The *Anvayakalikā* on *yattatsaṃbandha*: new insights on the relative pronouns from a hitherto unpublished Sanskrit syntactic treatise

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1. The Anvayakalikā (AnK)

The Samanvaya school of Sanskrit grammar:

Chuddaka composed the *Samanvayadiś* (SD) 'Outline of Syntax' (c. 1050–1350 AD; from Kashmir). Devaśarman (c. 1150–1400 AD; from Kashmir) composed the metrical *Samanvayapradīpa* (SP) 'Lamp on Syntax' together with an auto-commentary the *Samanvayapradīpasaņketa* (SPS) 'Commentary on the *Samanvayapradīpa*'.

(The word *samketa* is found in the titles of other Kashmiri Sanskrit commentaries, e.g. Ruyyaka's *Kāvyaprakāśasamketa*. What does this word exactly denote in such titles? Just a generic term for 'commentary'? Any suggesitons?)

Before starting its teachings, the *Anvayakalikā* gives one introductory verse: *suhṛjjanasyānunayena kaś cit prayatnam etaṃ kurute vipaścit / tridhāntarāyendhanadāhakāni smṛtvā gurūṇāṃ caraṇāmbujāni //*

'At (lit. because of) the request of friends, a certain learned person makes the following (lit. this) effort, having remembered [his] gurus' foot-lotuses [which] burn away the fuelwood [which is] the threefold obstacles.'

(The word *tridhāntarāyendhana*° in *pāda* c is difficult. I have tentatively taken *tridhāntarāya*° in it as a compound denoting 'threefold obstacles' and *tridhāntarāyendhana*° as a *rūpakasamāsa* 'the fuelwood [which is] the threefold obstacles'. I would appreciate any suggestions!)

The AnK ends with two concluding verses:

evam kavih kāvyagatim vicārya kāvyam samādhāya mano nirundhyāt./ vicitraśabdārthamayam surīti pratīyamānārthamanoharam ca // 1 kurvan kavih kāvyam upaiti kīrtim śaratprasannendumarīciśubhrām. / kīrtim ca gīrvānapurīnivāsanimittam ādyam munayo vadanti. // 2

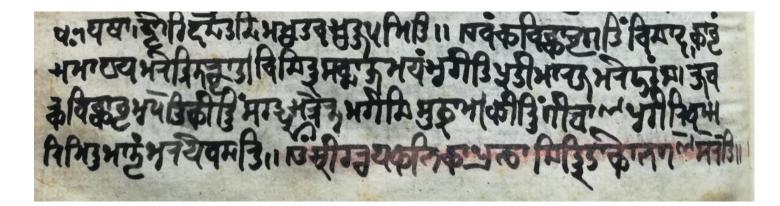
'After considering in this manner the course of $k\bar{a}vya$ [and] then composing $k\bar{a}vya$, a poet should contain [his] mind (perhaps i.e. close his mind to the outside world and focus on composing $k\bar{a}vya$). Composing $k\bar{a}vya$ [which] consists of wondrous sound and meaning, has good style, and [is] lovely due to [its] easily comprehensible meaning, a poet acquires fame as bright as the rays of a clear autumnal moon. And the sages call fame the foremost cause of the residence in the city of gods (i.e. heaven).'

Finally, our AnK manuscript has the following colophon:

om śrīr anvayakalikā pūrņā citritā kaulagaņeśeneti.

'The Anvayakalikā has been completely portrayed (citrita) by Kaulagaņeśa.'

(Any suggestions on the meaning of the word *citrita*? Is Kaulaganeśa the author or the scribe?)



2. The AnK's relative pronoun teachings

yattatsambandha 'the relation between the relative pronoun yad and the correlative pronoun tad':

(the area with background colour \approx the teachings of the *Vyaktiviveka*, the *Samanvayadiś*, and the *Samanvayapradīpa-Samanvayapradīpasamketa*)

			a. yacchabdaprakrama + tacchabdopasaṃhāra	
		śābda (2)		
			b. tacchabdopasaṃhāra + yacchabdaprakrama	
				a. prakrāntavişaya
			tad only (3)	b. prasiddhavişaya
				c. anubhūtaviṣaya
pușța	=	ārtha (5)		
				a. prakrāntaviṣaya
			yad only (2)	
				b. kalpitakarmādiviṣaya

apusta (yad + idam/adas/etad)

dusta ('if' without 'then'?)

Translation:

§3 In this manner, also the relation between *yad* (i.e. the relative pronoun) and *tad* (i.e. the correlative pronoun) [is], by a division into *puṣṭa*, *apuṣṭa*, and *duṣṭa*, threefold. This [is] because the relation (i.e. the relation between *yad* and *tad*) [is] of two types: \dot{sabda} `Verbal' and \bar{artha} `Semantic'.

§3.1 *śābda* (i.e. the *śābda* type of relation between *yad* and *tad*) [is] where both (i.e. both *yad* and *tad*) are used. And it [is] either [first] taking up/commencing by means of the word *yad* [and then] concluding by means of the word *tad*, or reversed (i.e. first concluding by means of *tad* and then taking up/commencing by means of *yad*).

§3.2 On the other hand, when one (i.e. either *yad* or *tad*) is not used, [there is] *ārtha* (i.e. the *ārtha* type of relation between *yad* and *tad*), of five types.

§3.2.1 This [is] because when only *tad* is used, [*ārtha* is], due to being *prasiddhaviṣaya*, *prakrāntaviṣaya*, or *anubhūtaviṣaya*, threefold.

§3.2.2 When only *yad* is used, [*ārtha* is], due to [being] either *kalpitakarmādiviṣaya* or *prakrāntaviṣaya*, twofold.

§3.2.2.3 The fivefold *ārtha* [is] none other than *puṣṭa*.

§3.4.1 sentences 1–3: *puṣṭa* has been explained. And, as far as possible, *duṣṭa* [as well]. As for *apuṣṭa*, [it is] where, based on the assumption that the meaning [of *idam*, *adas*, and *etad*] [is] not different from [the meaning of] *tad*, *idam* etc. (i.e. *idam*, *adas*, and *etad*) are used as equivalents of the word *tad*.

3. Some thoughts