Bahuvrīhi samāsa

1.- Generalities

- bahuvrīhi samāsas always make reference to an external noun with which they agree in gender, case and number.
- Thus, a *bahuvrīhi samāsa* expresses the relationship not between the compounded words, but the relationship between the compounded words *with* the external noun.
- In order to make clear the relationship between the *samāsa* and the external object, usually a relative pronoun is used in the *vigraha* to denote the external referent. A *bahuvrīhi* commonly found in the literature is of the kind that conveys a sense of ownership. The same word, *bahuvrīhi*, is of this kind: *bahuvrīhiḥ* > *bahu vrīhiḥ yasya saḥ* > much-riced, he who owns much rice (of whom there is much rice.)
- Note that, in order to grasp the full meaning of the *bahwrīhi samāsa*, one needs to understand both relationships, i.e., the relationship of the *samāsa* with its external referent, and the relationship between the compounded words.
- The different types of relationships between the compounded words yield several kinds of *bahuvrīhi samāsas*, which are fairly parallel to the different types of *tatpuruṣa-samāsas*.

2.- Samānādhikaraņa bahuvrīhis

2.1.- karmadhāraya-like bahuvrīhis, or simple appositional

- As the name implies, these *samāsas* have the same referent (*adhikaraṇa*) and the relationship between their compounded words is parallel to *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*.
- This means that the compounded words are in simple apposition to each other.
- It is important to note again that the relationship between the compounded words have no bearing on the relationship of the compound itself with its referent, which is outside the compound.
- What follows is a list of examples in which the bahuvrīhi stands in different relationships with its external referent. These relationships are expressed through different cases which are visible in the relative pronoun.
- These profusion of cases with respect to the external referent is particular to this kind of bahuvrīhi; in most other types, only the genitive case is found when dealing with the external referent.

Accusative

prāptātithiḥ [grāmaḥ] > prāptāḥ atithayaḥ yam sa > That village in which the guests arrived, is a guest-arrived village.

Instrumental

viditārthaḥ [saḥ] > viditaḥ artaḥ yena saḥ > He by whom the purpose was known; colloquially: He, who knew the purpose.

yatāhāraḥ [saḥ] > yataḥ āhāraḥ yena saḥ > He by whom food (āhāra) was restricted (yata, Kta from dhatu yam.)

Dative

priyarāghavaḥ [lakṣmaṇaḥ] > priyaḥ rāghavaḥ yasmai saḥ > Lakṣmaṇa, to whom Rāma (descendant of Raghu) is dear.

Ablative

dāruṇodayam [vacaḥ] > dāruṇam udayaḥ yasmāt tat > That speech from which the result (udaya) is horror (dāruṇa). Colloquially: the speech that produces horror.

N.B. In the previous example, the compounded words are both nouns, not an adjective plus a noun; therefore, in the *vigraha* both words must retain their gender markers.

nihatakantakam [rājyam] > nihatāni kantakāni yasmāt tat > The kingdom from which the thorns have been struck down; a thorn-free Kingdom.

gatāsuḥ [saḥ] > gatāḥ asavaḥ yasmāt saḥ > He, from whom the life-breaths have gone.

Genitive

kumbhakarna [saḥ] > kumbhau iva karnau yasya saḥ > He whose ears are like pots.

Locative

jātāspardhaḥ [saḥ] > jātā spardhā yasmin saḥ > He, in whom envy was born.

gambhīrodakaḥ (sāgaraḥ) > gambhīram udakam yasmin saḥ > the ocean in which the water (udaka) is deep.

2.2.- nañ-bahuvrīhi

- Parallel to the negative tatpurusa compounds.
- The *vigraha* uses the present participle *avidyamāna* (from vid, A1).
- Another way of analyzing the $sam\bar{a}sa$ is with the verb $n\bar{a}sti$ (na + asti)

abhāryaḥ [saḥ]> avidyamānā bhāryā yasya saḥ abhāryaḥ > He whose wife is non-existent, is a no-wife man.

aputraḥ [saḥ] > putraḥ nāsti yasya saḥ > He for whom a son does not exist, is a no-son man.

2.3 sa-bahuvrīhis

saha

- Much like saha-tatpuruṣas, these samāsas start with *sa* and convey the idea of company or being furnished with the second member of the compound.
- Many times, these compounds refer to a common action undertaken by both the external referent and the noun to which the last member of the bahuvrīhi refers. For example, in the *samāsa saputrah* [nārah], it is expected to find an action that the man is doing *along* with his son. This might create confusion, for the *vigraha* in these cases looks exactly like a *vibhakti-tatpuruṣa* (saputrah > saha putreṇa gataḥ).

- Nevertheless, the *samāsa* remains a bahuvrīhi with sa. The important point to note in this case is that the *samāsa* is still and adjective qualifying an external noun; that is why it remains a bahuvrīhi.

sapurā [mahī] > saha puraiḥ mahī > the Earth, [endowed] with cities.

sagrāmanagarākarā [mahī] > saha grāmaiḥ nagaraiḥ ākaraiḥ ca sā mahī > The earth, with its villages, cities and mines.

samāna and sadrša

- In these compounds, the affix sa-stands for samāna, "same, share", or for sadṛśa, "similar." The relationship with the external referent is like a genitive case, seen above.

savarnah [sah] > samānah varnah yasya sah > he who has the same varna.

sarūpam > samānam rūpam yasya tat

2.4 anekapada-bahuvrīhi

- As the name implies, these compounds are formed by not only two, but more than two words taken together.

citrajaratīguḥ [saḥ] > citrā jaratī gau yasya saḥ > He who has a old and spotted cow.

3.- Vyadhikarana bahuvrīhi or non-appositional

- In these *bahwrīhis*, the internal relationship of the compound is given in an oblique case.
- While the *samānādhikaraṇa bahuvrīhis* are understood as *karmadhārayas* with an external referent, the *vyadhikaranas* are to be understood as *vibhakti-tatpurusas* with external referent.
- Take for example the example given above: dāruṇodayam [vacaḥ] > dāruṇam udayaḥ yasmāt tat. Here, both members of the compound are nominatives, one qualifying the other, even though both are nouns: a result that is actually terror. Even though the first member is not an adjective, it still is in apposition with the last member. An appositional compound can be understood following the formula: a compound XY is one in which Y is X.
- For *vyadhikaranas*, the internal relationship is not appositional. Now, one member is subordinated to the other, just like in *vibhaktitatpuruṣa*. In the compound *śokapīditah* > *śokena pīditah* > *afflicted by grief*, the first member stands in an oblique relationship with the last member. There is a instrumental relationship between the two; the first one is the agent of the second.
- The same oblique internal relationship is found in the *vyadhikaraṇas*, except that it can only be of two cases: genitive for the first member and locative for the second member.
- To make things easier, the external relationship with the referent can only be expressed in genitive; this is, a *vigraha* of the *yasya sah* type.

3.1.- Genitive as the first member

uṣṭramukhaḥ [saḥ] > uṣṭrasya mukham iva mukham yasya saḥ > He who has the face of a camel, is a camel-faced [man].

candrakāntiḥ [saḥ] > candrasya kāntiḥ iva kāntiḥ yasya saḥ > He who has splendor like the moon.

3.2.- Locative as the second member

śaśīśekharaḥ [saḥ] > śaśī śekhare yasya saḥ > He who has a moon in the head.

cakrapāṇiḥ [saḥ] > cakram pāṇau yasya saḥ > He who has a disc in the hand.