CHAPTER III
TREATMENT OF COMPOUND BY TELUGU GRAMMARIANS
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In this chapter an attempt will be made to examine the treatment of the various compounds in Telugu by the traditional grammarians. Compounds will be taken up for examination in the order of their increasing aptness to the Telugu language.

The following factors should be kept in mind when we consider the approach of the traditional pandits to Telugu grammar. All Telugu grammarians were profound Sanskrit scholars who believed that the Sanskrit grammatical system (School of Panini) to be perfect. They thought that Telugu also was like the prakrits which were considered to have originated from Sanskrit. Therefore they applied the Sanskrit technique of grammar to Telugu. To this was added the fact that the early literary works in Telugu were translations of Sanskrit works. In these works Sanskrit expressions were found transplanted frequently from the originals. So much that was in Sanskrit had been bodily brought into Telugu that the Telugu grammars necessarily commenced with the Sanskrit alphabet. After the Sanskrit alphabet, we were given the prakrit alphabet and only then the Telugu one found its place.
The ways and methods by which Sanskrit words are brought into Telugu find an important place in all the traditional Telugu grammars. Consider the following verse of Atharvāṇa, the author of 'Vikrtiviveka':

"sabdasya ca samutpanna:
a:dyau:admatra:kilah
kathitah vaikrta:ya-ssabdai
rahavanti sadanu:raha:it" (V.V., Ajanta, 17)

Here, the word a:dyau: means Sanskrit language and vaikrta means Telugu. Atharvāṇa means to say that all Sanskrit words have their corresponding forms in Telugu. It asserts that this has become possible by the help of great men. It was also felt that the well-developed ideas in Sanskrit works could not be competently expressed in Telugu. Therefore, a lot of Sanskrit vocabulary was adopted into Telugu so that it could be as expressive as Sanskrit. Hence, the early classical authors intentionally brought in the Sanskrit expression into their works. Therefore, the influence of Sanskrit was mainly limited to the circle of the learned poets and scholars, while the layman's Telugu was not affected by such a force. Hence the gulf between the textual language and colloquial Telugu was very wide. The Telugu grammarians on their part, formulated their principles of grammar mainly on the basis of the principles of Sanskrit grammar. Whenever they did not find examples in Telugu to illustrate some of the
principles taken from Sanskrit, they seem to have translated to Telugu literally the appropriate examples found in Sanskrit grammar (for example annasaya hasto: irvasati, under the suutra 2-3-26 annamakundunica:ta, . . . . . ). With regard to compound formation, we find these scholars not caring for the Telugu idiom and merely substituting Telugu equivalents to the words in the Sanskrit compounds. Grammarians like \(^1\) \(\text{Ja\text{̄}tan\text{̄}}\) and \(^2\) \(\text{Ruddana}\) say that the translation of only a part of the Sanskrit compound is wrong, and by this we may conclude that compounds in full can be translated. They reject partial translations like dinakara - \(\text{Ka\text{̄}du}\) 'son of the Sun', animisa - \(\text{Modama}\) 'cow of the gods' and kairar:rnava - \(\text{Kurturu}\) 'daughter of the milk ocean', samsa:rra:rnava:ya:ni:ka\(^4\) 'ship of samsa:rra:rnava'. In the above combinations the underlined words are Telugu translations and the preceding forms are in Sanskrit. dinakarasuta, animisagau and kairar:rnavaduhita; samsa:rra:rnava:na might be the corresponding Sanskrit compound forms.

It is a fact that the meanings of some of the Sanskrit compounds may be represented by their Telugu equivalents, \(^5\) but there are

1. \(\text{A.\text{̄}B.\text{̄}}, 131\)
2. \(\text{K.A.C.}, \text{IX 135}\)
3. \(\text{A.B.B.}, 131\)
4. \(\text{K.A.C.}, \text{IX 135}\)
5. \(\text{A.M.C.}, \text{pp. 677-78}\)
a number of Sanskrit compounds whose significance cannot fully be represented by a mere substitution of Telugu equivalents. As, for example, we take krama-áritah (an accusatively dependent compound) a compound formed out of the phrase krama-áritah 'depending on krama'. By substituting the first constituent with kramuni and the second with áritudu we get kramuni-yá-áritudu. Whereas in Sanskrit the compound is an accusatively depending one, we find it in Telugu to be a possessively depending one. By the process of substituting Telugu stems for Sanskrit ones we may get only two types of tatpurusa compounds, datively and possessively depending ones - and not the others.

Bahuvrihi compounds occur frequently in Sanskrit. These compounds differ from all other types. Here neither of the constituents is having the privileges of the 'Head'. These constructions may be treated as exocentric. Exocentric constructions are rare in Telugu. Hence Bahuvrihi compounds when translated into Telugu do not seem to represent the significance of the originals. Accordingly, the grammarians supplied the 'Head' in Telugu, thus adding one more to the number of constituents of the original.

6. A.A., 2-1-24
7. A.B.C., p. 752
8. L., p. 235
the Sanskrit compound contains only two constituents, the Telugu one is seen with an extra constituent, the 'Head'. Telugu phrases so formed are termed as abha;sa (resembling) bahvrishti.

1. ABHA;SA COMPOUNDS:

pattu puttamu is on the pattern of the Sanskrit compound pita;ambahara (Pitam-ambaram-yasya-sah). To bring out the significance of the original, the 'Head'-dora is supplied in this instance. Thus pattu - puttamu - dora, 'he who wears a yellow garment' is formed. The Telugu phrase so coined is something other than the Sanskrit compound, in as much we have an additional constituent, dora, the 'Head'. It represents the bahvrishti meaning. Hence it is styled as abha;sa bahvrishti. The compound tri-natra 'he who has three eyes', is translated into Telugu in two different ways. In mudu-kamru-la va;du, the final constituent va;du is the 'Head'. This is an abha;sa bahvrishti. The other type of translation is styled as karmadha;raya;ba;sa has such forms as - kannulu-mudu-gala-va;du. This form contains four

constituents. It is evident that the first phrase is got by substituting the corresponding Telugu words -- not disturbing the Sanskritic order, but only with the addition of the 'head'. As it maintains the Sanskritic order it might have been called an abha:sabahuvrithi. In the second form (though it also represents the same meaning) the order of the constituent is disturbed; and one more word - kala, is added. 15 ni:vu po:sincina bhaktulu, 'devotees who are nurtured by you' is another example of karmadha:raya:bha:sa. In the above example, the final constituent is a noun and the preceding one is an adjective. Hence it represents the attributive-substantive construction and as much it is regarded as karmadha:raya:bha:sa. According to Atharvama 17 abha:sabahuvrithi is that one in which the third person or anyapada and the like are expressly used. The following are the examples of abha:sabahuvrithi given by Atharvama nui:du:kannula:va:du, pitambaram:va:du, 'he who has an yellow garment' pattu:puttam:du, 'he who wears silk cloth', vedi:va:lugu:va:du 'he who possesses hot light', nui:du:kannula:y-adhi 'she who has three yes', pattu:puttam:nu:adi 'she who wears a silk garment', mutya:la:kannula:uddula:di 'sweet balle who wears pearl ear ornaments'. The author of the A.B.A., in course of discussion

15. A.B., P. 541
17. V.V. Hal. 18
18. Ibid, Hal. 18
about the Bahuvrihi compounds, says that the following examples and the like are of abhāsabahuvrihi type of compounds according to Atharvāṇe: vaḍi-vaḷugula-vaśilpu 'God who has hot beams of light', pattu-puttam-dora and niḻampumūngara-niḷaveṇi 'black haired bells who has a blue nose ring' (A.B.A.A., P. 216). In all the above examples the final constituent represents the third person to which the preceding phrase is an attribute. niṟu-pośincine-bhaktulu and dhara-buttanivaiḍu 'he who was not born on the earth' are examples of kāmaḍha-raya-bhāsa given by Atharvāṇe. The very idea of abhāsa indicates that Sanskrit compounds have been translated and some of the Telugu translations appear to be phrases rather than compounds. Thus one more word is added to the compounds in Telugu translations; and the preceding phrases dhara-buttani, niṟu-pośincine cannot be regarded as compounds since they are of attributive-head type of constructions and they cannot function as nouns (vide chapter II). All the above examples indicate that translation of compounds was very much in vogue in the early period of Telugu literature.

Besides adopting Sanskrit compounds as siddha-samāsas (compounds formed in Sanskrit) Telugu grammarians like Ahoibala make it a point to translate Sanskrit compounds. Since these two languages are structurally different, the Telugu forms so

19. V.V., Hal 17
coined do not serve the purpose. In order to bring out the significance of the Sanskrit compound they have added words like vaibusu in vīśva-kānnuma-vājī and so on. This shows to what extent Telugu is influenced by Sanskrit.

II. ALUK COMPOUNDS:

There are a few Sanskrit forms in which the initial constituents retain the inflection as against the usual type in which it is said to have dropped. These also are treated as compounds. These are styled as aluk (not lost) compounds. According to the traditional grammarians this type also is present in Telugu. These compounds presuppose a type of language in which nominal inflection is pertinent. In Telugu the so-called case-endings never enter into compound formation. It is the stem, either the first one (uninflected) or the second one (inflected), that enters into formation of Telugu compounds. Traditional grammarians, not noticing the nature of Telugu and being thoroughly swayed by Sanskrit system, went to the extent of perceiving even aluk compounds in Telugu.

Sanskrit 'aluk' compounds are found in all the oblique cases. dhanam-jayah (accusative) 'winner of wealth', o vịjasa-krtam (instrumental) 'a deed done by bodily strength', a trmanos-padam

20. S.G., P.
21. A.A., 6-3-3
22. A.A., 6-3-7
(dative) 'that kind of verb whose action goes to the actor', stokkatt(n) = mukta (ablative) 'narrowly missed', courasa-kulam (genitive) 'family of thieves', tvadi-sarrah (locative) 'one that has strength in skin (bamboo)' and the like are examples. Formation of the aluk compound is optional in the case of varṣe-jah and varṣa-jah 'born in rainy season' and such forms.

Locative case suffixes andu = indu, take ali; and the ablative case takes suffix valam, and the instrumental case takes suffixes costa and torda, take i in the formation of Telugu compound according to Atharvaṇa 'andali-ratnasamvaḷulu 'hill slopes of jewels in that place' indali-puvvaḷompamulu 'flower-bunches in this place' naivalani-meḷam 'mistake from me', ni-nilvanti-proṣpu, 'protection by your hand' na-toradi-celimi 'friendship with me', and ni-yandali-karana 'kindness in you' are examples given under the above karus of Atharvaṇa. In the case of the first two examples the so-called locative case suffixes - andu and indu - are used independently. Therefore these may be regarded as 'words'. In the case of the last example, the word andu is preceded by another word forming a

23. A.A., 6-3-2
24. A.A., 6-3-21
25. A.A., 6-3-9
26. A.A., 6-3-16
27. V.V. sandhi 28
compound between themselves and this compound is followed by a third word karuna. As andu is not an inflection here there is no need to regard this as an aluk compound. In the other three examples the so-called inflections ceita, toda and valana also have the privilege of being regarded as words. Independent occurrence of toda is also in existence. All this indicates that the boundary between words and inflections has not been noticed by Telugu grammarians. These compounds are not aluk ones as the traditional grammarians influenced by Sanskrit, ever. It is a fact that the inflected stems stand initially in Telugu compounds. The inflections are (oblique formatives) ni (n plus i) and la (l plus a) in singular and plural respectively. Hence the Telugu compound is formed out of the root plus the inflection as the first constituent and another word as the final constituent. In the corresponding Sanskrit compound the mere stem takes the initial position and any other word the final position. Accordingly inflection (ni or la) in between two constituents - is noticed as a special feature in Telugu, and compounds so formed are treated as aluk compounds by Balasamaswati. He is of the opinion that all case-suffices are dropped in the formation of compound but ni and la are retained. Examples are velpu-ro-(ni)-y-inti, 'wife of the king of gods', ve:lp-u-(la)-y-oja 'teacher of Gods', ja:-ja:-y-(la)-pro:vu, 'group of Gods', ma:vu-(la)to:ta

28. P.V. K:araka 8
29. B.J., P. 247
'a grove of mango trees', gurra-(la) la:ya:my 'a stable of horses', ra:jua-(la)-sabha 'assembly of kings', ra:mu(ni)-30 su:pamulu 'qualities of Rama', ka:vu(la)-va:rtalu 'news of poets'. All these are aluk compounds according to B.S. 31 ni and la put within brackets are case-markers which are retained. He does not mention to which case ni - la of the above examples belong. A.B. says that ni and la of such compounds belong to the accusative case and in these examples 32 they give the meaning of the other cases. man:ta-la-ma:ri 'an envious woman', ma:nda-(la)-ma:ri 'a woman of herbs' are examples given by A.B. Suri says that andu and the like take ali in compounds. Ni:-y-andali-karu:na and the like are examples, ce:ta, to:da, and valana take i in the formation of compounds according to B.V. ni:-ce:ti-pro:pu 'protection by your hand', na:-vala:ni-bhayau:mu 'fear from me' are examples. It is not mentioned that these are aluk compounds. These need not necessarily be regarded as aluk compounds. But inflections in Telugu have word-like privileges. na:-to:di-ca:limi 'friendship with me', ni:-ce:ti-pro:pu, va:ni-vala:ni-ne:ramu 'crime from him' are examples of this type given in A.B.A. 36 It is said these that to:di of the above example may be substituted

30. B.S., P. 247
31. Ibid P. 247
34. B.V. sandhi 44
35. B.V. sandhi 45
36. A. .., P. 20: 
by tostı. Further, it is stated that tala-n-brasulu "(sacred) rice poured on head" and u:ra-n-bandi 'pig (roaming about) in village' are also aluk compounds. It is a fact that there is a case-suffix an suffixed to a few words instead of regular locative or instrumental case, go:ra-n-giri, "scratched with nail" and u:ra-n-unna:du "(he) is in village" are examples. -n- appears in a number of Telugu compounds. 41- between the two constituents of the above two items might have come into existence in this way. Accordingly, those compounds regarded as aluk are not really such compounds, and this type (aluk) is not possible to fabricate in Telugu.

III. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

There are a few Sanskrit compounds in which the order of constituents differs from the order in their corresponding phrases. This is recognised by ra:nini ra:ja:danta:ha. 42 43 (danta:na:m-ra:ja:) 'eye-tooth' and the like are examples. Accordingly in Telugu there are compounds like ra:y-anca and ra:i-ciluka. These two are against the usual order anca:la-ra:ju 'king of swans', cilukala-ra:ju 'king of parrots' ra:y-anca

38. A.B.A., p. 222
39. B.V.AC 38
40. Ibid AC 38
41. B.V. mandhi 35-37
42. rajadanta:digu param A.A. 2-2-31
43. Ibid 2-2-31
44. V. Hal 22
and ra-ciluka might have formed out of translation of the corresponding Sanskrit compounds ra-ja-hamsa and ra-ja-kiira. There are a few examples of Telugu compounds of attributive-substantive type in which the substantive precedes its attributive. Examples for this are tammu-gurralu 'immature younger brothers', ciluka-mokari 'chattering parrot' and ammu-sagamu 'half of the body', mai-sagami 'half of the body'. As against the last two examples we have the compound sa-ja-muru in which the usual order is maintained. In no example mai is seen standing finally. Mokari is used initially in compound mokari-mattelu 'noisy toe-rings'. Change of the usual order is a strange thing and it may be treated as a feature of compound formation. ra--ya-anca and the like formed out of more translation of the corresponding Sanskrit compound ra-ja-hamsa, are treated as compounds in which the order of the components is changed to conform to the Sanskritic order. This is because of the influence of Sanskrit on Telugu and more so, on its grammarians.

IV. MATUP-

There is a type of compound called matup\(^49\) by the traditional grammarians. matup is one of the secondary (taddhita)

46. P.V. Sem. 16
47. A.B., P. 553
48. H.V., VII 137
49. B.C., P. 246; A.B., P. 543; A.B.A., P. 212
suffixed added at the end of a noun. It means either a
ing thing is possessed by an individual or that it is in a place.
garvah asya aśminvaśa santi gośmaśa. 51 'a man who has cows'
or 'the place where cows stay' and the like are examples. Of
the two meanings the possession of a thing by an individual
is taken into account in Telugu and compounds representing
that meaning are treated as matup compounds. Atharvāpa says
that u, i, a, in a compound represent the meaning of matup.
Accordingly puvvuli-nilīlu 'water having flowers in it',
tavi-molla 'smelling jasmine (jasminum multiflorum)',
raṇa-mānisi 'cankarerotous person' are given as examples in
which u, i, and a at the end of the initial constituents of
the compounds mean matup. In all the above three examples,
the final vowels of the first constituent are integral parts
of the words. Actually they are not added to represent the
said meaning. This compound is recognized by J.C., who gives
the following examples. tavi-molla, valapu-gandavodi 'smelling
sandal powder', cakri 'who has a wheel (as a weapon) and karī
'that which has a trunk (elephant)'. The last two are forms
derived out of nouns by adding the secondary suffix-i (taddhita). Hence these are not compounds and these do not

50. Tadasya-styāmānītī vāmatup A.A. 5-2-94
51. A.A. 5-2-94
52. V.V. Hal 21
53. Ibid Hal 21
54. J.C., p. 246
55. ib. V.V. Hal 21.
possess more than a single root. The other two examples are similar to the examples given under the kaśrika of "thinna." A.B. mentions that B.\\. recognised the matup compound and he adds that puva-nišṭhū (water with flowers in it) is a matup compound and puva-niśṭa is not the singular form of the above compound. On the other hand it means kuśum-rasa or 'water of flower' literally — honey found inside a fresh flower. Hence puva-niśṭa gives the possessive case meaning and puva-nišṭhū gives the matup meaning. Puva a noun followed by another noun may function as the first or second stem. The meaning attributed to the first stem is supposed to be 'matup' and that of the second stem (with zero inflection) as usual. Combination of the first stem with the following word in this connection is in no way different from its class of forms. The grammarians being influenced by the Sanskrit matup, view this from a different angle. Hence they style it as a peculiar combination. According to Mallandi that combination in which the matup indicator kola is dropped is the matup compound. He gives muvva
va
\-nokama 'three coloured animal', vennala-\-rai\-tri 'moon-light night', ta\-vim\-\-\-gga 'smelling flowerbud', po\-tu\-\-bantu 'gallant soldier', pillala-talli 'mother of children', ca\-rila-puli 'striped tiger', as examples of this type. It may be regarded that these are formed out of the

56. A.B., P. 553
57. A.B.A., P. 212
corresponding phrases muḍuvelu-gala-mokamu or muvannelu-gala-mokamu and so on. All this is imaginary and the combination is capable of representing that meaning. This is regarded as a special class since the combination gives the meaning of the matup suffix in Sanskrit.

V. AYYAVI-BHAIVA:

Ayyavi-bhaiva is a compound in which declinables enter into compound formation and the resultant combination becomes indeclinable. Accordingly a compound like pratyaksam 'near the eyes' is formed out of aksam and aksipam which are declinables. According to Prof. Burrow these are adjectival compounds used as adverbs. As such, they are confined to the nominative singular neuter only. Since the corresponding adjectival compounds became obscure, grammarians considered them as a special group of compounds. Hence these adverbial compounds are used in Telugu adding the adverbial morpheme ga: . Thus, we find usages such as pratyaksamu-ga:, paraksaṇamu-ga: and the like in Telugu. A.R.A. recognised Ayyavi-bhaiva compounds.

It defines the compound as follows. It is that compound in which an ayyaya or indeclinable is united with the following word.

Yatha: citamu (yatha: ucitamu) 'suitably', yathā-sakti 'according (to one's) ability', a:bala-ga:pa:lumu 'inclusive of boys and

58. S.L., P. 216
59. A.B.", P. 222
cowherds' and madhye-margamu 'in middle of the way' are given as examples. But all these are siddha-samasas formed in Sanskrit and used in Telugu with the necessary case- endings. Sanskrit grammarians classify compounds taking the meaning as the criterion. The relative significance of the constituents is basis for their classification. Thus under their classification all constituents are equally important in the case of the dvandva and none of the constituents is important in bahuvrīhi. The second I.C. is important in tatpurusa and the first I.C. is important in avyayi;bha:va. But the classification is not free from the fallacy of avyayi and ativartyi. Because in some of the compounds regarded as 'Avyayi;bha:va' the first I.C.s are not important - example unmatta-gangam 'the area where the swollen Ganges flows', a;yati:-gavan 'time when the cattle return' etc. Moreover the importance of the initial I.C. is observed even in other compounds like tatpurusa - example ati-mailah 'he who crossed the maila', ardha-pippali: 'half of pippali' etc. Any how inspite of these limitations avyayi;bha:va is taken into account by Keñtana and A.B. peda-tala 63 'back side of head' kre:-gannu 'side glance', nadu-re:-yi 'mid-night' eda-kai:lu 'left leg' are given as examples of compounds in which the

60. Siddhanta kaumudi, pp. 87-88
61. A.B., 110
62. A.B., p. 556
63. A.B., 110
* eda:-kai:lu: reco
1 karmadhra:raya compound by Peddana
K.A.C.
first I.C. is important (pu:rvapada:rthapradhaina). peda-tala and kras-gannu are compounds of this class according to A.B. Of the examples excluding peda-tala all other are attributive-substantive constructions in which the final I.C. is the head. But the final I.C. tala of peda-tala is not capable of being substituted for the compound, (which is possible in the case of all the others given above) and hence it may be regarded as exocentric and all the others as endocentric constructions. Peda-tala is treated as ekadasi 65 compound by A.B. This compound is defined in 'A.B.A.' 66 as follows. It is that compounds in which the meaning of the first I.C. is part of the object represented by the second I.C. pu:rvakasya 'fore-part of the body' and apara-kasya 'the hind part of the body' are examples of Sanskrit ekadasasi compounds according to A.B.A. These compounds have corresponding phrases, pu:rvam kasyasya and so on. It is evident the Telugu compound peda-tala cannot be represented by similar phrases (peda-talayokka). It may be concluded that these two are different. It may be further said that avyayi:bha:va and ekada:si are compounds peculiar to Sanskrit. The peculiar Telugu combinations like peda-tala are dealt with under the heads by grammarians not noticing the special features of these compound forms.

64. A.B., p. 556
65. . p. 552
66. a. p. 22
67. . p. 21
VI. BAHUVRIHI

The Bahuvrihi or exocentric compounds are quite abundant in Sanskrit. But it is comparatively rare in Telugu. However, grammarians who took over Bahuvrihi from Sanskrit grammar, had to coin a number of Telugu compounds on the model of such compounds in Sanskrit. Sometimes Sanskrit compounds were translated into Telugu; and at other times some were newly coined. The following compounds are some of the exocentric constructions in Telugu given by the grammarians.

cali-velugu 'he who has cold light (the moon)', vaşdi-velugu 'he who has hot (beams of) light (the sun)', vašti-vaśdi 'she who has sharp tongue', cōtal-aśdi 'she whose actions are praiseworthy', rośi-velugu 'he who shines during nights', pulugu-padaga 'he who bears bird as banner', puru-bośdi 'she who is as beautiful as flower', taliru-bośdi 'she who is as tender as a young shoot', vāṭa-vaśdi 'she who has sharp tongue', mincu-molaka 'she who is like lightning sprout',

velugu 'he who has thousand (beams of) lights', mośta-barī 'a bull which bears heavy loads', alaru-bośdi, nana-bośdi, puś-bośdi, viri-bośdi all these four forms mean the same 'a lady of flower-like beauty'. These might have been formed out of

68. A.B.A. 115
69. B.J., pp. 245-246
70. R.A.C. IX 125
71. B.V. san 9
72. B.V. vam. 23
Telugu constituents without inflections (sama:santa ka:rya at the end of the final constituent). Some of the above compounds like cali-velugu, ve:-velugu might have been formed out of Sanskrit compounds, śī:tā:msu (śīta-amsu) and usna:-
kirana. (Relevant comments on 'Abh.: Bāhu:vṛiti'h have already been made on pp. nos. 27-30).

1 and the like are added at the end of the translated phrase and they are regarded as compounds and the inflection added at the end is regarded as sama:santa vidhi" or sama:santa ka:rya". It is a compound formative. 'i' is directly added in the case of the following example (rather substituted in place of the final vowel)- nēttammi-cu:lu:i = nēttammi-cu:li "he who is son of lotus". In other cases consonants at the end of the final constituent undergo changes. The final constituents after the changes resemble the second (inflected) stems which occur in all oblique cases in the singular number. kanti is the inflected stem of kantu.

There are a number of compounds ending in kanti. These compounds represent both genders -- masculine and feminine. mu-k-kanti, ve:yi-ganti. These examples represent masculine objects; va:lu-ganti, macc:i-kanti represent the feminine gender.

73. A.B.:; Hal 44; V.V.:; Hal 22
74. B.V. sam 22
75. A.B.: 555
76. V.: 22; B. 345; A.B., pp.544 and 555; B.V. sam 9
77. B. 544
78. 245; IX 125
puspadhamuh a Sanskrit compound is translated as either pū- 
villus or alaru-villu. Since the form does not bring out
the meaning of its corresponding Sanskrit form, the second
I.C. is changed as viltu. villu has for its second (inflected)
stem 'vinti'. But that form is not taken here and then the
gender-number-marker 'du' is added to form the compound
alaru-viltuḍu. Grammarians recognise this form and give the
following examples:- alaru-viltuḍu 'he whose arrows are
flowers' (villu actually means bow), pu:-viltuḍu, pu:-viltuḍu
gaṭṭu-viltuḍu 'he whose bow is a mountain'. According to
B.J. vilutuḍu is also possible. If the final 'l' of villu
is not changed into the exocentric compound will not result.
Another change of this kind is 'c' becoming 'p' as in
cuṭṭu-muduvu-tailpu 'one who has a disc as weapon',
mu-moua-tailpu 'three pointed weapon'

From the several examples given by the Sanskrit
grammarians, we may guess that they seem to have recognised
six types of the babuvriḥhe compound on the basis of case
relations.

(1) Accusative- praśpto:da ka (praśpta-udaka) 'that village
to which water has reached' - prasptam-udakam-vam (kramam) sah praspto: dakah. The underlined word is the 'head' and it is in the accusative case.

(2) Instrumental - u:dha-rathah 'that bull by which chariot is drawn' is out of u:dha rahah yona sah. The head is in the instrumental case.

(3) Dative - Upahrtapasah 'he (God) to whom animal is offered (in sacrifice)' is an example of the dative case.

4, 5 & 6. Ablative, genitive and locative - udhraudana; (udhra odana) 'that vessel from which food (cooked rice) is taken out', pita:marah 'he who wears an yellow garment' and vi:ra purusakah 'that (village) in which gallant people live' are examples of ablative, genitive and locative case respectively. Of these types the genitive case indicator is frequent in Sanskrit. It may be said that this is the only type which is present in Telugu. The traditional grammarians seem to be aware of this fact. So they have translated Sanskrit compounds in the genitive case meaning only. None of the grammarians has translated praspto: dakha, u: dharatha and such compounds. If these are translated we get pondina-ni:ru

87. A.A., 2-2-24
88. Ibid 2-2-24
89. Ibid 2-2-24
90. Ibid 2-2-24
91. Ibid 2-2-24
(or pondabādina nīru) mo:sina-bandī (or mo:yabādina bandi) which have to be regarded as of attributive-substantive type and not any case as bahuvrīhi. The order of components in bahuvrīhi compound is similar to that of the attributive-substantive. Bahuvrīhi represents a wider range of meaning.

formation of this compound in Telugu is generally on the line of Sanskrit compounds. But yet it maintains its special feature since a literal Telugu translation of Sanskrit compound does not bring out the significance of the original and an inflection has to be added (reference pp. 27-30). Translation of this compound indicates the extent of Sanskrit influence on Telugu.

VII. DVANDVA :-

Sanskrit dvandva suggests four meanings, namely samuccaya, anvā; caya, itare:tarayo:ga and sama:ha:ra. The Telugu dvandva generally suggests samuccaya meaning only. In Sanskrit any number of constituents may be united at a stretch to form this compound. But in Telugu only two I.C.s at a time can unite to form the ‘dvandva’.

Regarding the occurrence of constituents the Sanskrit dvandva has certain restrictions. Usually though not always

92. cārthe:dvandvah A.A. 2-2-29
the initial constituent will have a less number of syllables than the other constituents. Example: siva-kēsava. But in a compound formed by two names, the greater name should be placed initially even though it has more syllables. Example: Taipasa-parvatau (under the sutra A.A. 2-2-34). Such restrictions are not existing in Telugu. Any word may stand initially in the Telugu dvandva compound. Telugu dvandva generally can be identified by means of the suffix at the end. In Sanskrit, in addition to this dropping of the intermediate case suffix is also present. According to Hockett, dvandva or the coordinate type may be divided into two divisions 'additive' and 'alternative'. Both these types are present in Telugu. The additive takes the plural marker and the alternative remains in the singular. appu-sappu 'debt and the like' manci-cedu 'good and bad and the like are examples of the alternative type. talli-dandrulu 'mother and father (parents) and the like are of the additive type. There are a few examples of the additive type which do not take the plural marker. kud-kura 'boiled rice and curry (food) atta-maima 'mother-in-law and father-in-law', a:lu-maga:du 'wife and husband' kuduku-ko:da:lu 'son and daughter-in-law', ra:tri-pagalu 'night and day', ka:lu-se:yi 'leg and hand',

95. A.A. 2-2-34
96. M.L., p. 185
97. A.B.B., 117
98. K.A.C. IX 149
kuḍu-siːra 'food and clothing', pinna-padda 'the young and the old'. All the five examples given in KAC do not have the plural marker. KAC does not recognise dvandva as a compound. It gives these examples at the end of the chapter on compound formation. Perhaps these examples are not regarded as dvandva compounds as in Telugu there is no plural marker which is an inevitable feature of the Sanskrit dvandva. But these forms given by KAC may be considered as compounds.

In the co-ordinate type of Telugu compounds the initial k, c, t, t, p, of the second I.C. become ːk, ːa, ːd, ːd, ːv, respectively. This is a compulsory feature according to some of the grammarians. This principle is applicable in the case of the following examples given by them: talli-dandrulu, anna-dammulu 'older and younger brothers', kaːlu-

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99. A.B.A., p. 222
100. A.E.C. Hal 43
101. B.B., p. 245
102. A.B., p. 543
103. A.B.B. 117
104. B.V. sandhi 15
105. P.V. sam 30
vennela-cis:ka:tilu 'moon-light and darkness', kusd-ku:sra,
koduku-kos:alu, ra:tri-pagalu

The past active participle, 'vacci' and the like may be united in the formation of dvandva in Telugu: Examples ra:ka-po:kalu, coco-coramulu and ce:si-ce:yamulu. Some dvandva compounds undergo the changes referred to earlier (substitution of k by g and so on at the beginning of the final constituent) example au:ga:smulu.

In some Telugu dvandva compounds lengthening of the vowel at the end of the first constituent may be observed.

Only 'v. among the grammarians seems to have noticed this feature and anna-damulu, appa-collengru and talli-dandrulu are given as illustrative examples.

Juri points out that uninflected bases stand initially in the dvandva. However the author of 'v. says that in some cases words ending with 'mu' could also occupy the initial position. For example in anda-candamulu 'beauty and manner', vecca-saccamulu 'expenditure and purchase on credit'.

106. A.B., p. 543
107. A.B.B. 117
108. K.A.C. IX 149
109. P.V. sandhi 6
110. A.B., p. 543
111. P.V. sam. 31
112. P.V. sam. 28
113. B.V. Sam. 17
114. P.V. 20
He further says that 'mu' endings may stand in a few dyandva compounds of the mīra type in examples like avasaram-akkaralu 'need and emergency'.

VIII. Rūpaka-

The 'Rūpaka' compound, which will be examined next is referred to by many traditional grammarians. While Svāra does not refer to it at all, only the author of A.B.A. among them offers a definition of it. He defines it as follows. The rūpaka compound is one in which the attributes of the object represented by the second constituent are transferred to the object represented by the first constituent.

For example we have: mo:vi-pandu 'fruit that is lip', kē:lu-dammi, 'lotus that is hand' pu:mulakulu 'arrows that are flowers' ci:gru-gata:ri 'dauber that is tender shoot', kaunu-minnu 'sky that is waist', mo:mu-candurudu 'moon that is face'.

In these compounds cited above both the constituents are of Telugu. In all these compounds the preceding word has got the privileges of the 'head' and the following word functions as the attribute. Qualities of pandu, tammi and the like are attributed to mo:vi, kē:lu and so on. Pani-padmamu 'lotus that

115. P.V. sam. 33
116. P.V. sam. 33
117. A.B.A., P. 206
118. Ibid P. 206
119. B.3., P. 246
is band', puspa-baṇamu⁴⁰ 'arrow that is flower', samsāra-saṅgaramu⁴¹ 'ocean that is cycle of death and birth', arjuna-dvipamu⁴¹ 'elephant that is Arjuna' are actually Sanskrit compounds in Telugu dress.

Generally endocentric constructions expect the 'head' in the final position in Telugu. This may be regarded as a general feature in both Sanskrit and Telugu. There are a few examples like those mentioned above in which the 'head' precedes the attribute. This is one of the types of attributive compounds according to Hockett. Since Indian grammarians started their classification of compounds taking 'meaning' as the criterion these combinations appeared to be peculiar to them. If the analysis is based on the position of constituents and their function we will get the sub-class of attributive type as mentioned by Hockett.

IX. UPAMAINA :-

This type of compound is akin to the 'Rūpaka'type. Only some Telugu grammarians, take note of it. As in Rūpaka the difference of meaning is taken as the criterion of classification. Compounds of this type give the meaning of 'iva'

120. B.J., P. 246
121. A.B.A., P. 206
122. M.L., P. 186
'similar or alike'. Hence these are regarded as upama:na by grammarians like B.S. and A.B. The following examples are given by them - merugu-bo:di 'lightning like lady', ko:lu-dammi 'lotus like hand', mo:su-damara 'lotus like face', kai-jigu:ru 'tender shoot like hand', mo:vi-pandu 'fruit like face', a:du-n-jigu:ru 'young shoot like foot', mai-di:ga 'creep like body', cekku:ta-addramu 'mirror like cheek', kau:na-galuva 'lotus like eye', kaunu-minnu' the sky like waist', mo:su-damara 'lotus like face', kaunu-minnu, mai-di:ga, cekku:ta-addramu are examples of this class found in A.B.A (A.B.A., P.205)

mo:vi-pandu and kaunu-minnu are regarded as rupaka compounds by B.S. and A.B.A. respectively. It is, therefore, evident that the criterion for the classification is not free from defects. Meaning, which is taken as the criterion in classification is likely to differ from one individual to another. Hence such differences arise. ma:gha-syn:ma, 'black cloud like fellow', purusa-vyagha 127, ho who is as gallant as tiger' and the like are regarded as upama:na compounds in Sanskrit. The peculiar occurrence of the substantive

123. B.S., P. 246
124. A.B., P. 546
125. B.S., P. 246
126. A.B.A., P. 206
127. A.A. 2-2-56
in these compound forms seems to have been observed. It is maintained that the substantive will take the initial position in these compounds. Though the special position of the head is recognized, it is not taken as the criteria to form a separate class since the grammarians are more interested in the meaning of the compounds. These are treated in Telugu also in a similar way since traditional Telugu grammarians do not want to analyse these compounds as they exist, since these people are influenced by the Sanskrit way of classification.

X. ATTRIBUTIVE COMPOUNDS (karmadhaśraya) :

These compounds of the attributive type in which the 'head' stands in the final position are dealt with here. Strictly speaking, Vaispaka and upamāna compounds are also of attributive nature. But since they differ from attributive compounds in the order of the 'head' and its attribute, the grammarians perhaps have treated them separately. Karmadhaśraya is a familiar compound in Telugu. Many kinds of relationship between the attributive and substantive are possible in karmadhaśraya. On this basis these compounds are divided into sub-classes by Sanskrit grammarians.

Example: - candra-mukha 'moon-like face' and sahya-naga 'a mountain called Sahya' may be taken. These can be dissolved into

123. visēśasya purvavipatisaśraṁ sūtram, under the sūtra S.A. 2-1-56
phrases as follows; candra iva mukham and sahya iti nagah.

Accordingly the first one is termed as upama:napu:rvapada
karmadha:raya and the second one as sambha:vana pur:rvapada
karmadha:raya.

Before discussing the compounds of this type, the
Telugu adjective, in general, may be discussed. There is a
class of adjectives called root adjectives, such as a' i:
and e'. These may be substituted for adjectives. These
adjectives followed by a word become short and the initial
consonant of the following constituent gets doubled. If
the following constituent commences with a vowel -y- is
added and it gets doubled. This kind of doubling will not
come into operation if the initial letter of the following
constituent is a' s t a h and r'. It will not come into
operation if the following vowel is r'. Hence it may be said
that before these letters, these adjectives retain their
length. Elsewhere vowel length is optional. i:-de:sa:mu
'this place', i:-de:sa:mu, i:-m:-magu:va 'this woman', e:-p:-ma:dati
'which woman', a:-y:-y:-u:ru 'this village'. A:-va:-ya:ramu' and
the like do not undergo the change since the initial letter
contains more than one consonant. A:-sari:thi 'that driver'

130. A.3.C. Hal 24; V.V. Hal 6/7; B.V. sam 13, 14
131. A.3.C. Hal 24
aś-ṣamukhaḥū 'that six faced person', aś-amudraḥu 'that ocean', aś-hayaḥu 'that horse', aś-rāmaḥu 'that Rāma', aś-rāqī 'that aser' are examples in which the change does not take place. iḥ-deśaḥu, iḥ-deśaḥu 132 and the like are examples given by A.B. and A.B. 133 This is recognised by Kāṭhana in his 134 aś-kamini 'that woman', aś-kaśamina and the like are examples. aś-kari 'that elephant', aś-kari and the like are examples given by Puddāma. Kāṭhana mentions that aś, iḥ and eḥ are pādaś or words. He does not mention the change which is possible in the case of single words addi – addi. Hence his treatment of aś, iḥ and eḥ is peculiar and this is the treatment accorded even by Surīśa. Surīśa also does not mention internal change in single words like aś-di and addi and he regards aś, iḥ and eḥ as words. These three are technically named as 'trika' 137 and these are included in the group of forms which can stand initially in the formation of karmā-dhāraya. 138 B.V. accepts this view and says that aś - y-iḥ in aś - y-iḥ/ah̄-rāmaḥu 'these and those errors', is a compound in which the both the constituents are adjectives mātta- ni-valudā/ podāgu 'soft and large udder', vīnant-kamini/ mahima 140 'unheard and unseen magnitude' are compounds given by A.B. in which the attribute

132. B.J., p233
133. A.B., p505
134. A.B. 135
135. Ibid 136
136. K.C.C. IX 136-137
137. B.V. sam. 4
138. Ibid sam. 5
139. B.V. sam. 17
140. A.B., p453
itself is a compound of two constituents which are adjectives. Of all the grammarians it is Suśrī who observes the word-like value of a: i: e: and regards combinations of these as compounds. He does not mention internal change like edi and eddi and the like in this connection. Of course these are indicated by Kāstana as shown above. a:, i: and e: cannot be declined, whereas the corresponding Sanskrit forms idam 'this', adas 'that', and e:atat 'this' can be declined. Hence the traditional grammarians do not seem to have regarded as words. Hence they do not consider those combinations in which the first member is one of the 'threes'. Kāstana not being fully influenced by Sanskrit puts forth his own views. It may be said that the ideas of Suśrī regarding these combinations are based on those of Kāstana.

According to Suśrī, participles may stand initially in the formation of karmadha:ṛaya. Prior to Suśrī, Atharvana has something to say about the formation of participles. He illustrates these verbal adjectives or participles by giving three pairs of compounds: - pu:nina-va:du 'he who bore' pu:nani-va:du 'he who does not bear' : ni:vu:gha:ti:ncina ka:ryamu 'deed performed by you', ni:vu:ghati:mpani-ka:ryamu 'deed which is not performed by you' : ni:ce:-nutimpabādīna

142. B.V. sam 5
143. B.V. Hal 8/9
ra:ju 'king praised by you', ni:ce:-nutim paddedani-ra:ju
'king who is not praised by you'. Of these pairs the first
one indicates positive sense and the past tense and the
second one the negative sense. This process of formation is
strictly limited to the past tense and the negative sense
only. There are seven types of participles according to
3uri. Combinations with these participles or dha:tua-
vis:sa:na:sas are regarded as compounds by him. For example
we show here the seven forms of the root 'pu:nu' "to bear" pu:nu
pu:nedi, pu:ne:qu, pu:nucunna, pu:nina, pu:nagala and
pu:nani. The first three of these forms indicate taddharmas,
the next three indicate present, past and future tenses
respectively and the last gives negative meaning. Any one
of these seven forms may stand initially in compound-formation
according to 3uri :- Example ma:di:sa:qu-du:dhamulu 'dying
armies'. Atharvans does not recognise all these forms.
Other grammarians do not at all take participle adjectives
into account. In this connection it may be noted that
participles in Sanskrit can be declined. Hence in Sanskrit
when they enter into compound formation they undergo the due

144. V.V. Hal. 8/9
krama:t V.V. Hal 8/9
146. B.V. kriya 45
147. Ibid 44
148. Ibid 46
149. B.V. kriya 47
150. B.V. sam 5
changes. Participles in Telugu are indeclinables. Com-
ounds with participles as prior members require no further
explanation. For these compounds cannot be dissolved into
phrases as they are as good as phrases. Hence these are
not taken as compounds by grammarians. It is a fact that
participles have the privileges of adjectives. Seuri having
observed the function of participles comes to the conclusion
that combinations with these may be regarded as compounds.

Here are some of the examples given by the grammarians
for karnada: raya: vea-arnalu 151 'sharp arrows', pandu-vennelalu
'brilliant (ripe) moon light', siguru-t-anu 152 'young and tender
shoot', karaka-t-amu 'sharp arrow', nalla-galuva 'black lotus'
tella-dammi; tellani-tammi 'white lotus', nellani-vaji
'black fellow', pandu-vennela, tella-dammi, nellani-y-adi
'black coloured (thing)', cali-ga:dpu 153 'cold breeze' nalla-
galuva, tella-dammi, kro-v-viri 'fresh (now) tender shoot' na-n-
nadumu 'beautiful waist', os-n-galuva 'red lotus', na-t-ta:vi 'fine
fragrance', na-t-tammi 'full lotus', po-n-dasamara 'gold
(coloured) lotus, pra-ta-cadivu, pra-jadivu 'old study',
væ-ve:lu, væna-ve:lu 'thousand thousands', Fà-y-anca 'king

151. B.S., p. 245
152. A.B., p. 541
153. A.B., p. 448
of the swan', ra:-ciluka 'king of the parrot', ra:-tarunulu 'royal ladies', ra:-kuma:ru:lu 'prince', i-n-danu:ka,
ainta-danu:ka 'till now', a:la-r-ammulu, ca-li-ga:dpulu, nalla-
galuvalu, tella-dammi, krp-v-viri, jela-ma:vi, kon-jiguru
vala-dammi, kamma-tu:pu:lu 'sweet arrows', vala-ka:lu
'left hand', eda-ka:lu 'left leg'. The initial constituents
of some of the above compounds (panda-ciguru) have the
privilege of nouns which function as adjectives by means
of their position. Of the examples given by sutri, only one
compound contains a noun as the initial member which by
means of the mere position functions as an adjective.
Example: - bedidamu-t-addammu 'sharp weapon'. The noun which
ends in mu is changed to pu.

There is another type which is recognized by other
grammarians but not accepted by N.V. B.S. and N.S. seem
to have accepted combinations in which relugu adjectives
are attributed to Sanskrit substantives. Examples:
va:di-mayu:khamulu 'sharp beams (of the sun)', va:di-payo:
daru:lu 'trickling of (tears) hot water', va:di-payo:da:raulu
va:di-mayu:khamulu, kaliki-bhujangakanyakalu 'fine serpent

154. A.B.B., c. 112
155. K.A.C. IX 124
156. B.S., p. 245
157. A.B.B., c. 563
belles' ve:lpu-vi:rābhata:va:rgam:u 'a group of divine gallant soldiers'. Ātharvāṇa says that Telugu word which contains not more than six (varna) syllabes may be united with the following Sanskrit substantive.* Va:di-ma:µ:kham:ulu, ve:di-payɔ:dhāralu, vin-ja:mara 'white chowrie' and mu:dv-astrambulu 'three weapons'. In all the above compounds the attributive is a Telugu word and the substantive is a Sanskrit one. Su:ri does not say anything about this type of compounds. P.V. accepts this type also :-. Kro-m-bulakalu 'new horripalations', Kro-m-na:racamulu 'new arrows', ne-m-manamu 'whole mind (heart)'.

XI. DWIGU :-

Those of the attributive compounds in which the initial constituent is a numeral are called 'dwigu'. B.S. gives only such examples as are derived from Sanskrit compounds to illustrate this compound. tri-lo:ki 'group of the three world(s)', pance-pu:gi 'that place where there are five areca-nut tree(s)', pance-vat: 'that place where there are five banyan tree(s), pance-pa:tramu 'a collection of five utensil(s)', tri-bhu:vanamu 'group of the three world(s)' catur-yu:gamu 'group of the four age(s)'. All the six forms are having corresponding Sanskrit compounds. :-. tri-lo:ki,

158. A.B.B., 133
159. P.V., sam. 7
160. n. 245
161. In all these three forms the final constituents end in a. It becomes like a feminine form taking i: finally. There is a rule to this extent under the su:\tra of A.A. 2-4-17: (a\ka:\ra:into:tta\ra pa\d\do:dv\gu:h str\ja:\m\i\sa t\ja\h 3.K., p.76)

162. Any how it is not applicable in all instances in which the final member ends in a. If the final word is pa\na\ra and the like (pa\na\ra:dyanta\yd\y a\n, 3.K., p.76) the addition i: will not occur. Thus we have compounds like pa\na\-pa\na\ra and so on.
dvigu compounds in Sanskrit are exocentric. This view is expressed by Bloomfield. A.B. gives examples with Telugu constituents only. mu-c-ciccu 'three fire(s)', mu-k-kaska 'three heat(s)', mu-p-produ 'three time(s)', mu-t-trova 'three way(s)', mu-v-vanne 'three colour(s)', mu-v-vanka 'three stream(s)', iru-gada 'two side(s)', iru-me:nu 'two body (bodies)'. All these compounds end in singular number instead of in plural. mullo:ka:mu has not the same privileges as trilo:ki. But there are dvigu compounds in Telugu in which the final constituents require plural marker at the end: For example mu:di:astrambulu and the like which are different from mul-lo:ka:mu and such compounds. Mul-lo:ka:mu and the like are similar to Sanskrit compounds and they may be regarded as exocentric constructions. mu:di:astrambulu and the like are endocentric. Endocentric constructions are quite simple whereas exocentric constructions undergo a number of changes. Keitana and reddana say nothing about dvigu. Atharvana says that dvigu in which both constituents are of Telugu generally ends in singular. The examples cited by A.B. are simply repeated here. If it is of Telugu plus

163. The Hindus distinguished two special sub-classes among exocentric compounds, namely: numeratives (dvigu) nouns with a number as prior member; L., P. 237.

164. A.B., p. 539

165. P.V. sam. 20

166. A.B., 133 (This is given to illustrate that the Telugu word 'mu:du' is united with the following Sanskrit word astrambulu)

167. V.V., Hal 15/16

168. V.V., Hal 15/16
Sanskrit it takes the plural suffix. (Since this rule is optional in case of dvandva formed out of pure Telugu words, we have compounds like mu-k-karkalu, mu-k-karulu, mu-p-proddulu):- example mu-v-vidhamulu. P.V. cites mu-l-lo:kanu, mu-m-mu:rtamu, nal-dikkru as instances of mi'ru dvigu, in which Telugu and Sanskrit constituents are combined without taking the plural marker.

All grammarians take exocentric construction only as dvigu compounds. Endocentric constructions are not at all regarded as compounds by them. This again is due to the fact that the grammarians think of this compound in terms of Sanskrit dvigu. This is curious that the grammarians give only such examples of dvigu as have iru, mudu, nalu as the numerical adjectives and nothing is mentioned about the other numerals which function as adjectives. It appears then dvigu constructions are possible with numerical adjectives iru, mudu and nalu only as per the grammarians.

Bloomfield regards adjectives as of two kinds - descriptive and limiting. According to this view, the prior members of all karmadha:raya compounds will have to be regarded as descriptive adjectives. Limiting adjectives are further

169. V.V. Hal. 15/16
170. Ibid 15/16
171. B.V. sam. 18
172. B.V. sam. 20
173. L., p. 203
divided into numerative and determiners by Bloomfield. Thus all numerative adjectives in diviṣa compounds belong to the former group.

XII. TATPURUṢA :-

According to grammarians compounds in which the constituents are connected with the other by any of the oblique case relations are generally regarded as tatpuruṣa. In Sanskrit, this compound is classified into six types on the basis of the case-ending of the final constituent. Following this example A.B., B.V. and A.B.A. among the grammarians under survey treat this compound similarly and give examples for each case commencing from the accusative. ButTelugu combinations of tatpuruṣa cannot indicate all the case relations as assumed by the grammarians. The examples given by the various grammarians may be examined now.

174
Accusative case :- pādaga-taḻpu 'he who bears hood', taма
175
diḍi 'he whose food is honey', nēla-taḻpu 'he who wears the moon', poṟṟu-diḍi 'he whose food is strife'. The examples of A.B are simply imitated by his two successors. All the above four compounds are exocentric for neither of the constituent has the privilege of being the 'head'. Tatpuruṣa, as

174. A.B., P. 542
175. B.V. sam 3
A.B.A., P. 213
176. A.B.A., P. 213
per definition, is endocentric and the second I.C. is generally regarded as the 'head'. Since neither of the features is applicable to the above compounds these cannot be regarded as tattpurusas of the accusative case (dvitiya:-tatpurusa).

**Instrumental case:**

177 uli-tunuka, nela-takkāvā bidāa one month (premature)
178 nela-takkāvu vāḍu 'a person short by one month'

The compounds given by B.V. and ABA are similar to the second compound given by AB (nela-takkāvā bidāa). Both the compounds given by AB are mere translations of the Sanskrit compounds 'sankula:-khandā (sankulaya khandā) and māsa:-varah (māsa:na-avarah). Perhaps the grammarians could not find or at least coin a compound with native words to illustrate this type. In the course of the discussion of this type A.B. says that 'uli-tunuka' 'a piece chapped by a chisel' may be treated as saṣṭhi:tatpurasa. It is natural that compounds of this type generally mean the genitive case, but never does this type bring out the sense of the instrumental case. Besides, the Sanskrit compound māsa:na-avarah contains

177. A.B., p. 542
178. B.V. sam 3; A.B.A., p. 213
180. avarasya:pasamkhya:na nam (vārtika under the suṣtra A.A. 2-1-31
two constituents only. It is an exocentric construction.
In the telugu translation the head is supplied and we have
nala-takkuna-bidda or vāḍu. The telugu combination con-
tains three constituents. These constructions may be looked
upon as more shadows of their Sanskrit counterparts and as
such original combinations like them are not found in telugu.

Dative case :-

182. devaram-eśānu 'good for deity (good inted for god)'
183. duśa-gaddi 'grass meant for a calf'
184. devarameśānu is of the same pattern as co-dhitam in Sanskrit

which means literally 'good meant for cows'. The other
example given in A.B.A. may be treated as an attributive
type of compound in which the noun 'duśa' is used as the
attribute. It may be explained as duśadaka vāyu gaddi 'grass
given to a calf and suggests tender grass'. The influence of
Sanskrit grammar is obvious in the orthodox classification
of this type of tātpurāṇa.

Ablative case :-

185. donga-y-aluka 'anger a thief'
186. donga-bhyamu 'fear of thief'
187. naḍi-verapu 'fear from justice'

182. A.B.A., P. 542; B.V. sam 3; A.B.A., P. 213
183. A.B.A., P. 213
184. caturthi: tadarthartha balihitasukha rakṣitaiḥ, A.A. 2-1-36
185. A.B., P. 542
186. B.V. sam 3; A.B.A., P. 214
187 A.B. , P. 214
kalimi-garvamu 'pride from (due to) riches'
donga-y-aluka or donga-bhayamu are similar to the Sanskrit compound co:ra-bhayam (co:rait-bhayam). These Telugu compounds are formed by blindly translating the Sanskrit compounds word by word and hence they may be treated as constructions foreign to Telugu. It may therefore be said that tatpurusa in Telugu may not represent the relative case meaning. The form pa:i-di-verapu has formed out of the Sanskrit compound dharma-bhiti. Both instances cited by the author of A.B.A. may be regarded as genitively dependent ones.

Genitive case :-

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taru-pilla 'young one of bee'
malle-pu:vu 'flower of jasmin'
u:ttu-patti 'daughter of hill'
ra:ca-kolamu 'line of kings (royal race)'
ne:ti-muntr 'pot of shee'
kusi-kunda 'pot of food'
jassili-vennela 'white light of the moon'
ramuni-sa:ngamu 'arrow of kama'
191
Janak:n-ai:jna 'command of the father'
talli-y-adaramu 'affection of the mother'
cotto-ni:da 'shadow of tree'

188. pa:ncami bhaye:na A.B. 2-1-37
189. A.B., P. 542
190. B. V. sam. 3
191. A.B.A., P. 214
Grammarians like Keśtana and Pēddana (māsvimokha 'mango shoot') and raːca-kodukulu 'sons of king') illustrate tāṭpurusa with examples not specifying the case relation implied. Majority of the instances may be regarded as saṣṭhi-tāṭpurasa. The different grammarians, while they give examples for this compound, do not at all specify the particular case relationship implied.

There are, however, some examples given by the grammarians which deserve to be discussed; for their classification as tāṭpurasa is ambiguous. Pēddana regards māːy-ancaːlu 'kings of swans' and raːc-ilukala 'kings of parrots' as tāṭpurasa. Obviously a translation of 'raːjaːhansa' while 'raːc-ilukula' could have been formed on a similar analogy say, of 'raːjaː-kiːra' in Sanskrit. These two Sanskrit compounds are regarded as "tāṭpurasa". The Telugu compounds, however, are 'karmadhaːrava' compounds. Probably Pēddana had in mind the Sanskrit tāṭpurasa compounds while classifying the Telugu ones as tāṭpurasa.

The three examples for tāṭpurasa given by B.C.

malla-puːvu 'flower of jasmin', kōːka-čeragū 'border of saris',
māːmidi-čiguru 'young shoot of mango græs', can be regarded

192. A.B.E. 112
193. K.A.C. IX 123
194. Ibid IX 123
195. B.C., P. 245
as kamadha:raya. "Malle pu:vu" for instance, could be
described as 'malle aneduc pu:vu' 'flower called Malle'.
If these should be regarded as tattvura:sa, then the
sama:nyya sambanda: 196 of the constituents has to be empha-
sised - as in 'malle-yokka-pu:vu' (flower of Malle).

Here, we may note that all the compounds classified
as aluk by B.s. 197 are in fact "sa:thi: tatpurusa". This fact
proves two things - (1) the influence of Sanskrit on B.s.
and (2) the abundance of sa:thi: tatpurusa in Telugu.

Locative: - Instances of this type of tatpurusa are
occasionally found in Telugu. Here are some interesting
examples given by the grammarians: - examples

ma:thana:rapa:ri 198 'adroit in words'
pani-na:rupa: 199 'skill in work'
velipu:-padda 'chief of deities'

When each of these compounds is dissolved into
its respective phrase - a plural marker seems to be necessary
as in "Ve:lipula:-yandu padda" or "Ve:lipu:-la:-padda" owing to the
presence of the plural marker, "la" or the like at the end of
the first constituent, grammarians seem to have regarded these

196. sa:thi: 2-3-50 karaka pratipadikai rtha vyatirikta:
syavami bha:va:di sambandhah sa:thi: tatra sa:thi: sya:.
197. B.s., p. 247
198. A.s., p. 542; B.v. sam. 3
199. A.B.A., p. 214
compounds as 'aluk'. Only Suṣrī as an exception regards them as compounds and gives "sunamulapram" 'heap of (good) qualities' as an example. It is to be noted that the plural marker in tatpurusā in general seems to give the meaning of the genitive case only. And therefore all the above compounds will have to be treated as "sasthi tatpurusā". Of examples given above it may be suggested that "vešlpu-pedda" could be regarded as 'karmadhairaya', since the 'head' (vešlpu) and the attribute (pedda) are present in it with their order changed, as in "pedda-yainaveshlpu" ≤ 'Vešlpu-pedda'.

XIII. UNCLASSIFIED COMPOUNDS :

Traditional grammarians while discussing the formation of the compound refer to the various changes that take place when two different words come together. But whether together they form compounds or not, if so, to what type of compound do they belong, the grammarians sometimes, do not tell us. Since these changes are mentioned while dealing with the compounds, we may have to take these combinations of words as compounds. Here are some illustrations given by the grammarians.

202 Na- (a) di, naivyadi 'my thing', naivyāvi 'my things'
203 Na-vardhi 'my man', naivyadi 'my woman', inti-vardu 'man belonging to the house', inti- (a) di 'woman belonging to the house'

200 B.V., p. 247; A.B., p. 556
201 B.V. sandhi 25
202 B.V. sandhi 45
203 B.V. sandhi 8
raimuni-vaṇḍu 'man belonging to Raṁma', raśmuni-(a)di 'woman belonging to Raṁma'. Every one of these examples the initial constituent is a oblique stem and the final constituent is a word. Hence these forms may be regarded as tatpurusa compounds in which the initial constituent is a definite determiner.

Referring to forms such of the following B.V. says that when case-suffixes are added to participles the appropriate forms of 'Tat' (he, she, it) follow the participles. But he does not say anything whether they are compounds or not. vaccina-vaṇḍu 'the one that has come', vaccina(di) 'the one that has come', raśmuni-vaṇḍu 'the one that has not come', raśmuni-yadi 'the one that has not come'. But these are also of attributive substantive type, as the following analysis shows. The final constituents of both the groups of compounds given above, are alike. They function as nouns and any substantive may be substituted for the final constituent. Hence, these are compounds.

B.V. regards the following as compounds while classifying them. naśpa-caṇa 'remnant crop field', paśpa-vaṇḍu 'king of snakes', naśpa-pulu 'reed grass', and janupa-narī 'jute fibre'. He mentions these as instances in which the initial constituent undergoes a change at the end. All the four initial

204. L., p. 203
205. B.V. sam. 9
206. *V. sam. 19
constituents and in 'mu' and the usual change 'mu' and 'pu' has to take place. This change is generally limited to karmadhāraṇya only. These forms after undergoing the said change take the inflection 'a'. Hence these are like the second (inflected) stems. The inflected stem represents any case meaning other than the nominative though in Telugu only genitive, or occasionally locative meanings are possible. The inflected stem of these compounds is also found to occur in the compound formation only. It will not be the stem to which oblique case markers can be added which is possible in the other inflected stems. Of the above compounds the first and the third are of the karmadhāraṇya type and the other two are tatpurusa compounds. These are peculiar since the second stem and the attribute markers find their place simultaneously. Two of the compounds so formed serve as karmadhāraṇya and the rest as tatpurusa.

In the chapter on 'sandhi' B.V. mentions these as instances of compounds in which 'n' is retained even after compound formation and does not classify them. tala-braiḻu '(sacred) rice poured on head', odi-braiḻu, seva-braiḻu, uṟa-sandi, uṟa-biccuka. All these compounds are tatpurusa since their I.C.s are related in the locative case.

207. B.V. sandhi 27
Horse:ti-pro:pu, 208 na:to:di-calimi, ni:valani-bhayamu, na:-y-andali-karum, 209 inda-li-vai:ru, ondali-jamulu are tat-puru:sas in which the initial constituent contains more than a single root. As in other instances, the grammarian does not classify them after recognising them as compounds.

V. gives a long list of compounds in the formation of which additions, omissions and such other changes take place which are noted by him. 210 These are not classified by him as expected. A majority of them are of the attributive type, a:n-dal:ka 'till that time or place', a:n-dal:ka 'till what time or place', nadu-revi 'midnight', ma:-n-nailu 'four days', pasi-pattu 'place of cows', vala-ovi 'side ear', kuru-mai:pu 'minutely soiled', niti-momu 'long face', ovi-dala 'upper portion'. Some compounds are tatpurushas—cittaru-bomma 'an image in paint'.

Among the 'kamadharrayas' in the list of V. there are a few in which the final constituent drops some of the sounds at the end. a:i-vala (from a:i-valamu) 'from that direction', va:-tera (vai-terapi) 'opening of mouth(lip)'. There are a number of compounds in which the initial constituent drops its final mu, against grammatical principles. As per grammar — 'mu' is retained in the form of 'pu'. e:ta-valalu (e:ta)mum

208. R.V. sandhi 43
209. Ibid 44
210. R.V. sam. 56
"bend", kappura-vidamu (kappuramu) 'the leaf of piper betel
together with the areca nut and other species generally chewed
after meal with camphor, gundra-kaphu (gundramu) 'round
stomach', cappara-mancamu (capparamu) 'a cot having a canopy',
ganda-vodi (gandamu) 'sandal-wood powder', condra-kaivii
(candramu) 'vermilion red', kokka-sogatlulu (kokkamu) 'spotless
beauty', datla-kompu (dattamu) 'thick red', naistaka-saila
(nastakam) 'drama hall', nik-kala (nikkamu) 'real dream',
notta-palaka (nottamu) 'gambling plate', bellamandega
(bellam) 'a dish prepared out of jaggery', bonaputtika
(bonnamu) 'a basket of food', valipa-vonnela (valipamu)
'muslin like white (Moon) light', sunka-saraku (sunkamu)
'taxable goods', sara-bailu (sagamu) 'half portion', cimmanga-
grovi (cimmanamu) 'squirting tube (syringe)', nadru-riguvi
(nadumu) 'midnight'. (venusakalamu) venu-kala is a curious
example given by P.V. in which both the constituents drop
their final syllables in formation of compound and which means
'rear place (behind)'.

211
ilu-varusa a 'row of houses' and canu-bailu 'breast
milk' are regarded as compounds. In the case of these two
examples the first constituent is the first (uninflected) stem
and it functions as the second (inflected) stem. Ini and
canti are the second (inflected) stems respectively.

211. A.B.A., P. 216
There is still another set of compounds which are unclassified. In these the same root is repeated. According to Ṛtavarna, words denoting light etc. are repeated, since a single occurrence of the word does not bring out the onomatopoeic meaning fully. *niga-niga* 'glittering', dhaladhal 'sparkling', chhana-chhana 'resounding' go:du-godu (siddu) 'to weep ones heart out', kula-kula (gu:sen) 'chirping of birds', mala-mala (ma:den) 'bitterly burnt', guma-guma (nada:can) 'walking in short quick paces', pura-pura (bokken) 'smart severely', bhaga-bhaga(lu), teka-teka(lu), hur-hura, kola-kola (anu:nu) vika-vika (navva), paka-paka (novva), talu-talu (anu vennela), kola-kola (anu:nanda). Neither niga nor dhalu when used only once can convey the meaning. To emphasise the meaning of words they may be repeated as according to Ṛtavarna: nat-ta-naduma, 'extremely middle', kūrta-kuru 'extremely end', sotta-suddu 'extremely front', potta-pagulu 'extremely mid-day'. In these combinations the initial root undergoes changes which are generally possible under only one environment i.e when followed by the same root. Sturiri also gives examples of this type: kūrta-kuru, sotta-suddu 'immediate presence', kūrta-kuru 'the very tip', tutu-tuda, sotta-suddu 'clear way', sotta-suddu, ci:ta-civara, te:ta-teru:va, nat-ta-naduma 'just in the middle' pitu:pi:du:gu

213. A.R., p. 445
215. B.V. saundi 40
216. A. 1. 447
nat-ta-naduma, pat-ta-pagalu, bat-ta-bayalu.

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P.V. says that words representing dhvani or sougd are generally used with repetition only as in vada-vada, gada-gada, tala-tala, pala-pala. These are like niga-niga mentioned by A.B. This kind of repetition can be made any number of times. For example niga-niga may take one or more 'nisas' as in niga-niga-niga.

Another type of this construction may be observed in the following examples: - appat-appatiki and appatiki-n-appatiki, akkad-akkada and akkada-a-akkada; int-inta and inta-n-inta, uru-uru and uru-n-uru, and so on. In the four pairs latter form in each seem with an inflection at the end of the initial constituent also, whereas the former form of each pair is without an inflection at the end of the first constituent. The second forms are expansions of the corresponding first forms. In these pairs the first forms may be regarded as compounds. These are not recognised as compounds by the grammarians since the corresponding forms are not present in Sanskrit.

Though the compounds in relugu are classified on the basis of Sanskrit, some of the grammarians, however recognise the existence of compound forms which do not fit into the Sanskrit framework.

217. P.V. sandhi 20
218. B.V. sandhi 41
XIV. COMPOUNDS BEYOND THE SCOPE OF SANSKRIT CLASSIFICATION:

According to Suri, cīgru-ks:lu 'hand like the young tender shoot', junti-mo:vi 'honey like lip', are compounds possible in telugu only. Corresponding sanskrit compounds are not known. We cannot expect a form like pallava-hasta (cīgru-ks:lu) (upamāna purva pada karmadhāraya) in sanskrit. But only the reverse order is possible and hence hasta-pallava is the compound possible in sanskrit. Compounds of these two languages differ from each other regarding the order of their constituents. A.B.A. gives two examples of this kind, kem-mo:vi 'red diamond like lip' and te:na-martalu 'honey like words'.

XV. THE PROCESS OF DROPPING OF THE CA3:1-SUFFIX:

According to sanskrit grammar, only words (padas) are capable of entering into compounds. In Sanskrit, each word is marked by its grammatical inflection. When words are clubbed together to form compounds the case suffixes at the end of all of them are dropped, and now case suffixes are taken. This process is brought into telugu by ASC. It is maintained that in telugu also both constituents drop their inflection and the stem-stem combination takes the required termination at

221. B.V. sam. 3
222. B.V. sam. 3
223. A.B.A., pp. 204-205
224. In sanskrit, compound is termed as prati:padika (A.A. 1-2-46) as such its component drop their case markers (A.A. 2-4-71). Since the remnant is a prati:padika, it takes fresh case marker finally.
the end. This kind of dropping cannot be seen in the case of a number of Telugu compounds since a good number of Telugu i.c.s take no inflection; hence the process of dropping is not applicable here. On the other hand, the final i.c. never drops its inflection, if there is one. This feature is recognised by kṣētana. He defined the compound as follows. Those constructions in which the first constituents, having dropped their inflection become united with the following words are called compounds. Kṣētana also in his K.A.C. defines the compound in the same way. According to both, the dropping of the inflection at the end of the final constituent is not at all applicable to Telugu compounds. Observation will show that the case-suffix at the end of the initial constituent also is retained. Of the case-suffix, mu (nominative case) can enter in compound formation and is retained in the form of mu with a negligible number of exceptions in which it is said to have dropped. Numerative and determiner adjectives do not have case inflection. Inflections found in the case of determiners are parts of the stem, and as such, they are retained. The process of dropping might have come in from the phrases fabricated to illustrate the significance of the compound forms like saska-parthaiva 'a king (favourite) of vegetables' and

225. A.S.C. Hal 45
226. A.B.J. 109
227. K.A.C. IX 121
deva-brahmana 'a brahman worshipping uod'etc., which are said to have been formed out of sakka (priya) paṁthivah and deva-(pujaka) brahmanaḥ with dropping of the intermediate words priya and pu-jaka. A mere bringing together of the I.C.s in these compounds is capable of representing this meaning and the phrases are invented by scholars. Dropping of the intermediate termination in the formation of Telugu compounds is also imaginary. There are a number of Telugu compounds in which the intermediate components are said to have dropped. These compounds are capable of representing the meaning assigned by mere apposition of the I.C.s. Such phrases purely hypothetical. tammi-kañṭi 'lotus eye'; javvaidi-sēṭṭī 'sēṭṭī who sells javvaidi'; kara-kañṭhudu 'black gullolated person' are examples given by U.S. in the formation of which vanti, ammu and kalavardi are said to have dropped respectively. According to A.B. tammi-kañṭi is formed by dropping the upama:ṇa; and upama:ṇa caka is dropped in the case of the form loḍi-kañṭi. Other examples given by A.B. are javvaidi-sēṭṭi, naga-gurramu 'walking horse', vadi-gurramu 'quick horse', devra-baṁḍa:ṇu, guṛa:ṇu-ratu 'horse soldier (cavalier)', vaṭtal-akka 'a woman cook', paḷa-kुnda 'a pot in which milk is poured', vaṭṭa-ya-illum 'cooking house (kitchen)', ro:vaḷadi 'money (taking) lady (prostitute), putta-killa-γama 'woman serving food for the time

229. B.3., P. 247
230. A.B., P. 556
231. A.B.A., P. 211
(taking money for each single meal), pa:di-v-a:ru 'milching cow', kannapu-satti 'an instrument by which a whole can be made cutting in a wall for the purpose of breaking into the house', suva:rapu-dora 'king of crops', a:jula-satti 'bangle seller', pa:la-golla 'milk (selling) man (shepherd)', ni:lla-braghmanu 'water (carrying) brahman'. These facts prove that the dropping of case-suffix/formation of relugu compounds is imaginary and based on the Sanskrit grammar.

XVI CHANGES AT THE END OF COMPOUNDS:

In the formation of compounds in Sanskrit, there are a few changes which take place at the end of the second or the final I.C. These changes occur only in compound-formation. Since these are confined to the final or the last (antya) constituent they are termed as 'sama:santa-pratma:a'. Accordingly raj:u, sakhin, pathin when used as final constituents, drop the final syllable 'an' in the case of raja, and 'in' in the case of the other two. Thus we get the forms 'ra:j', sak and path. 'a' is added and 'ra:ja, sakha, and patha' are formed. These with the preceding words become a single compound stem; then the case suffixes are added. Accordingly raj:ah, sak:ah and path:ah as final constituents are got in

233. A.A., 5-4-91
examples like dharma-rajaḥ, parama-sakhah and raja-paṭahah.

In Telugu samaśaṅta pratyayas are on a par with aupavibhaktikas. Those inflections which come into operation in the formation of the second (inflected) stem are called aupavibhaktikas by the grammarians. Another fact about these pratyayas is that these are confined to the formation of bahuvriḥi only. Bahuvriḥi is an exocentric construction, as noted earlier (vide chapter III section VI). Telugu forms so brought by the grammarians do not serve the purpose, and for this reason perhaps they split such forms into the stem and inflection (styled as 'samaśaṅta kaṛya) at the end of the final constituent. Hence samaśaṅta pratyaya in Telugu seems to have been deliberately brought in to make bahuvriḥi constructions possible in Telugu. In Sanskrit this pratyaya might have been created to explain the final constituent of compounds which because of the usage became different from its prātipadikā. The so called samaśaṅta pratyayas in Telugu denote something more than that. They are compound formatives.

Generally, without them there can be no bahuvriḥi in Telugu. alaru and villu are equal to puspa and dhanus. But puspa-dhanva is a bahuvriḥi compound in Sanskrit and the corresponding Telugu compound in alaru-vil-tu-du. The final 'l' of villu becomes 't', and the following 'u' is retained. Accordingly such as we get forms/alaru-vil-tu, tiya-viltu, tunṭa-viltu, galtu-viltu.

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234. kaṛya: aupavibhaktikavadantavidhayasca A.S.C. Hal 44
Since the composite stem ends in 'u' and it is intended to represent a masculine (mahat) individual, it is qualified to take the gender-number-marker du. Hence we get the form 'alaru-vil-tu-du' and so on. The occurrence of 'viltu' is strictly confined to compounds only, and that too at the end. This substitution of 'l' for 'l' is said to be a sama:sa:nta ka:rya. In those compounds in which the final constituent is kannu, the second (inflected) stem (ka:nti) is substituted. This is common to both masculine and feminine genders :- ve:yi-ka:nti, macco-ka:nti (feminine gender) and muk-ka:nti, ve:yi-ga:nti (masculine gender) 'i' is added in the case of nettammi-cu:li and the like. 'c' becomes 'p' in the case of kaduvu-tailpu (from tailcu). The sama:sa:nta pratyaya is regarded as necessary to form bahuvri:hi. Hence, the grammarians record 'u' at the end of compounds like ve:di-va:lu, as sama:sa:nta pratyaya. Final 'u' of the second i.e. of the said constituent is part of the word and it is neither added nor substituted. Ve:di-va:lu in this connection functions as bahuvri:hi without a change at the end. This pratyaya is not a natural development, but an imposed one. pad:ga-tailpu(A.B.) mela-tailpu (D.V.) are forms in which 'c' becomes 'p'. Tailpu has come out of tailcu. cu:tu:kaduvu-tailpu is the only form in which 'pu' is substituted for 'c' as sama:sa:nta pratyaya.

235. A.B., P. 447
236. A.B., P. 555
XVII. SOME MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES IN FORMATION OF COMPOUND:

The grammarians in different contexts discuss the several morphological changes that occur during compound formation. Reddana and Kesāna deal with them at the end of their discussion of 'śamaśa' and the other grammarians in general deal with them under 'sandhi'. Some of these changes may be examined now.

The retention of the first syllable in some adjectives in compound formation is one of the changes observed by the grammarians. When this change occurs the initial consonant of the final constituent gets doubled. According to A.B.B., this change is applicable in the case of krotta and nora. Accordingly he gives the following examples: -- kro-n-nala 'fresh Moon', kro-m-merugulu 'new lightning', kara-n-nana 'fresh flower', ne-m-mogamu 'full (bloomy) face', ne-n-nada 'majestic walking', ne-n-nuduru 'fine fore-head'.

Kro-k-karu 'new season', kro-g-gandi 'new hole' and the like are examples given by B.V.

There are still other forms noted by B.V. and A.B. in which the first syllable is retained and the following consonant is not doubled: -- pu-rasma 'flower stalk', le-dudda 'young calf', ken-dammi 'red lotus', cen-dova 'red lotus'.

237. A.B.B. 123
238. B.V. sandhi 38
239. A.B., P. 195
pra:-y-illu 'old house', there are some others in which, after the dropping is over, a nasal is inserted : misgada, 'cream', and the like are examples.

In case the initial constituent ends in gemination one of them is dropped in compound formation. This is possible only when the initial constituent ends in 'nn' or 'll' :-

'll' = 'l' vilu-karudi 'one who possess a bow', ilu-vadi, 'tradition of the house', kalu-pani 'stone work', mulu-poda 'thorny shrub', palu-varusa 'row of teeth', kanu-dokyi 'pair of eyes', canu-monalu 'tip of breast (nipples)', kanu-gonalu 'edges of eyes', venu-prapu 'prop at the back', mulu-mordu 'vihu-karudi'. According to B.V. this dropping is not confined to compound formation only, words ending with 'll' and 'nn' and 'rr' at the end of words become single. Accordingly we have kannu-kalu, villu-vilu, arru-aru, gorriya-goriya and such other forms. From the point of view of B.V. this dropping is not a compound formative or sama:sasrayavidhi. This is possible as shown above in the case of free words also. Consonantal endings 'kan' and 'pal' are also present in compounds like kan-dokyi and pal-kudur.

Another noteworthy change is, that 'mu' at the end of the initial constituent becomes 'pu/mpu'. This was recognised

240. B.V. sandhi 30
241. B.V. sandhi 37
242. K.A.C. IX 130
243. Ibid IX 131
244. A.B.A., P. 121
245. A.B.B., pp. 120-121
246. B.V. prakirna 7
as long ago as A.S.C. 247 which says that mostly this change occurs when 'mu' is in singular. Examples of this change are sarasapu-balulu - sarasampu-balulu 'acceptable word', kanakapu-bomma 'golden doll', kapurampu-gutika 'camphor pellet'.

But Adharyana says that this change takes place even where the following constituent is in the plural. Example: sarasapu-balulu - sarasampu-balulu. According to Kōtana and Reddana this change comes in the case of adjectives only.

Examples: va:dapu-bantamulu 'swearing in exchange of words', pramo:dapu-ṣringaramulu 'pleasant amours', mutyapu-sarulu 'pearl strings', ju:dapu-t-aːtalulu 'gambling games', nayyapu-t-aːdaranmulu 'friendly affection', guːchapu-maratamulu 'secret thinking', atiːaːchapu-garmamulu 'very intense acts', soːyapu-t-aːtalulu 'amusing games', aruːchapu-t-aːpambulu 'sharp words', kapatapu-jelimi 'false friendship'. According to A.B.A. this change may take place even in compounds other than attributive. kayapu-veralu, vaːdapu-gani. Dharmanu-teːranu is an example 255 in which the change does not take place. According to A.S.C. the change is applicable in the case of 'mu' which is singular. But 'mu' is always confined to singular number only. Words

247. moːstuvibhakteːkavanakeː pumpur A.S.C. sandhi 35
248. Ibid sandhi 35
249. B.B. P. 177
250. V.V. sandhi 26/27
251. A.C.B. E. 119
252. K.A.C. IX 129
253. A.B.A. P. 201
254. Ibid P. 201
255. Ibid P. 201
256. A. sandhi 39
ending in 'mu' with the case number marker function as stem to which all other number-case-markers from nominative plural are added. Hence 'mu' is present in all cases in both numbers. A.S.C. might have intended this when giving the ruling.

Telugu adjectives cannot be declined. Plural marker may be added at the end of nouns which function as adjectives. We may expect sarasamulu or vanamulu. Words with plural marker cannot enter into formation of karmadharaya. A.S.C. does not restrict this change to karmadharaya only as H.V. does. It does not prescribe its limits. Hence it may be concluded that this change may take place even in tatpurusa. In tatpurusa 'mu' endings take plural marker and enter into compounds like dharmamu-la-nalavu. Here 'mu' belongs to the plural marker 'la' and hence it cannot be changed as dharmapula nalavu.

Accordingly this change may take place in tatpurusa provided it is in singular number. Therefore kundanapu-caiya and the like which are rejected by A.B. and ve:rupu-gani and ka:ryapu-verapu and the like given by A.B.A. may be treated as acceptable.

Another change in compound formation is the addition of -t- in between the two constituents. This addition comes provided the first constituent ends in 'u' and the final constituent begins with a vowel. This change takes place even after 'mu' is change to 'pu'. Thus we have forms like so:iyagapu-ga:talu and so on. According to A.S.C. this addition takes place

257. A.B., p. 296
258. K.A.C., IX 128
in karmadha\textvisiblespace_i raya only. According to B.S. this is applicable in tatpurusa also as in velpu\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{ivu} 'cow of the Gods', kappuru\textvisiblespace_{p-}ata\textvisiblespace_{nu} 'plaintain trees of (smelling as) camphor', ciguru\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{ku}, karaku\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{mmu} 'hard (crude) arrow' are other examples given by A.B. A.B. agrees with B.S. karaku\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{mmu} and cekku\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{ddamu} are the respective examples given by A.B. 

Suri regards this addition as limited to karmadha\textvisiblespace_{r-}aya only and says that it is compulsory in examples like karaku\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{mmu}, nggu\textvisiblespace_{t-}addamu, sarasapu\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{luka} and the like. However in examples like pe\textvisiblespace_{r-}uramu or pe\textvisiblespace_{ru\textvisiblespace-}aramu 'broad chest' he regards the addition of 't' optional. He does not approve of velpu\textvisiblespace_{t-}a\textvisiblespace_{ivu} and the like since they are tatpurusa compounds.

Suri says that in the formation of karmadha\textvisiblespace_{r-}aya 'r' comes after words like pe\textvisiblespace_{da}, when followed by 'alu' only as in pe\textvisiblespace_{da\textvisiblespace-}r\textvisiblespace_{alu}, bi\textvisiblespace_{da\textvisiblespace-}r\textvisiblespace_{alu} 'poor woman', goddu\textvisiblespace_{r-}a\textvisiblespace_{alu} 'barren woman', java\textvisiblespace_{r-}a\textvisiblespace_{alu} 'young lady' and the like and that Sanskrit words ending in -a- change to -u- as in dhi\textvisiblespace_{ra} and dhi\textvisiblespace_{ru} etc. Such constituents followed by alu take an -r- in between e.g. example dhi\textvisiblespace_{ru\textvisiblespace-}r\textvisiblespace_{alu} 'resolute lady', su\textvisiblespace_{ru\textvisiblespace-}ra\textvisiblespace_{alu} and the like. Another noteworthy point here is that the -r- comes provided the following constituent is 'alu' and not anything else. All these additions and omissions are applicable attributive compounds only.

There are compounds in which -n- comes in between

259. B.S., P. 177
the two constituents. This is limited to saasthi tatpurusa only. This comes provided the preceding constituent ends in -u- or -r-. Ra:ju-n-ajna 'command of the king', pamu-n-emmulu 'bones of a snake', guruu-n-ainati 'behest of the teacher', ra:ju-n-eduta 'in the presence of the king', mo:mu-nandamu 'beauty of the face', sivu-n-ajna 'command of Siva'. All these grammarians accept this addition when the following constituent is ending in -u-. Su:ri extends this not only to -u- ending words but also to -r- endings: ra:ju-n-ajna, 'vidhatr-n-ainati 'order of the Vidhata (creator).

The change of the initial letter of the final constituent is possible in the formation of the co-ordinate compound. This is a necessary feature of 'dvandva' according to Su:ri. Examples ku:ra-ga:yalu (-ka:yalu), ka:lu-ces:tu:lu (ces:tu:lu), takk:ku-tekku:lu (-tekkulu) 'deceit and pride', talli-dan:drulu (-dan:drulu), u:ru-valle:lu (-palle:lu). But there are many examples in which the change does not occur. Examples as noted by P.V. anda-candamulu, ra:ka-po:kalu, kanda-tundamulu, and appa:cellendru. U:ru-palle:lu is an example given by A.B. in which the change does not come. Hence it may be said that this change though found frequently is not an inevitable one.

260. A.C.C. sandhi 17
261. A.B., P. 267
262. B.S., P. 170
263. B.V. sandhi 34
264. B.V. sandhi 15
265. P.V. sandhi 6
266. A.B., P. 5 43.
XVIII. HYBRID COMPOUNDS:

So far, we have considered compounds in Telugu with special attention to the grammatical relationship between their constituents. They could be looked at from another angle -- that is from the point of view of the language; Telugu and Sanskrit, to which the constituents of the compounds belong. There are many compounds which are formed by Telugu and Sanskrit words. These hybrid compounds will be dealt with here. 

Sanskrit words having undergone due changes can be used in Telugu with inflection, if any. These are treated as a separate class and regarded as by Suri as different from all other classes of Telugu words - prakṛtasama, prakṛtabhava, samakṛtabhava and deśaya. However these four classes are together termed as acchikas or pure Telugu words.

Grammarians of course recognise compounds of this type, but do not examine them at any length. From what they have said, it may be gathered that these hybrid compounds or misra samasa/sas could be broadly classified as the following:

(I) Compounds with the Sanskrit words initially --

(a) Sanskrit stem without Telugu inflection;

(b) Sanskrit stem with Telugu inflection;

(II) Compounds with Telugu words initially.

Grammarians, without an exception, approve of (I) (b) and II above.
About I (a) all of them are unhappy — popularly these compounds are called 'vairi sammā:sas' or 'vairi padas'.

K.J.A. gives ambuja-padi 'ten lotuses' as an example of vairirada in which ambuja is the Sanskrit stem without Telugu inflection. ambuja may be used in Sanskrit compounds like ambuja-satam 'hundred lotuses'. The corresponding Sanskrit phrase is ambuja:na:sm-satam. Accordingly the Telugu phrases for -ambuja-padi has to be ambujamu-l-padi; 'mu' is part of the stem in Telugu and -l- indicates the plural number. Unlike in Sanskrit, in Telugu, compounds take the plural marker at the end of the initial constituent also. The form ambuja-padi might have been formed on the analogy of ambuja-dāsakam. 'dāsakam' is translated as 'padi' and ambuja remains as it is. This compound is very much similar to compounds like dīnakara-koduku, kahra:nava-kāturu and sammā:samava-y-o:da etc. which are considered in improper by K:stana² and Cuddana.²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰

An:ka:ma:ru 'several times', alpa-dāndu 'petty army' are of the same nature, and all these forms are rejected by the grammarians. According to K.A.C., Sanskrit words ending in i may be united with the following Telugu word as in arasti-po:ru 'quarrel of the enemy' and danti-kommu 'horn of an elephant'.

Any Telugu word ending in -i- takes no inflection in the formation of the second (inflected) stem. In the above examples

²⁶⁷ K.J.A. 6:31d:dhikαι:ra ²²
²⁶⁸ K.A.C. IX 135
²⁶⁹ A.B.E. P. 131
²⁷⁰ S.Y. str. 3
²⁷¹ K.: 140
the initial constituents function as second stems and they
remain as they are: panasa-pandu 'a fruit by name panasa',
kanda-dumpa 'a kind of root' and ji:ra-karra 're the three
eamples given by peddana in which the initial constituents
are sanskrit words without inflection. In all the above
examples no 'sandhi' like change takes place in their forma-
tion. Hence it may be said that samasamkrtc words may be
united with the following telugu words provided sandhi like
changes will not take place. Instead of avoiding those con-
binations in which these changes come in, grammarians seem
to have rejected this type completely though there are a
number of usages of the type. The following are examples in
which samasamkrtc word is united with the following telugu
word: dina-veccamu, dina-battemu, ji:va-galla, pr:i:na-goddamu,
nitya-padi, panca-vannelu, panca-rangulu, vi:ra-maddela,
garuda-paccalu, mul:la-dumpa, linga-ka:ya, vajra-ga:ya,
vi:ra-nadra-anka:mu, sada:-muste, di:pa-kambamu, kanta-sarulu,
and:ka-mandi, apa-siri, tanu-gaili, bhu:ri-vai:na, tan-
pandulu, jya:sta-kapuramu, dina-veccamu, pr:i:na-goddamu,
pucca-vanni:alu, dina-battemu, and:ra-animar, anur-vallati,
garuda-samulu, paundava-vi:du, bala-sam:damu, jala-kottura,
mula-dumpa, di:pa-kambamu, kanta-sarulu, suddha-tappu,
suka-danduga, and:ka-marulu, alpa-siri, swalpa-dabbu. These...

272. V.B.V., PP. 172-173
273. A.B.C., pp. 749-750
forms, collected by T. C. Narayana Rao, occurring in various Telugu classes. All initial constituents end with a vowel and the final constituents with a consonant. Hence the question of sandhi does not at all arise since a vowel followed by a consonant undergoes no sandhi change in both languages. There is another type of hybrid compounds in which the initial constituent is a Sanskrit prefix (pra-di) and the following is a Telugu word. apa-padi, apa-aramika, apa-ropanu, apa-siri, dur-alavatu, dus-salain, apa-du:ru apa-nugi, apa-namakamu, ati-vasa, apa-siri, dur-alavatu, dus-salain. Even in these instances no sandhi change takes place for the reasons already mentioned above.

XIX. VILID COMPOUNDS:

Though the term 'vasya sama:sa' is usually applied to all hybrid compounds, it may be given a restricted application and applied to those compounds in which the first constituent is Telugu and the following constituent is sama-samaskrta. At this point it must be noted that sama-samaskrta (with Telugu inflection at the end) may unite with the following Telugu word in compound formation and such compounds may also be regarded as 'vasya': examples ambujamula-padi, dinakaruni-koduku, animisula-modavu, kai:ra:rnavuni-kmturu

274. A.R.G., PP. 749-50
275. V.B.V., PP. 172-173
The other type of compounds in which the initial constituent is Telugu and the final is samsamakrta are numerous in Telugu. Atharvana says that a Telugu word having letters up to six may unite with the following: samsamakrta-samsa. Examples: kaliki-bhujanga kanyakalu, velupu-virabhatavaramu, vasidi-mayukhamulu, vasidi-basamulu, merti-munira:ju, mukkanti-co:hini, puttinti-sampatti pampu, attinti samhanya-lakshmi-sompu, vasidi-payo:darini, vasidi-mayukhamulu, kaliki-bhujanga kanyakalu, velupu-virabhatavaramu, merti-
munira:ju, karaku-divarbaphur pampulu, kaluva:ti:kataksamphu,
gumpulu. Of the examples given above the last two are peculiar.

In these compounds, Sanskrit words take Telugu words initially and finally. vin-jamara, musi:astrambulu, karakanthudu, tana may be united with the following Sanskrit word: tana-vi:stashakula:ca:ra dharamu, tana-jagad:tasa:ndhu vartenamu, and tana-digantaprata:tpamu. ni may be united with the following Sanskrit compound: example ni:vinuntra manim:purana sabda:sa:ktaka rajahanse tra:sa:kara:mbudamu. ni, na, and tana may be united with the following Sanskrit words: tana-satyavrata kausalamu, tana-vi:dya:tantra nirmanamu, tana-vi:ra:nana kirtanambu, tana-saptastutya santama:mu, tana-:te'jo:mahimambu, tana-yuddatikirtivasphu:rti.
ceruvu-n-udakam, siri-celevudu, vi-n-jamarami,
kro-m-bulakalu, kro-n-naira:samulu, kara:kanthudu,
kapila-sa, ara-jasti, a-tu-bharamu, katika:daridarudu,
tiru:curam, tiru:nati, tiru-majjanam, penas-name:lu,
peddaro:gam, matta:madhya:hnamu, mu-k-ko:paru, veta:karu,
katika:bhavaru, kavala:putaru:lu, anca:padamu, anca:ya:na,
ara-jasti, kora:prama:nu, ora:bijamu, tiru:mantram, tiru:curam,
tiru-v-a:ra:diramanu, naqu:mantram, pu:dami:edu,
peddaro:gamu, mu-k-ko:paru, matti:tailamu, mu-n-go:paru,
mu-k-ko:paru, kandhu:lu:lu, vi-n-jamaramu.

XX. LARGEST COMPOUND :-

Long compounds (decided on the basis of the number of constituents) are common as well as in Sanskrit. The longest compound taken note of by the grammarians do not seem to have more than four constituents. :- examples nindu punnama:nasti ja:billi (A.B.) cockers kha:napu te:ji vaji:ru:ndu (A.B.).

'Tikkana', whose compounds are examined with special reference in the present work, provides many longer compounds than these. At this juncture it should be noted, however, that in a Telugu compound its constituents themselves may be compounds formed by different constituents as the examples given above themselves show.