Vibhakti-Level Divergences Between Sanskrit And Hindi

Preeti Shukla, Devanand Shukl and Amba Kulkarni
Department of Sanskrit Studies, University of Hyderabad, India.

shukla.preetidev@gmail.com, dev.shukl@gmail.com, ambapradeep@gmail.com

The words in a meaningful sentence bear relations with other words. These relations are expressed through –

(a) Agreement अभिहित (abhihita)
(b) Position/order आनुपूर्वी (ānapūrvi)
(c) Suffixes प्रत्यय (pratyaya)

Different languages will have different conventions for coding the information of grammatical relations. In this paper we discuss the divergences between Sanskrit and Hindi at the level of nominal suffixes, expressing the कारका relations. Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī has given special rules for mapping कारका to Vibhaktis and the use of particular Vibhaktis in special cases. But these rules are not directly applicable to Hindi. Therefore leaving aside those places where vibhakti is the same in Sanskrit and Hindi and taking up those sentences where it diverges, we found that based on Pāṇini’s rule the cases of divergences are of four types.

1. Vibhaktis optionally found in Sanskrit but absent in Hindi
2. Sanskrit has certain exceptional rules but Hindi does not need them.
3. Sanskrit and Hindi use different nominal cases.
4. Divergences at the level of non-कारका nominal suffixes

1. Vibhaktis optionally found in Sanskrit but absent in Hindi

Sutras which assign two different vibhaktis optionally in Sanskrit but only one vibhakti is possible in Hindi.

- दिव: कम्च (divaḥ karma ca)
That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव (diva) ‘to play’ is called karma (object), as well as karaṇa (instrument).

eg., अक्षा: दीप्ति (aksāṇa divyati)/
ाक्षाक्ष: दीप्ति (aक्षाक्ष दीप्ति)
पासों से खेलता है (pāsoṁ se khelatā hai)
dices with plays be-Pres
‘(He) plays with dices.’

In the above sanskrit example, अक्षा (akṣa) is the instrument of the verbal root ‘दिव (diva)’ expressed through the third case-suffix derived from the rule साधकतम करणम् (sādhakatamaṇ karaṇam) but due to the optional rule दिव: कम्च (divaḥ karma ca), the instrument of the verbal root ‘दिव (diva)’ becomes accusative taking the second case-suffix. Whereas in Hindi sentence this optional rule does not apply and hence it will remain instrumental taking the third case-suffix from the rule साधकतम करणम् (sādhakatamaṇ karaṇam).
In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the second (Accusative) or the fourth (Dative) case, in denoting the ‘object’, when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing ‘road’.

eg., बालक: विद्यालय गच्छन्ति (bālakahā vidyālayaṁ gacchanti)/
बालक: विद्यालय गच्छन्ति (bālakahā vidyālayaṁ gacchanti)
बालक विद्यालय जाते हैं (bālaka vidyālaya jāte haiṁ)
boys school go-Impf be-Pres
‘Boys go to school’.

Here in the Sanskrit sentence it is seen that विद्यालय (vidyālaya) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix when used with the verbal root such as ‘गम’ (gam) implying motion but that which does not imply any pathway from the optional rule गत्यर्थकर्मिणि द्वितीयाचतुरथ्यां वेदायमनाध्वनि (gatyarthakarmanī dvitiyācaturthyāṇa ceṣṭāyāmanadhvani) and from the general rule कुत्रिप्रियतत्तम कर्में (karturipitatanam karma) it remains also an accusative taking the second case-suffix. But again this optional rule is not applicable here and it remains accusative with generally no case-suffix.

2. Sanskrit has certain exceptional rules but Hindi does not need them.
Sutras where Pāṇini has given exceptional rules for cases by restricting the general rules. But these exceptional rules are not applicable in Hindi.

• अधिशर्षासां कर्म (adhiśūnsthāśāṁ karma)
That which is the site of the verbs शी (śī) ‘to lie down’, स्था (sthā) ‘to stand’, आस (āsa) ‘to sit’, when preceded by the preposition अधि (adhi) is, however, called karma kāraka or object.

eg., बालक: पर्ययम् अधिश्रेष्ठे (bālakahā paryaṅkaṁ adhiśēte)
लड़का पर्यय पर सोता है (ladakā palaṅga para sotā hai)
boy bed on sleep be-Pres
‘Boy sleeps on the bed’.
बालक: ग्रामम् अधिशुष्टि (bālakahā grāmam adhiṣṭhāti)
लड़का गांव में रहता है (ladakā gāṅva meṅ rahatā hai)
boy village in stay be-Pres
‘Boy stays in the village’.
बालक: मन्त्रम् अध्यास्ते (bālakahā maṅcam adhyāste)
लड़का मंत्र पर बैठता है (ladakā maṅca para bāṭhatā hai)
boy stage on sit be-Pres
‘Boy sits on the stage’.

In the above Sanskrit examples, the location अधार (ādhāra) of the verbal roots शी (śī), स्था (sthā) and आस (āsa) preceded by the verbal prefix ‘अधि (adhi)’, पर्यय (paryaṅka), ग्राम (grāma) and मन्त्र (maṅca) respectively becomes accusative taking the second case-suffix. But this sutra does not apply in Hindi, so पर्यय (paryaṅka), ग्राम (grāma) and मन्त्र (maṅca) remains locative and takes in the seventh case-affix.
• दिवस्त्रित्रस्य (divastadarthasya)
The object of the verb दिव (diva), when having the above-mentioned sense of ‘dealing’ or ‘staking’, takes the sixth case-affix.

eg., शकुनि: शतश्य दीवत्सति (śakuniḥ śatasya divyati)
शकुनि सी रुपए जीतता है (śakuni sau rupae jītatā hai)
shakuni 100 rupees win be-Pres
‘Shakuni wins 100 rupees’.

In the above Sanskrit sentence the verb root दिव (diva)’ when taken in the sense of gambling, the accusative takes in the sixth case-affix but in Hindi in general it remains accusative with no case-affix.

3. Sanskrit and Hindi use different nominal cases.
Sutras where Pāṇini gave rules for case-relations and case-suffixes whereas Hindi has altogether different case-relation and case-suffixes in the same context.

• कृष्णद्रुहश्याःसुप्पायां य प्रति कोष: (krudhadrhurstyāśuyārthānaṁ yain prati kopah)
In the case of the verbs having the sense of कृष्ण (krudha) ‘to be angry’, दुष्ट (druha) ‘to injure / hate’, ईश्वर (irṣyā) ‘to envy’, अनुप्रया (asiyā) ‘to detract’, the person against whom the feeling of anger and the like, is directed is called Sampradāna.

eg., (a) नूप: दुष्टाय इश्बाय (nūpah duṣṭāya krudhyati)
राजा दुष्ट पर कोष करता है (rājā duṣṭa para krodha karatā hai)
king wicked with anger de-Impf be-Pres
‘The King is angry with the wicked’.
(b) दुर्जयः: सज्जनाय दृष्याय (durjaya sajjanaaya druhyanti)
दुर्जय सज्जन में दृष्ट करते हैं (durjana sajjana se droha karate haiṁ)
wicked good with hate do-Impf be-Pres
‘The wicked hates the good’.
(c) मुख: वृष्णाय इश्वित्या (mukhāya śuṣṭīya)
मूळ लोग चतुर में इश्वित्या करते हैं (mūrkhā loga catura se śuṣṭīya karate haiṁ)
foolish people wise with jealous do-Impf be-Pres
‘Foolish people are jealous of the wise’.
(d) दुर्योधन: युधिष्ठिराय अशिष्यते (duryodhanah yudhisṭhirāya asiyati)
दुर्योधन युधिष्ठिर में दृष्ट निकालता है (duryodhana yudhisṭhirā meṁ doṣa nikālatā haiṁ)
duryodhana yudhisṭhira in fault bring out be-Pres
‘Duryodhana finds fault in Yudhisṭhira’.

From the above Sanskrit sentences (a) due to the verbal root ‘कृष्ण (krudha)’, दुष्ट (duṣṭa) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes locative and ablative taking the seventh and fifth case-suffixes respectively. In the same way in (b) and (c) due to the verbal roots दुष्ट (druha)’ and ईश्वर (irṣyā)’, सज्जन (sajjana) and चतुर (catura) respectively becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes ablative taking the fourth case-suffix. In (d) due to the verbal root ‘अनुप्रया (asiyā)’, युधिष्ठिर (yudhisṭhira) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes locative taking the seventh case-suffix.
4. Divergences at the level of non-kāraka nominal suffixes

Sutras where the words are given and those words when they are related with other words, vibhaktis are given accordingly without specifying any kāraka relation. These vibhaktis are known as ‘Upapada Vibhaktis’.

- सहयुक्ते अप्रधाने (sahayukte apradhāne)

When the word सह (saha) ‘with’, is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

e.g., रामेनः सह सीता वनं गच्छति (rāmeṇa saha sītā vanam gacchati)
राम के साथ सीता वन जाती है (rāma ke sātha sītā vana jāti hai)
rama with sita forest go be-Pres
‘Sita goes to forest with Rama’.

From the above Sanskrit sentence, it is seen that सीता (sītā) and वन (vana) are directly related with the verb in the form of Kartā and Karma but राम (rāma) is not directly related with the verb and hence is called ‘अप्रधान (apradhāna)’. The association of राम (rāma) with सीता (sītā) is denoted by the word सह (saha) due to which राम (rāma) takes the third case-suffix from the above rule. But in the case of Hindi, words like राम (rāma) when related with the words like सह (saha) takes the sixth case-suffix always.