COMPOSITION

समासः (सम् + √अस्) m. “throwing together,” compound word
विग्रहः (वि + √ग्रह) m. “taking apart,” analytic phrase

Certain kinds of analytic phrases can be combined in a single word; certain kinds of compounds can be expressed in an analytic phrase.

Some नित्यसमासाः (obligatory compounds) cannot be “taken apart” without losing their meaning:
• कृष्णसपःर्पः ≠ कृष्णश्च स सपःर्पश्च

Some नित्यसमासाः cannot be “taken apart” because they contain bound forms, i.e., forms that cannot be used outside of a compound. These can be paraphrased, but they cannot be analyzed into their constituent parts (hence they are called अस्विपःदविविग्रहाः, “lacking an analysis in their own words”):
• सविर्पज्ञः ≈ सविर्वं जानिति

SYNTAX of COMPOUNDS: General terms and concepts
In a compound XY, X is called the प्रधानिम्, and Y is called the उत्तरपःदवम्.

(a) A word that is syntactically independent is called the प्रधानिम् (head).
(b) A word that is syntactically dependent upon another word in a compound is called the उपसर्जनम् (dependent).
   • Generally the उपसर्जनम् comes first in a compound.
(c) Two words are समानिधिकरणम् (coreferential) if they refer to the same thing; otherwise they are व्यिधकरणम् (non-coreferential).

BAHUVRĪHIs
Exocentric: the head (प्रधानिम्) is outside of the compound; hence they are also called headless compounds. (2.2.24 अन्यपःदवाथे “with reference to another word.”). In bahuvrihis, XY ≠ Y (a बहुव्रीहः is a person with a lot of rice, not rice.)
All of the words in a bahuvrihi compound are therefore उपसर्जनानि.
Bahuvrihis are qualifiers of their head and agree with it in gender, number, and case.
• Bahuvrihis can easily be identified when the gender of the compound (समास-लिङ्गम्) is different from the original gender (प्रकृति-लिङ्गम्) of the final word:
  ○ लब्धोदवया (f.) = यस्या लिब्ध उदवयः (m.) सा तिथोक्तः (by whom birth has been obtained)

Sometimes a समासान्ति-प्रत्ययः (compositional suffix) is added to make gender agreement easier:
• The most common is कप् (-ka-):
  ○ Obligatory after feminines ending in ई or उ
    ▪ सप्तीकः: (with his wife) = सह पत्न्या वर्तत इति तथोक्तः:
  ○ Obligatory after nouns ending in ऋ
    ▪ समानकर्तृकः: (having the same agent) = यस्य समानः कर्ता स तथोक्तः:
Obligatory after some other words (उरः etc.)
- व्यूर्ढोरस्कः (broad-shouldered) = यस्य व्यूर्ढे उरसी स तथोकः:

The suffix -ka- is optional in all other cases and can help to identify a compound as a bahuvrihi. Words in a bahuvrihi may be related to each other in several ways.

(a) समानाधिकरण-बहुव्रीहः / coreferential bahuvrihi
i. Adjectives usually come first in such compounds:
   - चिक्रगुः (having brindled cows) = यस्य चिक्रा गावः स तथोकः:
   - कृत्योगः (by whom use is made) = येनि कृतिो योगः स तथोकः:
   - NB गुडप्रिप्रयः, प्रिप्रयगुडः (fond of jaggery) = यस्य प्रियः गुडः स तथोकः:
ii. Sometimes bound forms are understood as substitutes for adjectives:
   - सोदवरः (uterine) = यस्य समानिमुदवरं स तिथोकः:

(b) व्यिधकरणम-बहुव्रीहः / non-coreferential bahuvrihi
- चिक्रपःािणः (discus-handed) = यस्य चिक्रः पःाणौ स तिथोकः:

(c) Several categories of bahuvrihis whose first member is a bound form (thus अस्विपःदविविग्रहाः):
i. नज-बहुव्रीहः / negative bahuvrihi: अ॰ is analyzed with अविद्यमान॰
   - अपुरः (son-less) = अविद्यमानः पुरो यस्य स:
ii. सह-बहुव्रीहः / comitative bahuvrihi (2.2.28): स॰ is analyzed with सह + तृतिीहयािविभक्तिक्तः:
   - सदवारः (with his wife) = सह दवारैः वितिर्पति इतिति तिथोकः:
   - सहलिक्ष्मणः = सह लिक्ष्मणेनि वितिर्पति इतिति तिथोकः:
iii. प्राड-बहुव्रीहः / prefix bahuvrihi: this is a large class that includes verbal prefixes (उपःसगाः, गतियः) and a few nominal prefixes (like सु॰, कु॰, दु॰); these bahuvrihis are अस्विपःदविविग्रहाः and require paraphrases
   1. Verbal prefixes उपःसगर्पपःूर्विर्पपःदवः — use a participle form
      - प्रपःणर्पः (with fallen leaves) ≈ यस्य प्रपःितितिाः पःणाः स तिथोकः:
      - उत्कण्ठः (with upraised neck) ≈ यस्य उन्नतिः कण्ठः स तिथोकः:
   2. Nominal prefixes require a paraphrase:
      - सुकुमारीहकः (with beautiful girls) ≈ यिन्स्मन् शोभक्तनिाः कुमायर्पः स तिथोकः:
      - दुहृत् (wicked-hearted) ≈ यस्य दुष्टं हृदवयं स तिथोकः:

The standard विग्रहः uses a relative clause in which the relative pronoun refers to the head (and therefore agrees with the head in gender and number).

The पूर्वपदम् and उत्तरपदम् are put in the relative clause (with an appropriate case-form of the relative pronoun). The main clause consists of a relative pronoun in the प्रथमिविभक्तिक्तः, either alone or with (a) the whole compound or (b) the word तिथोकः (so-called). The विग्रहः is usually followed by a demonstrative pronoun (स, सा, ति) in the case in which the compound appears in the sentence.

   - Typically a षष्ठी pronunciation expresses the relation:
     - पीताम्बरः (ochre-robed) = यस्य पीतमाम्बरम् (n.) स तथोकः:
• तृतीय (especially when the पूर्वपद्म् ends in the suffix ॐतः)
  ◦ कल्पितार्यः (having made an offering to a guest) = येन कल्पितो उर्ध्वः स तथोऽः
  ◦ हतदिपः (having killed elephants) = येन हला तिधः स तथोऽः
• सस्मी
  ◦ न्यस्ताक्षः (on which letters are written) = यिन्स्मन् न्यस्ता अक्षराः स तिथोक्तः
• Other case relations are less common:
  ◦ प्राप्तोदवकः ग्रामः (which the water has reached) = यं प्राप्तं उदवकः सः
  ◦ उपःहृतिपःशुः रुद्रः (to whom an animal has been sacrificed) = यस्मै उपःहृतिं पःशु सः
  ◦ उद्धृतिौदवनिा स्थालिीह (from which rice has been removed) = यस्या उद्धृतिमोदवनिम सा

TATPURUṢAs

Endocentric: usually the final member (उत्तरपःदवम्) is the head (प्रधानिम्). In tatpuruṣas, XY = Y (a तत्पुरुषः is a पुरुषः); tatpuruṣas also have the syntactic properties of their head (XY is an adjective if Y is an adjective, etc.).

• An exception to the general rule that the पूर्वपद्म् is the उपस्थतयपः is a set of “irregular”
tatpuruṣas beginning with मयूर्रव्यंसकः (cunning peacock, not cunning as a peacock).

The classification of tatpuruṣas is largely parallel to that of bahuvrīhis. The व्यःग्रहः varies by type:

(a) कर्मधारयः (karmadhāraya) / coreferential tatpuruṣa: X and Y are समानाधिकरणम्.

• Appositional karmadhārayas: XY is “a Y that is also X.” To distinguish these karmadhārayas from dvandvas, their व्यःग्रहः includes a pronoun that serves to indicate that the two members are coreferential:
  ◦ नीलोतपलम् (blue lotus) = नीलं च तदन्तपलं च (विशेषपूर्वपद्मकर्मधारयः)
  ◦ शुक्रकृष्णः (white-black) = शुक्रसः कृषणशः (विशेषनबूर्वपद्मकर्मधारयः)
    ■ When a विशेषनबूर्वपद्मकर्मधारयः consists of two past passive participles describing the same object, the sense is of consecutive action:
      ◦ पीतोत्तरीणम् = आदो पीतं पश्चादुत्तरीणम् (first drunk and then vomited)
  ◦ राजप्रजः (king-sage) = राजा च स ऋषिश्च (विशेषनाभक्तयपःदवकमर्पधारयः)

• Comparative karmadhārayas: XY involves a simile (उपमा)
  ◦ उपमानपूर्वपद्मकर्मधारयः / X is like Y: घनस्यम्: (cloud-black) = घन इव श्यामः; घनव्रृष्णः:
  ◦ उपमानपूर्वपद्मकर्मधारयः / Y is like X: मुखचन्द्रः: (face-moon) = मुखं च चन्द्र इव, मुखं चन्द्रवित्
  • In some karmadhārayas, a word that connects X and Y is understood to be elided (मध्यमपद्मतोप-कर्मधारयः): शाकप्राप्तिम्: (vegetable-king) = शाकप्राप्तिम्: प्राप्तिम्:

(b) वियः / numeral compound: the पूर्वपद्म् is a numeral. These are coreferential, like karmadhārayas, but they are limited to:
  i. titles: सस्मीयः = सस्म च ते अनुमान् (seven sages)
  ii. collectives (समाहारवियः): त्रिभुवनम् = त्रीणि भुवनानि समाहारानि or त्रयाणां भुवनानां समाहारः (three worlds)

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iii. the base to which the sense of a taddhita suffix is added (तड्डतात्त्वाचिहिगुः): पञ्चकपः (pre pared in five pots), द्विगुः (bought with two cows)

iv. the पूर्वपदम् of a longer compound: दशकृमारचरितम् = दशभिम्: कुमारे: चरितम् (the deeds of ten young men)

(c) विभक्तितपुरुषः / case tatpurusa: X stands in a case relation to Y

- The case suffix is almost always deleted (लिुक-समासः):
  - द्वितीया / नरकपतितिः (fallen into hell) = नरकपतितिः।
  - तृतीया / अछिलतिः (killed by a snake) = अछिला हतिः।
  - चतुर्था / यूपदारु (a tree for a post) = यूपाय दरुः।
  - पञ्चमी / वृकः (afraid of wolves) = वृकः भीतिः।
  - सामी / अख्या: (good at dice) = अख्या पुरुषः।
  - पञ्चमी / विनु (done in the morning) = विनु पुरुषः。

- In certain circumstances, a case suffix may be retained (अलिुक-समासः):
  - चतुर्था / परस्मैपदम् (only for grammatical terminology)
  - कद्: / वेचि, निश्चि: (usually when the पूर्वपदम् ends in a consonant)

(d) Several categories of tatpurusas whose first member is a bound form (thus अस्वपदविप्रहाः)

i. नन्दस्तरुपः / negative tatpurusa: अ॰ is analyzed with न or अन्यः
  - अन्यः (non-brahmin) = न ब्राह्मणः (not a brahmin), ब्राह्मणादवन्यः (other than a brahmin)

ii. प्राधितपुरुषः / prefix tatpurusa

1. Most verbal prefixes are explained as having the sense of a verbal adjective that governs the उत्तरपदम् (since the prefix but not the verbal root appears in the compound, these are sometimes called धातिवलिोपःसमासाः). In these adjectival compounds, the उत्तरपदम् is the उपसर्जनम् (dependent):
   - निष्कूषायिन्मं = निष्कृतिः: कौशाम्ब्याः (having left Kauśāmbī)

2. Nominal prefixes (and some verbal prefixes) are explained by a paraphrase
   - सु॰ = शोभक्तनि॰, सुष्ठु / सुकिविः (good poet) = शोभक्तनिः किविः, सुकः (well done) = सुष्ठु कः
   - कु॰, कद्:, कार, दुरः = कत्सुति॰ / कुकिविः = कुलितिः कः: etc.
   - अधिराजः (overlord) = अधिको राजा

(e) उपपदस्तरुपः / governing tatpurusa: the प्रधानिम् is a verbal form that governs the उपसर्जनम्

i. Usually a form of the verb itself will appear as the उत्तरपदम्. The root takes the “zero suffix” किप, and hence appears in the weak grade (if the root ends in ऋ, इ, or उ, the augment तिुक or -t- follows; if the root ends in आ, it is usually replaced with आ)
   - सोमसुत् (soma-presser) = सोमं सुनिोिति
   - मानन्द (honor-giver) = मानं ददाति
   - मध्यस्थः (standing in the middle) = मध्ये तिठति
ii. Sometimes a form of the verb appears as the पूर्वपदम्. The root takes the form of a present participle. Sometimes called phereiokos-compounds (from Greek house-carrying ≈ snail)
   ○ धारयत्वसं (supporting the poet) = काँच धारयति (cf. Dārayavaus = vahu dhārayati)

DVANDVAs
Ambicentric: both members are the head (प्रधानम्). Can be called two-headed (etc.) compounds. The standard विग्रहः is X च Y च. There are three types:

1. इतरेतद्विन्द्विम् / additive dvandva: the grammatical number of the compound is the sum of the grammatical number of its members (and the compound usually has the grammatical gender of the final member)
   • रामलक्ष्मणों = रामश्च लक्ष्मणश्च (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa)
   • देवीसज्जना = देव्याश्च सज्जनिश्च (ladies and gentlemen)

2. समाहारद्विन्द्विम् / collective dvandva: the compound expresses a collective or aggregate and appears in the neuter singular
   • स्थाविरजङ्गमम् = स्थाविरािण चि जङ्गमािनि चि समाहृतिािनि (mobile and immobile things)

3. दवेवितिाद्विन्द्विम् / deity dvandva (only Vedic): when dual endings appear on both members
   • मित्राविरुणा (Mitra and Varuṇa)

AVYAYĪBHĀVAs
Indeclinable compounds that function as adverbs (क्रियाविशेषणाः). The पूर्वपदम् is an indeclinable word (अव्ययम्) which governs a noun in the उत्तरपदम् (this is a general exception to उपपदम् उपपदम्). The entire compound looks like an adjective in the nominative-accusative singular neuter.

1. Some avyayibhāvas are स्विपःदविविग्रहाः, when a corresponding analytic phrase exists:
   • Generally when the अव्ययम् is a कर्मप्रच्छन्नियम् (adposition):
     ○ अनुगङ्गम् (along the Ganges) = अनु गङ्गाम्
     ○ आजन्म (since birth) = आ जन्मन:
     ○ बिहिग्रामम् (outside of the village) = बिहिग्रामात्

2. Others are नित्यसमासाः and require a special paraphrase
   • यथाशिक्त (according to ability) = शक्तिमनतिक्राम
   • असंशयम् (doubtless) = संशयस्याभक्ताविष्णुम्
   • प्रतितिदवविसम् (day by day) = दिवसे दिवसे
   • अनुज्येष्ठम् (in order of age) = ज्येष्ठान्तर्गताः
   • सिविष्णु (like Viṣṇu) = िविष्णोः सादवृश्यमस्तिु
   • निमिर्मश्च (mosquitolessly) = मक्षिकाणामभावोः