CHAPTER 4

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* BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS *
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4.1  śesa bahuvrīhiḥ  P. 2.2.23 'The remaining cp. is called bahuvrīhi (bv.)'.

This section rule exerts its influence up to P. 2.2.28 inclusive. Being an adhikāra, P. 2.2.23 restricts the designation bahuvrīhi to cp.s prescribed in this section.

This is also a saṁjñā rule as it introduces the technical term bahuvrīhi. The name of the cp. itself is a sample example of the cp. It means 'a country with ample rice'.

According to kv. the word śesa refers to the cases in which no other compounding is ordained [1]. According to MB., the word śesa means śesa vibhakti, 'the remaining case' i.e. the case with reference to which cp. formation has not yet been specifically prescribed [2]. A specific prescription for cp. formation has been made with regard to the accusative, instrumental and others up to the locative [3]. However, the nominative has been left out. So the compounding of two words, both of which are in the nominative 'case', is therefore, governed by this rule and the cp. derived by this rule is called bv.

anekamanyapadārthe  P. 2.2.24

1. uparyuktād anyah śesah  kv. on P. 2.2.23
2. yasya trikasyānuktaḥ samasah sa śesah  MB. on P. 2.2.23
3. P. 2.1.24, 2.1.30, 2.1.40
Two or more syntactically connected, case inflected words form a cp. denoting another meaning [anyapadārtha] not connoted by those words individually, and the cp. is called bv.

Kātyāyana and Patañjali understand this rule to mean anekaṃ subantāṃ samasyate sa ca samāsah anyapadārthe bhavati. 'Two or more case inflected words form a cp. together, and the resulting cp. conveys an anyapadārtha [ap.] [1].

A different interpretation, however, is given by kv. on P. 2.2.24. It remarks, anyapadārthe vartamānam anekaṃ subantāṃ samasyate [2]. 'Two or more case inflected words conveying a meaning other than their own meaning form a bv. cp.

The kv. is followed by śk. [3] says, anekaṃ prathamāntāṃ anyasya padasyārthe vartamānam vā samasyate 'Two or more words ending in a nominative case, conveying the meaning of another word, form a bv. cp. optionally. According to kv. and śk. the ap. is conveyed by the constituents.

The bv. cp.s functions as an adjective and gets the number and gender in accordance with the word which they qualify.

1. vyākaraṇa MR. BDA. by J.A.F. Roodbergen Intro. pp. xxxviii
2. kv. on P. 2.2.24
3. śk. on P. 2.2.24 [830]
The division of the *bv. cp.s* is made on several different principles.

(a) According to the first method, the *bv. cp.s* are divided into two classes, namely, *samānādhikarana* *bv.* and *vyadhikarana* *bv.* In the *samānādhikarana* *bv.,* the components of the *cp.* are in nominative case in the corresponding analytical word group. A typical example is:

\[ \text{Udharathah} = \text{Udha}r \text{ Rathah vena} \]

Kātyāyana makes it a general rule that a *bv.* should be allowed only when the components in the analytical sentence are in collocation [1].

When the components of the *cp.* end in different cases, the *cp.* is calle *vyadhikarana bv.* The formation of this type of the *bv.* *cp.* is not directly prescribed but implied by P. 6.3.9 and 6.3.12 [2]. A typical example is:

\[ \text{cakrapāṇih} = \text{cakram pāṇau yasya} \ '\text{one having a wheel in his hand}' \]. Here, *cakra* ends in a nominative case and *pāṇi* ends in a locative case.

(b) A second method divides *bv. cp.s* into *tadgunasamvijñāna bv.* and *atadgunasamvijñāna bv.* A *cp.* is called *tadgunasamvijñāna bv.* when the attributes denoted by the components are associated with the referent of the *cp.* in the relation of *samavāya* or *samyoga*. An example is:

| 1. bahuvrīhiḥ samānādhikaranām kvt. P. 2.2.24.10 |
| 2. ata eva jñāpakād vyadhikaranapado bahuvrīhiḥ BM. on P. 5.3.9 |
lambakarnaḥ 'with long ears'.

pitāmbaraḥ 'clad in yellow garment'.

Here the person denoted by the word lambakarna possesses long ears and the word pitāmbaraḥ implies a person who is clad in a yellow garment.

When the attributes are not associated with the referent of the cp. it is described as atadgūnasamvijñāna by. An example of this type follows.

citrāguḥ = citrā gāvo yasya 'one whose cows are variegated'. Here, the person having variegated cows does not always remain with them.

[c] Another way of dividing by. cp.s is based on P. rules as illustrated below.

1) All samānādikarana cp.s form one class and they are generally known sāmānyalaksana by.[1]. Here, the cp.s can be divided by the oblique case expressed by the referent.

2) A by. cp. is called sahaby. when the adverb saha 'with' is compounded with a noun ending in an instrumental case in the corresponding analytical word group. An example of this type is :

sakājāḥ = kalābhiḥ saha 'with all parts'. [2]

1. P. 2.2.24
2. P. 2.2.28
3) The \textit{bv.} cp.s having numeral as the final member are designated as \textit{saṃkhya} \textit{bv.} \textit{saṃkhya}vā'vyavāsannādūrādikasāmghyāh \textit{saṃkhyeye} P. 2.2.25. This rule states that the \textit{bv.} cp. is formed when any indeclinable or the words, āsanna 'near', adūra 'near', adhika 'more', and the words called \textit{saṃkhya} (numeral) are compounded with another \textit{saṃkhya} word when the sense is that of a numeral. An example is:

\textit{upadaśāḥ} 'those who are near ten'.

4) When both the members of the \textit{bv.} cp. are numerals the cp. is called \textit{saṃkhyobhayapada} \textit{bv.} 
\textit{dvitrāḥ} 'two or three'.

5) Names of two directions are often compounded to indicate a third intermediary direction. Such \textit{bv.} cp.s are called \textit{antarālaksana} \textit{bv.} 
\textit{diṇnāmānyantarāle} P. 2.2.26 This rule states that a \textit{bv.} cp. is formed when words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded and when the cp. signifies an intermediate point, for example, 
\textit{pūrvottara} 'northeast'.
\textit{dakṣinapūrvā} 'southeast'.

6) Some specific popular usages [1] are treated separately by P. 2.2.27.

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{itikaraṇasceha vivaksārtho laukikamartham anusārayati} \textit{Kv.} on P. 2.2.27
\end{enumerate}
tatra tenedamiti sārupe. P. 2.2.27. This rule states that a bh. cp. is formed of two homonymous words, both ending with locative or an instrumental case. The cp. thus formed implies the meaning 'this happens therein, or with that'. Thus, when two homonymous words in a locative or an instrumental case are compounded in the sense 'this happens therein, or with that' and the cp. is called bh. Example of this type are as follows.

keśakeśi [yuddham] = keśeṣu keśeṣu grhitvā idam yuddham pravṛttam: 'hair to hair' i.e. 'fighting by pulling each other's hair'.

dandādandi [yuddham] = dandaśca dandaśca pragrhyā idam yuddham pravṛttam: 'stick against stick' i.e. 'fight with stick and stave'.

Any bh. cp. formed by P. 2.2.25, 2.2.26, and 2.2.27 is not found in the entire body of the Up.s. These three sūtras are explained before.

[d] In addition to the cases enumerated by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana gives a list of words of which a bh. cp. can be formed.

i) avayānām ca kvp. 2.2.24.11.

A bh. cp. can also be formed with an indeclinable, for example,

ucchārimukhaḥ = ucchārī mukham yasya 'one whose face is turned upwards'.

As the indeclinable ucchāḥ 'in the high place', and the nicaḥ 'in a low place' denote location which is the
sense of locative [1] and not that of nominative, these indeclinables can not stand in syntactic agreement with the word mukha. Since by, formation is prescribed of words which syntactically agree [2], no by, can be formed of these indeclinables. In order to account for such cases a special kvt. is stated.

\[ \text{saptamiyupamānapūrvapadasyottarapadajopas'ca} \]

kvt. 2.2.24.12.

A by, cp. is formed of a word with a cp., the first member of which ends in the locative or functions as the upamāna 'standard of comparison' and the second member is deleted.

This kvt. concerns a by, cp. formed of three words of which the first two words form a cp. by themselves. The first member of this cp. must stand in the locative which is retained in the by, cp., whereas the second member is deleted, for example,

kanthekālah = kanthe sthitah kālah yasya 'black on the neck - an epithet of Śiva'.

Alternately the first member of such a cp. functions as upamāna and the second member is deleted, for example,

\[ \text{bhuhvṛīhīh samānādhikaranaṇam} \]

kvt. 2.2.24.10.

1. P. 1.4.45

2. bhuhvṛīhīh samānādhikaranaṇam kvt. 2.2.24.10.
ushramukahaḥ = ustramukhamiva mukhāṃ vasya ‘camel-faced’.

iii) samudāyavikārāgasthīyāsca kvt. 2.2.24.13.
A by. op. is formed of a word with a op., the first member of which ends in the sixth case expressing a part-whole or a product-material relation and the second member is deleted. The examples are as follows.

kesācūḍāḥ = kesānām samāhāraścūḍā asya ‘one who has a bunch of hair as a top-knot’.

suvarṇālaṁkāraḥ = suvarṇasya vikāro‘laṁkāro’sya ‘one who has ornaments fashioned out of gold’.

iv) prādibhyo dhātujasya kvt. 2.2.24.14.
A by. op. is formed of a verbal derivative preceded by pra etc. and deletion of the second member takes place optionally. An example is given below.

praparṇa or prapatitaparṇa = prapatitāni parṇāni asya ‘whose leaves have fallen’.

v) nañō' stvarthānām kvt. 2.2.24.15.
A by. op. of words standing for existence preceded by the negative particle and optionally deletion of the second member takes place. An example is given below.

aputraḥ or avidyamanaputraḥ = avidyamānah putraḥ asya ‘one who has no son’.

4.2 All the attestations of the by. op.s found in the entire body of the Up.s are classified according to the nature and the linguistic value of the first member. The
first member is either an adjective, a substantive, a verbal derivative, a preposition, a numeral, an indeclinable word saha, naṇī, or a cp. The *bh* cp.s in which the first member is a word for the standard of comparison form a separate group. The *vyadhikarana bh*, attestations are treated separately. The *bh*, cp. in which both the members are numerals form a distinct class.

The *up* wise distribution of the *bh* cp.s in which the first member is an adjective is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Tī</th>
<th>1 [1]</th>
<th>2) Ka.</th>
<th>5 [5]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5) Tai.</td>
<td>5 [6]</td>
<td>6) Chān.</td>
<td>23 [50]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of the *bh* cp.s of this type is 100 and their frequency of occurrence is 155. This type is not found in the Ke., Mā., Ai., and Ā. *Up* s, and is found abundantly in the Chān., and Mai. *Up* s.

As per P. 2.2.35, all the words denoting an adjective are placed first in all the attestations. The second member of the *bh* cp.s of this type is necessarily a substantive qualified by an adjective which is the first member. A qualifier-qualified relation exists between the members of this type of cp.s. The examples are given below.

  1) mahātmā Ka. 1.16 mahan ātmā vasya 'one
with a great soul'.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{urdhvamūlah} \textit{Ka. 6.1 跌破mūlaṁ vasya}
  
  'one with roots upwards'.
\end{itemize}

The referents of these \textit{cp.s} are words ending in a genitive case, as illustrated by the following examples.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{satyakāmāḥ} \textit{Mai. 6.5  satyāh kāmāḥ asya}
  
  'having true desires'.
  \item \textit{bhīmakarma} \textit{Ṛā. 4 bhīmaṁ karma asya}
  
  'one having horrifying deeds'.
\end{itemize}

The referent in a locative case is referred to in only two cases given below.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{bahudaksināḥ} \textit{Br. 3.1.1 bahvī daksinā asmin}
  
  \textit{vajñē} 'that in which many presents are given'.
  \item \textit{sarvauṣadāḥ} \textit{Tai. 2.2 sarvāṇi auṣadhāṇī yasmin}
  
  'consisting of all medicines'.
\end{itemize}

cp.s refering to ap. in other cases are not found.

The feminine words are substituted by the corresponding masculine form in the \textit{bh.} cp.s which refer to a masculine ap. \cite{1}. An example are given below.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{aipamedhasah} \textit{Ka. 1.8 'of those with a little understanding'. The cp. is analysed as aipā medhā}
  
  \textit{vasām}. Here the word \textit{medhā} is feminine and its adjective \textit{aipā} also takes feminine gender in the corresponding analytical sentence. Here, initially, aipā becomes masculine
\end{itemize}

\cite{1. प. 6.3.34}
alpa and medhā becomes masculine medha and then takes samāsānta suffix as by P. 5.4.122.

ii) bahudaksinena Br. 3.1.1 ['with a sacrifice] having many presents'. In this cp., the feminine words bahvi and daksinā become masculine as they refer to the masculine word vaiṣṭa.

The adjectives forming the first member of the by. cp.s are of two types, namely, i) descriptive adjectives, and ii) pronouns such as, sarva, bahu etc. It is found that descriptive adjectives are used more frequently [60 cases] than pronouns [30 cases] in the text.

The most frequently used adjectives are mahat 'great' [9 times], satya 'true' [12 times], urdhva 'above' [5 times].

The adjective samāna is replaced by sa by P. 6.3.84 as in the following example.

i) sarūpāḥ Mun. 2.1.1, śve. 4.5 'those having similar forms'.

The most frequently occurring pronouns as the first member are visva 'all', and sarva 'all'. Other pronouns such as, ubhaya 'both', anya 'other', etad 'this' are also used. Some examples are given below.

iil sarvagandhah Chān. 3.14.2 'having all smells'.

ii) visvarūpah Pra. 1.7 'one having all forms'.

iii) anyarājānāh Chān. 7.25.2 'heteronomous'.
iv) ubhayapāḍ Chān. 4.16.5, Jai. 3.16.7 ‘having both feet’.

v) etadupanīṣadāḥ Chān. 8.8.4 ‘those possessing this secret doctrine’.

The pronoun, vat ‘what’ is a relative pronoun and whenever it is used, there is an expectancy of sequential statement. This pronoun, vat, is used to mean ‘any’ in the following examples.

i) vatkāmāḥ Chān. 1.3.12 ‘one having whatever desire’.

ii) vadhgotrah Chān. 4.4.2 ‘one belonging to whatever family’.

iii) vaccittāh Mai. 6.34 ‘one with whatever thought’.

The interrogative pronoun, kim ‘what’ is the first member in the following cp.s.

i) kimgōtram Chān. 4.4.1 ‘of which family’. The cp. is analysed as kimgotram asya ‘what is the descent of this man?’.

ii) kimdevataḥ Br. 3.9.20 ‘having what divinity?’.

iii) kimkāmāḥ Jai. 1.11.2 ‘having what desire?’.

iv) kimjyotiḥ Br. 4.3.2 ‘having what light?’.

v) kimātmakāni Mai. 6.31 ‘having what nature?’.

The word, kim is not used in a derogatory meaning
in any of the citations given above, although it found so used in the cp.s used in the classical literature, for example,

kimsakhah 'bad friend' The cp. is analysed as kutsitah sakha.

The pair of relative pronouns yat and tat and yavat and etavat form cp.s with a following member and they are used in subordinate and main clauses of the statement. The use of a pair of cp.s in this manner is peculiar to the Up. style. The sentences in which these cp.s are used are given below.

i) vasyamrcai tamrcam vadarseyam tamrsim
   ...[sama] upadhaveta Chân. 1.3.9 'one should take refuge in the rc. in which it [saman] was conducted, in the rsi who was the poet.

ii) abhyaso ha yadasmai sa kama samrdhyeta yatkamah stuvida Chân. 1.3.12 'that desire, which he may have while singing a stotra will be fulfilled for him.

iii) yavadavasa u hasyeme prana asminiloke etavadavasa u hasyaita devata amusminiloke bhavanti Jai. 2.12.6 'whatever his pranas have the range of residence in this world, his divinities have the same range of residence in the yonder world'.

[b] Some peculiarities of cp.s:

1) The nominative case suffix of the first member, which is a pronoun is retained in the following two attestations.
1) asaunāma  Br. 1.4.7 'having such a name'.

ii) idamrupam  Br. 1.4.7 'having such a form'.

2) The cp. mentioned below is considered as the case of haplography.

i) bhimaJā Jai. 'having a lot of faith'.
The correct form would be bhimamāla [1] bhīmah maiaḥ vasāh
Here the syllable ma which occurs twice is reduced to single occurrence.[1].

3) The word samāna 'similar' is replaced by sa in the following cp.

i) sacāramūdham Mai. 'having similar course of movement'. The cp. is analysed as : samāna cāramūdham vasāya. The substitution sa for samāna is not ordained if this particular cp. cāramūdha follows by P. 6.3.85. If this word is included in the sūtra by extending its scope, the cp. would be regular.

[B] The Up. wise distribution of the by. cp.s in which the first member is a noun is as follows.

| 1 | Ka. | 1 [1] | 2 | Pra. | 4 [4] |
| 5 | Tai. | 7 [7] | 6 | Ai. | 1 [1] |
| 7 | Chān. | 12 [19] | 8 | Br. | 7 [7] |
| 9 | Śve. | 2 [2] | 10 | Kau. | 7 [9] |
| 11 | Mai. | 29 [38] | 12 | Â. | 2 [2] |
| 13 | Jai. | 7 [9] |

1. Eighteen Principal Upanisads by Prof. Limaye and Prof. Vadekar pp. 417 fn. [a]
The total number of cp.s is 82 and the frequency is 103. This type of bv cp.s is not found in the ṭ., Ke., Pā., Chā., and Ā. Up.s, but occurs frequently in the Mai. Up.

All these cp.s refer to ap. which is characterised by the genitive case except the two cp.s which have ap. characterised by the seventh case as given below.

1) atithivarjitah [vajña] Mun. 1.2.3 'that which is without guest'. The cp. is analysed as : atithi̱varjitah yasmin [vajñe].

2) jivaghanah Pra. 5.5 'one where all living things gather'. The cp. is analysed as jivāḥ ghanah yasmin.

It is generally observed that a noun as the first member in a bv cp. is used predicatively, for example,

1) manonetrāḥ Jai. 3.32.9 'whose leader is mind'.

2) anidākhyāḥ Śve. 5.14 'whose name is Anīḍa'.

3) ādityajyotih Br. 4.3.2 'whose light is sun'.

4) agnidevatah Br. 3.9.24 'whose divinity is Agni'.

The three words ākhyā, saminā, and nāman, each meaning name are used as a second member to introduce a proper name in the following cases. The frequency of the cp.s is quite noteworthy. There are 20 cases in the text of the Up.s.
1) purusākhyaḥ Mai. 2.5 'called as puruṣa'.

2) antāṅkaṇāma Jai. 1.20.2 'having the name, antarikṣa'.

3) somasamājñāhaḥ Mai. 6.10 'having the designation, soma'.

The verbal derivatives in a few cases become the second member of the bh. cp.s. Some are given below.

4) vāyu-pratisthāh Kau. 2.14 'whose support is vāyu'.

5) svapnāsthanāḥ Mā. 4.10 'one in a dream state'.

6) urucchinnah Kau. 3.3 'whose leg is cut'.

7) svargasamstāvah Chān. 1.8.5 'a praise in the form of heaven'.

A comparison based identity between the two members which are always nouns, is sometimes implied as in the following examples.

8) vajūdarā Kau. 1.7 'one having vajus as belly'.

9) pādodarā Pra. 5.5 'one having belly as feet'.

10) cetomukhāḥ Mā. 5 'one whose mouth is thought'.

11) prānārāmaḥ Tai. 1.6 'one whose pleasure-ground is breathing spirit'.

12) Prānaśārāraḥ Chān. 3.14.2 'whose body is breath'.

The first memebr some times expresses the material of which the second member is formed, for example,

i) **hiranyasmasruh** Chān. 1.6.6 'one having golden beard'.

ii) **hiranyadamstrah** Chān. 4.3.7 'one having golden teeth'.

iii) **hiranyakešah** Chān. 1.6.6 'one having golden hair'.

iv) **hiranyadantah** Jai. 3.2.4 'one having golden teeth'.

The above mentioned cp.s are the adjectives of the supreme lord. Saṁkarācārya changes the connotation of the word **hiranya** 'gold' to **hiranyamaya** 'golden' to suit his ideology[1].

Some peculiarities of the **bv.** cp.s with a noun as the first member.

The word **vajus** loses its final 's' in the following attestations. This change is not noted by Pāṇini system.

i) **vajudarah** Kau. 1.7 'having vajus as belly'.

ii) **svarapaksah** Jai. 3.13.10 'one having tone as

1. na hi suvarṇavikārpe devasya saṁbhavati ;
na hi sauvarne'catane pāpmādiprayāptirasti yena pratiśidhyeta ...cāksuse cāgrahaṇat ; ato luptopamā eva hiraṁmayasabdo iyotirmaya ityarthah : by Saṅkačārya Īśādīdāsopanīsadasah

pp. 370
a wing'. This cp. is recorded as a case of hapax legomenon[1].

iii) savitākhyah Mai. 6.16 'called as savitā'.

In this, the first member savitā does not lose its nominative case ending.

iv) The udara 'belly' is the second member in the following cp.s.

i) antarīksodarah Chān. 3.15.1 'having antarikṣa as belly'.

ii) vajūdarah Kau. 1.7 'having vajus as belly'.

iii) pādodarah Pra. 5.5 'having feet as belly'.

The idea of comparison is implied in the first two cp.s, whereas, a word sthāna has to be used in the parallel syntactic word group of the cp. pādodara. The analysis of the cp. is: pādasthāne udaram asya 'one who has a belly in the place of feet'. The cp. means snake.

[C] The Up. wise distribution of the bv. cp.s having verbal derivatives as its first member is as follows.

5) Ai. 2 [3] 6) Chān. 15[29]
7) Br. 7 [8] 8) Svē. 7 [9]
11) Jai. 5 [17]

1. Eighteen Principal Upanīṣads by Prof. Limaye and Prof. Vadekar pp. 444
The total number of cp.s is 75 and their frequency of occurrence is 123. This type of cp.s is not found in the Ṛ., Ke., Tai., Bā., Chā., Ā., and Śau. Up.s and is found more frequently in the Chān., Mun., and Mai. Up.s.

The past participles are placed first in all the cases found in the entire body of the Up.s as per P. 2.2.36. Past passive participles are used in 58 by. cp.s. Verbal abstract nouns are used as the first member in 17 cases. Present participles as the first member are found in only four cases.

The action denoted by a past participle is performed by the referent which is qualified by the cp. The second member of the cp. is always the karman 'object' of that action. The referent in such cases always takes the instrumental case as illustrated by the following examples.

i) āptakāmanḥ Br. 4.3.21 'one who has obtained desires'. The cp. is analysed as āptah kāmanḥ yena.

ii) adhītavedah Br. 4.2.1 'adhītah vedah yena 'one who has learnt veda'.

Some times the action which is denoted by a past participle, is performed by the one who is denoted by the second member of the by. cp. In such cases, the referent of the cp. takes the genative case suffix. The examples are:

i) diptāgram Jai. 2.4.1 diptam agram yasya 'one with burning tip'.

ii) jātaputraḥ Kau. 2.8 jātah putraḥ yasya 'to whom a son is born'.
ksīnalokah Mun. 1.2.9 ksīnah lokah vasya
'one whose world is exhausted'.

Sometimes the action denoted by a past participle in a bv. cp. is performed by the one who is neither a referent nor a denotee of any member of the cp. The agent is inferred. It will be clear from the following examples.

uktapaniṣatkah Br. 4.2.1 uktam upaniṣad vasya 'one instructed in the mystic doctrine'.

uktanuśāsanā Br. 'the one to whom instructions are told'.

abhinaddhāksah Chān. 6.14.1 abhinaddhe āksinī vasya 'blindfolded'.

In the first two case, some body has given the instructions to the referent and in the third case, some body has covered the eyes of the referent.

A past participle serves as a first member in some bv. cp.s and the past participle is not deleted in these cases. Such an optional deletion of the past participle is supported by the kvt. The examples are:

vigatānīdrāh Mai. 6.4 'sleepness'.

vigatabhayah Mai. 6.30 'fearless'.

vītasokah Sve. 'sorrowless'.

When an abstract verbal noun is the first member of a bv. cp., the cp. is used metaphorically. This is noted in the following attestations.

prajñānetraḥ Ai. 3.4 'one having intelligence for guide'.
tapatstunuh Jai. 1.10.1 'one with a body of austerity'.

krodhayam Mai. 6.28 'having anger for string'.

A present participle as the first member is found in only four cp.s which are given below.

sadāyatana Chān. 6.8.4 'Being as abode'.

sanmūlah Chān. 6.8.4 'Being as root'.

satparistiṣṭha Chān. 6.8.4 'Being as support'.

sāmyadvāmānī Chān. 4.15.2 'in whom all desires gather'.

The word sat in the first three cases is used in the sense of 'existence/ Being', and not in the sense of good. The word sat is to be taken as a present participle of the root as 'to be'. The word sat thus, has a substantive value. In Up.s, it always represents the Brahman [2].

The cp., sāmyadvāma has the word sāmyat, which is the present participle of the root sat + iti 'to go together'. The cp. is analysed in the text as et ām hi sarvāni vamānyabhisāmyanti 'to him arrive together all the desired things'.

1. prādibhyo dhātujaśya vācyo va cottaśrāpadaśaḥpyūt. 2.2.24.14.
2. sardeva somvedamgrāṇa āśīt Chān. 6.2.1
sadbrahmaṇi Mai. 6.30
Any irregularity or peculiarity of expression is not noted in this type of the by. cp.s.

When the adverb saha 'with' is compounded with a noun ending in an instrumental case, and when the latter is connected with the same activity expressed by the verb in a sentence, the resultant cp. is called sahapūrvapada by.[1] The example is given below.

saha putrena āgataḥ Devadattāḥ

saputraḥ Devadattāḥ āgataḥ 'with his son

Devadatta has come'. Here putra 'son' participates in the action of coming with Devadatta. saha is an avyaya by P. 1.4.57 and P. 1.1.37. It is treated as pada by P. 2.4.82, and P. 1.1.62.

The word saha is replaced by sa in the cp. by P. 6.3.82. This replacement is optional, thus, the cp. is either saputra or sahaputra.

The Up. wise distribution of saha by. cp.s is given below.

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>3 [3]</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chān.</td>
<td>2 [3]</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kau.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jai.</td>
<td>3 [15]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. P. 2.2.28
The total number of the cp.s is 25 and the frequency of occurrence is 46. The cp. is used often in the Br. Up and is frequently used in the Jai. Up.

The word saha is replaced by sa in all the cp.s and any example retaining saha in a cp. is not found.

Any example of the saha by. cp. used as an adverb is not found in the entire body of the Up.s. Some examples of the saha by. cp. are given below.

i) savarcasah Tai. 1.10 'one possessing lustre'. The cp. is analysed as varcasä saha 'with lustre'.

ii) savijänanah Br. 4.4.2 'along with intelligence'.

iii) satanuh Jai. 3.3.3 'with body'.

iv) sarasah Jai. 3.19.2 'with essence'.

No case of irregularity is found in the case of these cp.s.

A by. cp. is called prädi when a word from the prädigaṇa is the first member in a cp. The Up.wise distribution of the prädi by. cp.s is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ka.</th>
<th>6 [6]</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Pra.</th>
<th>1 [1]</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mun.</td>
<td>6 [7]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tai.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chân.</td>
<td>12[27]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>15[24]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Čve.</td>
<td>7 [8]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kau.</td>
<td>4 [7]</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mai.</td>
<td>21[39]</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bā.</td>
<td>2 [2]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sau.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jai.</td>
<td>7 [14]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total number of the prādi by. cp. is 83 and the frequency of occurrence is 137. This cp. is used frequently in the Mai., Chān., and Br. Up.s. All the prādi by. cp.s are formed by kṛt. prādibhaya dhājulasya va.

2.2.24.14.

The verbal derivatives are deleted in all the prādi by. cp.s except the following.

i) vītasokah Sve. 2.14
ii) vītamanyuh Ka. 1.10
iii) vītarāgah Mun. 3.2.5
iv) vīgatanidrah Mai. 6.4
v) vīgatabhayah Mai. 6.30

The word vi in the sense of vigata 'gone is used in eighteen cases. Some examples are as follows.

i) visrṅgah Sau. 2  vigatam śṛgām yasmāt. 'hornless'.
ii) visokah Bā. 24  vigatah śokah yasmāt 'sorrow-less'.

The referent of the prādi by. cp. using vi takes ablative case affix in all the attestations.

The vi meaning 'diverse' is used only once in the following case, in which the referent takes a genetive case.

i) vīrūpāḥ Chān. 2.15.2  vividhāni rūpāni yeṣāṃ 'those having diverse forms'.

The words nis and nir meaning nirgata 'departed' are used in 27 cases and the referents of these
The word *ati* meaning *atikranta* 'surpassing' is used in five cases. The referents in these cp.s take an instrumental case, for example,

1. **atisamah** Jai. 4.26.15 *atikrantaṃ sāma yena* 'one who has surpassed sāman'.

2. **atipitamahah** Br. 6.4.28 *atikrantaḥ pitamahah yena* 'one who has surpassed grand father'.

3. **atimrtu** Chān. 2.10.1 'one that has surpassed death'.

The word *ati* meaning *atisayita* 'extreme' is used only once in the following cp.

1. **atyagrah** Jai. 3.5.6 'extremely pointed'.

The word *prati* meaning *pratigata* 'corresponding' is used in the following case.

1. **pratirūpah** Jai. 1.47.1 'corresponding in form'.

The word *prati* meaning 'in the reverse order' is used only once in the following case.

1. **pratilomah** Br. 6.4.12 'having reverse order'. The cp. is used as an adjective in the text, *etān*. 
śarabhṛṣṭīḥ pratilomaḥ jhūvyaḥ 'let one offer this row of arrows in the reverse order'.

The word anu meaning anugata 'accordingly' is used in the following cases.

i) anurūpāḥ Jai. 3.4.1 'befitting'.

ii) anulomaṃ Br. 6.4.4 'one who is complying'. The cp. is an adjective in the text, trirenāmanulomaṃmanumārṣṭi 'he strokes her thrice as the hair flow'. Here, the word anuloma is used figuratively. It means that the woman is complying.

The word adhi meaning adhikṛta 'making ready' is used once in the following case.

i) adhijyam Br. 3.8.2 'a strung bow'. The cp. is analysed as, adhikṛta iyā vasya.

The word ut meaning udgata 'removed' is used in the following cp.

i) uijyam Br. 3.8.2 unstrung bow'.

The word pari is used in the sense of parigata 'going around in the following case.

i) parvaṇānaḥ Bā. 2.5 'who roams about'. The cp. is analysed as, parigataṃ aranāṃ vasya.

The words su 'good', and duṣ 'bad' belong to the prādigna, but they are not followed by any verbal derivative in the analytical word group of the prādi ṣv. Both the words are used qualitatively in the prādi ṣv. cp.s.

The word su meaning sobhana 'good' is used in
thirteen cases. Some are given below.

1. suciṭṭaṁ Jai. 1.14.4 'good natured'. The cp. is analysed as sobhanam cittaṁ vasya.

2. suparṣaṁ Mun. 3.1.1 'the two havng beautiful wings'.

3. sumanah Ka. 1.1 'one having pleasant mind'.

The word su meaning susthu 'well' is used adverbially in the following case.

1. susime Kau. 2.8 'in well laid out(heart).

The word su meaning 'ample' is used in the example given below.

1. subhiṣaṁ Chān. 1.10.5 'possessing ample aims'.

The word dus meaning 'bad' is used in four cp.s. The examples are,

1. durgandhi Jai. 1.60.5 'bad smelling'.

2. dūrūpaḥ Jai. 3.33.2 'those having unbecoming forms'.

The word dus meaning 'difficult' is used only once and adverbially in the following case.

1. duratyaya Ka. 3.14 'hard to traverse'.

The word is used adverbially and its analysis is as follows.

duhkhena atyayah vasyaḥ:

No irregularity in form in this type is found.
The *nañ* by. cp. is formed of words standing for existence preceded by a negative particle and optional deletion of the second member. All *nañ* by. cp.s are possible by the application of *kvt*. *naño'styarthānām kvt*. 2.2.24.15.

The *Up*.wise distribution of the *nañ* by. cp.s is as follows.

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The total number of cp.s is 174 and their frequency of occurrence is 267. The frequency of occurrence is quite high in the *Br*. and *Mai*. *Up*.s. This form is not found in the *Ai*. and *Sau*. *Up*.

Generally, *nañ* by. cp.s are two membered cp.s in which the first placed member is the particle *nañ*. The second member is any word. A tendency to use a cp. word as the first member is visible in some *Up*.s. Only 16 attestations of this type are found out of which five are found in *Mun*. *Up*. alone. The examples are given below.

*ilañ apaḥata pāpamāra* jai. 4.13.3 'one whose sins are not destroyed'.

ii) anānipādah Sve. 3.19 'one without hand and feet'.

iii) acaksusrotam Mun. 1.1.6 'one without eyes and ears'.

iv) anādinidhanam Mai. 5.1 'one having neither a beginning nor an end'.

Any example retaining the word standing for existence in a compound form is not found in the entire body of the Up.s.

The words denoting action, quality, or state are negated more often than words denoting tangible objects. Some examples are given below.

i) ānaghah Mai. 7.1 'sinless'.

ii) ajarah Bā. 24 'undecaying'.

iii) abhayaḥ Chān. 1.4.4 'fearless'.

iv) amaraḥ Br. 4.4.23 'immortal'.

v) asokah Br. 5.10.1 'sorrowless'.

vi) āsarīrāh Jai. 3.30.2 'bodyless'.

vii) amukhaḥ Jai. 3.38.1 'without mouth'.

No irregularity in this type is found.

[G] The bh. cp.s with an indeclinable as the first member is formed by kvt. avvayām ca kvt. 2.2.24.11.

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


3) Br. 6 [8] 4) Sve. 7 [7]

The total number of op.s of this type is 34, and their frequency of occurrence is 41. This form is not used very frequently and thus, is found in only eight Up.s.

It is observed that the indeclinables are used in the op.s in the sense of either a locative or an adjective.

In the following examples, the indeclinables are used in the sense of locative.

i) anyatramanāḥ  Br. 1.5.3 'one whose mind is elsewhere'.

ii) antariyotih  Br. 4.3.7 'one having inner light'.

iii) viśvataścaaksuh  Sve. 3.3 'one having an eye on every side'.

iv) sarvatokṣiśiromukham  Sve. 3.16 'one having eyes, head, and face on every side'.

v) antarhrdayah  Mai. 6.26 'one with a heart turned inside'.

Some indeclinable are used in descriptive sense. They are indeclinables in form and adjectives in meaning. The examples are as follows.

i) nānāśabdāḥ  Sau. 1 'one having different sounds'.

ii) prthaglaksāṇam  Mai. 6.22 'one who is characterised in different ways'.
vathākratuḥ Chān. 3.14.1 'a person according to his purpose'. The text is as follows: atha khalu kratumayah puruso vathākraturasminloke puruso bhavati... 'Now, verily a person consists of purpose. According to the purpose which a person has in this world.....'.

iv1 ahamnamā Br. 1.4.1 'one having the name aham'.

v1 ubhayāpadī Jai. 4.14.3 'one having both the feet'.

No irregularities are found in this type.

[H]

Some times a numeral is used as a first member in a by. cp. The Up. wise distribution of the by. cp.s of this type is given below.

11]   Jai.  28[52]

The total number of cp. of this type is 96 and their frequency of occurrence is 168. This form is used more often in the Chān., Br., Śve., Mai., and Jai. Up.s. A numeral used in these cp.s functions as a qualifier of the noun, and the referent of the cp. takes a genitive case suffix in all the cases. Some of the examples are as follows.
Il ekacakraḥ Jai. 3.16.4 'single wheeled'.
Iiil sahasrāksaḥ Sve. 3.14 'having one thousand eyes'.
Iiil trigunaḥ Sve. 5.7 'possessing three qualities'.
Iv) aṣṭāksaram Br. 5.14.1 'eight lettered'.
V) pāṇcavidhaḥ Chān. 2.2.1 'five-fold'.
Vil catuṛvimśatīvarṣaḥ Chān. 6.1.2 'one at the age of twenty four'.

A total of 10 cp.ṣ which are by. in form but kdh in meaning are found. In all these cp.ṣ, the first member is a numeral. The text of the Jai, Up. is very clear in this context. Some examples are given below.

Il dviputraḥ Jai. 2.5.3 'one who is two sons'.
Iiil triputraḥ Jai. 2.5.4 'one who is three sons'.
Iiil catuṣputraḥ Jai. 2.5.5 'one who is four sons'.
Iv) Pāṇcaputraḥ Jai. 2.5.6 'one who is five sons'.

These cp.ṣ have a distinct by. form, however, are treated as kdh cp.ṣ by the Up.ic text, viz., eko hyevaīga putro yat prāṇah : 'the prāṇa is one', sa u eva dviputraḥ : 'the same prāṇa is two sons', dvau hi prāṇapāṇaḥ : 'because prāṇa and apāṇa are two', and so on. However, the interpretation of the Up. is not supported by any P. rule.
No irregularity is found in this type.

The Up. wise distribution of the bv. cp.s in which both the members are numerals is given below.


The total number of the bv. cp.s of this type is 33 and the frequency of occurrence is 47. The form is used often in the Čān., Br., and Jai. Up.s. Some typical examples are given below.

i] skādasāh Čān. 7.26.2 'eleven-fold'. The cp. refers to the soul.

ii] catuḥsātāh Čān. 4.4.5 'four hundred'.

iii] dvādasatrayodasaṇa Kau. 1.2 'by twelfth or thirteenth'. The text is: dvādasatrayodasaṇa pitrā....

iv] trināvāh Jai. 3.4.10 'three times nine'. The text is: etadime lokasrināvā bhavanti :

No irregularities are found in this type.

The Up. wise distribution of the bv. cp.s in which the first member is a cp. word is as follows.

9] Mai. 8 [10]
The total number of the by. cp.s of this type is 24 and their frequency of occurrence is 31. These cp.s do not occur often; their maximum use being in the Mai. Up.

The cp.s of this type are of two types. In the first type, a cp. word is used as the first member. The second type of cp.s have a more complex nature.

The following are the examples of the first type of cp.s.

i) avāksākhah Ka. 6.1 'one with branches below'.

ii) susuptasthānah Mā. 5 'one in a good deep sleep'.

iii) paroksapriyāh Ai. 'those fond of indirect experience'.

iv) udānmukhah Chan. 2.24.3 'facing northwards'.

Most of the cases of the second type occur in the Mai. Up. Some examples are given below.

i) vedāntavijnānasuniscitārthāh Mun. 3.2.6 'those who have ascertained well the meaning of the vedānta knowledge'. The cp. is analysed in the following ways.

a) vedāntasya vijñānam šaṣṭhī tp.

b) vedāntavijnānena suniscitāh trātiyā tp.

c) vedāntavijnānenaśuniscitāh arthaḥ veyām by.

ii) ekātmapratyayasaśāram Mā. 7 'to the one which is the proof of the experience of the oneness of soul'. The cp. is analysed as: ekah atmapratyayah sāram yasya.
ravitulyarūpah \textit{Sve} 5.8 'one having a sun-like appearance'. The analysis of the cp. is:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ravinā tulyam \textit{trtiyā \textit{tp}}.
  \item ravitulyam rūpam yasya \textit{by}.
\end{itemize}

iv) adhyavasyasamkāpabhimānalingah \textit{Mai}, 6.30 'one having mark of determination, conception and self-conceit'.

v) samādhinirdhūtamaiah \textit{Mai}, 6.34 'whose dirt is washed by concentration'. The cp. is analysed as:

\begin{itemize}
  \item samādhinā nirdhūtan \textit{trtiyā \textit{tp}}.
  \item samādhinirdhūtan maiah yasya \textit{by}.
\end{itemize}

vi) tatphalacchinnapāsah \textit{Mai}, 6.30 'having that reward of having fetters cut'. The analysis of the cp. is:

\begin{itemize}
  \item tasya phalam gasthi \textit{tp} tatphalam
  \item chinnah pāsah \textit{kdh} chinnapāsah
  \item chinnapāsah eva tatphalam yasya \textit{by}.
\end{itemize}

the correct form of the cp. should be,

\textit{chinnapāsātatphalaih sah}.

[K] A \textit{by} cp. is formed of a word with a cp., the first member of which ends in a locative, or functions as a \textit{upamāna} 'standard of comparison' and the second member is deleted. This type of \textit{by} cp. is formed by \textit{kvt.}, 2.2.24.12. \textit{saptamya pamānapūrvapadasyottarapadālopasa} \textit{vā}.

Given below is the only one attestation of \textit{saptami pūrvapada} \textit{by} and the seventh case is retained in the cp.

\begin{itemize}
  \item dūredevatah \textit{Jai}, 1.14.1 'having one's divinity far away'. The cp. is analysed as,
\end{itemize}
dūre sthitā devatā yasya :

The number of upamānapūrṇapada by cp.s is small. They are in all eleven and their Up.wise distribution is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mun.</th>
<th>3 [3]</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Br.</th>
<th>1 [1]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sve.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mai.</td>
<td>3 [3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jai.</td>
<td>2 [2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of by cp.s of this type is 11 and their frequency is the same. Some examples are given below.

i) manojavā Mun. 'one having the speed of mind'. The cp. is analysed as:

\[
\text{manasah ijāvā ijaḥ yasyāḥ} ;
\]

ii) rukmavarnah Mun. 'one having the color of gold'. The cp. is analysed as:

\[
\text{rukmanvarṇa ijaḥ varṇo yasyāḥ} ;
\]

iii) śriprajñā Br. 'having womanlike wisdom'.
The cp. is analysed as, śriprajñā ijaḥ prajñā yasyāḥ : [L]

The word śesa 'remaining' in the rule P. 2.2.23 and the word anekam in the rule P. 2.2.24, are interpreted to mean that the by cp. is formed of two words which are in the same case, and the referent of the cp. is always in any case other than the nominative [1]

\[
\text{bahuvṛṅīḥ samāṇadhiṣṭapannām iti vaktavyam kv.} 2.2.24.10.
\]

---

1. Ṛk. on P. 2.2.23; P. 2.2.24

kv. on P. 2.2.23; P. 2.2.24
This kvt. clearly ordains that a by. cp. should be formed of the words in the same case endings.

P. 6.3.12 bhūm the section dealing with the aluk cp.-lists at the possible compounding of two words in different cases. The locative case affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body with the exception of the words mūrdhan and mastaka. The examples sited by Sk. are,

kanthe kālaḥ vasya = kanythekālaḥ
urasī iomāṇi vasyāḥ = urasīiomā

BM. comments on the rule P. 6.3.12 as, ata eva ānāpakād vyadhikaranapado bahuvrīhiḥ;

The contradiction lying in the explicit statement of the P. 2.2.23, and 2.2.24, and the implicit suggestion for the formation of vyadhikarana by. cp. by P. 6.3.12, may be the result of two distinct linguistic expressions.

i) Pāṇini does not sanction the formation of the by. of two words in different cases when the case endings are elided.

ii) Pāṇini allows the by. cp.s of the two words in different cases when the case endings of the first member is retained in the cp. form, such as, kanthekāla, or śunahsepa.

He, however, prohibits the retaining of the case affix of the words mūrdhan, mastaka and after any word when followed by the word kāma.

Taking a clue from rule P. 6.3.12, the scope of the vyadhikarana by. is extended further to those cp.s in which the case endings are dropped in the cp. form. The
number of examples of the vyadhikarana bv. is comparatively small. Any attestation retaining the case ending is not found. The Up. wise distribution of the vyadhikarana bv. cp.s is as follows.

11] Jai.  10[12]

The total number of bv. cp.s of this type is 94 and their frequency of occurrence is 119. It appears more frequently in the Mai. and the Chān. Up. s.

In the vyadhikarana bv. cp.s, the first member is dependent on the second member in different case relations. These are dealt with in details hereunder.

The first member takes a locative case in the analysis of the cp. when the second member is the word Kāma 'desire', and the seventh case is elided in the cp. The clue is given by P. 6.3.12. This rule prohibits the retaining of the seventh case affix of the words mūrdhan, and mastaka 'head', and after any word when followed by the word kāma. A total of 24 examples is found in the body of the Up. text. Some of the examples are given below.

1] prajākāmāh  Pra.  1.4 'desirous of progeny'.
2] dharma kāmāh  Tai.  1.11 'desirous of virtue'. The cp. is analysed as, dharma kāmaḥ yasya ;
mātrijokākāmah Chān. 8.2.2 'having a desire of the world of mothers'. The cp. is analysed as, mātriloke kāmah asya:

Generally, the object of desire is a single word in many cp.s. There are some cases, and all of them are found in the Chān. Up., where the object of desire is a compound word. The examples are,

i) gitavāditalokākāmah Chān. 8.2.8 'desirous of the world of song and music'. Here, visaya saptamī is used.

The first member of the bh. cp. takes the seventh case, even when followed by a word other than kāma, in the analytical word group of the following cp.s.

i) tannisthan Mai. 6.1 'intent on that'. The cp. is analysed as, tasmin nisthā yasya:

i) bhasmāntam Br. 5.15.1 'one ending in ashes'. The cp. is analysed as, bhasmani antah yasya:

i) ātmānandah Chān. 7.25.2 'one having bliss in the self'. The cp. is analysed as, ātmapi ānandah yasya

in all ten cp.s of this type are found.

There are 16 examples of cp.s where the second member takes the seventh case in the corresponding analytical word group. The examples are,

i) vajrabāhuḥ Jai. 1.28.7 'having thunderbolt in hand'. The cp. is analysed as, vajram bāhu yasya:
11) agraumukhāh Jai. 3.8.1 'those with tearful faces'. The cp. is analysed as, agraunī mukhe yesām ।

11) urūnābhīh Mai. 6.22 'having wool in the naval'.

iv) cūrnahastāh Kau. 1.4 'those bearing powdered aromatics in hand'.

v) samitpānīh Chān. 8.7.2 'one with holy fuel in hand'.

These cp.s can become the cases of samānādhikarana
by. if the scope of the kvt. saptamyakramanapūravapadasyottarapadalopacā. is extended.

By making a by. cp. formed of three words of which the first two words themselves, form a cp. in which the first member is retained and the second member is deleted. The examples are as follows.

i) vajrabāhuḥ = vajrayuktah bāhuḥ yasvya ।

ii) samitpānīh = samidyuktah pānīh yasvya ।

iii) agnigarbhāḥ = agniyuktah garbhah yasvāḥ।

There are 16 examples of the by. cp.s in which the last word is adi and it generally occurs at the end of the cp. word which is generally a dvandva cp. Majority of these cases occur in the Mai. Up. The word adi 'commencement' takes locative case in the corresponding analytical word group of the cp. The examples are given below.

i) ṣabdasparsādāvah Mai. 4.2 'sound, touch, and others'. The cp. is analysed as,

ṣabdān ca sparsān = ṣabdasparsāp.
śādāśparśāḥ ādau yesaṃ

ii 1 prāṇādayah  Mai. 6.26 'having breath at the foremost'. The cp. is analysed as, prāṇāḥ ādau yesaṃ.

There are 19 cases of the by. cp.s in which the first member takes genetive case suffix in the corresponding analytical word group. The examples are as follows.

ii 1 prādesamātraḥ  Jai. 3.33.5 'one with a size of a span'. The cp. is analysed as, prādesasya mātraḥ yasya.

i 1 puruṣavidhah  Mai. 6.33 'one having a form of a man'. The cp. is analysed as, puruṣasya vidhā yasya.

iii ādityaṁmān  Mai. 6.16 'one of the nature of Āditya'. The cp. is analysed as, Ādityasya ātmā yasya.

iv 1 puṣkaraśrajaḥ  Br. 6.4.21 'two wearing garlands of lotus'. The cp. is analysed as, puṣkaraśya srajah yayoh.

v 1 dhyānāpādāmsāḥ  Chān. 7.6.1 'one having the part of the reward of meditation'. The cp. is analysed as, dhyānasya āpādam.

vi dhyānāpādasya adhisaṃ yasya by.

There are only two examples in which the first member takes an ablative case suffix in the corresponding analytical word group. Such cp.s are as follows.

ii 1 biśasambhavah  Mai. 6.10 'one having the origin from a seed'. The cp. is analysed as, biśāt saṁbhavah yasya.

iii 1 yonisvabhavān  Sve. 5.4 'those born from seeds'. The cp. is analysed as, yoneḥ svabhāvah yesaṃ.
in the four cases of the \textit{bv.} cp.s stated below, the first member takes an instrumental case affix in the corresponding analytical word group.

i) \textit{gūṇānvayaḥ} \textit{Śve.} 5.7 'one having connected with qualities'.

ii) \textit{śraddhādeyaḥ} \textit{Chān.} 4.1.1 'whose gift is with faith'. The \textit{cp.} is analysed as, \textit{śraddhava deyam} \textit{vasyaḥ}.

iii) \textit{ātmamithunah} \textit{Chān.} 7.25.2 'having intercourse with the soul'.

The following are the irregularities found in certain \textit{cp.s}.

i) \textit{patitādayaḥ} \textit{Mai.} 7.8 This is a case of \textit{asamartna} \textit{cp.}. The text in which it is used is, \textit{rājakarmanī patitādayaḥ} 'renegades in royal service'. The word \textit{patita} is syntactically connected with the word \textit{rājakarman} which is not a member of the \textit{cp.}

4.3 a) According to the rule P. 5.14.113, the \textit{samāsānta} suffix \textit{sa} is added after the word \textit{aksi} when it is a final member of the \textit{bv.} \textit{cp.}, for example,

i) \textit{lohitākṣaḥ} \textit{Br.} 6.4.16

ii) \textit{abhinaddhākṣaḥ} \textit{Chān.} 6.14.1

iii) \textit{sahasrākṣaḥ} \textit{Mai.} 6.8

b) According to the \textit{Kīt. chandasi ca neturupasaṃkhyānam}, 5.4.116.3, the \textit{samāsānta} suffix \textit{ap.} is added after the word \textit{netr} 'leader' in the following examples.

i) \textit{prajñānetram} \textit{Ai.} 3.4
ii) manonetraḥ Jai. 3.32.9

According to the rule P. 5.4.122, the samāsānta suffix asiḥ is added after the word meḍhaḥ 'wisdom' when preceded by either of the words su, dus, and naṁ. The examples are,

1) sumedḥaṁ Tai. 1.10 ; Br. 6.2.3 'with good wisdom'.

The word nitya in the rule P. 5.4.122, shows that the anuvṛtti of the word, vibhaṣaḥ, of the rule P. 5.4.121, does not continue. It also indicates that the suffix asiḥ comes after praṇa and meḍhaḥ even when preceded by any other word. This makes the following cp. regular.

1) alpamedhasaḥ Ka. 1.8 'with a little wisdom'.

ii) According to the rule P. 5.4.141, the word danta 'tooth' is replaced by dat, when it is the final member of a by. cp. and is preceded by either a numeral or the word su and the cp. denotes 'young age'. The following two cp.s are the examples contrary to this rule.

1) hiranyadantah Jai. 3.2.8 'one with golden teeth'.

ii) adantam Tai. 3.10 'toothless'.

i) According to P. 5.4.74, the samāsānta suffix a is added after the word po in the following examples.

1) bahvraḥ Jai. 3.4.2

ii) trcaṁ Jai. 1.55.3
According to P. 5.4.75, the *samāsānta* suffix *ac* is added after the word *loman* 'hair' when preceded by *anu* or *prati* as in the following examples, which are both, feminine in gender.

(i) *anulomān* Br. 6.4.12
(ii) *pratilomān* Br. 6.4.12

According to P. 5.4.140, the final vowel of the word *pāda* is dropped when the word is preceded by any numeral in a *bv.* cp. The examples are,

(i) *catuspāt* Ma. 2
(ii) *pañcapāt* Pra. 1.11
(iii) *ekapāt* Chān. 4.16.3
(iv) *sahasrapāt* Sve. 3.14

According to P. 5.4.139, gives a list of *bv.* cp.s with a final word *pāda* changing to *pāda* and all the *bv.* cp.s are feminine. The option given by P. 4.1.8 is not operational as these forms are separately mentioned. The example is,

(i) *ekapadā* Br. 5.14.7

According to P. 4.1.8, a feminine suffix *ānip* is added to the word *pāda* in the following examples.

(i) *ubhayāpadā* Jai. 4.14.3
(ii) *catuspadā* Br. 5.14.7
(iii) *dvipadā* Br. 5.14.7
iv) daśapadī Jai. 4.25.5

j) According to P. 5.4.154, the samāsānta suffix kap is added after any word to which any specific affix is not ordained. Some of the several examples are given below.

i) prānasamāñṇakah Mai. 6.19
ii) ātmātmakāni Mai. 6.31
iii) ātmaśāksikam Mai. 6.24
iv) mṛtasūtakāt Mai. 6.9
v) uktopeṇaṣatkāh Br. 4.2.1
vi) apahatamāskān Chān. 7.11.2
vii) samanaskāh Ka. 3.8

k) According to P. 5.4.124, the suffix anic is added after the word dharma when preceded by a single pada. The example is,

anucchittidharman Br. 4.5.14

anuccītī is a nāṁ tp. cp. which is treated as one single pada by Kv. [1]

1. kevalāt padādyo dharmaśabdo, na padasamudāyat Kv. on P. 5.4.124
Some non- Pāṇinian by. cp.s.

āl P. 5.4.124 ordains the suffix anic after the word dharma, if it is preceded by a single pada. This suffix is not added in the following cp. even when the word dharma is preceded by a single word.

satyadharmāya 1. 15 'whose law is truth'.

This cp. is treated as by by Saṅkarācārya. He explains the cp. as, satyadharmāya tava satyasyopāsanātsatyam dharmo yasya mama soham satyadharmah ... [1]

if the cp. is treated as an example kdh, then the form is regular. The text can be interpreted in the following way. hiranyayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitām mukham; tattvām pūṣannāpyṛṇu satyadharmāya dṛṣṭaye; in this the dative is interpreted as satyadharmasya dṛṣṭaye 'to realise the true law, please uncover, Oh Pūṣan!, that covering'.

b) The substitution dat for danta 'tooth' takes place in the following cp. and then the same sānta suffix kap is added to it.

adatkah Čān. 8.14.1 'toothless'. This formation is contrary to rule P. 5.4.141, by which the substitution, dat for danta is allowed only if it is preceded by either a numeral or the word su and if the cp. means 'young age'.

1. Tisādidasopanisadah by Saṅkarācārya pp. 11
c) The following cp. can become regular only if the word, \textit{dur} is added to the list given in P. 5.4.135.
\begin{quote}
durgandhi Chân. 1.60.5
\end{quote}
However, the cp. without the substituent \textit{i} is also attested.
\begin{quote}
durgandhe \textit{sārīre} Mai. 1.3 'in foul smelling body'.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{p. 5.4.91}
di The \textit{samāsānta} suffix, \textit{a\_tac} is added after \textit{ahan} if the cp. is \textit{tp}. In the following example, however, the cp. is treated as \textit{bv}. though, the suffix \textit{tac} is added after the word \textit{ahan}. The text follows.
vyūdhacchandasa\ dvādśāhena [vajnen\_a] yaksamāno\'smi;
\textit{Jai. 3.31.1}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
e) The following cp. would be regular if the word \textit{ati} be added to P. 5.4.75. In this the \textit{samāsānta} suffix \textit{ac} is added after the word \textit{sāman}.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
atiśāmāya \textit{Jai. 4.26.15} 'to the one proficient in \textit{sāman}'.
\end{quote}
The word \textit{ati} is used here to show 'respect'. The \textit{samāsānta} is added, notwithstanding, on the basis of
\begin{quote}
prāgbahuvarśīhigrahanam ca kartavyam \textit{kvt. 5.4.69.2}.
\end{quote}
f) There is no provision of the \textit{samāsānta} suffix \textit{a} after the word \textit{dāman} 'rope' in the P. rules. The following attestation takes the \textit{samāsānta} affix \textit{a}.
\begin{quote}
sadāmam \textit{Br. 2.2.1} The text is as follows.
yo ha vai śīṣum ...... ...... sadāmam veda ...... ;
\end{quote}
g] If the word tripadam is added to the rule P. 5.4.120, the following cp. would be regular.

tripadam Mai. 6.4 'three footed'.

t] The following cp.s would be regular if the words, visvatas and ubhaya be added to P. 5.4.140

visvataspāt Śve. 3.3

ubhayapāt Jai. 3.16.7

j] The feminine suffix tān is added after the word pad in the following cp., though the cp. does not directly qualify Rc as prescribed by P. 4.1.9

catuspadā Chān. 3.12.5 In the text given below, the cp. qualifies the word, gāyatrī.

saiṣā catuspadā sadvidhā gāyatrī!

However, the cp. can be considered as indirectly qualifying Rc, as sāvitrī is in the Rc.

4.4 Observations on by. cp.s.

1] The total number of by. cp.s occurring in the entire body of the Up.s is 836 and their frequency of occurrence is 1251.

2] Any example of a by. cp. taught by P.2.2.25, 2.2.26, and 2.2.27 is not attested.

3] The anyapadārtha of by. cp. is generally expressed in a sixth case, sometimes in the seventh case, and very rarely in the fifth case.

4] The feminine words are substituted by an
equivalent and uniform masculine form in all by. cp.s.

51 The word kim is never used in a derogatory sense like kimsakha. It is used as an interrogative pronoun, kimdevatah.

61 Past passive participles are more frequently used as the first members than other krdanta words. A present participle is used only once. Four times.

71 Any example of saha by., retaining the word saha in a cp. is not found. saha is replaced by sa in all the attestations of the by. cp.s.

81 Generally, the by. cp.s found in the text of Up.s have two members, however, three membered or multi membered by. cp.s are also found, though, their occurrence is quite low and restricted mainly to the Mun. and the Mai. Up.s.

91 No example of nam by. retaining the word standing for existence is found.

101 The formation of pradi, nam, ind, and upamānapūrvapada by. is according to the Kyt.s.

111 The indeclinables used as the first members are used both, as adverbs and adjectives.

121 The attestations of vyadhikarana by. in all possible case endings are found. Any example of a first member retaining its case in a cp. is not found. The attestations of vyadhikarana by. are found more frequently in the Mai., and the Chān. Up.s.