some of the relations which are observed in these cp.s.

[a] upamitam vyāgrādibhiḥ sāmānyapravoge P. 2.1.56 prescribes for the kdh. cp.s of two nouns on the basis of internal comparison. The word denotative of the object of comparison is placed first and any word from the inventory beginning with vyāghra 'tiger' is placed afterwards. There is no direct mention of the common attribute.

Twenty three cases of the kdh. cp.s of this type may be explained by this rule, if vyāgrādīgāna the word inventory is considered as an open list.

These twenty three kdh. cp.s may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the nature of comparison. The nature of comparison is only understood in the analytical expression of the cp. When the comparison is based on the figure of speech, the word iva 'simile' is used. The following are the examples of this type.

i) saṃsāracakram Mai. 6.28 saṃsāraḥ cakramiva 'wheel-like transmigration'.

ii) omkāraplavena Mai. 6.28 omkaraḥ plavah iva 'by raftlike omkāra'.

iii) lobhajālam Mai. 6.38 lobhah jālam iva 'covetousness as a net'.

iv) indriyabīle Mai. 6.25 indriyam bilamiva 'in the pitlike senses'.
vl hṛtpuskarē Mai. 6.1 hṛt pusaṅkaramiva 'in the lotuslike heart'.

When the comparison is based on metaphor, the word denotative of affirmation eva is used, and this type is described as avadhāranāpūrvapada kdh. The following examples are sited to illustrate this point.

i) āpomūlam Chān. 6.8.4 āpah mūlam eva 'water root'.

ii) prānāgnayah Pra. 4.3 prānah agnayah eva 'breath fire'.

iii) puruṣāṅgau Br. 6.2.16 puruṣah agnih eva 'in the male fire'.

iv) śabdabrahma Mai. 6.22 śabdah brahma eva 'the sound Brahman.

[b] The two nouns denoting subclass and the genus form a kdh. cp. The noun denoting subclass occupies the first place in the cp. Some examples of the kdh. of this type are given below.

i) ātmavonih Āśve. 6.16 'self sourced'.

yoni is a generic term where the word ātmman delimits it.

ii) strīnāmāni Kau. 1.7 'female names'.

iii) brahmarsāyah Āśve. 4.5 'brahmin seer'.

iv) antarikṣalokam Jai. 3.15.5 'mid region'.

v) svargalokam Jai. 1.52.7 'the heavenly world'.

vi) prthivīlokaḥ Br. 3.1.10 'the prthivi world'.

[c] The following are some attestations in which the first member is a samjiña. The word iti is to be added after the word denoting name in the analysis for clarity. The examples are:

   i) viṣṇusamjñitam Mai. 6.23 viṣṇuh iti samjñitam 'named as viṣṇu'.
   ii) purusavācāh Br. 6.22 puruṣah iti vācāh 'wording as purusa [man]'.
   iii) purusavacasaḥ Chān. 5.3.3 puruṣah iti vacasaḥ.

[d] Some kdh. cp.s have noun as the first component but it works as an adjective of the following word. The examples are:

   i) devamadhu Chān. 3.1.1 devah madhu 'devine honey'.
   ii) devagandharvānām Tai. 2.8 devānām gandharvānām 'of devine gandharvas'.
   iii) manuṣyagandharvānām Tai. 2.8 manusvānām gandharvānām 'of human gandharvas'.

[e] The following are the four cases of the kdh. cp.s in which the second component is denotative of the specific condition of the object denoted by the first component. The examples are:

   i) saindravakhilyāḥ Br. 2.4.2 saindravāśca [asau] khilyāḥ 'salt lump'.
   ii) saindravaghñāḥ Br. 4.5.13 saindravāśca asau ghanāḥ 'salt lump'.
111. rasagahanah  Br.  4.5.13 'sapful'.

In these cp.s the word ghanā or khīlya indicates a particular condition of the object denoted by the first component. Śaṅkarācārya interpretes the word ghanā as ghanībhūta 'solidified'.[1]

[C] kdh. cp.s having pronoun word as first component.

The Up.wise distribution of these cp.s is as follows.


The total number of kdh. cp.s of this type is 28 and their actual occurrence is 37. The kdh. cp.s of this type are not found in the Pra., Mā., Tai., Ai., Bā., Chā., Ā., and Śau. Up.s.

The pronoun sarva 'all' becomes the first component in many kdh. cp.s which are covered by the rule P. 2.1.49 The word sarva, when the cp. takes the plural member, is used quantitatively to mean 'all'. The word sarva is used in the quantitative sense 15 times. The examples are:

1. īśādīṣaṣṭopaniṣadah, com. by Śaṅkarācārya.
\(\text{I} \) sarvabhūtesu ī. 6 'in all living beings'.

\(\text{II} \) sarvāṅgāni Ke. 4.6 'all limbs'.

\(\text{III} \) sarvendriyānām Ka. 1.26 'of all organs'.

\(\text{IV} \) sarvapāśāh Šve. 1.8 'by all fetters'.

In the qualitative sense, when the cp. takes the singular number, it means 'entire, complete' and as such is used 8 times. The examples are:

\(\text{I} \) sarvamṛtyoh Jai. 4.9.9 'from total death'.

\(\text{II} \) sarvajāvena Ke. 3.6 'by full speed'.

\(\text{III} \) sarvavedasam Ka. 1.1 'entire property'.

\(\text{IV} \) sarvajñānim Br. 1.5.15 'total loss'.

\(\text{V} \) sarvāptih Kau. 3.3 'total obtaining'.

It is observed that the word sarva is used quantitatively when the second component is a countable noun and qualitatively when it is non-countable.

By the section heading rule vibhaṣā 2.1.11, all cp.s coming after this rule are formed optionally. The word sarva used in cases as an analytical sentence and as a cp. form are almost equal in number. The word is used more frequently quantitatively than qualitatively. The quantitative usage is exemplified in the following cp.s

\(\text{I} \) sarve pāpmānah Chān. 8.4.1 'all sins'.

\(\text{II} \) sarve prānah Kau. 3.2 'all pranas'.

\(\text{III} \) sarvebhyahbhūtebhyaḥ Br. 3.7.15 'from all beings'.

\(\text{IV} \) sarve sparsāḥ Chān. 2.22.3 'all class-consonants'.

The qualitative usage is exemplified in the following cp.s.

i) sarvam āyuḥ Jai. 4.1.8 'entire life'.

ii) sarvam pāpmānam Br. 4.4.23 'entire sin'.

iii) sarvām sāvitrīm Br. 6.3.6 'whole sāvitrī'.

The word viśva 'all' as a synonym of the word sarva 'all' is used twice and the cp.s are singular in number, for example,

i) viśvasvāryam Śve. 1.11 'total lordship'.

ii) viśvāmrtah Mai. 6.9 'entirely immortal'.

The expression viśve devāh occurs 8 times in the text. It is written separately 5 times. In the following three cases it is used in a cp. form.

viśvedevāh Br. 1.4.12, Jai. 1.18.7, Jai. 1.58.9.

In all these cases, viśvedevāh denotes a group of gods and is to be regarded as a cp. only because it is denotative of a special meaning, namely, 'a particular group of gods'.

[D] kdh. cp.s having verbal derivative as first component.

The Up. wise distribution of this type of cp.s is as follows.

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<td>3</td>
<td>Chān.</td>
<td>1 [3]</td>
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<td>Br.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
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<td>Kau.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Mai.</td>
<td>9 [19]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jai.</td>
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The total number of cp.s of this type is 23 and the actual occurrence is 40. The highest number of cases are found in the Mai, Up. This type is not found in the Ṭ., Ka., Ke., Muṇ., Ai., Tai., Bā., Chā., Ā., and Sāu. Up.s.

The verbal derivatives which function as qualifiers are placed first in all the cp.s and may be explained by the rule P. 2.1.57. The verbal derivatives which are used in these cp.s are of three types, [a] past participles, [b] present participles, and [c] abstract verbal nouns. The examples of each type are as follows.

i] vyūdhacchandasa Mai. 3.31.1 'by transposed metres'.

ii] nigrhitānilam Mai. 6.21 'restrained breath'.

iii] taptorviḥ Mai. 6.26 'heated cauldron'.

iv] āvṛttacakram Mai. 6.28 'rolling wheel'.

Some peculiarities of the kdh. cp.s are noted below.

i] sūddhapakṣa Kau. 2.3 'in the bright half'. The cp. is a synonym of suklapakṣa and denotes 'name' sāmiṇā.

ii] bhūtātmā Mai. 3.2 ' elemental soul'. The past participle bhūta with its special significance to 'elements' is used.

iii] udbhūtapradhvāṁsinah Mai. 1.4 'arising and decaying afterwards'. This cp. is an example of pūrvakāla. The action of manifesting naturally precedes in time the action of decaying which follows it. The text in
which the cp. is used is as follows. yatheme
damśamaśakādayastrṇavanaspatayodbhūtapradhvamsinah i Mai.
1.4 'as these gnats, mosquitoes, and the like, the grass and
the trees that arise first and perish afterwards. The cp. is
regular by P. 2.1.49.

The present participles form the first component
as qualifier and the cp.s may be explained by the rule P.
2.1.57 in the following cp.s.

i) āpūryamāṇapakṣam Chān. 4.15.5 'fortnight
of the waxing moon'.

ii) apakṣīyamāṇapakṣam Br. 6.2.16 'fortnight
of the waning moon'.

The abstract verbal nouns form the first component
and are the qualifiers of the second component as observed in
the following cp.s.

i) vijñānāghanaḥ Br. 2.4.12 'cognition mass'.

ii) prajñāghanaḥ Br. 4.5.13 'cognition mass'.

iii) vijñānātmā Pra. 4.9, Kau. 2.14
'intelligent self'.

iv) saṃmohamātṛi Mai. 6.28 'having confusion
for crown'.

v) adhyāvasāyātmabāṁdhama Mai. 6.30
'determination as a bond of self'.

[E] kdh. cp.s with ordinal or cardinal numerical
adjectives as first component.
The up.wise distribution of this type of kdh. cp.s is as follows.


The total number of the kdh. cp.s of this type is 23 and the actual occurrence is 64. This type of cp.s are not found in the Ke., Ka., Mā., Ā., Tai., Bā., Chā., and Ā. Up.s. These cp.s are broadly divided into three categories.

[a] cp.s in which the first component is a numeral eka 'one'. These may be explained by the rule P. 2.1.49. The examples are given below.

i) ekarṣīḥ Pra. 2.11, Mun. 3.2.10, Br. 5.15.1, Ḡ. 16 'sole seer'.

ii) ekavrātyāḥ Jai. 3.21.4 'the sole vrātya [wind]'.

iii) ekavīrāḥ Jai. 2.5.1 'the unique hero [breath]'.

iv) ekadhāma Mai. 6.35 'the sole resort [liberation]'.

v) ekadhanam Kau. 2.3 'special wealth'.

vi) ekahamsah Br. 4.3.11 'the sole swan [ātman]'.

vii) ekapundarīkam Br. 6.3.6 'the unique lotus [sun]'.

viii) ekāyanam Br. 2.4.11 'uniting point'.
ix] ekāvanam Chān. 7.1.2 'science of politics'.

In all the above mentioned cp.s, the word eka denotes the quality of uniqueness. All these cp.s are denotative of a particular thing. These cp.s are used rather as sañjñā. The cp. ekarsi in the Pra. and the Mun. refers to the special fire honoured by the mendicants.[1] The same cp. is used in the I. and Br. to denote the sun or pūṣan. Saṅkarācārya solves the cp. as upapada tp. [2] The special denotation of the cp.s are given after each cp. mentioned above.

[b] P. rule 2.1.50 covers the kdh. cp.s in which the numerical adjective is the first component and is denotative of sañjñā 'name'. The cp.s mentioned below have a special significance.

i] pañcamahābhūtāni Mai. 3.2 'five great elements'.

ii] pañçatanamātrāh Mai. 3.2 'five subtle elements'.

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1. athāvānām prasiddhaḥ ekarsīḥ nāma agnih Īsādidasopanisadāḥ. Com. by Saṅkarācārya pp. 116
2. ibid Saṅkarācārya, ekah evaḥ pāṣati 'one who goes alone'.
iii) pancajanah Br. 4.4.17 'five people [breaths]' [1]

The following cp.s of this class do not indicate any special significance.

i) caturvimśatīvargāṇi Chān. 3.16.1 'twentyfour years'.

ii) viṁśatīpratyarābhīḥ Sve. 1.4 'with twenty counter spokes'.

iii) dasavāji Jai. 1.4.3 'one with ten powers'; dasa vājaḥ 'ten powers' a taddhita suffix is added to the kdh. cp. dasavāja

[c] It is found that the ordinal numbers which are used as adjectives, generally, do not form a cp. They are more often used in an analytical style. Consider the following examples.

i) prathamah pādah Jai. 4.28.1 'first quarter'.

ii) dvitiyah pādah Jai. 4.28.2 'second quarter'.

iii) tritiyah pādah Jai. 4.28.3 'third quarter'.

iv) caturthah pādah Chān. 3.18.3 'fourth quarter'.

v) pancaamyām āhutau Chān. 5.9.1 'in the fifth offering'.

vi) dasame māsi Br. 6.4.22 'in the tenth month'.

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1. Brahmasūtra 1.4.12 prañādayo vākyaśeṣāti
vii) daśamaṁ mānusam Jai. 4.23.7 tenth human [birth].

The ordinal members prathama and tritiya are compounded. These are as follows.

i) prathamānirbhinnam Jai. 3.14.8 'just after breaking'.

ii) prathamodite Chān. 2.9.8 'just after sunrise'.

iii) prathamāstamite Chān. 2.9.8 'just after sunset'.

In all these cp.s the numerical ordinal adjective prathama is used predominantly in an adverbial sense, in a changed new meaning, 'just after'. The rule P. 2.1.58 is applicable to these cp.s.

The word tritiya always forms a cp. with the word savana. The examples are:

i) tritiyasavanam Chān. 2.24.1; Sau. 4;
   Jai. 4.2.7;

The expression trayī vidyā 'threelfold lores' refers to the three vedas and usually appears as a phrase. It is found in a cp. form in only one instance given below.

trayīvidyāyāḥ Kau. 2.6 'of threefold lores'.

[F] Dvigu : A kdh. cp. is designated as dvigu when the first component is a numerical adjective and the cp. does not have any special significance. [1]

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1. saṁkhya-pūrvo dviguḥ P. 2.1.52
The *Up.*-wise distribution of the *dvigu* cp.s is as follows.


The total number of the *dvigu* tp. is 20 and their actual occurrence is 28. This cp. appears most frequently in the Śve.*Up.* On the basis of the meaning, this cp. is further divided into three categories, viz., *taddhitārtha dvigu, uttarapada dvigu,* and *samāhara dvigu.*

The cp.s of the first type are not found in the *Up.*

*Uttarapada dvigu* is the designation of a *dvigu* cp. which itself appears as the first member in the cp. with another word. The following are the examples of this type.

i] **trirātrānte** Br. 6.4.13 'at the end of three nights'.

ii] **pañcabuddhyādīmūlām** Śve. 1.5 'whose original source is fivefold perception'.

When a cp. gives the idea of a whole or an aggregate, the cp. is designated as *samāhara dvigu.* As aggregation is the principal meaning of the cp., it often has neuter gender and singular number.[1] All the cp.s of this type found in the text are neuter singular.

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1. *dvigurekavacanam* P. 2.4.1

   *sa napumsakam* P. 2.4.17
Any cp. illustrating the vt. akārāntottaratapado dviguḥstrīvāmistaḥ sk. P. 2.4.17 [vt. 1556] is not found. Some examples of this type are given below.

i)  caturāksaraṃ Chān. 2.10.2 'an aggregate of four letters'.

ii)  trayaḥam Br. 6.3.13 'an aggregate of three letters'.

iii) trikālāt Śve. 6.5 'from the three times'.

iv)  daśāṅgulam Śve. 3.4 'an aggregate of ten fingures'.

v)  trayaḥusam Jai. 4.3.1 'three life times'.

[G] The Up. wise distribution of the kdh. cp.s having a cp. word as their first component is as follows.


The total number of these cp.s is 15 and the actual occurrence is 18. This type of kdh. cp. is not found in the ī., Ke., Pra., Mā., Ai., Tai., Chān., Śve., Bā., Chā., Ā., Sau., and the Jai. Up.s. The occurrence of this type is comparatively less frequent. Compounding of two words is easier and more natural. A cp. within a cp. presupposes a more complex syntactic process and leads to artificiality. A slight distinction can be shown in this type of kdh. cp.s.
and the upapada tp. The latter formed from the root anc by P. 3.2.59 becomes the first component in the kdh. cp. as shown below.

i) samyagijnānām Mun. 3.1.5 'by proper knowledge'.

ii) udagayane Br. 6.3.1 'in the northern course'.

iii) prācīnātānānī Kau. 1.5 'the eastern extended cords'.

iv) pratyagātman Ka. 4.1 'individual soul'.

Other examples of the kdh. cp.s with a cp. word as the first component are as follows.

i) paralokasthānam Br. 4.3.9 paralokām ca tat stānam 'place of the other world'.

ii) avīṣeṣavijñānām Mai. 6.24 'unqualified understanding'. avīṣeṣa is a nan tp.

iii) āsāṃvatsarāntakratunā Mai. 6.36 'by the sacrifice which continues to the end of thousand years'. āsāṃvatsara is an avy. cp.

iv) nimesādikālāt Mai. 6.14 'from the time composed of moment and other durations'.

v) prācyādīdīṣāh Mai. 6.17 'the quarters east and others'.

The cp.s nimesādi and prācyādi are bhū. cp.s.

vi) sadasadyonim Mai. 3.1 'good and bad womb'.

vii) trṣnerṣākundalī Mai. 6.28 'having lassitude, drunkenness, and impurity as a staff'.
In these, the first components are *dvandva* cp.s.

vi) **prakāśapraṅkapānakṣṇyaṃstānīyaṃ** Mai. 7.11

'having hot place that casts forth light'. The formation of this cp. is also a complex one. Its analysis is as follows. The first component of this cp. is itself a *ṣaṣṭhi* tp., **prakāśasya praksepakah**. This then forms the next cp. which can be considered as **kdh.** cp., **prakāśapraṅkapakah eva ausṇyam stānam**.

[H] **kdh.** cp.s having the first component of adverbial value.

The Up. wise distribution of the cp.s of this type is as follows.

7. Jai 3 [3]

The total number of cp.s is 22 and the actual occurrence is 26, being more frequent in the **Chān - Up.**

Some words when placed as a first component in a **kdh.** cp. imply in terms of space or time the state or condition of the thing denoted by the second component. These have an adverbial value. Some of these words are listed in the rule P. 2.1.58. All of these words function as a qualifier. The cp.s using the words *puṛva* 'former', *apara* 'later', *prathama* 'first', and *jaghana* 'hind' are found.
The cp.s using the word prathama have been treated before.
Following cp.s will serve as examples.

i) pūrvapakṣah Kau. 1.2 'the earlier half'.

ii) pūrvārdhah Br. 1.1.1 'the fore part'.

iii) purvaprajña Br. 4.4.2 'former intelligence'.

iv) aparapakṣena Kau. 1.2 'by later half'.

v) jaghanārdhah Br. 1.1.1 'hind half'.

The word jaghanya is in the rule 2.1.57 but the cp. mentioned above uses the word jaghana.

The words such as, dakṣiṇa 'south', uttara 'north/ later', avara 'lower', tiraścīna 'traverse', avāntara 'intermediate' are not stated in the rule eventhough their function is the same. Some examples are given below.

i) daksināgniḥ Mai. 6.34 'the southern fire'.

ii) uttaraśyanam Mai. 6.30 'the northern course'.

uttarāraṇim Sve. 2.24 'the upper churning rod'.

uttararūpam Tai. 1.3 'later form'.

iii) avarapurusāḥ Chān. 4.11.2 'the descendents'.

iv) tiraścīnavamsāḥ Chān. 3.1.1 'the cross beam'.

v) avāntaradīṣāḥ Br. 1.1.1 'the intermediate quarters'.

[J] śrenvādayah krtādibhiḥ P. 2.1.59 presents two open ended word inventories. One of them is a list of
nouns beginning with the word śreni 'gild', and the other one of past participles which begin with the word kṛta 'done/ made' and which are denotative of some action or state. A kdh. cp. is formed when any word from the śreni group is the first component and any word from the kṛta group is the second component, both being in a coordinate relation and semantically viable.

The kvt. 2.1.59.1. śrenyādiṣu cvyarthavacanam kartavyam delimits the formation of a cp. by adding one more semantic condition. The words from the śreni group enter into composition by this rule eventhough they do not contain the affix cvi. A case in which they are held to express the meaning characteristic of the affix cvi, the words from the śreni list are optionally compounded with the words from the kṛta list and the resultant cp. is tp.

The rule [ abhūtatadbhāve ] kṛbhvāstivoge sampadyakartari cvih P. 5.4.50 states the conditions under which the suffix cvi is enjoined in its characteristic meaning.

The suffix cvi is brought in after the word denoting sampadyakartṛ in order to indicate the fact of the new state only when

i) the agent is such that it is necessarily syntactically bound with the verb sampad [to become/ to turn into] and therefore, receives the designation sampadyakartṛ,

ii) it becomes or turns into what it was not before, and
iii] the word bhū [to be], ās [to be], and kr [to do, to make] are in syntactic relation.

The up-wise distribution of the cp.s derived by the rule 2.1.59 is as follows.


The total number of cp.s of this type is 11 and their actual occurrence is also 11, being more frequently used in the Mai. Up.

The cvyarthā laid down by the vt.1296 is clearly indicated in only the three cases given below.

i] dārubhūtam Kau. 2.14 'becoming like wood'.
The body lies like a wood when breath departs.

ii] retobhūtam Jai. 3.10.4 'becoming semen'.

iii] nidhanakṛtāḥ Jai. 1.35.6 'those who are resting'.

A number of cp.s which do not imply the cvi meaning ās as follows.

i] hastibhūtāḥ Br. 5.14.9 'as an elephant'.

ii] tejobhūtasya Kau. 'of the form of brilliance'.

iii] bhavabhūtāḥ Sve. 6.5 'existing as the source of universe'.

iv] avayavabhūtāḥ Sve. 4.1 'by those who are the parts of [the lord]'.


v) *sūnyabhūtaḥ* Mai. 6.2.3 'one who is a void'.

vi) *prakāśabhūtaḥ* Mai. 7.8 'those who are evidently robbers'.

vii) *annabhūtam* Mai. 6.10 'existing as food'.

viii) *atindriyabhūtasya* Mai. 2.3 one that is supersensuous.

The word *bhūta* in all the above mentioned cases imply a state of the thing denoted by the first component and not the transition of the thing from its original state to another state. No word from the *śrenyādi* list is used in these cp.s. From the *kr̥t̥ādi* list only the word *bhūta* is used. The word *kr̥ta* is used in only one cp.

[K] *māyūravyaṃsakādayaśca* P. 2.1.72 This rule is an open ended list [*ākrtiganāla*]. All the tp. cp.s which are in use and which are derived by explicitly formulated rules are members of this list. *Kāśikā* says: *avihitālaksanās tatpuruso māyūravyaṃsakādīsu dṛaṣṭavyaḥ*! A complete inventory is, therefore, not possible.

The Up. wise distribution of the cp.s which may be considered to be of this kind or which are enumerated in the word inventory is as follows.


The total number of the cp.s of this type is four and their actual occurrence is 7. They are listed below.
i) uccāvacam Bā. 18, Br. 2.1.18 'high and low'.

ii) desādīgantaraṇīh Pra. 4.5 'in another places and regions'.

iii) cetāmātraḥ Mai. 5.2 'intelligent only'.

The word cetā in the sense of cit is not attested. As an alternative the cp. will have to be treated as an example of aluk kdh, in which the nominative case of the word cetā is not dropped. Either way the cp. appears to be irregular.

[L] sākapārthivādi cp.s form a class of cp.s which get this name from the initial words in the following kv.t.2.1.69.8, namely, samānādhikaraṇādhikāre sākapārthivādināmupasāmkhyānaṃuttarapadalaṃpaśca

kv. and sk. have inserted this kv.t. under the rule P. 2.2.60 which deals with the kdh. cp.s. In the MB., the kv.t. comes under the rule 2.1.69 [1].

In these cp.s the final member of the first component, which itself is a cp. word, is dropped when compounded with another word. For example, the cp. sākapārthivāḥ is analysed as sākapriyāḥ pārthivāḥ 'the king who likes vegetables'. In this case, the first and the second members in the cp. can not be related with each other by

1. varṇoparvaneṇa P. 2.1.69 kv.t. 8, MB. ed. by Kielhorn vol. 1 pp. 406 line 5.
merely analysing the cp. into a sentence unless the first component is made to be a qualifier by adding some other word referring to the quality or action to it. As both the members, śāka and pārthiva are nouns, the relation between them becomes that of one between a case affix and a stem and consequently the cp. falls under the category of the vibhakti tp.

This type of cp.s is treated under the kdh. section by sk., kv., and MB. perhaps because, the first component, which is a cp. word, and the final component are put in the same case. There is, thus, sāmānādikaranya between the two members of the cp. As an example, the cp. śakapārthivah is analysed as śakapriyāḥ pārthivāḥ. It is observed that the attestations of this type found in the extent of the Up.s are also the examples of sāmānādikaranya. The first member is a cp. word. The last member of this cp. word is dropped when it is compounded with another word. The cp.s are treated under the kdh. because the first [which is itself a cp. word] and the second member of the final cp. take the same case in the analytical stage.

The Up-wise distribution of this type of cp.s is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mun. 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Chān. 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Br. 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Śve. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mai. 5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jai. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of cp.s of this type is 12 and the actual occurrence is 13. It is used more frequently in the Mai. Up. The cp.s are analysed as follows.
ⅰ) śīrovrataṃ Mun. 3.2.10 'a mundaka vow'.
śirasvagnidhāraṇaṇalakṣanām vratam : [1]

ⅱ) aśvatarīrathaḥ Chāṇ. 5.13.2 'chariot drawn by a she-mule'. aśvatarībhyaṁ yukto rathaḥ : [2]

ⅲ) karmātiṣesena Chāṇ. 8.15.1 '[time] left over from doing work for the teacher'. guroh karmāsūnyah atiṣesaḥ kālah : [3]

ⅳ) ārdredhāgneḥ Br. 2.4.10 'fire from damp fule'. ardaih edhobhiḥ iddho'gniḥ : [4]

ⅴ) trnajalāyukā Br. 4.4.3 'caterpillar'. trnākārā trnebhavā vā jalāyukā : [5]

ⅴⅰ) vāḷāgrāśatabhāgasya Śve. 5.9 'hundredth part of a point of a hair'. vāḷāgrasya satakrtyo bhedamāpāditasya yo bhāgah : [6]

ⅴⅰⅰ) karmendriyāṇi Mai. 2.6 'motor senses'. karmāṇi kurvanti indriyāṇi :

ⅴⅰⅱ) buddhindriyāṇi Mai. 2.6 'organs of perception'. buddhim janayanti indriyāṇi :

1. Isādīdasopaniṣadah with Śaṅkarabhāṣya pp. 175
2. ibid. pp. 497
3. ibid. pp. 605
4. ibid. pp. 762
5. ibid. pp. 912
ix) dalasaṁsthāḥ Mai. 6.2 'forming as petals'.

dalaraṇeṇa saṁsthāḥ:

x) sūtrayantreṇa Mai. 6.26 'sūtrayuktena vanteṇa:

xii) manisūtram Jai. 1.18.8

manigatāṁ sūtram:

Observations:

1) The total number of the kdh. cp.s in the Up.s is 299 and their actual occurrence is 411.

2) The cp.s of śākapārthiva category are 12 and occur mainly in the Mai. Up.

3) A large number of the kdh cp.s are explained by P. 2.1.59, and the adjective is usually placed as the first member of the cp., though there are examples in which such a qualifying word is placed later in a cp.

4) Many cp.s will be considered as regular, if the scope of P. 2.1.61 were extended by including words such as, para, vibhā, ivestha, brhat, and uru.

5) Several kdh cp.s in which both the components are substantive can become regular if the vyāghrādī list is taken as an open ended list.

6) A number of kdh. cp.s derived from P. 2.1.59, do not always imply the meaning of cvi.

7) Only three cases of the kdh. cp.s from mayūravyaṁsaṁkādī group presented in P. 2.1.72 are attested.
* 3.3  NAṈ TATPURUŠA *

***************************************************************************
3.3.1  nañ P. 2.2.6

The particle nañ is optionally compounded with a syntactically connected case inflected word and the cp. is called tatpurusa [1]. The particle nañ belongs to cādīgana (no. 30 in Bohtfikk's edition). It is therefore called nipāta. nañ is an avyaya by P. 1.1.37. The feminine suffixes of the class āp (viz. cāp, tāp, dāp) and all case affixes are elided after an avyaya by P. 2.4.62. An avyaya is nevertheless a pada by P. 1.1.62

nalopo nañah P. 6.3.73.

When the pada nañ is followed by any pada, the 'n' of the nañ being 'it' by P. 1.3.3 is dropped after the application of the rule. Thus the cp. abhrāmanah meaning na brahmanah 'nonbrahmin' is formed.

tasmānnudaci P. 6.3.74

The cp. anāsvah is derived in the following manner.

na aśvah

na(sup) + aśva(sup)

na + aśva

a + aśva nalopo nañah P. 6.3.73

an + aśva tasmānnudaci P. 6.3.74

anāsvah [1]

The kv. on the present rule gives the example, abhrāmanah 'other than a brahmin'.

1. vyākaraṇa MB. TA. ed. by S.D. Joshi and J.R.F. Roodbergen

pp. 70
The *prakriyā* is as follows.

\[ ([nañ + su \{brāhmaṇa = su\}] = su) \] P. 2.2.6; 2.1.46; 4.1.2
\[ ([nañ = φ] = [brāhmaṇa = φ]) = su \] P. 1.3.3; 2.4.71

dbrāhmaṇa

g\[P. 1.3.2\]

dbrāhmaṇa

g\[P. 6.3.73\]

dbrāhmaṇa

r\[P. 8.2.66\]

dbrāhmaṇa

h\[P. 8.3.15\]

It is clear from the above *prakriyā* that both, the constituents are put in the same case, just as in a *kādh* cp. [1] However, from the point of view of the meaning analysis, *abrāhmaṇa* can not be a *kādh* cp., because it can not be said that *nañ* and *brāhmaṇa* refers to one and the same person. The word *brāhmaṇa* refers to a brahmin and the particle *nañ* to somebody other than a brahmin, such as a *ksatriya* 'warrior'. In order to justify the *kādh* derivation of the cp., it is understood that the constituent *brāhmaṇa* has a metaphorical sense, namely a *ksatriya*, who is similar to a brahmin in possessing qualities like fair complexion, learning etc.

Thus, *brāhmaṇa* stands for *brāhmaṇa sadrśa* 'similar to a brahmin', i.e., for a *ksatriya*, and the *nañ* refers to a *ksatriya* who is not a brahmin by birth. Thus, the identity of reference between *nañ* and *brāhmaṇa* can be maintained. The meaning of the cp., *abrāhmaṇa* could be *brāhmaṇasadrśa* *brāhmanabhinna* [1]

1. *vyākarana MB.TA. S.D.Joshi* and *J.R.F. Roodbergen* pp. 71
Patañjali discusses three alternatives regarding the problem of main member in the cp. like abrāhmana (1).

a) The reference of the cp. abrāhmana is determined by the negative particle nañ. This alternative is known as pūrvapadapradhānapakṣa.

b) The reference of the cp. abrāhmana is determined by the final member of the cp. The final member is considered as the main member. This is uttarapadapradhānapakṣa.

c) The third alternative is anyapadapradhānapakṣa according to which the cp. abrāhmana refers to somebody not denoted by the cp. constituents taken separately, for instance, a ksatriya.

The pūrvapadāpradhānapakṣa says that the meaning of the negative particle, (nañ) is the main meaning. The gender and the number of the cp. can not be explained if this view is accepted, because nañ does not refer to a thing which can be connected with gender and number. However, nañ tp. does take gender and number. This view is therefore not accepted by Patañjali.

The anyapadārthapradhānapakṣa maintains that the cp. abrāhmana refers to somebody not denoted by the cp. constituents taken separately, e.g. ksatriya. This view is

1. MB. no.s 1 to 18.
rejected because it leads to difficulties regarding gender and number. If nañ tp. denotes anyapadārtha, the cp. would take gender and number of the word standing for the anyapadārtha with which the cp. is construed. In a cp. such as, avarśāḥ hemantah 'a rainless winter', the cp. avarśāḥ has to change its plural number and feminine gender to masculine singular to suit the anyapadārtha hemanta. However, it does not change.

The third alternative, uttarapadapradhānapakṣa maintains the view that the reference of the nañ tp. is decided by the final member of the cp. In such a case, the cp. abrāhmaṇa would refer to a brahmin and not to a kṣatriya. According to Patanjali the reference of a cp. is not only determined by the meaning of the main member. The apradhāna 'subordinate' member of the cp. also has a role in determining the reference of the cp. In the cp. rājapurusah 'a royal servant' not any servant is brought but the servant who stands in relation to the king is brought. Similarly in the expression such as, abrāhmaṇam ānaya 'bring a non-brahmin', not any brahmin is brought but such a person of whom brahminhood (the primary meaning of the word brāhmaṇa is denied.

Patanjali explains that the function of nañ is not to remove things from physical reality but to bring the absence of something to our notice. The function of nañ is to convey the absence of something in the physical reality and not to create that absence.
The removal, nivṛtti denoted by the particle naṁ can be denoted in two ways as stated in the following examples.

i) brähmanah na bhuṅkte 'a brahmin does not eat'.

ii) abrahmano bhuṅkte 'a non-brahmin eats'.

In the first example, the action of eating is negated and in the other case, the brahmin as the agent of eating is negated, leading to the emphasis that he who is eating is some other than a brahmin. The negation in the first example is prasājyapratīṣṭedha and that in the second example is paryudāsa [1].

The action is negated in prasājyapratīṣṭedha and dharma 'an attribute' is denied in paryudāsa. Thus, a negation either prohibits action or excludes a thing. In conclusion, a negation points out a contrast.

It is pointed out by J.F. Staal [2] that the particle naṁ is related to a nominal word in a paryudāsa pratiṣṭedha.

1. paryudāsah sa viṁeyah vatrottorapadena naṁ
prasājyapratīṣṭedhas tu kriyā saha vatra naṁ
quoted by Renou: La Durghatavṛtti De śaranadeva Vol. 1 Fascicule I pp. 114.

Bhattoji Dikṣita in sk. on l. 1.4.

2. J.F. Staal "Negation and the law of contradiction in Indian thought," BSOAS Vol XXV Pt. 1 pp. 59
However, a substance or a quality can not be negated without any reference to the action. This is because the negative element can be spoken of only with reference to an action. The verb with which nañ is related is of two types; i) that which is expressed by a verbal root, and ii) that which is implied by a nominal stem. All the nominal stems are taken as expressive of existence and unity besides their basic referents. So when the nañ is related to the action implied by the nominal word, the negation is said to be purvudāsa and when the nañ is related to the action expressed by a verb, it is said to be prasajya pratisedha.

The negative statement presupposes a positive statement without which a mere negation is meaningless and absurd. The derivation of the term, prasajyapratisedha, makes it clear that a prasaṅga 'a particular statement' is necessary for negation [1]. This positive statement may either be expressed or implied.

There must be a locus or a substratum for negation of some action or some attribute. For example, bhūtale ghaḥo nāsti 'there is no pot on the ground'. The existence of the pot can not be negated without a reference to a substratum, the ground. Similarly, to exclude the brahminhood, there must

1. prasajyapratisedhasabdasya vyutpattis tu prasajya vidhāya vihitasya pratisedhah iti Nyāyakośa P. 584
be a non-brahmin. This means that when a non-brahmin is mistaken to be a brahmin due to the similarities in attributes, the statement becomes purposeful in as much as it removes the wrong cognition. The purpose behind both the functions of nañ is the same. The difference is only in the emphesis of negation laid on either an action or an attribute.

So in a regular nañ cp., the nañ negates the action of 'being' which is implied by the second member of the cp.

Being denotative of non-existence of an undifferentiated substance, it functions as a qualifier to the other member; hence, the final member becomes predominant and therefore, the gender and the number of the cp. is accordingto that of the final member.

The particle nañ denotes six meanings according to the traditional verse [1], by Kaundabhatta, as follows.

1) tatsādrśva 'similarity to something'. e.g. anikṣuḥ śāraḥ 'non-sugarcane-like ārow'.
2) abhāva 'absence' e.g. bhūtale ghaṭo nāsti 'there is no pot on the ground'.

1. tatsādrśvamabhāvaśca tadanyatvāṃ tadalpatā : aprāśastyam virodhaśca nañārthāṃ sat prakīrtitāḥ ;

by Kaundabhatta (the vaiyākarana of Kaundabhatta, ed. by K.P. Trivedi, Bombay, Sanskrit and prakrit series No. LXX Bombay, 1915, pp. 515)
iii) tadanyatva 'being other than something' e.g. 
aghataḥ pataḥ 'a cloth is other than a pot'.
iv) tadalpatā 'smallness of something' e.g. 
anudaram udaram. 'unbellylike belly'.
v) aprāśastyā 'being unfit' e.g. abrāhmanto 
surāpah 'unbecoming brahmin, drunkard'.
vil) virodha 'contradiction', e.g. asurah daityah 
'a daitya who is not a god'.

3.3.2 The naṃ cp.s found in the text of the Up. s are classified below into four groups on the basis of the nature of the second member in the cp.

A) The naṃ tp. cp.s in which the second member is a krdanta.

B) The naṃ tp. cp.s in which the second member is an adjective,

C) The naṃ tp. cp.s in which the second member a noun, and

D) The naṃ tp. cp.s in which the second member a compound.

A) The naṃ cp.s with a krdanta word as the final member occur in the text of all Up. s. The distribution of these naṃ tp. cp.s according to each Up. is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tai.</td>
<td>9 (15)</td>
<td>Ai.</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chân.</td>
<td>51 (95)</td>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>43 (142)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sve.</td>
<td>9 (20)</td>
<td>Kau.</td>
<td>9 (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mai.</td>
<td>43 (88)</td>
<td>Bā.</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chā.</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>4 (8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sau.</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
<td>Jai.</td>
<td>26 (67)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of the nāṅtp. of this type are 244. The actual occurrence of the nāṅ tp is 525. This type is used more in the Chân. Up., but the frequency of occurrence is more in the Br. Up. Their frequency of occurrence is very low in the I., Ke., Ai., Bā., Chā., and Sau., Up.s.

The kṛdanta which are the last member of the nāṅ tp. can be specified in six types as follows.

a) It is found that past participles are used more frequently in the nāṅ tp. cp.s. They are 102 in number. Some typical attestations are given below.

i) acyutam Chān. 3.17.6 'unshaken'.

ii) agrastāḥ Chān. 2.22.5 'without being slurred'.

iii) aniruktam Tai. 2.6 'undefined'.

iv) ahutam Mun. 1.2.3 'not offered'.

v) ā śrutam Pra. 4.5 'not heard'.

b) The nāṅ tp. cp.s in which the potential participles are used. Their total is 27. Some examples are given below.

i) aśaṅkhyah Mai. 6.20 'uncalculable'.
ii) adarśaniyam  Jai. 1.60.3 ’not good looking’.

iii) alevyāḥ  Mai. 2.7 ’not getting smeared’.

iv) adreśyāḥ  Mai. 2.5 ’invisible’.

c) abstract kṛdanta nouns are negated in 46 cases. The examples are:

i) ajañānām  Mai. 3.5 ’ignorance’.

ii) avvyavāḥ  Kau. 1.7 ’immutable’.

iii) aksītīm  Kau. 3.2 ’indestructibility’

iv) avedī  Br. 4.4.14 ’non-knowledge’.

d) kṛdanta denoting agent are negated in 18 cases. The examples are:

i) avidvān  Ā. 2 ’ignorant / not scholar’.

ii) asprāṣṭā  Mai. 6.11 ’non-toucher’.

iii) aśrotā  Mai. 6.11 ’non-listener’.

iv) avaktā  Mai. 6.11 ’non-speaker’.

e) Present participles are negated in 36 cases. The examples are:

i) alabhamānānam  Jai. 3.21.3 ’not obtaining’.

ii) anadavamānāḥ  Jai. 3.2.4 ’not being eaten’.

iii) asat  Jai. 1.53.1 ’not existing’.

iv) avavamānānāḥ  Mai. 2.2 ’undeaying’.

f) The nāṇa tp. cp.s with words ending in taddhita suffixes are 12 in number. The examples are:

i) aparimātadhā  Mai. 5.2 ’by unlimited [ways]’.

i\il \text{avyaktatvāt} \quad \text{Mai.} \quad 2.7 \quad 'due to unmanifestedness'.

\iii \text{akrodhamayah} \quad \text{Br.} \quad 4.4.5 \quad 'anger-less'.

\iv \text{avijnānavān} \quad \text{Ka.} \quad 3.5 \quad 'ignorant'.

A single attestation of the naṁ tp. in which the second member is a gerund is given below.

\i \text{adrṣtvā} \quad \text{Br.} \quad 1.4.15 \quad 'having not seen'.

A single attestation of the naṁ tp. in which the root is negated is given below.\[1\]

\i \text{ajasram} \quad \text{Mai.} \quad 7.11, 4.6 \quad 'perpetual'.

The naṁ tp., \text{asambhāvyam} \quad \text{Jai.} \quad 2.8.4 is used adverbially. The text follows.

\text{ta etc'suraḥ asambhāvyam parābūtāḥ} \quad \text{Jai.} \quad 2.8.4

'these demons were defeated inconceivably'.

\text{kṛdanta} is the second member in all the naṁ tp. cp.s of this type. As kṛdanta implies some action, all these cp.s are denotative of \text{prasajyapratisēdha}.

[B] The total number of the naṁ tp. cp.s in which the second member is a noun is 57 and their actual occurrence is 81. The Up. wise distribution of these cp.s is as follows.

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{atha supāṁ dhātunodāharanāntaramāha ajasramiti} nāmikampiramyaṇaṣakamahimsādibhyo raḥ \quad \text{P.} \quad 3.2.167 \quad \text{iti sutre ra pratyayanidhau jasadhātunā saha naṁsamāso nipātitaḥ} ; \quad \text{Bāmanoramā} \quad \text{pp.} \quad 187 \quad \text{sk. pub. Motilal Banarasidas.}
\end{itemize}
9) Jai.  4 [12]

The Ṛ, Ke., Pra., Māṇ., Ai., Bā., Chā., Ā., and the Śau. Up.s do not use this form of nān tp., whereas, the Br. Up. uses this form, generously. Some examples of the nān tp. cp.s of this type are as follows.

i) anannam Chān.  4.3.7 'non-food'.
ii) abrāhmaṇah Chān.  4.4.5 'non-brahmin'.
iii) amānavaḥ Chān.  4.15.5 'non-human'.
iv) alokāh Br.  4.3.22 'non-worlds'.
v) asraddhā Br.  1.5.3 'non-faith'.
vi) apūtraṇa Śve.  6.22 'to the one who is not a son'.

P.  6.3.75 enumerates some nipātana 'readymade word forms' as nān tp. cp.s. In these cases, the rule P. 6.3.73 does not operate. Some attestations found in the text of the Up.s are given below.

i) nākṣatranī Chān.  1.6.4 'stars'. kv., offers a solution as

nākṣatra = na kṣarati kṣīyate iti vā [1] 'that which does not decay'.

ii) nakhebhyaḥ Chān.  8.8.1 'from nails'. kv., offers a solution as,
nāsya khamastīti nakham [1] 'that which has no cavity'.

iii) nākam Chān. 2.10.5 'heaven'. [1] kv.
offers a solution as,
nāsminnākamiti nākam 'a place where the non-
happiness does not exist'. Thus, the word nāka is a case of
double negation.

iv) napumsaka Sve. 5.10 'other than male and
female'. [1] kv. offers a solution as,
na stri na pumān napumsakam i stri pumpsayoh pumpsaka-bhāvo
nipātyate. 'the one who is neither a male nor a female'. The
word pumpsaka is substituted for the words stri 'female' and
pūms 'male' in the above cp.

As the noun word is negated in these cp.s, these
are the illustrations of the pūryudānasīnisedha.

[C] The total number of the naṃ tp. cp.s in which
the second member is an adjective is 58 and their actual
occurrence is 95. The Up.wise distribution of the cp.s of this
type is as follows.

1. nabhrāṇnapānnavedānāsatyānamucinakulanakhanapumsaka -
naksatranakranākeṣu prakṛtyā P. 6.3.75
'The negative particle remains unchanged in nabhrāṇ, napāt,
navedas, nāsatyā, namuci, nakula, nakha, napumsaka, naksatra,
nakra and nāka.'
This form is not found in the Ī., Ke., Bā., Chā., Ā., and the Sau. Up.s. It is used generously in the Chān., Br., Mai., and Jai. Up.s.

The negation implied by such nañ tp. is paryudāsa as the quality is negated. Some attestations are given below.

1) adhrvaiḥ Ka. 2.10 'by unsteady'.
2) anityam Ka. 2.10 'non- eternal'.
3) anrtam Pra. 1.16 'falsehood'.
4) aparam Pra. 5.2 'lower'.
5) amoghāḥ Chān. 7.14.2 'not unavailing'.
6) asahasrena Chān. 4.4.5 'without becoming thousand'.
7) asādhu Chān. 2.1.1 'not good'.
8) akovidam Jai. 4.1.2 non- expert'.

[D] The total number of the nañ tp. cp.s in which the op. word is negated is 35 and their actual occurrence is 57. The Up.wise distribution of this type is as follows.

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11) Jai. 2 [3]

This form is not found in the Ke., Ka., Pra., Ai.,
Ba., Ā., and Sau. Up.s, while it is more frequently used in
the Br. Up.

It is observed that the functioning of negation
works on different lines when a cp. word is negated.

In one type, the total meaning conveyed by the cp.
is negated. The negation is paryudāsanisedha. This is
illustrated by the following examples.

i) apratīvācyam Jai. 1.9.5 'unanswerable'.
The analysis of the cp. is as:

pratigatam vācyam = pratīvācyam.
na pratīvācyam = apratīvācyam

ii) apratirūpah Kau. 4.10 'incongruous'.
The solution of the cp. is as:

pratigatam rūpam vasya = pratirūpah.
na pratirūpah = apratirūpah

iii) abuddhipūrvam Mai. 2.5 'without any
previous awareness'.
The analysis of the cp. is as:

buddheḥ pūrvam = buddhipūrvam
na buddhipūrvam = abuddhipūrvam

In the second type, though the cp. word is
negated, the nañ negates the action conveyed by one member of
the cp. The particle nañ is, thus, connected with the word
conveying the action in the cp. and not the entire cp. The examples illustrating this type are given below.

il anṛtuṣa Jai. 1.44.6 'not drinking in proper season'.

The analysis of the cp. is as:

ṛtuṣa pibatī = ṛtuṣa
na ṛtuṣa = anṛtuṣa

iil aparaprāyojyaḥ Mai. 7.2 'not to be employed by others'.

The analysis of the cp. is as:

pareṇa prāyojyaḥ = paraprāyojyaḥ
na paraprāyojyaḥ = aparaprāyojyaḥ

iili atamaśiṣṭam Mai. 6.24 'not enveloped by darkness'.

The analysis of the cp. is as:

tamasā aviṣṭam = tamāviṣṭam
na tamāviṣṭam = atamaśiṣṭam

Though, in the final analysis of the above mentioned cp.s, the meaning unit is negated by particle naḥ, semantically, the particle naḥ is connected with the word denoting action in the cp. Thus, this type of cp.s convey prasajyapratiṣedha negation. The cp.s of the second type are comparatively more in number, viz., 23, as compared to the first type, viz., 9.

The following two attestations are the cases of double negation.

il anavadyaḥ Mai. 7.1 'unimpeachable'.
The analysis of the cp. is as:

na vadyah = avadyah
na avadyah = anavadyah

ii) anaviprayuktah Pra. 5.6 'without being separated'.

The analysis of the cp. is as:

na viprayuktah = aviprayuktah
na aviprayuktah = anaviprayuktah

Irregular features of nañ tp. cp.s

ii) napatatah Bā. 16. 'nonfalling'. In this cp. the nañ particle retains the letter na in the cp. against P. 6.3.73. The text in which the cp. is used is:

ahamu yannapatata rathena dvisañgāreṇa pradhinaika oakra: 'I, a single wheeled, [move around] by a nonfalling chariot which has a rim of twenty six spokes'.

3.3.3 Some textual irregularities are found in the following two cases.

ii) amṛtyave Kau. 1.2 'unto non-death'.

The form of the cp. appears to be a nañ tp. cp. The two variant readings are amṛtyavah and amṛtave. The V.L. amṛtave appears to be a negative vedic infinitive similar to sutave 'for the pressing'. In such case, however, the correct
form would be amartave similar to kartave [1]. This form suits the text better. tanmā ātavo amṛvava [v.l. amartavel] abharadhvam 'so bring ye my seasons on to immortality [not to die].

ii) atamāvistam Mai. 6.24 'uncovered by darkness'.

The sandhi between the two members of the cp., namely, atmas and avistam is irregular. This irregularity of the sandhi is pecuier to the Mai.Up. This type of sandhi is described as double sandhi.

Observations:
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1) The total number of nañ tp. cp. is 396.

2) The nañ tp. cp.s are found in the texts of all Up.s, and are abundantly used.

3) The number of nañ tp. in which the kṛdanta is the second member are more. It means that the cases of prasajyapratisedha are more than those of purvyudāsa nisedha.

4) The nañ tp. cp.s convey various shades of meaning indicating that the usage of various shades of meanings existed as early as the Up.ic period.

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3.4 PRÂDI TATPURUȘA
3.4.1  

kugati prādayaḥ  P. 2.2.18

" [the case inflected word] ku, [the case inflected words called] gati, [and the case inflected word] beginning with pra, [are invariably compounded with a semantically, the case inflected word, and the compound is called tatpurusa] [1].

gati is the name given to preverbs and certain declinables which are always used in connection with a verbal derivative [P. 1.4.60 - 79]. gatis are nipātas and as such are avyayas by P. 1.1.37.

The prādis are listed under P. 1.4.58. They are also called gati [P. 1.4.60]. However, prādis are mentioned as a separate category in P. 2.2.18 in order to allow compounding in cases like durgandhaḥ where the prādi word does not function as a preverb.

The cp.s formed under P. 2.2.18 are invariable. The analytical word group is not possible. The word nitya continues from P. 2.2.17.

The ind. ku and the words called prādi are compounded with the case inflected word. According to Patañjali gatis are compounded with stems even before the case ending has been added [2]. So in the case of gatis the condition supā [P. 2.1.4] is suspended.

References:
1. vyākaraṇa MB. TA.. by Prof. S.D. Joshi pp. 181
2. gatikārakopapadānām krdbhīḥ saha samāsah MB. No. 14 on P. 2.2.19 vyākaraṇa MB TA.. by Prof. S.D. Joshi pp. 46
Since the word, kugatiprādayah is used in the nominative case, ku, and the words called gati, and prādi receive the designation upasargana [P. 1.2.43]. Consequently, they take the first place in the cp. [P. 2.2.30]

The prādi are designated as gati when they are connected with verbal derivatives[1]. So the compounding of any word from the prādi list with a kṛdanta word will result in a gatīsamāsa.

When any word listed in the prādigana is compounded with any noun then the cp. is known as prādi samāsa. Kātyāyana adds a special rule [2] stating that all the words listed in the prādigana are compounded, if they can be explained as having the sense of a kṣānta word. As the words āṇ and su from prādigana do not have the sense of kṣānta word, they are covered by the kv. ill on the present rule [3].

The vt.s stated under P. 2.2.18 in kv. are known as Saunāga vt.s which discuss the cases of prādi samāsa in detail. [4]

Saunāga vt.s are as follows.

1. P. 1.4.60
2. prādayah kṭārthe kv. P. 2.2.18.4
3. siddham tu kvāṃsvatidurgativacanāt kv. P. 2.2.18.3
4. Saunāgas appear to be a school of grammers. A detailed note is found in Vyākaraṇa MR. TA. by Prof. S.D. Joshi pp.18.
1) \textit{svātī pūjayam} [1] \\
\[ a \text{ the case inflected word } \] \textit{su} and \textit{ati}, when they have a sense of \textit{pūja} 'worship' [are compounded with a semantically connected case inflected word ], for example, \textit{surājā} 'a great king', \textit{atirājā} 'an excellent king'.

2) \textit{durmūndāyām} [2] [the case inflected word ] \textit{dus} when it has the sense of \textit{nīndā} 'censure' [ is compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word ], for example, \textit{duskulām} 'a family of bad repute'.

3) \textit{ānīśadārthe} [3] [the case inflected word ] \textit{ān̄}, when it has the sense of \textit{isat} 'to some extent' [is compounded with a semantically connected, case inflected word], for example, \textit{ākadarāh} 'slightly brown'.

4) \textit{kūḥ pāpārthe} [4] [the case inflected word ] \textit{ku}, when it has the sense of \textit{pāpa} 'evil' [is compounded with a semantically connected case inflected word ], for example, \textit{kupurūsah} 'evil person'.

5) \textit{prādāyō gatādyarthe prathamāvā} [5] [the case inflected word ] \textit{pra} etc., when they have the sense of \textit{gata} 'gone' etc. [are compounded with a semantically connected, the case inflected word ending in the ] first case, for example, \textit{prācāryah} = \textit{pragatah ācāryah} 'an advanced teacher'.

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\begin{flushleft}
1., 2., 3., 4., 5. \textit{Saunāga vts. MB. 1.416.15 - 25}
\end{flushleft}
6] atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthai dvitiyā [1] (case inflected word) ati etc., when they have the sense of krānta, 'passed' etc., (are compounded) with a semantically connected case inflected word ending in the second case, for example, atikhatvāḥ = atikrāntaḥ khatvāṃ 'one who has violated the nuptial bed.

7] avādayaḥ krūṣṭādyarthai triyā [2] (case inflected word) ava, etc., (are compounded) with a semantically connected case inflected word ending in the third case, for example, avakokilaḥ = avakrustaḥ kokilavā 'spring' announced by the cuckoo'.

8] paryādayaḥ glāṇādyarthai caturthā [3] (The case inflected words) pari, etc., when they have the sense of glāna 'tired' etc., (are compounded) with a semantically connected case inflected word ending in the fourth case, for example, paryādhvayanāḥ = pariglānaḥ adhyayanāva 'tired of study'.

9] nirādayaḥ krāntādyarthai panchamā [4] (The case inflected words) nis, etc., when they have the sense of krānta 'departed from' etc., (are compounded) with a semantically connected case inflected word ending in the fifth case, for example, nīṣkauśāmbīḥ = nīṣkrāntaḥ kauśāmbīyaḥ 'departed from kausāmbi'.
3.4.2 An attestation of the *ku samāsa* is not found in the entire body of the *Ups*.

The *Upwise* distribution of the *gati* and *prādi samāsa* is as follows.

1) 1 [1]  2) 9 [10]
5) 1 [1]  6) 6 [6]
7) 1 [1]  8) 16 [18]
9) 22 [45]  10) 8 [8]
11) 6 [8]  12) 31 [36]
13) 4 [4]  14) 23 [34]
15) 1 [1]

The total number of cp.s is 140 and their actual occurrence is 185. This form is found frequently in the *Br., Mai.* and the *Jai. Ups* and less so in the *Ke., Mān., Chā., Ā.,* and the *Sau. Ups*.

The attestations of both the *gati* and the *prādi samāsa* are found in nearly equal numbers, viz., 66 of *gatīsamāsa* and 57 of *prādi samāsa*.

The cp.s in which the words from *prāṣṭigāna* as well as words specially designated as *gati* are compounded with any verbal derivative are treated as *gatīsamāsa* because any word from *prāṣṭigāna* is used with an action word gets the designation *gati* also.[1]

-----------------------------------------------
1. P. 1.4.60
The op.s in which any word from prādigana is compounded either with a noun or with an adjective, is treated as prādisamāsa because these are treated so by Saunāga vt.s.[1]

* Gatisamāsa :

The words pra [3], parā [1], anu [11], dus [2], dur [3], vi [7], ān [2], ati [3], su [22], ut [2], and pari [1] are used in the gatisamāsa attestations found in the body of the Upan. The figures in the parenthesis denote their occurrences.

The following are the attestations in which the gati words astam, antar, and puras are used.

i) astamite Br. 4.3.3; Jai. 4.5.1 'when the sun has set'. [2]

ii) purohitah Jai. 1.59.2 'a priest'. [3]

iii) antarhitah Br. 3.7.1; 3.7.2; Jai. 4.4.2; Mai. 6.6 'placed inside'.

iv) antarjugānam Ā. 9 'enjoying inwardly'.

v) antarbhūtasya Mai. 7.11 'of the one who is included'.

vi) antargatasya Mai. 6.34 'included'. [4]

1. Saunāga vt.s MB. 1.416.15 - 25
2. astam ca P. 1.4.68
3. puro'vyayam P. 1.4.67
4. antaraparigrahe P. 1.4.65
a) The word *pra* in the sense of excess is used in the following attestations.

i) *pramūḍhāḥ*  
   Mun. 1.2.10 'extremely deluded'.

ii) *pradrānakah*  
    Chān. 1.10.1 'extremely poor'.[1]

iii) *prasāntāḥ*  
    Mun. 3.2.5 'fully calmed'.

In the following attestations the word *pra* is used in the sense of *prakarṣa* 'excellence'.

i) *pravacanam*  
   Mun. 3.2.3 'expounded doctrine'.

ii) *prāśasanam*  
    Chān. 5.3.7 'a good rule'.

b) The word *para* is used in the sense of prowess in the following examples.

i) *parākrāntih*  
   Jai. 1.26.5 'display of power'.

c) The word *anu* is used in the sense of 'after' in the following attestations.

i) *anukramaṇam*  
   Mai. 4.3 'pursuit'.

ii) *anupānam*  
    Chān. 1.10.3 'a drink [that follows eating]

iii) *anucaranaṇam*  
    Mai. 4.3 'behaving after [the precepts]'.

1. *pradrānakah iti : drā kutsāyām gatau : kutsitām gatim
gato'ntyāvasthāṃ prāptāḥ ityarthāḥ : Saṅkarācārya,
Īśādiśaḥopanisadah pp. 379.
The word *anu* is used in the sense of imitation in the following attestations.

i) *anukṛśitaḥ* Tai. 1.8 'compliance'.

ii) *anugītam* Jai. 1.55.14 'an imitating song'.

iii) *anucānāḥ* Jai. 4.7.2 'one reciting after / one imitating exactly what the teacher says [a student]'.

d) The words *dus* and *dur* are used in the sense of 'evil' in the following attestation.

i) *duskṛtam* Chān. 8.4.1 'an evil deed'.

In the following attestations it is used in the sense of 'incorrect'.

i) *duranucānāḥ* Jai. 3.7.5 'one who recites incorrectly'.

ii) *durudgitam* Chān. 1.5.5 'falsely chanted'.

The word *dur* is used in the sense of 'difficult/hard' in the following attestations.

i) *durnivāryam* Mai. 4.2 'hard to keep back'.

ii) *durbhiṣaiyam* Br. 4.3.14 'hard to cure'.

iii) *duranusamprāpya* Jai. 3.33.2 'difficult to obtain after'.

e) The word *vi* is used in the sense of 'greatness' in the following attestation.

i) *vigītaḥ* Br. 6.4.18 'famous'.

It is used in the sense of 'isolation' in the following attestations.

i) *visṛtīḥ* Br. 1.4.6 'isolated creation'.

The *Upaniṣad* text in which the cp. is located is as follows.
tadyadidamāhuramum yajāmum yajetvekaikām devametasyai va sa visṛṣṭhā: 'this that people say, worship this god! worship that god!—one god after another—this is his [of Brahma] isolated creation indeed'.

It is used in the sense of 'totality, completeness, thoroughness' in the following attestations.

i) vimokṣaḥ Br. 4.3.14 'complete release'.

ii) vibodhaḥ Mai. 2.5 'total/complete awakening'.

f) The word ānā is used in the sense of 'a little' in the following attestations.

i) āgītām jai. 1.55.14 'a little song'. The text is: atha yat kimeto saṁnastadāgītām:

g) The word ati is used in the sense of 'excellence' in the following attestation.

i) atiṣṭhān Br. 1.4.6 'super creation'.

It is used in the sense of 'completeness' in the following attestation.

i) atimokṣaḥ Br. 3.1.6 'total release'.

ii) atimuktā Br. 3.1.4 'complete release'.

h) The particle su is used quite often in the texts. It is usually used in the sense of 'good' as in the following attestations.

i) sukratā Ka. 3 'a good deed'.

ii) sucaritāṇi Tai. 1.11 'good, worthy acts'.

iii) supratīstha Śve. 1.6 'a good support'.
It is used in the sense of **saukarya** 'easiness' in
the following attestations.

1) **sujñeyam** Ka. 1.21 'easily understandable'.
2) **sujñanāya** Ka. 2.9 'for easy understanding'.

It is used in the sense of 'perfectness' in the
following attestations.

1) **susamiddhasya** Mai. 6.28 'perfectly
burning'.
2) **suviditam** Jai. 3.7.4 'perfectly understood'.
3) **susamāhitam** Br. 4.3.35 'perfectly
controlled'.

It is used in the sense of 'correct, proper' in
the following attestations.

1) **subhrtah** Ka. 4.8 'well-borne'.
2) **sudhautam** Śve. 2.14 'well-cleansed'.

The word **ut** is used in the sense of 'high' in the
following attestation.

1) **udgītam** Jai. 1.55.14 'a song in a loud
voice'.

It is observed that sometimes the words from
prādgāna do not carry any specific meaning to change the
meaning of the word to which they are joined, for example,

1) **pariṣṭutih** Śve. 2.4 'praise'. Sāyaṇācārya
paraphrases the word also as **pariṣṭutih stutih** [1]

1. Sāyaṇācārya on **Rv. 5.81.1**
The exact denotation of the following attestations is not quite clear.\([1]\)

\[\begin{align*}
&i) \text{ utkrāntih} & \text{ Jai.} & 1.26.5 \\
&ii) \text{ ākrāntih} & \text{ Jai.} & 1.26.5 \\
&iii) \text{ parākrāntih} & \text{ Jai.} & 1.26.5
\end{align*}\]

These cp's occure in the following text.

\[\text{saiṣgotkrāntirbrahmaṇah ; athātaḥ parākrāntih ; sa vā sa ākrāntirvidyuveda sa ;}\]

\* Prādisamāsa :

When a word from \text{prādīgana} is compounded with any word which is not a word of action, the resulting cp. is \text{prādi samāsa}.

The words \text{su [17], ati [11], dus [2], ān [1], pra [5], anu [3], nir [2], prati [7], ud [1], abhi [1], upa [1], and vi [6]}, are used in the attestations of \text{prādi samāsa} found in the entire body of the \text{Ups}. The figures in the paranthesis denote the frequency of occurrence.

a) The word \text{su} is used in the sense of \text{pūja} 'worship' in the following attestations.

\[\begin{align*}
&i) \text{ svadhvaryuh} & \text{ Jai.} & 4.6.6 \ 'a \ good \ [proficient] \ Adhvarya'. \\
&ii) \text{ sūdgātā} & \text{ Jai.} & 4.6.6 \ 'a \ good \ [expert] \ udgātā'.
\end{align*}\]

1. \text{Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads} ed. by Prof. \text{Vadekar} pp. 395
iii) suhotā Jai. 4.6.6 'a good [expert] hotṛ'.

iv) suhayagā Chān. 5.1.12 'a fine horse'.

The cp.s sited above are illustrative of the vt. svātipujāyam [1]

The word su is used in the sense of 'excess/ very much' in the following attestations.

i) susūksamam Mun. 1.1.6 'exceedingly subtle'.

ii) sulohitā Mun. 1.2.4 'very red'.

iii) sudūre Mun. 3.1.7 'very far'.

iv) sunirmajām Śve. 3.12 'exceedingly pure'.

b1) The word ati is used in the sense of pūjā 'worship/excellence' in the following attestations.

i) atipurūṣah Jai. 1.27.2 'superior person'.

The text is very clear in the use of the cp. athaiga eva puruso vo'yaṁ oaksūṣi : va āditye so'tipuruṣah : yo vidhyuti sa paramapurūṣah : ' The one who is in the eye is a person. One in the sun is the superior person and the one in the lightening is the best person'.

The word ati is used in the sense of 'excess' in the following attestations.

i) atidūrām Mār. 6.4 'faraway'.

ii) atidīrγhe Ka. 1.28 'in excessive long'.

iii) atiprashān Fra 3.2 'excessive questions'.

1. Saunaga vt.s MB. 1.416.15 – 25
iv) atisūksmanam Śve. 4.16 'extremely subtle'.

The word ati is used in the sense of 'extra/remaining' in the following attestations.

i) atigrāhena Br. 3.2.2 'by extra apprehender'.

ii) atigrāhāḥ Br. 3.2.1 'extra cups'.

iii) atiśeṣān Chān. 1.10.5 'remaining'.

The word ati is used in the sense of krānta in the following attestation.[1]

i) atiśāśramibhyah Śve. 6.21 'those who have crossed the limits of the stage of life'.

The taddhita suffix is added after the cp. and the cp. becomes denotative of anyapadārtha.

ii) atijane Chān. 6.14.1 'in uninhabited [place]'.

iii) atiratham Jai. 3.35.2 'from the chariot'.

The cp. is used adverbially in the text. prāṇa vai pataṅgah : pataṅniva hyeṣvāṅgeṣvātirathamudīkṣate : 'breath is the pataṅga. He looks from beyond the chariot [?] while falling unto the limbs'.

cf. The word prā is used in the sense of 'excellence' in the following attestations.

i) prasāma Jai. 1.15.4 'the best sāman'.

1. Saunaga vt. s MR. 1.416.15 - 25
The word pra is used in the sense of 'each' in the following attestations.

i) pradisesah Bâ. 17; Sve. 2.16 'each direction'.

ii) prasâkhayâ Mai. 7.11 'by each branch'.

Any attestation with the sense gata 'gone' is not found in the entire body of the Ups, though the word with which the word pra forms a cp. takes the nominative case. The following examples can be cited.

i) prasâma. This is analysed as prakrstaṃ sâma.

ii) pradisesah. This is analysed as pratyekâ diś.

The word anu is used in the sense of anugata 'following' with a word in the first case in the following attestations.

i) anumantarâh Jai. 3.10.1 'formulae which come after'.

ii) anuphalaih Mai. 3.2 'consequent fruits'.

iii) anuprasnâh Tai. 2.6 'appurtenant questions'.

The word nir is used in the sense of nirgata 'gone/absent' is used with the word in ablative case in the following attestation.

i) nirmamatyât Mai. 2.7 'due to selflessness'.

It is used in the sense of nihsa 'complete' in the following attestation.
i) nihśreyāgam Kau. 2.14 'superior excellence'.

f) The word prati is used in the sense of 'each / every' in the following attestations.

i) pratīśārīresu Mai. 2.7 'in each body'.

ii) pratipurusah Mai. 5.2 'each person'.

iii) pratidevataśa Mun. 3.2.7 'into respective divinity'.

The word prati is used in the sense of pratigata 'opposite to' in the following attestations.

i) pratyanagah Br. 4.3.37 'policeman [who is against crime]'

ii) pratividhih Mai. 4.3 'antedote'.

The word prati is used in the sense of 'exact imitation' in the following cases.

i) pratirūpam Chān. 8.8.1 'reflection'.

ii) pratyāsvaraḥ Chān. 1.3.2 'reflecting sound'. This cp. is used in the following manner.

svara iti māmācaṅgāte svara iti pratyāsvaṅ ātyāmum : 'people designate this [prāṇa] as sound and as the reflecting sound to this one [sūn]'.

g) The word ud is used in the following attestations.

i) udvartmanā Mai. 6.30 'by a side-path'.

The cp. does not show any derogatory meaning in its usage.

The text is as follows.

na hyatrodvartmanā gatiḥ : eso'tra brahma-pathaḥ : sauraṁ dvāram bhītvordhvena vinirgataḥ : 'for there is no approach
by the side-path here in the world. This is the path to Brahman here in the world. Piercing through the door of the sun he departed aloft'.
h] The word upa is used in the sense of 'secondary' in the following attestation.

i] upādiśah Mai. 6.2 'intermediate quarters'.

The word upa is used in the sense of 'near in the following attestation.

i] upamāśah Kau. 1.2 'nearing month'.

j] The word dus is used in a derogatory sense in the following attestations.

i] duscaritāt Ka. 2.24 'from consumable conduct'.

It is used in the sense of 'extreme' in the following attestation,

duhsākyam Mai. 'very difficult'.

k] The word vi is used in the sense of 'many' in the following attestations.

i] visphulīṅgāh Mai. 6.26 'sparks'. The changes to s only once in the following attestations.

i] visphulīṅgāh Kau. 3.3 'sparks'.

ll The exact function of the words from the prādigana is not clear in the following cases.

i] virājye Mai. 1.2 'in the domain'.

ii] abhyadhikah Sve. 6.8 'superior'.

iii] adiśah Hā. 17 'particular direction'.
* Cvisamāsa:

The suffix cvi comes after a word when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word what the thing previously was not and when the verbs kr ‘to make’, bhū ‘to be’, and as ‘to be’ are conjoined with it [1].

The long ā is substituted for the final a or ā of the nominal stem before the adverbial suffix cvi [2].

The long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the stem before the adverbial suffix cvi [3].

The semantic implication of the suffix cvi is stated by the following kvā.

abhūtatadbhāva iti vaktavyam [4] ‘When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem when it was not that previously, then the suffix cvi is added. The term abhūtatadbhāva means ‘the state of that what it was not’.

urvādicvidācaśca P. 1.4.61 ‘The word urī ‘assent’ and others and those that end with cvi and those that end with dāco [P. 5.4.57] [when in composition with the verb bhū, kr, or as] are called gati’. The cvi samāsas get the designation of gatisamāsa by this rule.

1. P. 5.4.50
2. P. 7.4.32
3. P. 7.4.24
4. kvā. 5.4.50.1
The frequency of the *cvī samāsa* is very low. The total number of these cp.s is 7, and they mainly occur in the *Mai., Up* as in the following attestations.

i) **ekībhūtah** *Mān.* 5 'becoming one'.

ii) **dvaitībhūtam** *Mai.* 6.7 'becoming of dual nature'.

iii) **dvaitībhāvah** *Mai.* 7.11 'duality'.

iv) **kalusākrtān** *Mai.* 3.2 'defiled'.

v) **amanībhāvan** *Mai.* 6.34 'the state of mindlessness'.

vi) **advaitībhūtam** *Mai.* 6.7 'becoming of non-dual nature'.

All the attestations stated above imply the meaning of *abhūtatadbhāva*.

The final vowel *a* of the stem is not substituted by long *ā* in the example given below, eventhough the cp. implies the sense of *abhūtatadbhāva*.

i) **megasabhūva** *Bṛ.* 1 'one who has become a ram'.

Observations:

1. The total number of the *gati, prādi, and cvī samāgas* in the entire body of the *Ups* is 140.

2. The cases of *gati* and *prādi* cp.s are frequently used in the *Bṛ., Mai., and Jai., Ups*.

3. The *cvī* cp.s are found mainly in the *Mai., Up*
4. Any attestation of *kusamāsa* is not found.

5. A large number of *prādīsamāsa* are explanable without applying the *Sāurveda* vt.s

6. No particular irregularities are generally noted except in the case like *mesobhūya* [ *Bā. 1* ].
3.5 UPAPADA TATPURUSA
3.5.1 upapadaṁ atiṇ [nityaṁ samasyate] P. 2.2.19

[A case inflected word] called upapada 'accompanying word', which [does] not [end in a suffix called tīṁ] is invariably compounded with a semantically connected word, and the cp. is called tp.

The term upapada 'accompanying word' is a name given to words represented by locative words in the rules P. 3.1.92 - 3.4.117, except when the locative words stand for a meaning condition.

The interpretations of this rule given by kv. is different from that in the sk. The kv. literally follows the text of the rule while the sk. interpretes from a technical point of view. The kv. expalins the rule as:

"a word called upapada is invariably compounded with another case inflected, semantically connected word, if the upapada does not end in a verbal suffix.[1]

The purpose of the suffix atiṇ is to prevent compounding of the expression like edhān āhārako vrajati 'he goes out to fetch fuel'. Here, the word āhāraka gets the suffix ṇvul to the root ā + hr by P. 3.3.10. In this rule, the word kriyāyām 'if [a word stands for] action' is used in locative [2]. The word vrajati 'he goes' which

1. upapadaṁ atiṇantaṁ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha samasyate nityaṁ kv. on P. 2.2.19
2. tumuṇṇvulau kriyāyām kriyārthāyām P. 3.3.10
stands for action gets the designation upapada by P. 3.1.91. The undesirable cp. like vrajatyaharahakah would have formed had there been not the word atini in the rule.

The sk. explains the rule as:

" an upapada which ends in a case affix is invariably compounded with a semantically connected word, and the resulting cp. is atinanta 'not ending in a verbal suffix"[1]. Here, the word atini is construed with the word samasa 'compound' which continues from P. 2.1.3 [2]

The word nityam 'invariably' continues from P. 2.2.17 and implies that the upapada tp. samasa has no corresponding phrase structure.

3.5.2 The total number of the upapada tp. cp.s found in the text of the Up.s is 414, and their actual occurrence is 736. The Up-wise distribution of the cp.s is as follows.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
[8] & Ai. & 7 [8]
\end{array}
\]

1. upapadaḥ subantam samarthaṇa nityam samasyate atinantaḥ dāyam samasah sk. on P. 2.2.19

2. see TA. pp. 202 - 204
The frequency of occurrence is the maximum in the Chān. and the Jai. Up. and minimum in the Ke. Up. The highest number of the *upapāda* tp. is found in the Mai. Up.

Two types of suffixes, namely, *tiṅ* and *kṛt* may be added to the roots accompanied by an *upapāda*. According to the interpretation of P. 2.19 as given by *sk.*., compounding in the first case is prohibited. Hence, according to P. 2.2.19, the *upapāda* cp.s are allowed if the final member is a *kṛdanta* word and the word *atīṅ* in the rule implies that the final member of the cp. need not be a case inflected word.

A list of alphabetically arranged roots which are used in the *kṛdanta* form in the *upapāda* tp. *samāsa* is given below.

|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------------|-----|
The figures after each root are indicative of the cp. forms occurring in the text.

The kṛdanta forms of the roots anca, ad, kr, gam, car, ian, īnā, drś, ni, bhaj, bhū, vad, vid, sthā, and han occur more frequently than the others.

Pāṇini has ordained different kṛt suffixes to the roots when they are preceded by an upapada 'accompanying word'. The suffixes like kvip, da, ac, ṅyat, vit, īvi, kvap, ṅyat, vic, in, ka, ni, ti, an, kap, kaḥ, kun, tak, namul, ap, kan, and kun are added after the roots in the upapada samāsa attested in the body of Up. s. The suffixes kvip, da,
ka, and nini are generously used in the attestations.

Some expressions appear like upapada tpa. with roots as the second component ending in a krt suffix and an upasarga 'preverb' as the former component. In the following examples the suffix nini is added after the roots.

i) upatāpin Chān. 6.15.1 'ailing person'.
ii) upacārin Mai. 6.30 'one showing honour'.
iii) ativādin Mun. 2.2.4 'superior speaker'.
iv) abhivādin Mai. 4.5 'expounder'.
v) ativyādhin Jai. 1.4.2 'superior archer'.
vii) paricāriṇī Chān. 4.4.4 'maid servant'.

A suffix ac is added after the roots in the following.

i) pragrahah Ka. 3.3 'tiding bond'.
ii) durlabhah Ka. 1.25 'difficult to obtain'.
iii) durdarṣah Ka. 2.12 'hard to see'.
iv) parimarah Tai. 3.10 'dying around'.

The suffix kvip is added after the roots in the following cases.

i) pariyad Br. 6.2.1 'assembly'.
ii) upaniṇad Tai. 1.11 'secret principle'.
iii) paribhūḥ Dr. 8 'encompassing'.
iv) saṁrāṭ Br. 4.1.1 'an emperor'.
v) abhijit Jai. 3.20.10 'winner'.
vii) upavā Jai. 3.20.1 'blowing near'.
A suffix l\_u is added after the roots in the following examples.

i) prasara\~na  \_ A. 9 'expanding'.

ii) upasara\~na  \_ Ch\_n. 1.3.8 'place of refuge'.

A suffix a\_n is added after the roots in the following cases.

i) sa\~nas\_rn  \_ Ka. 3.7 'worldly existence'.

ii) aprasa\~h  \_ Ch\_n. 5.2.7 'self possessed'.

iii) ativa\~h  \_ Jai. 3.9.10 'taking beyond'.

The axiom, upasarga\~na d\_\_t\_\_th\_o\_o bal\_\_d\_\_n\_\_y\_\_t\_r\_a ni\_\_y\_\_t\_e [1] 'the preverb may change the root meaning' is well illustrated by all the above examples.

The following are some attestations in which the upapada is an indeclinable.

i) vath\_\_k\_\_rin  \_ Br. 4.4.5 'as one acts'.

ii) vath\_\_c\_\_rin  \_ Br. 4.4.5 'as one behaves'.

iii) anteva\~s\_in  \_ Tai. 1.11 'a student'.

iv) eva\~\_\_mid  \_ Tai. 2.8 'knowing thus'.

v) ittham\_\_mid  \_ Kau. 1.3 'knowing in this manner'.

vi) pura\_\_\_\_s\_\_\_r\_\~\_n\_\_\_i  \_ Sve. 2.11 'going ahead'.

vii) daksin\_\_\_v\_\_\_t  \_ Kau. 2.15 'turning southword'.

viii) svaymb\_\_h\_\_\_h  \_ Jai. 4.11.1 'self born'.

ix) atrasad  \_ Jai. 4.23.3 'sitting here'.

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1. sk. P. 8.4.16 [2232]
xl uparisthah Mai. 2.4 'abiding above'.

xil purājāh Jai. 1.45.2 'born earlier'.

The following attestations have a krt suffix added to the root with a preverb when preceded by an upapada. This tendency is seen more in the Sve Up. Out of the total 25 attestations 10 are found in the Sve Up.

i l vidyābhispīnam Ka. 2.4 'to one who is desirous of knowledge'.

ii l śokatīgah Ka. 1.12 'gone beyond grief'.

iii l brahmaśamstah Chān. 2.2.31 'stabled in Brahman'.

iv l vadhāśāṅkam Br. 4.1.3 'fearing death'.

vl sarvānubhūh Br. 2.5.19 'experienced by all'.

v l sarvabhūtādhivasah Sve. 6.11 'dwelling in all beings'.

vii l sarvendriyagunābhāsam Sve. 3.7 'illuminating the qualities of all senses'.

viii l karmanugānī Sve. 5.11 'following the deeds'.

ix l silpopajīvinah Mai. 7.8 'living by craft'.

x l taryābhīghatīnah Mai. 7.10 'destroying the raft'.

As shown below, the upapada word is a cp. word in some cases. The tendency to use such a word form is found more in the Mai. Up. Out of the total 18 such cp.s, 10 are
round in Mai. Up.

i) **trikarmkrt** Ka. 1.17 'performing three rites'.

ii) **kalásargakarah** Sve. 5.14 'maker of creation of parts'.

iii) **svacittastham** Sve. 6.5 'dwelling in one’s own mind'.

iv) **andhodapānastham** Mai. 1.4 'dwelling in the dark well'.

v) **sukhaduhkhabhāk** Mai. 1.4 'experiencer of pleasure and pain'.

vi) **visvakarmkrt** Mai. 5.1 'causing all acts'.

vii) **brahmavidyāvid** Mai. 4.4 'knower of knowledge'.

In the following six cases of the upapada tp., the upapada retains its case endings.

i) **divikṣit** Mai. 6.35; Chān. 2.24.14 'dwelling in the heaven'.

ii) **hrdīsthān** Sve. 4.20 'stabled in the heart'.

iii) **gahvarestham** Ka. 2.22 'staying in the secret place'.

iv) **puṣyavah** Pra. 5.5 'lying in the city'.

v) **antevāgī** Br. 1.3.18 'living near a student'.

vi) **apsucārīnānāg** Mai. 6.35 'moving in water/ fish'.
The cp. *diviksita* is regular by P. 6.3.14. The cp. *hrdšta* and *gahvarestha* are regular by P. 6.3.20. The language in the Up.s is not considered as *bhashā* 'a common language'. The *s* in *sṛtha* changes to *s* in the cp. *gahvarestham* but does not change in the cp. *hrdīstham*, though the conditions are the same and favourable for such a change. The rule P. 6.3.106 is applicable to the cp. *gahvarestha* but not to *hrdīstham*. This phonetic change is not directly stated by Pāṇini as the *pada ekesam* 'of some teachers' continues from P. 6.3.104.

The cp.s *purīsayaḥ* and *antavāśi* are illustrative of P. 6.3.18. The cp. *apsucārīnaḥ* is a somewhat irregular form as the retaining of the seventh case is prohibited when the *kṛt* ending in *nini* follows by P. 6.3.19.

Some of the *upapada tpa* cp.s are explained by applying *vts.* These are as follows.

(a) *supyajātuṇīnīstācchilye* P. 3.2.78

The suffix *nini* is added to the root when it is in composition with any case inflected word which is not denotative of *jāti* 'genus' and when a particular cp. denotes a particular inclination, tendency, or habit.

*sādhukārīṇi* ca *kṛṭ.3.2.78.1* This *kṛṭ* extends the scope of the above rule. The suffix *nini* is added to the root *kr* when preceded by a word *sāduḥ*, though *tācchilya* is not implied. This *kṛṭ* explains the cp., *sādhukāri* Br. 4.5.5 'doer of good'.
brahmani vadhah kvt. 3.2.78.2. This kvt. extends the application of the above rule and ordains the suffix *nini* to the root *vad* when preceded by the word *brahman*, even though, the semantic condition of *tācchilva* is not fulfilled making the following cp. regular.

brahmavādinah Chān. 2.24.1 'the expounders of sacred knowledge'.

[b] tyadādisu *drṣo'nālocane kañ ca* P. 3.2.60

The suffix *kañ* is also added [and the suffix *kvijn*] to the root *drṣ* when a word from the list that begins with *tyat* preceded and the root *drṣ* does not mean the act of seeing.

samānānyavoś'ceti vaktavyam kvt. 3.2.60.1. This kvt. extends the application of the rule to the words *samāna* and *anyā* which are not in the list of *tyadādi*. This kvt. explains the cp. cited below.

anyādṛśāḥ Chān. 4.14.2 'having different appearance'. The phonetic change of *anya* to *anyā* is by P. 6.3.130.

[c] priyavase vadhah *khac* P. 3.2.38 The suffix *khac* is added to the root *vad* when preceded by the words *priya* 'dear' *vasa* 'submission'

khac prakarane gameh supyupsānjhyanām kvt. 3.2.38.1.

vihāvaso viha ca kvt. 3.2.38.2

khacca didvā vaktavyah kvt. 3.2.38.3.

de ca vihāvaso vihādeśo vaktavyah kvt. 3.2.48.4.
The above kvt.s extend the application of the rule to the upapada vihāyas and explain the following cp.

i] vihagah Mai. 7.6 'a bird'.

[d] antātyantādhvadūrapārasaṃvānantesu daḥ P. 3.2.48. The suffix da is added to the root gam when preceded by any upapada word like anta, atyanta, adhvāna, ḍūra, pāra, sarva, and ananta.

uraso lopasca kvt. 3.2.48.2. This kvt. extends the application of the above rule and makes the following cp. regular.

i] uragah Mai. 7.4 'a serpent'.

sudūroraḥhikarane kvt. 3.2.48.3. This kvt. extends the application of the rule when the upapada words are su and dus, provided the cp. implies locus. This kvt. explains the following cp.

i] durgam Ka. 3.14 'difficult to traverse'.

dapraṇakarane'nyeṣvapi drṣyate kvt. 3.2.48 [kvt.] The suffix da is generously added to the root gam when preceded by any upapada word. The following cp.s thus, become regular.

i] śokātigah Ka. 1.12 'going beyond grief'.

ii] karmāṇugāni Sve. 5.11 'according to deeds'.

iii] saḥbāgaḥ Jai. 4.6.4 going to assembly'.

iv] purogam Šau. 1 'going ahead'.

v] suvārgaḥ Jai. 3.14.1 'going to heaven'.

vi] uṛdhvāgaḥ Mai. 6.21 'turning upwards'.
vii) antargahan  Mai. 6.35 'moving inside'.

[e] kāre satyāgadasya  P. 6.3.70 The infix mum added to the words satya and agada when followed by the word kāra.

lokasya prne mumvaktavyan  kvt.6.3.69.4. The infix mum is also added after the upapada word loka, when followed by the word prna. This kvt. renders the following cp.s regular.

i) lokamprnā  Pā. 15 'a name of a particular brick used to fill the gap in 'building the vedi'.

[f] Karmanya  P. 3.2.1 The suffix an is added to any root when preceded by any upapada word which is the karman 'object' of the action implied by the root.

śīlīkāmibhaksyācaribhyo pāḥ pūrvapadapraśkritisvaratvam ca vaktavyam  kvt. 3.2.1.7. The suffix pā is added after the roots śīl, kām, bhaks, and ācar when preceded by any upapada which is a karman and the cp. retains its original accent.

A large number of cp.s in which the word kāma is the final member, and the first constituent is denotive of the meaning karman are found in the text of the Up.s; some are given below.

i) pitrlokakāmaḥ  Chān. 8.2.1 'desiring the world of father'.

ii) mātrlokakāmah  Chān. 8.2.2 'desiring the world of mother'.

iii) annādyakāmah  Jāi. 1.11.2 desiring food'.
iv) ātmakāmah Mai. 7.10 'desirous of self'.

v) bhūtikāmah Mun. 3.1.10 'desiring prosperity'.

It should, however, be noted that, all these cp.s in which the final member is the word kāma can be solved either as upapada tp. or as bahuvarihi cp. If these are treated as upapada tp. they are explained by the above stated kvt. The root kāmi is from the root kam by P. 3.1.30 and the suffix nā is added by the above kvt.

Since the text of the Up.s is unaccented, we are unable to decide on the basis of accent whether a certain cp. is an upapada tp. or a bahuvarihi cp. All these cases, therefore, can be treated either way.

[1] karmānyān P. 3.2.1 The suffix ap is added to the root when the upapada is a karmā 'object'. The following are the examples.

i) annadāh Tai. 3.6 'consumer of food'.

ii) lokapālān Ai. 1.3 'guardians of world'.

iii) advanāvah Chām. 6.8.3 'a leader of horses'.

iv) bhūtapālāh Br. 4.4.22 'a protector of beings'.

v) avaskārah Mai. 6.27 'a black smith'.

[2] ato'napasarge kah P. 3.2.1 The suffix ka is added to the ā ending root without any preverb and is preceded by an upapada word which is denotative of karmān.

In all the examples below, illustrating the rule the upapada
word is an object.

i) kamrapraḥ āpr. 4.6.1 'fulfilling desires'.

ii) varadāḥ ēpr. 4.11 'boon giver'.

iii) giritraḥ ēpr. 3.6 'protecting the mountain'.

iv) saṃkhadmaḥ āpr. 2.4.8 'conch blower'.

v) ātmaikhaḥ āpr. 2.12 'knower of self'.

vi) sarvajñāḥ āpr. 4.11 'omniscient'.

vii) dvārapaḥ āpr. 3.13.6 'sentries'.

[3] supi sthaḥ P. 3.2.4 The suffix ka is added to the root sthā 'to stand', when it is preceded by any case inflected word. The yogavibhāga device suggested by kv. is not required for any cp. found in the text of the Up.s[1]. In all the examples which are following to illustrate the rule, the upapada word is denotative of adhikarana 'support'. The root sthā is used in a direct as well as an indirect sense.

i) ātmaṣṭaḥ kā. 5.12 'dwelling in the body'.

ii) sarīrasthaḥ kā. 5.4 'dwelling in the body'.

iii) antaḥṣaṭhaḥ kā. 6.10 'dwelling inside'.

iv) udarasthaḥ kā. 6.17 'residing in belly'.

v) bhūṣṭhaḥ āpr. 6 'standing on the ground'.

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1. aṭra yogavibhāgaḥ kartavyaḥ - supīti ā

supyākāraṃtebhyaḥ kapratvayo bhavati - dvābhyaṃ pibatīti
dvīpaḥ ā kv. on P. 3.2.4
vi) **andhodkapānasthah** *Mai.* 1.4 'residing in a dark well'.

vii) **prayogastham** *Mai.* 6.9 'devoted to such practice'.

[4] **gapostak** P. 3.2.8 The suffix **tak** is added to the roots **gai** 'to sing' and **pā** 'to drink' when preceded by any **upapada** word which is **karma** and the roots must not have any preverb. A single attestation illustrating this rule is found. Also, the feminine form of the cp. is not found in the *Up.s*.

i) **madvapah** *Chān.* 5.15.5 'drinking liquor'.

[5] **harateranuyamane'c** P. 3.2.9 The suffix **ac** is added to the root **hr** 'to carry', when the root does not mean 'to lift'. A single attestation illustrating this rule is found in the *Up.s*.

i) **tejoharah** *Jai.* 2.3.11 'taking splendour away'.

[6] **arhah** P. 3.2.12 The suffix **ac** is added after the root **arh** when it is preceded by any **upapada** word which is denotive of **karma**. A single attestation illustrating this rule is found in the *Up.s*. The feminine form is not found.

i) **brahmārarah** *Kau.* 1.1 'worthy of sacred knowledge'.

[7] **adhikarane seteh** P. 3.2.15 The suffix **ac** is added after the root **śi** 'to lie down' when preceded by a case inflected word which is necessarily denotive of
adhikarana 'support'. The cp.s illustrating the rule are as follows.

i) guhāsāvah Mun. 2.1.8 'living in the secret place'.

ii) sarvabhūtaguhāsāvah Sve. 3.11 'living in the secret place of all beings'.

[8] carestah P. 3.2.16 The suffix ta is added after the root car 'to move', if it is preceded by an upapada word which is denotative of adhikarana 'support'. The cp.s illustrating the rule are as follows.

i) guhācaraḥ Mun. 2.2.1 'moving in the secret place'.

ii) khaçaraḥ Mai. 3.2 'a bird'.

[9] puro'grato'gresu sarteḥ P. 3.2.18 The suffix ta is added after the root gr 'to move', when it is preceded by the words puras 'ahead', agratas 'in front', agrer 'ahead'. A single attestation illustrating this rule is found in the Up.s.

i) purahsārāṇi Sve. 2.11 'going in advance'.

[10] kṛnō hetutācchiliyānulōmyesu P. 3.2.20 The suffix ta is added after the root kṛ 'to make' when preceded by any upapada word which is a karama and denotative of cause, a unique cause, inclination or favourableness. The following examples, in which the upapada word is denotative of cause, illustrate the rule.

i) kalāsargakarah Sve. 5.14 'maker of creation of parts'.
ii] bhāvabhāvakaraḥ Śve. 5.14 'maker of existence and non-existence'.

iii] abhivyaktikarāṇi Śve. 2.11 'producing manifestations'.

Attestations denoting tācchīlya, 'favourableness' are not found.

[11] P. 3.2.21 ordains the suffix ta after the root kr when preceded by any word from the word list beginning with divā 'day', even if the unapada word does not denote cause, inclination, or favourableness. Only the following two attestations are found.

i] niśākarah Mai. 5.1 'the moon'.

ii] bhāskarah Mai. 5.1 'the sun'.

[12] chandasi vanasanarakṣimathām P. 3.2.27

The suffix in is added after the root van 'devoted to', san 'to obtain', raks 'to protect' and mat 'to churn' if these forms are found in the Vedic language. The following two cp.s illustrate the rule.

i] dhanasanamāyah Chān. 1.7.6 'obtaining wealth'.

ii] ṣatasanamāyah Jai. 1.50.5 'winning a hundred'.

[13] vāci yamo vrata P. 3.2.40 The suffix khaḍ is added to the root yam 'to control' when it is preceded by the word vāc 'speech' which is also a kārman and when an idea of religious vow is implied. The cp. illustrating the rule is:
11 vacamyamah Chān. 5.2.7 'one controlling speech'.

The two cp.s vacamyamah and purandarah are given as nipātana by P. 6.3.69

[14] saññayām bhṛtrīvyādharisahitapidadamah P. 3.2.46 The suffix khac is added to the roots bhr 'to support', ṭṛ 'to cross', vr 'to select', ji 'to win', dhr 'to hold', sah 'to endure', tap 'to injure', and dam 'to control' if preceded by any upapada word and the cp. is denotative of a special meaning. The following cp.s illustrate the rule.

i) rathantaram Chān. Mai. 7.1 'a particular name of sāman'.

ii) visvambharah Br. 1.4.7 'an epithet of fire'.

[15] antātyantādhvadūrapārasarvānantesu dāh P. 3.2.46 The suffix da is added to the root gam 'to go' when preceded by the upapada words anta 'end', atyanta 'much', adhvān 'road', dūra 'far away', pāra 'beyond', sarva 'all', and antanta 'endless'. All these upapada words are denotative of kārman. A single attestation illustrating this rule is found in the Up.s.

i) sarvagah Mun. 3.2.5 'omnipresent'.

[16] rtvigdahrṛksragidugnīganañcuyujikruñcām ca P. 3.2.59 The five cases of nipātana 'irregular forms of words' are recorded in the above stated rule. All these words take the suffix kvañ. Only the following single attestation
is found in the text of the Up.s.

i) rtvīga Chāṇ. 5.11.5 'the priest who offers sacrifice in proper season'.

The root  añc  takes the suffix  kvin  when preceded by any case inflected word. Some examples are given below.

All the cp.s are denotative of direction

i) pratyañ  Sve. 2.16 'averted'.

ii) visvanya  Bā. 11 'going apart'.

iii) mañcā  Jai. 1.27.4 'flowing the direction'.

iv) uḍana  Jai. 1.28.9 'northwords'.

v) tirvanya  Jai. 1.55.10 'traverse'.

[17] tyādādisu dṛś Olson tañ ca  P. 3.2.60

The root  dṛś  'to see' takes the suffix  kañ  as well as  kvin  when preceded by an upapada word from tyādādis list and if the root  dṛś  does not indicate the act of seeing. Some cp.s illustrating the rule are as follows.

i) idṛsāna  Mai. 2.3 'of such type'.

ii) vādṛsaya  Jai. 3.34.5 'of anybody whatsoever'.

[18] kvip  ca  P. 3.2.76 The suffix  kvip  is also seen after all roots irrespective of having an upapada or not in vedic as well as in the classical saṃskṛta. Sanskrit.

[19]

The suffix  kvip  is added after the roots  sad  'to
reside', sū 'to give birth', dvig 'to hate', druh 'to bear malice', vuj 'to unite', vid 'to know', bhid 'to break', chid 'to break', jī 'to conquer', nī 'to lead', and rā̄j 'to shine' eventhough they are preceded by preverb alone or by any upapada word. P. 3.2.26 is a more general rule and P. 3.2.61 ordains more specifically the application of the suffix kvip to specific roots. The following cp.s serve as examples for the rule.

i) antarikṣasad Ka. 5 'residing in mid-region'.

ii) rtasad Ka. 5 'stabled in pta'.

iii pratyakṣadvisah Br. 4.2.2 'hating the evident'.

iv) tātmavid Mun. 2.2.10 'knower of self'.

v) brahmavid Mun. 1.1.9 'knower of Brahman'.

vi) abhijit Jai. 3.20.10 'victorious'.

vii) senānīḥ Sau. 1 'general of an army'.

viii) grāmanīḥ Br. 4.3.37 'village chief'.

ix) vāmanīḥ Chān. 4.15.3 'bringer of desirable'.

x) gamrāṭ Br. 4.4.1 'emperor'.

xi ekarāṭ Jai. 4.8.4 'single ruler'.

The suffix kvip is generously used. There are 98 cp.s in which the suffix kvip is added.

Some of the attestations in which the suffix kvip is added after different roots which are mentioned in P. 3.2.61 are listed below. These cp.s can be covered by the
rule \textit{kvip} ca. P. 3.2.76

i) \textit{paribhūh} \textit{ī}. 8 'encompassing'.

ii) \textit{sthūlabhuk} Mā. 4 'enjoying the gross'.

iii) \textit{upavā} Jai. 3.20.1 'blowing near'.

iv) \textit{pariprāt} Bā. 1 'roaming around'.

v) \textit{prthivikṣit} Mai. 6.35 residing on the earth'.

[20] \textbf{brahmabhrūṇavṛttesu kvip} P. 3.2.87 The suffix \textit{kvip} comes after the root \textit{han} 'to kill' with the sense of past tense when the following words in the accusative are in the composition; \textit{brahma} 'a brahmin', \textit{bhrūṇa} 'a foetus', and \textit{vrtra}. This rule makes a fourfold restriction according to \textit{kv}; the restriction of \textit{dhātu} 'root', \textit{kāla} 'time', \textit{upapada} 'accompanying word', and \textit{pratyaya} 'suffix'. A single attestation is found in the text.

i) \textit{bhrūṇahā} Br. 4.3.22 'one who has slain the foetus'.

[21] \textbf{bahulām chandasi} P. 3.2.88 The suffix \textit{kvip} is variously added to the root \textit{han} 'to kill' in the sense of past tense when preceded by any \textit{upapada} word. These forms are allowed only in the vedic language. The rule is an extension of P. 3.2.87 and as a result, many cp.s as the ones mentioned below become regular. All these cp.s are used derogatively in the Up.s.

i) \textit{pitrā} Chāṇ. 6.8.5 'slayer of father'.


ii) mātrāḥ Chān. 7.15.2 'slayer of mother'.

iii) acāryahā Chān. 7.15.2 'slayer of teacher'.

iv) svasrāḥ Chān. 7.15.2 'slayer of sister'.

[22] sukarmapāpamantrapunyeyu krñah P. 3.2.89

The suffix, kvip, comes after the root kr 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are syntactically connected with su 'well', karmā 'action', pāpa 'sin', mantra 'a hymn', and punya 'virtue'. nīyama 'a restrictive rule' is ordained. According to kv, a threefold restriction is intended, namely, restriction with regard to past time, root kr, and the affix kvip, but not with regard to the upapada. This makes the following attestations regular.

i) punyakṛt Br. 4.4.9 'having performed merit'.

ii) viśvakṛt Br. 4.4.13 'maker of everything'.

iii) śvīstakṛt Br. 6.4.24 'who has offered a right sacrifice'.

iv) avatākṛt Mai. 6.28 'a miner'.

v) mantrakṛtah Jai. 1.45.2 'composers of hymns'.

vi) trikarmakṛt Ka. 1.17 'one who has performed three rights'.

[23] bhajo nviḥ P. 3.2.62 The suffix nvi is added after the root bhaj 'to share/ to enjoy' when preceded by any case inflected upapada word or by any preverb. Some attested forms are given below.
1) kāmabhāj Ka. 1.24 'enjoyer of desires'.
2) ārdhvabhāj Mai. 4.3 'tending upwards'.
3) ardhabhāj Jai. 3.17.5 'sharing half'.

[24] chandasi sahā P. 3.2.63 The suffix pvi is added after the root sah 'to overpower/to defeat' when preceded by any upapada word if it occurs in the vedic language.

[25] vahaśca P. 3.2.64 The root vah 'to carry' also takes the suffix pvi only in the vedic texts. The following are some of the examples.

1) turāsāt Bā. 9 'overpowering quickly'.
2) satrāsāham Ā. 9 'defeating together'.
3) ativāham Jai. 3.9.10 'carrying beyond'.

[26] janasasanakhanakramagamavitz P. 3.2.67. The suffix vitz is added to the roots jan 'to be born', san 'to give', khan 'to dig', kram 'to cross', and gam 'to go', when preceded either by a preverb or by any case inflected upapada word. The cp's are formed only in the vedic language. The examples from the text are:

1) adrija Ka. 5.2 'born in a mountain'.
2) abija Ka. 5.2 'born in water'.
3) prathamažān Tai. 3.10 'first born'.
4) purogāh Sau. 1 'a leader'.

[27] duhah kab ghaśca P. 3.2.70 The suffix kap is added after the root duh 'to milk', when preceded by a case inflected upapada word and the final syllable ha is substituted by gha. The following is the example.
1) kāmadughā Jai. 1.10.1 'milking the desires'.

[28] pañcamyāmajāτau P. 3.2.93 The suffix da is added after the root jan 'to be born' when the preceding upapada word is in the fifth case ending and is not denotative of a class. Following cp.s illustrate the rule.

i) andaiṇi Ai. 3.3 'born of eggs',

ii) udbhijāṇī Ai. 3.3 'born of sprouts'.

iii) jārujāṇī Ai. 3.3 'born of womb'.

iv) svedaiṇī Ai. 3.3 'born of sweat'.

v) pradhānajaj Īv. 6.0 'born of pradhāna'.

[29] upasarge samjñāyām P. 3.2.99 The suffix da is also added after the root jan when preceded by a preverb, and when a special designation is implied. The following cp. is an example.

i) prajāḥ Pra. 1.3 'progeny [born of Brahmā]'.

[30] anyesvapi drṣyate P. 3.2.101 The suffix da is added to the root jan even when preceded by any case inflected upapada word. The rule extends the scope of the application of the suffix da to include more cases such as the following ones.

i) ajāḥ Ka. 2.18 'unborn'.

ii) jīvaḷāṇī Chān. 6.3.1 'born of living thing'.

iii) prathamajāh Br. 5.4.1 'first born'.

iv) puṣṭicāḥ Jai. 1.45.2 'born earlier'.
[31] bhuvō bhāve P. 3.1.107 The suffix kyap is added after the root bhū 'to become' when preceded by a case inflected upapada word and not by any preverb, if an abstract action is implied. The following attestations are found in the text.

i) ātmabhūyam Ai. 2.2 'self becoming'.

ii) tadbhūyā Chān. 5.10.6 'becoming that'.

iii) ekadhābhūyam Br. 5.12.1 'becoming unity'.

iv) satyabhūyā Br. 5.5.1 'becoming truth'.

v) ekabhūyā Kau. 3.2 'becoming one'.

[32] vadah supi kyap ca P. 3.1.106 The suffix kyap and [also yat] are added to the root vad 'to speak' when preceded by any case inflected upapada word other than a preverb. The cp. illustrating the rule is as follows.

i) brahmodyam Br. 3.8.1 'discussion about Brahman'.

The cp. brahmaṇavādyam Jai. 3.8.2 is stated in the list of nipātana 'readymade words' in the rule P. 3.1.123 and the suffix nyat is added to the root vad.

[33] amāvasyadanyatarasyām P. 3.1.122 The suffix nyat is also added to the root vas 'to reside' when preceded by the upapada word amā 'together' in the cp.

i) amāvāṣyā Chān 5.3.3 'a new moon day'.

The form amāvasyā is not found in the text.

[34] karane'yovidṛugu P. 3.3.82 The suffix ap is added after the root haḥ 'to beat' when preceded by the upapada word ayas 'iron', vi, and dru in the sense of an
instrument. A single attestation is found. The cp. denotes a passive meaning.

1) ayogahanāh ā. 'hammer'.

[35] nāmyādisīgrafahāh P. 3.4.58 The suffix namul comes after the roots grah 'to grasp', and adis 'to direct' when preceded by an upapada nāman 'name' in accusative case. The following attestation illustrating the rule is found in the text.

1) nāmagrāhām Sau. 1 'taking name'.

[36] supyajātāu ninistācchilve P. 3.2.78 When a habit is to be expressed, the suffix nini comes after the root, provided that the word in syntactical connection with it does not mean a genus.

According to kv. though the anuvṛtti of the word sup was understood in this rule, its repetition suggests that the preverbs [upasargas] are not included in the sups. sk. does not accept this view of kv. It states that, this view is against the bhāṣya and should be discarded.[1] Moreover, there are attestations with upasargas such as, upacārin, anujīvin etc.

A large number of cp. is found in the text of the Up. s. The following are some attestations in which the habit is implied and the upapada is not indicative of genus.

1) vidyābhīpsīnam Ka. 3.4 'desiring knowledge'.

1. sk. on P. 3.2.78
ii] sūksmadarśibhiḥ Ka. 3.12 'by those who observe subtle things'.

iii] udgīthabhājinaḥ Chān 2.9.5 'partakers in udgītha'.

iv] bahudāvi Chān. 4.1.1 'generous giver'.

v] urdhvocchvāsa Br. 4.3.35 'exhaling upwards'.

vi] pāpakāri Br. 4.5.5 'performing sin'.

vii] saddhyāvi Mai. 6.30 'meditating upon truth'.

viii] sadhvādi Mai. 6.30 'speaking truth'.

ix] svapnacāri Mai. 7.11 'moving in a dream state'.

[37] vrata P. 3.2.80 The suffix nini comes after the root, which is in composition with a word ending in a case affix, and which means vow. vrata means a vow as regulated and ordained by the scriptures. This condition applies to the completed word made up of the root, the upapada, and the suffix. The following two attestations are found in the text.

i] brahmačāri Tai. 1.4 'student of sacred knowledge'.

ii] ācāryakulavāsa Chān. 2.23.1 'residing in the house of a teacher' [as a student]

[38] bahulam ābhikṣṇye P. 3.2.81 The suffix nini comes after the root diversely, when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed. ābhikṣṇya means
continued repetition, or a zealous and assiduous performance of anything. The attestations given below illustrate the rule.

i) anyatastyajāyī Br. 2.1.6 'a conqueror of adversaries'.

ii) annakāśīnī Jai. 1.11.1 'desirous of food'.

iii) kāmāgāyinā Jai. 2.5.12 'singing to achieve desires'.

iv) viṇāgāthinā Jai. 1.55.3 'lute players'.

[39] manah P. 3.2.82 The suffix ṇini comes after the verb man 'to think' when there is a case inflected word syntactically connected with it. The single attestation found proves the rule.

i) anucānamānī Chāv 6.2.2 'thinking himself learned'.

[40] karane vajah P. 3.2.85 The suffix ṇini comes after the root vaj 'to sacrifice' with the sense of the past time, when the upapada word is in the instrumental case. An attestation is given below.

i) āsvamedhayājīnā Br. 3.3.2 'who has performed āsvamedha sacrifice'.

[41] The feminine forms of the upapada cp.s are given below.

i) viśūcī Ka. 2.4

ii) sadhričī Jai. 3.37.4
Non-Pāṇinian features of some upapada tp. cp.s.

1. The following are the attestations which are not explained by any Pāṇinian rule.

jātavedāḥ  Ka. 4.8 'epithet of fire'.
viśvavedasam  Ā. 9 'knower of all'.

The root is vid 'to know' in the above attestations. A suffix such as as is to be imagined with an agentival meaning. Yāska has provided some etymologies of the word jātavedas as follows.[1]

jātavedāḥ kasmāt jātāṇī veda, jātāṇī vainām viduh, jāte vidyate iti vā jātavitto vā jātadhano jātavidyo vā jātaprajñāḥ vattajjātah pasūnavindateti tajjātavedasā jātavedastvamiti :

2) rūpavidyam  Kau. 3.8 'knower of form'. The cp. is used with the agentival sense as the text implies.

na gandham vijñāsīta ghratāram vidyāt ;
na rūpam vijñāsīta rūpavidyam vidyāt ;

'smell' is not what one should desire to understand, one should know the smell. Form is not what one should desire to understand, one should know the knower of the form'.
The form can be derived by adding suffix va to the root vid, preceded by the word rūpa. However, the form can not be explained by any P. rule.

1. Nirukta 7.1
The cp. has a variant reading which is given in the foot note of the text. [1] The editors of the text have selected the form rūpavidya. The variant reading rūpavid is regular.

3) aharjaram Taj. 1.4 'year'. Following is the text in which the cp. is used.

vathāpaḥ pravātā vanti vathā māsā aharjaram
'As water runs downward, as months into an year'. Śaṅkarācārya's comment on the text is as follows.

vathā ca māsā aharjaram saṁvatsaro'harjaraḥ āhāriḥ
parivartamāno lokaniyarayati ahāni vāsmin
jīryantvārbhavantityaharjaraḥ 'As months unto the year.....' The form aharjara is either as 'the one revolving by days makes people old' or 'days become old in this'. The suffix a is to be imagined.

4) dhānāruhāh Br. 3.9.28 'sprouting from grain'.

tejovrṣah Mai. 6.34 'showering splendour'.

These forms can be obtained by adding a suffix a. Pāṇini has not ordained any suffix in these particular cases.

1. rūpavidam V.1. in 'Eighteen Principal Upanisads' ed. by Prof. Limaye and Prof. Vadekar. pp. 319
5] vasudānah Br. 4.4.24 'giver of wealth'.
    visvābhiraksanah Jai. 4.4.1 'protecting all'.

The suffix lyu, if added to the roots dā and abhirakṣa will explain the cp.s. As the suffix lyu is not ordained to the roots when preceded by an upapada word, the words dāna and abhirakṣaṇa could be derived by making their addition to the list of roots given by P. 3.1.134. In such case, the cp.s would be saśṭhi tp.
    amunaranaḥ Bau. 22 'abducting this one'.

The suffix lyu is to be added to the root hr. Similarly the gūna form harana can be explained if the root is added to the list given by vt.:
    nandivāsimadīsūśadhivardhīśobhirocibhyo nyantebhyo saṁnāyām i
[1]. This addition would make the cp. saśṭhi tp.

6] haritaśpṛṣāh Jai. 4.1.1 'one touching the yellow'. P. 3.2.58 ordains the suffix kvīn to the root sṛṣā 'to touch' when preceded by any subanta, except the word udaka. Any one of the suffixes ūra, ka, or a can be added to sṛṣā in the above mentioned cp.

7] The suffix a is not ordained by Pāṇini to the roots when these are syntactically connected with the subantas as in the following examples.

   1] ātmabuddhiprakāṣām Sve. 6.18 'illuminating his own intellect'.

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1. vt. on P. 3.1.134 [kv.]
ill vadhamāṅkam Br. 4.1.3 'a fear of being killed'.

ill dharmāvaham Šve. 6.6 'bringer of right'.

iv) bhayavaham Šve. 2.8 'fear-bringing'.

vi) sarvendriyagunanābhāgam Šve. 3.17 'manifested by properties of all sense organs.

vi) sahasrāksaram Jai. 1.10.1 'oozing in a thousand ways'.

All these cp.s can be regular by including their roots in the pacādigana P. 3.1.134, and the suffix ac can be added to them. The suffix is added even to the roots with preverb when preceded by an upapada word in some of the above cases.

The upapada word is not a karmān in the cp. sarvendriyagunanābhāgam and sahasrāksaram. It is with an instrumental case. The cp. atmabuddhiprakāsam also can be solved in the manner of by. The cp. vadhamāṅkam has a passive meaning and can be explained by P. 6.2.21.

8. sokāntaram Br. 4.3.21 'going beyond grief'.

In this cp. the upapada word has retained its accusative case suffix. A better reading may be as sokantaram as suggested by Prof. Vadekar. [1]

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1. Is it sokān - taram aluk cp. with pl. of the first member or can it be sokān - taram like drhantaram in Rv. 1.127.3 --

Prof. Vadekar, astādasā upaniṣadah pp. 242
The textual clue favours the first solution. \textit{tīrṇa hi tadā sarvān gōkān hrdayasya bhavati} \textit{Br.} 4.3.22. If this etymology is accepted then the cp. is \textit{aluk samāsa}.

9. Although the suffix \textit{vit} is not ordained to the root \textit{okaś} when preceded by an \textit{upapada} word directly. The following attestation seems to have the suffix \textit{vit}.

\textit{nrcaśaṁ} \textit{Pā.} 4 'beholding people'.

10. The suffix \textit{khać} is ordained to the root \textit{gam} 'to go' by P. 3.2.47 provided the cp. is denotative of special meaning. The following attestations, though they are not denotative of any \textit{samīṇā}, take the suffix \textit{khać}.

\textit{ī}l \textit{samitiṁigamaṁ} \textit{Br.} 6.4.18 'going in the assembly'.

\textit{īi}l \textit{abhrāgamama} \textit{Jai.} 1.30.2 'reaching the cloud'.

11. The suffix \textit{ka} or \textit{kvip} is added to the root \textit{stā} 'to stand' either in composition with \textit{subanta} or an \textit{upasarga} by P. 3.2.7. In the following cp.s however, the suffix \textit{ka} is added to the root \textit{stā} when it is syntactically connected with both, the \textit{subanta} and the \textit{upasarga}.

\textit{ī}l \textit{brahmaśaṁsthāha} \textit{Chān.} 2.23.1 'well established in \textit{Brahman}'.

\textit{īi}l \textit{ātmasaṁsthā} \textit{Śve.} 1.12 'that which is present in the self'.

\textit{īi}l \textit{svaśaṁsthā} \textit{Śve.} 1.6 'present in everything'.
iv) "isasmstah" Sve. 6.17 'existing as lord'.

The subanta in the first three cases has a seventh case suffix and is denotative of adhikarana, whereas, in the last case, the subanta has nominative case suffix. Saṅkarācārya solves the cp. as "isah iti samstistate".

Irregularities about unfulfilled conditions.

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1) "havyavahanah" Mun. 1.2.2

The suffix "nyut" is added after the root "vah" 'to carry' when it is preceded by the word "havya" provided the cp. does not occur at the end of the metre. P. 3.2.66. However, the cp. stated above occurs at the end of the metre. The text is as follows.

vada iesvate hyarcih samiddhe havyavahane 'when the flame flickers, after the oblation fire has been kindled'.

No definite statement about the cp. and about the suffix is possible as the feminine form of the cp. is not found and there is no accent.

2) The cp.s stated below are not regular by the available rules. However, they will become regular if the scope of some Pāṇinian rules is extended, for example,

i) "ahighnam" Ā. 9 'killer of the serpent'. If the word "ahi" be included in the rule P. 3.2.54, the cp. would be regular.
ii) bhagavaddhah Chān. 4.9.3 'honourable one'. The cp. can be regular if the word bhagavat be added to the list of tyadādin P. 3.2.60

iii) baliivāhanah Jai. 4.24.9 'conveyer of offering'. The addition of the word bali to the list of kravya, purisyā, and purīsa given in P. 3.2.65, would make the cp. regular.

iv) papanudam Śve. 6.6 'one driving away sin'. The cp. would be regular if, the word pāpa be added in the rule P. 3.2.5. The suffix ka. is ordained to the root apa-nud 'to drive away' and not only to the root, nud in the rule P. 3.2.5

v) putrarodam Chān. 3.15.2 'lamenting for the son'. The suffix namul is not ordained to the root by any P. rule, but the form is clearly an example of namul. The text is as follows. na putrarodam roditi 'he does not cry for the son'.

3) Sometimes Up.s offer their own interpretations to form particular cp.s, for example,

i) asanāyā Chān. 6.8.3 'leader of food'. The word asanāyā means hunger [1], but the text splits the word into aśa and nāya to suit the statement. The text is as follows. vatraitāt puruṣo'sīṣisati nāmā'pa eva tadasitam nayante : tadyathā gonāvo'sanāyā ... ityevam tadāpa 'acaksate' sanāyeti : 'when a person here is hungry, as it

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1. asanāyodanyadhanāyā bubhuksāpipāsā gardheṣu P. 7.4.34
is called, just water is leading off that which has been eaten. So as they speak of 'a leader of cows' or 'a leader of horses' so they speak of water as 'the leader of food'.

iiil udanyā  Chāṇ. 6.8.5 'leader of water'. The word udanyā means thirst [1]. The text using the cp. is as follows. atha vtraitat puruṣah pipāsatī nāma teja eva tatpitam navate ; tadyathā gono yo ... tatteja acarṣa udanyeti ; 'Now, when a person is thirsty, as it is called, just heat is leading of that which has been drunk. So as they speak of 'a leader of cows' .... so one speaks of heat as 'a leader of water'.'

Although, Pāṇini has taken notice of these forms in P. 7.4.34, he does not seem to accept the Up.ic interpretation, and thus, he does not provide a rule for these cp.s.

4] Some cp.s, in which petrifaction of the meaning has taken place are given below.

ii  hrdayaṁ Chāṇ. 7.7.1 'pleasant'.

iii  khacaraḥ Mai. 3.2 'a bird'.

iii] apsucaṁrapaḥ Mai. 6.26 'fish'.

iv] madhukṛt Chāṇ. 3.1.2 'honey bee'.

vi] avatākṛt Mai. 6.28 'a miner'.

vi] ūrdhvocchvaṇī Br. 4.3.35 'dying person'.

vi]} svapnaçārī Mai. 7.11 'taijasa ātmā; who works in dream'.

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1. P. 7.4.34
viii] cakravarti 
ix] parisa 
xi] upanisa 
xii] niśakarā 
xiii] bhāskarā 
xiv] guhācarā 
xvi] guhasavā 
xvi] antaryāmi 

Mai. 1.4 'sovereign'. 
'assembly'. 
'secret teaching'. 
'Moon'. 
'sun'. 
'Mun. 2.2.1 'a soul'. 
'Mun. 2.1.8 'a soul'. 
'Br. 3.7.1 'the self'.

5) Certain cp.s of an ambiguous nature can be interpreted either as an upapada, a by. or a cp. of any other type as the case may be, for example,

i] brahmajānām Ka. 1.17

Hume translates the cp. as 'knower of those born of a Brahmana'. He further suggests that brahma - ja - iñā, perhaps, is a synonym of jātavedas 'the all knower', which is a common epitaph of Agni 'fire'. It is specialised here as Nachiketa's sacrifice - fire [1]. Śaṅkarācārya, on the other hand, solves the cp. as kdh, brahmanah hiranyagabhājatah brahmajah ca asau iñah 'the Nachiketa fire, born of hiranyagarbha and who is a knower' [2].

1. The Thirteen Principal Upanisads Hume pp. 344
2. śādidaśupanisadah com. by Śaṅkarācārya pp. 64
iii) sīlokakṛt Tai 3.10 'composer of verse'.

Hume translates the cp. as 'fame maker'. [1] Śaṅkarācārya interprets the cp. to suit his ideology. sīlokakṛt, according to him is 'a conscious self', viz.,

advaitah ātmā nirañjanaḥ api ahameva annam annādaśca :

kiñcāhameva sīlokakṛt śloka nāma annānādayah saṅghātah tasya

kartā : [2]

iii) sabhāgah Chan. 5.3.6 'going to the assembly'.

Śaṅkarācārya solves the cp. in two different ways

sabhāge sabhām gate rājñē 'when the king went to the assembly hall'.

bhajanaṁ bhāgah pūjā sevā saha bhāgena vartamanah - sabhāgah

pūjyamānāh : The cp. by this second method is a by. cp. [2]

iv) viśvambharah Br. 1.4.7; Kau. 4.19 'fire'.

Śaṅkarācārya interprets the cp. as follows.

viśvambhara'gniḥ, viśvasya bharaṇādviśvambharah kulāye

nīde'gniḥ kāsthādaya'ahitah svāt : [3]

According to Hume, the traditional meaning of the cp. is uncertain. He quotes Whitney who rejected the meaning 'fire' and suggests that the cp. may, perhaps, mean some kind of insect and kulāya his sheath[4].

1. The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads Hume pp. 293
2. iśādidasopaniṣadah com. by Śaṅkarācārya pp. 478
3. ibid Śaṅkarācārya pp. 659
4. ibid Hume pp. 82
1. The Thirteen Principal Upanisads. Hume pp. 82
2. Ibid. Hume pp. 395
3. śvetāsvatāropanisād com. by Saṅkarācārya pp. 98
uparisthah Mai. 2.4
yo ha khalu vāvoparisthah srūyate gunesu ... 'he, assuredly, indeed, who is reputed as standing aloof, like those, who among qualities .......' Here, the word upari is semantically connected with the word gunesu which is not the part of the cp.

antargah Mai. 6.33 'inside'
antargah surānām 'among the gods'. The word antar in the cp. is semantically related with the word surānām which is not the part of the cp.

ahighnam Ā. 9 'slayer of a serpent'
ahighnam tamarnave sayānam ... 'the killer of the serpent who is lying in the sea'. This is a very clear case of asamartha samāsa. arnave sayānam has samarthya 'semantic connection' with ahi.

* Observations :
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1) The upapada tp. cp.s occur in all Up.s and their frequency of occurrence is high.

2) The krdanta form of the roots, aṅc, gam, kr, vid, jnā, car, jan, and sthā are used more frequently.

3) Many a time, indeclinables, compound words, and upasargas are used as upapada words.

4) Many attestations have both, subanta and upasarga together as subanta before the krdanta is formed.
5) The examples of the aluk upapada tp. cp.s are also attested. They are all regular with the exception of the only cp., namely, apsucārin Mai. 6.35

6) Many upapada tp. cp.s can be explained by the application of vt.s. Especially, the cp.s using the root, gam such as, antargah, uragah, or durgah are explained only by the application of certain vt.s.

7) In general, most of the upapada tp. cp.s can be explained by Pāṇinian rules.

8) Some cp.s can be explained only by extending the scope of the Pāṇinian rules.

9) A few cp.s still remain uncovered by the Pāṇinian rules.

3.6

A) tatpurusasyaṅguleh samkhyaśyayādeh P.

5.4.86 'The samashānta affix ac comes after a tp. cp. ending in the word aṅguli, when a numeral or an indeclinable precedes it'.

i) dasaṅgulam Śve. 3.14 'ten fingures' breadth'.

ii) caturāṅgulat Jai. 3.36.16 'four fingures' breadth'.

[B] ahassarvaikadesaṃskhyātaṇḍpunyācca rātreḥ P.

5.4.87 'The affix ac comes after the word rātri when preceded by ahan, or sarva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or the words samkhyāta or punya, when the cp. is tp.,
as well as a numeral or an indeclinable precedes the word rātri. The words saṁkhyā and avyaya are drawn in this rule from the rule 5.4.86.'

i] virātre Jai. 4.5.3 at the end of the night'.

ii] apararātre Jai. 4.5.3 'in the later part of the night'.

[C] rājāhaṁsakhibhyaṅgaṇac P. 5.4.91 'The affix -ac is added to the word rājan, ahan, and sakhin, when they occure at the end of a tp. cp.'

i] pitrārajah Jai. 4.5.2 'the king of fathers'.

ii] sindhurājah Mai. 6.16 'the lord of rivers'.

iii] mahārājah Br. 2.1.18; Jai. 2.6.11 'the great king'.

[D] ahno'ḥnā ātebhyaḥ P. 5.4.88 'The word ahan is substituted by ahna when preceded by the words mentioned in 5.4.91'.

ahno'dantāṛ P. 8.4.7 'The na is the substitute for na of ahan, when it is preceded by a word ending in a and having in it a letter capable of producing the change [i.e. the letter rā]'.

i] pūrvaññē Chān. 5.11.5 'in te fore-noon'.

ii] aparāhnah Jai. 1.12.4 'afternoon'.
[E] saṃkhyādeḥ samāhāre P. 5.4.89 'The substitution of ahna for ahan does not take place after the numeral when it forms a collective noun meaning a number of days taken as a unit.'

i) tryaham Br. 6.3.13 'period of three days'.

ii) dvādasāham Br. 6.3.1 'period of twelve days'.

iii) sahasrāham Mai. 1.2 'period of thousand days'.

[F] uttamaikābhyām ca P. 5.4.90. 'The substitution of ahna for ahan does not take place after the last word in the list mentioned in 5.4.87 [i.e. punya and eka].'

i) punyāha Br. 6.3.1 'on an auspicious day'.

[G] saṃkhyāvisāyapūrvasyāhnasyāhannahanyatarasyāmnaau P. 6.3.110 'The word ahan may optionally be substituted for ahna in the locative singular, when a numeral or vi or gāva precedes it'.

i) sayāhani Chā. 5 'in the evening'.

[H] brahmanahastibhyāṃ varcasah P. 5.4.78 'The affix ac comes after the words varcas when preceded in a cp. by the words brahma or hasti'.

i) brahmavarcasam Jai. 1.37.6 'sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahman'. [I]
rkpuṇabduḥpathamānakṣa P. 5.4.74. 'The affix a comes after rc, pūr, ap, dhūr, and pathin when they are the final word in a cp. but not so when dhūr is in conjunction with aksa.

i) sāmapathah Jai. 1.6.1 'the path of sāman'.

ii) brahmapathah Mai. 6.30 'a path leading to Brahman'.

iii) devapathah Chān. 4.15.5 'a path leading to god'.

iv) mahāpathah Chān. 8.6.2 'a great path'.

[J] patih samāsaeva P. 1.4.8. 'The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a cp.' The word pati would have been ghi by P. 1.4.7. The above rule is, therefore, a restrictive one. It restricts the use of ghi for pati to its occuring in a cp. The term ghi denotes all words ending in short i or u and which are not of feminine gender.

i) grāhapathe Jai. 4.5.2 'Oh! The lord of the house'.

ii) annapate Chān. 1.12.5 'Oh! The lord of food'.

iii) prajāpatех Tai. 2.8 'of the lord of creatures'.
[K] gorataddhitaluki P. 5.4.92. 'The affix tac comes after the word go occurring at the end of a tp. cp. when no elision of taddhita affix has taken place in forming such a cp..

1) bṛhmagaviṅ Br. 3.7.1 'cows of a brahmin'. gaviṅ is a feminine form of the word gava by P.5.4.1.92

[L] na pūjanāt P. 5.4.59. 'The samāśānta affixes are not added to these words the first member of which is a word expressing praise. The pūjāyam svatī grāhaṇam (1) insists that the words expressing praise must not be other than su and ati. Thus, the samāśānta affix is not added after the word pathin by P. 5.4.74 in the cp.s mentioned below.

1) supathā 1. 18 'by a good path'.

[M] P. 5.4.77 provides a list of well formed cp.s with the samāśānta suffix ac. The attestations are given below.

1) tṛyāyuṣam Jai. 4.3.1 'a period of three life times'.

2) nihsreyasam Kau. 2.14 unfailing happiness'.

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1. kvēt. 5.4.69.2.
The samāsānta affix tāc ordained by P. 5.4.91 is not added after the word rājan in the following example.

i) madhukararājānam Pra. 2.4 'the king of bees'.

The cp. sarvāyuṣam Jai. 2.3 'everybody's life' could be regular if it is added to the list of well-formed cp.s given in the rule P. 5.2.77. The word āyuṣ takes the samāsānta suffix aca in the cp.s tryāyuṣam and purusāyuṣam. These two cp.s are included in the list given in P. 5.2.77.

The taddhita suffixes are added to some tp. cp.s. The total number of cp.s of this type are 24. Some are given below.

i) atyāśramin Śve. 6.2.1 'one who has crossed the stage of life'.

ii) anucānata mah Br. 3.1.1 'The best student who recites after'.

iii) avināśin Br. 4.5.14 'undecaying'.

iv) trsnsersākundalin Mai. 6.28 'having earrings of desire and envy'.

v) manahpragrahayat Ka. 3.9 'having mind as rein'.
