BHARTṚHARI'S SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF *ASAMARTHA* COMPOUNDS

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As is well known, the first systematic treatment of compound formation for any language is that of Pāṇini's in his *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. The basic idea is that each compound should, in the unmarked case, be paired with a canonical phrasal paraphrase. A compound and its canonical phrasal paraphrase are grammatically linked by sharing a common derivational ancestor. The canonical phrasal paraphrase retains its stems and its abstract inflectional affixes; while the compound loses all abstract inflectional affixes but those affixed to the head stem, and a fixed linear order is imposed on all the remaining elements. Moreover, it is clear that the derivation presupposes that a common derivational ancestor has constituent structure (A 2.1.1) and the deletion involved in compound formation applies cyclically (*Mahābhāṣya* to A 2.1.1).

It is agreed that the second and fourth expressions are grammatical and synonymous while the first is ungrammatical (*Mahābhāṣya* to A 2.1.1).

(1.1)   *[NP1 [AP6 ṛddhasya] (rāja<puruṣaḥ)]
(1.2)   [NP1 ((ṛddha<rāja)<puruṣaḥ)]
(1.3)   [NP1 [NP6 [AP6 ṛddhasya] rājñaḥ] puruṣaḥ]
(1.4)   [NP1 [NP6 [AP6 ṛddhasya] rājñaḥ] puruṣaḥ]
                           rich   king   man
              servant of a rich king

And this is precisely the distribution of facts which is captured by the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. Indeed, the treatment has the universal result of preventing elements outside of a compound from being construed with subordinate elements within it.

Interestingly, a distribution, similar to that found in (1) above, holds for English.

(2.1)   *(bombing<report) of cities
(2.2)   [NP report [PP of the bombing [PP of cities]]]
(2.3)   [NP report [PP of (city<bombing)]]
(2.4)   ((city<bombing)<report)

Here, "city" is construed with "bombing" in all cases but the first, where, as an element external to a compound, it cannot be construed with sub-

ordinate elements within it. This fact of English compound formation has prompted DiSciullo and Williams (1987: p. 30) to treat such a prohibition as a constraint on compound formation within Universal Grammar.

In Sanskrit, however, there are expressions comprising a compound and another inflected word, where the inflected word is construed with an element, an uninflected word, subordinate within the compound. Compounds found in such a configuration are known as *asamartha*, or non-constitutive, compounds. An example, due to Patañjali (*Mahābhāsya* to A 2.1.1; MBh 1.360.20), is the first of the four expressions given below.

(3.1)   [NP1 [NP6 Devadattasya] (guru < kulam)]
(3.2)   [NP1 (Devadatta < guru) < kulam]
(3.3)   [NP1 [NP6 (Devadatta < guroh)] kulam]
(3.4)   [NP1 [NP6 [NP6 Devadattasya] guroh] kulam]
         Devadatta's teacher's family

In the first expression, the inflected word "Devadattasya", external to the compound "guru-kulam", is construed with the compoound's subordinate element "guru".

Asamartha compounds would be of little linguistic interest if they were simply isolated occurrences. But, the evidence is that they are not; for, *asamartha* compounds occur with the frequency of such routine phrasal constructions as indirect questions and relative clauses, not with the frequency of such marked formations as *aluk* compounds (i.e., compounds whose subordinate elements retain their inflectional morphology).

This conclusion is based on two investigations. A study of approximately three-hundred sentences, chosen essentially at random from the best representatives of the Classical Sanskrit corpus, reveals thirteen unequivocal cases of *asamartha* compounds. (See Appendix I below.) And a study of the first approximately five-hundred sentences of a single text reveals forty-three clear cases. (See Appendix II below.) On the one hand, the first sample has more occurrences of *asamartha* compounds than of indirect questions; while the second sample has more occurrences of *asamartha* compounds than of relative clauses. On the other hand, neither sample has a single *aluk* compound.

The productivity of this formation presents a serious challenge not only to Pāṇini's treatment of Sanskrit compound formation but also to DiSciullo and Williams' treatment of compound formation, which aims to provide a framework for the analysis of compound formation, whatever language it may occur in.

A successful treatment of these compounds begins with an empirically adequate characterization of the circumstances under which elements external to a compound can be construed with an element subordinate within it. The only attempt I know of to provide such a characterization is Bhartṛhari's in his *Vākyapadīya*.

(4) VP 3.14.47
sambandhi-śabdaḥ sāpekṣaḥ nityam sarvaḥ prayujyate
sva-artha-vat sā vyapekṣā asya vṛttau api na hīyate.

It is always the case that relational words are all used as expressions in need <of something else>. Their need, like their denotation, is not given up, even in <word> formation.

Bhartṛhari is suggesting that at least some cases of *asamartha* compounds are cases where the subordinate element in the compound expresses a relation. It is tempting, in light of Bhartṛhari's description, to conjecture that only relational words license *asamartha* compounds and to view such cases as configurations in which the subordinate lexical element in the compound has a *kāraka* (roughly, in terms of contemporary linguistic jargon, a thematic role), which is assigned to the inflected lexical item external to the compound.

A survey of the cases found in the samples mentioned above shows that, for the most part, such is the case: the subordinate lexical element is a deverbal noun or adjective, either subcategorizing for an noun phrasal complement or having associated with its verbal root a *kāraka*, which the denotation of the external lexical item can serve as. Here is an excerpt from a sentence in *Śakuntalā* which contains two cases of *asamartha* compounding.

(5) Ś 3.9.16 <SGSC 3.1.6>
[NP1 [NP3 [NP7 tasyām] (snigdha<dṛṣṭyā)] (sūcita<abhilāṣaḥ)-B]
... whose affection was indicated by his gaze being fixed on her

In this sentence, "tasyām" is construed with "snigdha", which is known to take a 7th case noun phrasal complement (i.e., an NP7); and "sūcita", being a perfect passive participle, may take optionally a third case noun phrasal complement (i.e., NP3).

As attractive as this characterization might appear, it is wrong, as shown by the very examples furnished by Patañjali and repeated by Bhartṛhari. In the expression "Devadattasya gurukulam", the word "guru" is not a deverbal noun. However, it is a relational noun, but not one with which a *kāraka* is associated. It is clear, then, that relational nouns must

be taken to include not only words with which *kārakas* are associated, but nouns whose meanings presuppose some kind of relation, that is, nouns such as "bhrātā" (i.e., "brother"), "rājā" (i.e., "king"), etc.

This revised characterization brings within its purview another interesting case, which, despite its commonness, has not attracted any attention, as far as I can tell, either from the traditional or the contemporary literature on Classical Sanskrit: inflected elements external to a compound can be construed with a *bahuvrīhi* compound subordinate within it. (See Appendix II, Section 3.)

(6) PVS 1.8
[S [NP5 [NP5 [NP6 (artha + (an-artha)) < vivecanasya] (anumāna$_1$ < āśraya)-B-tvāt]
(tat$_1$ < vipratipatteḥ)] [NP4 (tat$_1$ < vyavasthāpanāya)] [NP1s e] [VP āha]]
Because the discrimination of the beneficial and the unbeneficial has inference for its basis < and > because of misunderstanding about it, in order to settle it, he < i.e., Dharmakīrti > says:

Here, the inflected element "artha + anartha-vivecanasya", external to the compound "anumāna-āśraya-tva", is construed with the subordinate element in it, "anumāna-āśraya", which is itself a *bahuvrīhi* compound. This construal is borne out by the paraphrase of the commentator Karṇakagomin (PVST 5.1).

Unfortunately, *asamartha* compounds are not confined to cases where the subordinate element in the compound expresses a relation, onto which the denotation of the external element can be hooked. Consider the following case.

(7) V 2.134 <SGSC 9.1.3>
[AP1 [ADV dṛḍham] [PRT khalu] [NP7 tvayi] (baddha < bhāvā)-B]] [NP1s Ūrvaśī].
Indeed, Ūrvaśī is one whose affection is firmly fixed on you.

Here, there are two elements external to the compound being construed with a subordinate element within the compound. One of the two external elements is construed with the element subordinate within the compound in precisely the way discussed above. In this case, the element external to the compound is the seventh case noun phrase, "tvayi", which is to be construed with the element subordinate within the compound, the perfect passive participle "baddha", which takes a seventh case noun phrasal complement. The other element external to the compound construed with "baddha" is the adverb "dṛḍham", whose occurrence cannot be predicted either from *kārakas* associated with "baddha" or from its meaning.

An important peculiarity of some cases where an adverbial element external to a compound modifies an element within it is that the adverbial element may function adjectivally, as illustrated below, instead of adverbially, as seen above.

(8.1) PVS 3.17
[NP3 amśena] [NP1s (((janya + janaka)-tva) < prasangah)]
the absurdity of partial causation

Here, the adverb "amśena" is construed with "janya + janaka-tva", functioning to modify it adjectivally, not adverbially. Below, the adverb "bahulam" is construed to function as an adjectival predicate of "pakva", a construal borne out by the Tibetan translation (personal communication from Richard Hayes).

(8.2) PVS 10.15
[s na hi [ABC [NP7 [ADV bahulam] pakva < darśane) api]]
[NP3 ((sthāli < antargamana) < mātrena)] [NP1s pākah] [vp _ sidhyati]
[NP5 (vyabhicāra < darśanāt)]]
For, even if the cooked ones are observed to be many, the cooking < of something> is not established by < its> mere inclusion in a pot, because of the observation of deviation.

Another *asamartha* configuration involves elements external to a compound being construed appositionally with subordinate elements within the compound.

(9) PVST 53.21
[s [NP6 [aham iti] (buddhi < rahitasya)] [ADV katham] [AP1 parārthā api]
[NP1s _ pravrttih]]
How is it that an undertaking by one who is devoid of an idea of self be also altruistic?

Here, "aham iti" is to be construed with "buddhi", an element subordinate within the compound "buddhi-rahitasya".

It might be thought that that "aham iti" forms part of the compound. But this is unlikely, for the appropriate form of the first person personal pronoun, when occurring in a compound, is "mat", not "aham". I suppose one might conjecture that the need for "mat" is obviated by use of "iti", turning "aham" into a name. But this conjecture does not generalize in any plausible way. First, these constructions are not confined to simple words: entire clauses, fully and appropriately inflected, may occur as external elements; and these clauses are not plausibly names in any usual sense of the word. (See Appendix II, Section 2.2, example (23).)

Second, these appositional elements may occur without any "iti"; and when they do, they are inflected for the case the element with which it is in apposition would have were it not in the compound.

(10) PVS 15.20
[S yena [NP5 [NP6 (vacana-ādeḥ)] (((kim-cit)<mātra)<sādharmyāt)]
[NP1s ((sarva<ākāra)<sāmyam)] [VP anumīyeta]]
so that one might infer from the fact that a mere something, say speaking, is common, that every feature is common.

Here, "vacana-ādeḥ" is in apposition with "kim-cit-mātra"; the sixth case noun (i.e., the NP6) of "vacana-ādeḥ" is the case "kimcit-mātra", with which "vacana-ādeḥ" is in apposition, would have were it not in compound. (See Appendix II, Section 2.2, example (24) for another instance.)

Surprisingly, even locative absolutes can be construed with elements subordinate within a compound.

(11) PVS 2.6
[NP1 [ABC [NP7 [NP5 sāmarthyāt] (artha<gatau)]] (((pratipatti<gaurava)<parihāra)ārtham)-B]
whose purpose is to exclude a burden on <one's> understanding, when one understands the meaning <of the definition> through implication.

In this case, the phrase "sāmarthyāt artha-gatau" is construed, not with the entire compound, but with "pratipatti-gaurava", a subordinate element within the compound. (For other cases, see Appendix II, Section 2.3.)

The foregoing evidence suggests several conclusions. First and foremost, *asamartha* compounds are not to be dismissed as bad style or marginal. The cases adduced in this study are found in the best authors of Classical Sanskrit, including Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, and Dharmakīrti. Indeed, Patañjali himself uses *asamartha* compounds. Here are two instances found in his *Paspaśāhnika*:

(12.1) MBh 1.1.15
[AP1 [NP7 (rakṣa<arthe) [NP6 vedānām]] adhyeyam] [NP1s vyākaraṇam]
Grammar is to be studied for the sake of the preservation of the Vedas.

(12.2) MBh 1.9.20
[AP1 mahān] hi [NP1s [NP6 śabdasya] (prayoga<viṣayaḥ)]
For the domain of the usage of verbal expression is large.

In the former sentence, "veda" is to be construed as the patient, or *karma*, of "raksa"; while in the latter, "śabda" is to be construed as the agent, or *kartā*, of "prayoga".

The second conclusion is that the formation is productive. It occurs with a frequency equal to that of relative clauses and indirect questions, hardly arcane constructions in Classical Sanskrit. This frequency contrasts dramatically with the frequency of known marked compound formations, such as *aluk* compounds, which, as it turns out, do not occur at all in either sample assayed.

The third conclusion is that these compounds present a serious empirical and theoretical challenge to the linguistic study of Classical Sanskrit, whether from the point of view of traditional Sanskrit grammar or from the point of view of current linguistics. To begin with, these compounds cannot be accommodated by Pānini's treatment of compounds: elements subordinate to other elements subordinate within a compound must lose their inflection, unless they are *aluk* compounds. Now some hope of a theoretically satisfying account of *asamartha* compounds was held out by a marriage of Bhartrhari's empirical characterization of them with the mechanism of compound formation found in Di Sciullo and Williams (1987). But, as was shown, configurations where the elements external to the compound are adverbs, appositional clauses and noun phrases, and locative absolutes belie Bhartrhari's empirical characterization and thereby elude any straightforward treatment by the mechanism of compound formation proposed in Di Sciullo and Williams.

Notation

Anaphoric Co-indexation: index to the immediate right.
B: appended to bahuvrīhi cpds, so-called exocentric cpds
Case Marking: occurs at the end of phrasal label following Pāninian numbering; AP adjectival phrase NP noun phrase; PP prepositonal phrase; VP verb phrase; NP1s is subject noun phrase.
Parentheses: lexical constituent structure
Square Brackets: phrasal constituent structure
                phrasal labels: [ABC] locative absolute
                                [PC]   participial phrase
Subordination: "x<y" means that x is subordinate to y

Abbreviations

A	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*	<adhyāya.pāda.sūtra>.
K	*Kādambarī*; Peterson (ed) 1885	<page.line>.
M	*Mālavikāgnimitra*; Iyar (ed) 1896	<act.verse.line>.
MBh	*Mahābhāṣya*; Kielhorn (ed) 1880	<volume.page.line>.
P	*Pañcatantra*; Kielhorn (ed) 1896	<tantra.page.line>.
PVS	*Pramāṇavārttika-svavṛtti*; Gnoli (ed) 1960	<page.line>.
PVST	*Pramāṇavārttika-svavṛtti-ṭīkā*; Sankrityayana (ed) 1943 <page.line>.	
SGSC	Apte 1885	<chapter.exercise.sentence>.
Ś	*Śakuntalā*; Godabole (ed) 1933	<page.verse.line>.
V	*Vikramorvaśīyam*; Pandit (ed) 1889	<act.verse.line>.
Ve	*Veṇīsaṃhāra*; Parab (ed) 1930	<act.verse.line>.
VP	*Vākyapadīya*; Iyer (ed) 1973	<kāṇḍa.samuddeśa.kārika>.

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APPENDIX I

Study of a Random Sample of Classical Sanskrit Prose

The sample from which sentences below are taken comprise the three hundred exercise sentences of SGSC, taken by V.S. Apte from a variety of Classical Sanskrit texts.

(1) Ś 3.9.16 < = SGSC 3.1.6>
[NP1 [NP3 [NP7 tasyām] (snigdha<drstyā)] (sūcita<abhilāṣaḥ)B]
... whose affection was indicated by his gaze being fixed on her.
Remark: "snigdha" subcategorizes for NP7.
        NP3 denotes the agent of "sūcita".

(2) K119.14 < = SGSC 3.1.12>
[NP6 [NP6 ... (nija<balasya)] (viśrāma<hetoḥ)]
... in order to rest his own army.
Remark: NP6 denotes the theme (karma) of "viśrāma".

(3) Ś 6.4.4 < = SGSC 6.1.4> <Prakṛt>
[AP1 (a-śruta<pūrvaḥ)) [NP3 āvābhyām]] (NP1s [AP1 eṣaḥ] vṛttāntaḥ]
This news had not been previously heard by the two of us.
Remark: NP3 denotes the agent of "śruta".

(4) K 356.13 < = SGSC 8.2.1>
[NP1 [NP5 (janma<karmataḥ)] ((malina-tara)<janam)-B]
... where people are dirtier than their actions or deeds.
Remark: -tara subcategorizes for an NP5.

(5) K 356.13 < = SGSC 8.2.1>
[NP1 [NP5 janataḥ] ((nistrimśa-tara)<(loka<hṛdayam))-B]
... where worldly hearts are more pitiless than the people.
Remark: -tara subcategorizes for an NP5.

(6) K 356.13 < = SGSC 8.2.1>
[NP1 [NP5 (loka<hṛdebhyaḥ)]
(((nirghṛna-tara)<(sarva<samvyavahāra))<(samasta<puruṣam))-B]
... where every person's behavior is always more cruel than their worldly hearts.
Remark: -tara subcategorizes for an NP5.

(7) V 2.134 < = SGSC 9.1.3>
[AP1 [ADV dṛdham] ... [NP7 tvayi] (baddha<bhāvā)-B]] [NP1s Ūrvaśī].
Ūrvaśī is one whose affection is firmly fixed on you.
Remark: "badh" subcategorizes for an NP7.
        ADV modifies "baddha".

(8) V 2.129 < = SGSC 14.1.4>
na asmi [NP1 [NP7 bhavatyoḥ] ((īsvara<niyoga)<pratyarthī)]
I am not hostile to the charge to you two of <your> master.
Remark: Verbs of entrusting, such as "niyuj", subcategorize for an
       NP7 to denote the recipient of the charge.

(9) Ś 3.15.6 < = SGSC 14.2.1>
[AP3 [NP6 ... janasya] (ārti<hareṇa)] [NP3 rajñā] bhavitavyam.
A king must be one who removes the suffering of ... people ...
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "ārti".

(10) Ś 7.14.6 < = SGSC 28.1.4>
[NP1 [NP3 (ṛsi<janena)] [(sarva<damanaḥ) iti] (kṛta<nāmadheyaḥ)] asi
... You are called the queller of all by the sages.
Remark: NP3 denotes the agent of "kṛta".

(11) K 294.5 < = SGSC 28.2.1>
... [NP1s [AP1 [NP6 anayoḥ api] ((a-darsana)<kṛtāḥ] klesāḥ]
The pains brought about by not seeing those two as well ...
Remark: NP6 denotes the theme (karma) of *darsana*.

In addition, there are a number of cases where an inflected element external to a
compound might be construed with one of its subordinate elements, but need not be.
These cases may be divided into two, depending on whether the inflected element external
to the compound is an argument or not of the compound's subordinate element. The
former cases are: Ve 2.26.4 < = SGSC 1.1.5>, V 3.46.18 < = SGSC 2.2.1>, K 292.6 < =
SGSC 5.1.7>, V 3.20 < = SGSC 18.1.1>; the latter cases are: Ś 3.5.2 < = SGSC 3.1.4>,
M 1.12.7 < = SGSC 6.1.2>, V 2.129 < = SGSC 14.1.4>, Ś 1.7.2 < = SGSC 22.1.2>, and P
1.88.12 < = SGSC 27.1.6>.

APPENDIX II

Study of a Single Text of Classical Sanskrit Prose

The sample from which sentences below are taken comprise the first four hundred and fifty or so sentences of PVS, the preponderance of which are prose.

1. Arguments

(1) PVS 1.7
[AP1 [NP7 atra] (anubaddha<sprham)-B]
one who has eagerness for this.
Remark: "anubaddha" subcategorizes for an NP7.

(2) PVS 2.2
[NP5 ... [NP7 drṣṭānta-dharmiṇi] (sattva<siddheḥ)]
because of the establishment of <its> presence in the corroborating instance.
Remark: NP7 denotes the locus of "sattva".

(3) PVS 2.11
[NP5 [NP6 vaktuḥ] (abhiprāya<vaśāt)]]
by dint of the intention of the speaker.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "abhiprāya".

(4) PVS 3.11
[NP5 [NP6 ... bhavataḥ] (((tat<utpatti)<niyama)<abhāvāt)]]
because of the absence of necessity of the arising from it of an existent.
Remark: NP6 is the agent of "utpatti".

(5) PVS 7.3
[AP7 [NP6 ((sāmagrī<phala)<śaktīnām)] (pariṇāma<anubandhini)]
which depends on the development of the potentialities for the result of <its> causal totality.
Remark: NP6 is the agent of "pariṇāma".

(6) PVS 7.5
[NP5 [NP6 ... śaktīnām] (pariṇāma<apekṣatvāt) ...]
because of the need for the development of the potentialities.
Remark: NP6 is the agent of "pariṇāma".

(7) PVS 8.1
[NP1 [NP6 (rūpa<(upādāna-hetūnām))] (pravṛtti<kāraṇam)]
the cause of the activation of the material causes of color.
Remark: NP6 is the agent of "pravṛtti".

(8) PVS 8.12
[NP5 [NP6 ((a-pratibaddha)<svabhāvasya)-B] ((avinābhāva<niyama)<abhāvāt)]]
because of the absence of the necessity of the indispensability of that whose nature is
unrelated.
Remark: NP6 is the complement of "avinābhāva".

(9) PVS 12.23
[ABC [NB7 ... [NP7 (kva-cit)] (abhāva<siddhau) api]]
even if there is the establishement of an absence in some place.
Remark: NP7 denotes the locus of "abhāva".

(10) PVS 12.23
[NP5 [NP6 (a-pratibaddhasya)] ... (abhāva<(a-siddheḥ))]
because of the non-establishment of the absence of what is unconnected.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "abhāva".

(11) PVS 13.4
[NP5 [NP6 (ghata-ādīnām)] (nairātmya<(a-siddheḥ)]
because of the non-establishment of selflessness of such things as pots.
Remark: NP6 denotes the possessor of "nairātmya".

(12) PVS 15.4
[NP3 [NP6 asya api] [NP7 [AP7 (kva-cit)] viśeṣe] (sambhava<āśankayā)]
through uncertainty about the existence of it too in any species.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "sambhava".

(13) PVS 16.1
[NP5 ... [NP6 ((a-dṛṣṭa)<viśeṣānām)-B] (((vijātīyatva<upagama)<virodhāt)]
because of the contradiction of the acceptance of the heterogeneity of those things whose
special qualities are unobserved.
Remark: NP6 denotes the possessor of "vijātīyatva".

(14) PVS 16.20
[NP5 [NP7 (a-(para<arthesu))] samghātatva<(a-darśanāt)]
because of the non-observation of the compositeness of things not for others.
Remark: NP7 denotes the locus of "samghātatva".

(15) PVS 17.23
[NP1s [NP6 sādhanasya] ((sādhya<vyabhicāra)<āśankā)]
uncertainty about the deviation of the establisher from the establishable.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "vyabhicāra".

(16) PVS 19.3
[NP5 [NP6 (artha1<antarasya)] (((tat1<anubandha)<niyama)<abhāvāt)]
because of the absence of the necessity of dependence on it of what is other than it.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "anubandha".

(17) PVS 19.20
[ADV ... [NP6 anyasya] (prasiddhi<artham)]
for the sake of the establishment of another.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "prasiddhi".

(18) PVS 20.16
[NP1s ((avaśyam<bhāva)<niyamah) _] ... [NP6 parasya]
the necessity of the inevitable presence of another.
Remark: NP6 denotes the agent of "avaśyam-bhāva".

2. Non-Arguments

2.1 External Element an Adverb

(19) PVS 3.17
[NP3 aṁśena] (NP1s (((janya+janaka)-tva)<prasaṅgah)]
the absurdity of partial causation.
Remark: NP3 modifies "janya-janaka-tva" adjectivally.

(20) PVS 10.15
[s na hi [ABC [NP7 [ADV bahulam] pakva<darśane) api]] [NP3
((sthāli<antargamana)<mātrena)] [NP1s pākah] [VP _ sidhyati] [NP5
(vyabhicāra<darśanāt)]]
For, even if the cooked ones are observed to be many, the cooking <of something> is
not established by <its> mere inclusion in a pot, because of the observation of deviation.
Remark: ADV modifies "pakva" adjectivally, as is borne out by the Tibetan. (personal
                communication: Richard Hayes)

(21) PVS 21.7
[AP1 [NP3 (sattā<upalambhena)] [ADV sarvadā]
(((tathā<bhāva)<śaṅkā)<vipralabdhah)]
deceived by his apprehension of <a thing's> presence into the suspicion of <its> always
being so.
Remark: ADV modifies "tathā-bhāva".

2.2 External Element an Appositive

(22) PVS 15.20
[S yena [NP5 [NP6 (vacana-ādeh)] (((kim-cit)<mātra)<sādharmyāt)] [NP1s
((sarva<ākāra)<sāmyam)] [VP anumīyeta]]
so that one might infer from the fact that a mere something, say speaking, is common,
that every feature is common.
Remark: NP6 is in apposition to "kimcit-mātra".

(23) PVS 17.23

[NP5 [[s [NP5 ((eka<dharma)1<sadbhāvāt)] [vP [NP3 (tat1<anyena) api] bhavitavyam]
] iti] (niyama<abhāvāt)]

because of the absence of a determination to the effect that, from the existence of one
property one different from it too must exist.

Remark: "iti" clause is in apposition with "niyama".

(24) PVS 20.12

[NP3 [NP3 ... a-gatyā] ... (((iti-ādi)<bheda)<prayogaiḥ)]

through the formulation of such differentia as the non-understanding ...

Remark: NP3 is in apposition with "bheda".

2.3 External Element a Locative Absolute

(25) PVS 2.4

[ABC [NP7 (sādhya<abhāve)]] ((a-sattva)<vacana)-vat

like the statement of <its> non-presence in the absence of what is to be established.

Remark: ABC places a condition on "a-sattva".

(26) PVS 2.6

[NP1 [ABC [NP7 [NP5 sāmarthyāt] (artha<gatau)]]
(((pratipatti<gaurava)<parihāra)<artham)-B]

whose purpose is to exclude a burden on <one's> understanding, when one understands
the meaning <of the definition> through implication.

Remark: ABC places a condition on "pratipatti".

(27) PVS 12.23

[NP5 [NP6 (a-pratibaddhasya)] [ABC [NP7 (tat<abhāve) [AP7 sarvatra]]] (abhāva<(a-
siddheḥ))]

because of the non-establishment of the absence of what is unconnected in every absence
of it.

Remark: ABC places a condition on last "abhāva".

3. Internal Element is a *Bahuvrīhi* Compound

(28) PVS 1.8

[s [NP5 [NP5 [NP6 (artha+(an-artha))<vivecanasya] (anumāna1<āśraya)-B-tvāt]
(tat1<vipratipatteḥ)] [NP4 (tat1<vyavasthāpanāya)] [NP1s e] [vP āha]]

Because the discrimination of the beneficial and the unbeneficial has inference for its
basis <and> because of misunderstanding about it, in order to settle it, he <i.e.,
Dharmakīrti> says:

Remark: Commentator construes NP6 with "anumāna-āśraya", construed as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(29) PVS 3.1

[s na [NP1s E] [NP1 arthaḥ api] [NP5 [NP6 (vikalpa<bhedānām) [AP6 svatantrāṇām]]
(an-(artha<āśraya))-B-tvāt]]

< it > is not a fact as well, since conceptual differentiation, being independent < of fact >, does not have a basis in it.

Remark: NP6 is to be construed with "an-artha-āśraya", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(30) PVS 5.2

[s evam [NP1s [NP6 [AP6 anayoh] anupalabdhyoh] [NP5
((sval +viparyaya)< hetu)< (abhāva + bhāvābhyām))]
(((sat< vyavahāra)1< pratisedha)< phala)-B-tvam] [AP1 tulyam] [NP5 [NP7 ekatra]
saṃśayād] [NP5 [NP7 anyatra] viparyayāt]]

Thus, the fact that both < types of > non-apprehension result in the inhibition of activities with respect to what is present through the absence of a reason for it and through the presence of a reason for its contrary is the same because of doubt in the one case and because of contariety in the other.

Remark: NP6 is to be construed with "sat-...-phala", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(31) PVS 7.10

[s [NP5 (((pūrva< sajāti)< mātra)< hetu)-B-tvāt [NP6 (śakti< prasūteh)]] [NP1s [NP6
sāmagryāh] yogyatā] [VP [[AP1 (an-(anya< apeksinī))] iti] ucyate]]

The aptitude of a < causal > totality is said not to require anything else because the generation of potentiality has for its cause merely the previous similar < causal totality >.

Remark: NP6 is to be construed with "pūrva-...-hetu", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(32) PVS 9.17

[s na E [NP5 [NP6 (para< arthasya) eva] [NP3 phalatvena] istatvāt [NP5 ((icchā-laksana)-B-
tvāt) [NP6 phalasya]]]]

< This > is not < so >, because only the benefit of another is intended as a result, since a result is the object of desire.

Remark: NP6 is to be construed with "icchā-laksana", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(33) PVS 16.1

[s na [AP evam] [NP1s vākyāni 1] [NP5 [NP6 e 1] ((drśya< viśesa2)-B-tvāt)] [NP5 [ABC [NP7
(a-drśyatve) api [NP6 e 2]]] [NP6 ((a-drsta)< viśesānām)B 3]
(((vijātīyatva< upagama)< virodhāt)] [NP5 [NP6 (tat3< viśesānām)] [NP7 anyatra api]
(śakya< kriyatvāt)] [NP5 [NP6 [AP6 pratyaksānām] śabdānām] (((a-
pratyaksa)< svabhāva)B< abhāvāt)] [NP5 ((bhrānti< nimitta)< abhāvāt) [NP5 [NP5
(bādhaka< abhāvāt)] (bhrānti< a-siddheh))]]]

Sentences are not like that < 1 > because their special qualities are observable, and < 2 > because, even if they were unobservable, it is contradictory to accept the heterogeneity of those with unobserved special qualities < from those without >, < 2.1 > because their differences can be created elsewhere too < i.e., in non-Vedic sentences >, < 2.2 > because perceptible sounds do not have the nature of what is imperceptible, < 3 > because there is no basis for error < 3.1 > because error is not established because there is no contravening cognition.

Remark: The NP6 "pratyaksānām śabdānām" is to be construed with "apratyaksa-
svabhāva", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.

(34) PVS 21.7

[s [NP1s [AP1 [PC [NP2 [AP2 tām] punar [NP6 asya] (((kṣaṇa<sthiti)1<dharma)-B-tām)]
[NP2 svabhāvam 2] [NP6 [NP6 (sva2<hetoḥ) eva] (tathā1<utpatteḥ)] paśyan api]]
(manda<buddhiḥ)-B [AP1 [NP3 (sattā<upalambhena)] [ADV sarvadā]
(((tathā<bhāva)<śaṅkā)<vipralabdhaḥ)] [VP E na vyavasyati]]

A dull-witted person, deceived by his apprehension of <a thing's> existence into the
suspicion of <its> always being so, does not ascertain its having the property of persisting
<but> a moment to be <its> nature, even though, because a thing arises from its own
causes to be that way, he sees it thus.

Remark: NP6 is to be construed with "kṣaṇa-sthiti-dharma", treated as a *bahuvrīhi*.