

Vibhakti Divergence between
Sanskrit and Hindi

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Languages are the means of communication. They may follow different conventions for coding. This leads to divergence between languages at various levels in translation in general and in Machine Translation (MT) in particular. Translation divergence patterns have been discussed by Dorr [Dorr, 1994], and based on those patterns considerable work is done for Indian Languages, viz., English-Sanskrit-Hindi MT [Goyal and Sinha, 2009], English-Sanskrit MT [Mishra and Mishra, 2008], English-Hindi MT [Dave *et al.*, 2002] to name a few.

Sanskrit and Hindi belong to the same Indo-Aryan family and Hindi inherits a lot from Sanskrit in terms of structure as well as lexicon. As such, when we look at the divergences between Sanskrit and Hindi, most of the cases discussed in Dorr's divergence turn out to be either of rare occurrence, or do not pose much problem as far as accessing the source text using machine tools is concerned. On the contrary divergences are observed at the level of function words such as vibhaktis.

While both Sanskrit and Hindi are inflectional languages, Sanskrit is synthetic in nature while Hindi is analytic [Dwivedi, 2006] i.e., the suffixes in Sanskrit are combined with the base forms while in Hindi they are written as separate words. For example, *bālakam* in Sanskrit versus *bālaka_ko* in Hindi. In Sanskrit both *sup* and *tiṅ* suffixes are termed as vibhakti pratyayas.¹ *Sup* suffix is added to a nominal stem and *tiṅ* suffix is added to a verbal root. But in Hindi only the suffix added to the nominal stem is called as a vibhakti pratyaya.

The vibhaktis in Sanskrit and Hindi represent the relations between a noun and

¹Vibhaktiśca (suptīṅau vibhaktisanjñāu staḥ -S.K.) (P-1.4.104)

a verb or two nouns. It is possible that because of change in *vivakṣā* (speaker's intention), the *kāraka* relation between a noun and a verb changes and so does its surface realisation in terms of *vibhakti*. For instance in Sanskrit the verbal action in the sentence '*saḥ vṛkṣam ārohati*' takes *vṛkṣa* as its object denoted by the second case suffix but Hindi emphasizes on the locushood in *vṛkṣa* ('*vaha peṛa_para caṛhatā_hai*' = He climbs the tree).

In Sanskrit the usage '*vṛkṣāt patraṃ bhūmau patati*' is rare while '*vṛkṣāt patraṃ bhūmiṃ patati*' is common because though *bhūmi* is locus, it is *īpsitatama* (most desired) and hence is *karma*. While in Hindi '*peṛa_se pattā jamīna_para girtā_hai*' is more common but '*jamīna_ko*' is very rare. Thus it is noticed that Sanskrit emphasizes on *īpsitatamatva* while Hindi on *ādhārtā*. English tries to maintain both the views - 'The leaf falls from the tree *onto* the ground'- '*on*' representing the locushood and '*to*' representing the destination. Now we look at the nominal *vibhakti* classification in Sanskrit and how it differs in Hindi.

1.1 Nominal *vibhakti* classification in Sanskrit

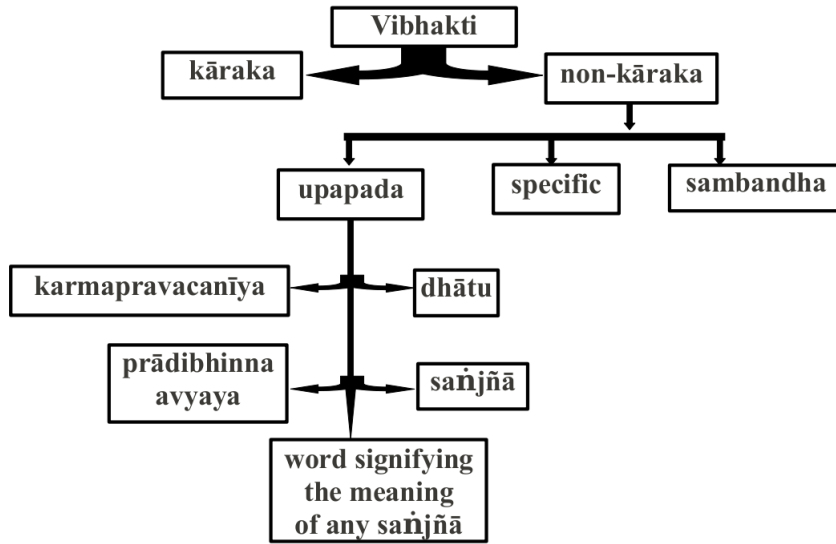


Figure 1.1: *Vibhakti* Types

The seven *vibhakti* markers in Sanskrit terminology are *prathamā*, *dviṭīyā*, *ṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī* (first, second, third, fourth, fifth,

sixth and seventh case suffix respectively). Pāṇinian sūtras 'anabhihite' till 'caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣya'² focuses only on vibhakti. The vibhakti in Sanskrit is broadly classified into two kinds as shown above in Figure 1.1, viz.,

1. Kāraka vibhakti

Vibhakti expressing the relationship with a verbal activity is termed as kāraka vibhakti. All the seven case suffixes are used as kāraka vibhaktis. Except the sixth case suffix which denotes the relationship of a word with another.

2. Non-kāraka vibhakti

That vibhakti which is not directly related to kāraka is termed as non-kāraka vibhakti. This is further classified into three types as follows:-

- *Upapada vibhakti* –

Those vibhaktis which are used in connection with certain words, or with certain types of words are known as upapada vibhaktis.³ Here too almost all the seven case suffixes are used as upapada vibhaktis. Upapada vibhakti is of five types⁴:

(a) Karmavacanīya:

According to P-1.4.83⁵, karmavacanīya is “that which previously expressed a verbal activity but presently it does not”⁶. Even Bhartṛhari has stated in Vākyapadīyam that karmavacanīya is neither a *dyotaka* of an action nor a *vācaka* of a relation but a specifier (*bhedaka*) of certain other relations like the *lakṣyalakṣaṇa relation*.⁷ Here *dyotaka* in the sense it is different from the typical function words such as the vibhaktis.

²P-2.3.1-2.3.73

³पदम् आश्रित्य जायमाना विभक्तिः उपपदविभक्तिः।
(padam āśritya jāyamānā vibhaktiḥ upapadavibhaktiḥ)

⁴This classification is based on Tripathi [1977]

⁵कर्मप्रवचनीयाः (karmavacanīyāḥ)

⁶कर्म क्रिया-प्रोक्तवन्तः प्रकाशयन्तः कर्मप्रवचनीयाः इति ।

(karma kriyāṃ-proktavantaḥ prakāśayantaḥ karmavacanīyāḥ iti) –M.Bh on P-1.4.83

⁷क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।

नापि क्रियापदापेक्षी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥

(kriyāyā dyotako nāyaṃ sambandhasya na vācakaḥ |

nāpi kriyāpadāpekṣī sambandhasya tu bhedakaḥ ||) –V.P.2.204

For example, ‘japam *anu* prāvarṣat’ - here *anu* does not denote the action nor does it signify the general relation which takes the sixth case suffix but it specifies a special relationship that of *lakṣyalakṣaṇabhāva*. So, *japa* is the lakṣaṇa (the reason to cause rain which is the *lakṣya*) expressed through the karmavacanīya *anu*. Thus *japa* takes the second case suffix from P-2.3.8.⁸

Pāṇini has listed around 11 karmapravacanīyas which are discussed in sūtras 1.4.82-1.4.97, viz., *anu*, *upa*, *apa*, *pari*, *ān*, *prati*, *abhi*, *adhi*, *su*, *ati* and *api* in the senses of *hetulakṣaṇa*, *sahārtha*, *hīnatā*, *ādhikya*, *varjana*, *maryādāvācana*, *lakṣaṇa*, *it-thambhūtākhyāna*, *bhāga*, *vīpsā*, *pratinidhi*, *pratidāna*, *ānarthakya*, *pūjā*, *atikramaṇa*, *padārtha*, *sambhāvana*, *anvavasarga*, *garhā*, *samuccaya*, *svāmya* and *adhikāra*.

(b) Prādibhinna avyaya:

Words in connection with those indeclinables which are different from *prādi* (pra etc. indeclinables) such as:

- In conjunction with the indeclinable *antarā* or *antareṇa*, the word takes the second case suffix.⁹ e.g., ‘*antarā devavāṇīm mā vyāhārṣiḥ*’.
- In conjunction with the indeclinable *saha*, the word takes the third case suffix.¹⁰ e.g., ‘*mātā putreṇa saha āgacchati*’.
- In conjunction with the indeclinable *vinā*, the word takes the second, third and fifth case suffix.¹¹ e.g., ‘*dharmam/ dharmeṇa/ dharmāt vinā na śobhate vidyā*’.
- In conjunction with the indeclinables *namaḥ*, *svasti*, *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ*, the word takes the fourth case suffix.¹² e.g., ‘*gurave namaḥ*’, ‘*sarvebhyaḥ svasti*’, etc.

(c) Sañjñā:

⁸कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया (karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā)

⁹अन्तरान्तरेणयुक्ते (antarāntareṇayukte) -P-2.3.4

¹⁰सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने (sahayukte’pradhāne) -P-2.3.19

¹¹पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् (pṛthagvinānānābhistrīyā’nyatarasyām) -P-2.3.32

¹²नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलं वषड्योगाच्च (namaḥ svastisvāhāsvadhālanvaṣaḍyogācca) -P-2.3.16

Words in connection with substantives like *svāmī*, *īśvara*, *adhipati*, *dāyāda*, *sākṣin*, *pratibhū*, *prasūta*, *āyukta*, *kuśala*, etc. take the sixth as well as seventh case suffix.¹³ e.g.,
'*gavāṃ/ goṣu svāmī*', '*āyuktaḥ haripūjanasya/ haripūjane*', etc.

(d) Dhātu:

In conjunction with some verbal roots such as *nāth*, *jāsi*, *han*, *nāt*, *krath*, *piṣ*, etc., the word takes the sixth case suffix.¹⁴ e.g.,
'*sarpiṣo nāthate*', '*caurasya ujjāsayati*', etc.

(e) Word signifying the meaning of any *sañjñā*:

In conjunction with any word denoting the meaning of substantives such as those in the sense of *dūra* and *antika*, the word takes the fifth as well as sixth case suffix.¹⁵ e.g.,
'*vanāt/ vanasya dūraṃ, viprakṛṣtam, antikam, abhyāśaṃ*'.

• *Specific vibhakti* –

Those substantives in the sense of *dūra* and *antika* specifically take the second, third and fifth case suffix. These *vibhaktis* do not have any independent sense but they take the sense of *dūra* and *antika*.¹⁶
e.g.,
'*vanasya dūraṃ/ dūreṇa/ dūrāt*', '*vanasya antikam/ antikenā/ antikāt*'.

• *Sambandha vibhakti* – That *vibhakti* which expresses the relationship in general of one word with another is termed as *sambandha vibhakti*.¹⁷ Various relationships such as *svasvāmibhāva* (owner-owned), *aṅgāṅgībhāva* (part-whole), *janyajanakabhāva* (produced-producer), etc. come under this. For instance, in the sentence '*sureśasya putrī suṅdarī asti*' - the word *sureśa* is related to the word *putrī* through *janyajanakabhāva* relation and takes the sixth case suffix.

Hindi too accepts the above classification of *kāraka* and non-*kāraka vibhakti* and the *upapada vibhakti* and *sambandha vibhakti* coming under the non-*kāraka*

¹³स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च

(*svāmīśvarādhipatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiśca*) -P-2.3.39

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् (*āyuktakuśalābhyāṃ cāsevāyām*) P-2.3.40

¹⁴आशिषि नाथः (*āśiṣi nāthah*) -P-2.3.55,

जासिनिप्रहणनाटकथपिषां हिंसायाम् (*jāsiniprahaṇanāṭakrāthapiṣāṃ hīṅsāyām*) -P-2.3.56

¹⁵दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् (*dūrāntikārthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhyanyatarasyām*) -P-2.3.34

¹⁶दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च (*dūrāntikārthebhyo dvitīyā ca*) -P-2.3.35

¹⁷षष्ठी शेषे (*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*) -P-2.3.50

vibhakti but it does not take the role of karmapravacanīya. Those prādi which are termed karmapravacanīyas are used to express some specific relations in Sanskrit but not so in Hindi. The sense in which prādi is applied, Hindi directly imports that sense without the usage of the prādi. For instance, the karmapravacanīya *anu* is used to express the relation between *japa* and *vṛṣṭi* in ‘japam *anu* prāvarṣat’ but in Hindi it takes the sense of *anu* directly - ‘*japa_ke_kāraṇa* varṣā_hui’.

Another speciality of Hindi is that most of the vibhaktis are compound consisting of two or more words where usually the first element is *ke*, *kī* or *se* [Shapiro, 2000] such as *ke_prati*, *ke_kāraṇa*, *ke_samāna*, *ke_samīpa*, *ke_sātha*, *ke_binā*, *ke_bāda*, *ke_badale*, *ke_nīce*, *ke_ūpara*, *ke_pūrva*, *kī_taraha*, *kī_ora*, *se_dūra*, *ke_hetu_se*, etc.. Sometimes suffixes such as *-bhara*, *-maya*, *-taka*, etc. in conjunction with nouns is applied instead of the functional vibhaktis, e.g., *mahine_bhara*, *maṅgala_maya*, *kosa_taka*, etc., some may even take a vibhakti as in *dinabhara_mem*.

1.2 Kāraka vibhakti relation

Each kāraka when expressed through the verbal suffix *tin* takes the first case suffix and in the case of *avivakṣā* of *kāraṇatva* it takes the sixth case suffix denoting the relationship in general. While in other cases due to *vivakṣā* of *kāraṇatva*, the default vibhakti is taken as per the Pāṇinian sūtras ‘*karmaṇi dvitīyā*¹⁸, *caturthī sampradāne*¹⁹, *karṭṛkaraṇayostṛtīyā*²⁰, *apādāne pañcamī*²¹ and *saptamyadhikaraṇe ca*²²’. Thus at first glance it may seem that there is one-to-one mapping between kāraka and vibhakti but this may not be as it seems. Sometimes a new semantic role other than the default one is expressed, as in the case of *sampradāna kāraka* which is not restricted in the sense of recipient only but taken also in the following senses:

‘*mādhavāya rocate*, *svadate*, *ślāghate*, *hnute*, *tiṣṭhate*, *śapate*, *dhārayati*, *krudhyati*, *druhyati*, *īrṣyati*, *asūyati*, *rādhyati*, *īkṣate*, *pratiśṛṇoti*, *āśṛṇoti* and *anugṛṇāti; pratigṛṇāti*’. (P-1.4.32-41).

Here Pāṇini only meant by the above sūtras that whatsoever is desired by the

¹⁸P-2.3.2

¹⁹P-2.3.13

²⁰P-2.3.18

²¹P-2.3.28

²²P-2.3.36

kartā through karma is termed sampradāna. Or the above mentioned senses can be taken as *atidiṣṭa sampradānatva* (imposed sampradāna).

Thus though in a language in general the semantic generalisations are captivated through the kārakas, there are exceptions as noticed above. Here are some more examples of imposition of one kāraka over the other:

1. Of sampradāna with karma:

- The term sampradāna is applied in conjunction with the verbal roots *krudh* and *druh* but when these roots are with prefixes, then the term karma is applied. e.g.,
'*duṣṭam* abhikrudhyati/ abhidruhyati'.
- That which is desired takes the term sampradāna in conjunction with the verbal root *spṛh* - '*puṣpebhyaḥ* spṛhayati' but when it becomes the most desired, it takes the term karma - '*puṣpāṇi* spṛhayati'.

2. Of adhikaraṇa with karma:

Generally all loci are adhikaraṇa but in the following senses these take the term karma:

'*gṛham* adhiṣete, adhiṣṭhathi, adhyāste, upavasati, adhivasati, āvasati' and '*sanmārgam* abhiniviśate'.

3. Of karaṇa with karma and sampradāna:

- That which is supplemental takes the term karaṇa but in the case of the verbal root *div* it takes karma as well as karaṇa. e.g.,
'*akṣān* akṣaiḥ vā dīvyati'.
- Similarly in the case of the verbal root *krī* with prefix, that which is supplemental takes karaṇa as well as sampradāna. e.g.,
'*śatena* śatāya vā parikrītaḥ'.

4. Sometimes the kartā of the verbal root becomes karma when the verb becomes causal and takes the second case suffix while some remain kartā taking the third case suffix (P-1.4.52 and 53). e.g.,

'*gamayati* grāmaṃ *devadattaṃ* yajñadattaḥ'.

'*vāhayati* bhāraṃ *devadattena* yajñadattaḥ'.

Similarly typically there is a default vibhakti for each kāraka. However, there are cases where the vibhakti deviates from the default, sometimes even giving optional usages with different vibhakti. We will look at some of them:

1. The object of the verbal root *gam* takes the second as well as fourth case suffix (P-2.3.12). e.g.,
'saḥ grāmaṃ/ grāmāya gacchati'.
2. The object of the verbal root *hu* takes the second as well as third case suffix. e.g.,
'yavāgūm/ yavāgvā agnihotraṃ juhoti'.
3. The object of the verbal root *jñā* with prefix *sam* takes the second as well as optionally the third case suffix (P-2.3.22). e.g.,
'pitaraṃ pitrā vā samjānīte'.
4. The object of the verb *manya* takes the second as well as optionally the fourth case suffix (P-2.3.17). e.g.,
'na tvāṃ tṛṇaṃ tṛṇāya vā manye'.
5. The words *stoka*, etc. takes the third as well as fifth case suffix (P-2.3.33). e.g.,
'stokena stokād vā muktaḥ'.
6. Katyāyana accepts that the object of the verb *yaj* takes the term *karāṇa* and *sampradāna* takes the term *karma* (vā. on P-8.1.32). e.g.,
'paśuṃ rudrāya yajate'.
'paśunā rudraṃ yajate'.
7. He also accepts the seventh case suffix in the object of *kta* ending in the affix *in* (vā. on P-2.3.36). e.g.,
'adhītī vyākaraṇe'.

In order to understand the relation between vibhakti and the semantic relations we look at Pāṇini's way of treating semantics through the *kāra*kas.

1.3 Pāṇini's treatment of *kāra*ka relations

Pāṇini uses *kāra*ka - a syntactico-semantic relation as an intermediary step to express the semantic relations through vibhaktis. The assignment of *kāra*ka to various semantic categories is not one-to-one. Rama Nath Sharma (2002, Vol 1, pg.147) observes –

Pāṇini specifies his kāraka categories based upon the principle of sāmānya ‘general’, viśeṣa ‘particular’ and śeṣa ‘residual’. The six categories are identified by general rules formulated based upon linguistic generalizations. Particular rules form exceptions to them. Usage which cannot be accounted for by the above two rule types is governed by rules relegated to the residual category. It is obvious that these exceptions are necessary to capture the peculiarities of usage falling outside the scope of the general rules.

Each kāraka in his system has a default vibhakti. But as is well-known, there are exceptions and hence there is no one-one mapping between the kāraka relations to vibhaktis. Pāṇini handles these deviations by employing two methods: (a) imposing a different kāraka role and (b) assigning a special vibhakti. For example through the sūtra ‘*ādhāro’dhikaraṇam*’ (P-1.4.45) a *locus* is mapped to *adhikaraṇa* and then it takes seventh case suffix by default (*saptamyadhikaraṇe ca* P-2.3.36). However the locus of the action related to the verbal roots *śīṇi*, *sthā* and *āsa* preceded by the upasarga *adhi* is termed as karma (*adhiśīṇsthāsām karma* P-1.4.46) and then by the sūtra ‘*karmaṇi dvitīyā*’ (P-2.3.2) this karma takes the second case suffix. Thus the deviation of the *adhikaraṇa* taking the second case suffix instead of seventh is handled by imposing a karma kāraka role in place of *adhikaraṇa*. Similarly, when the linguistic generalisations cannot be captured, he treats the cases as exceptional as in ‘*rucyarthānām prīyamāṇaḥ*’ (P-1.4.33), where he assigns a *sampradāna* kāraka to the one who desires. In Figure 1.2, we summarise Pāṇini’s way of mapping semantic relations to vibhaktis through kārakas.

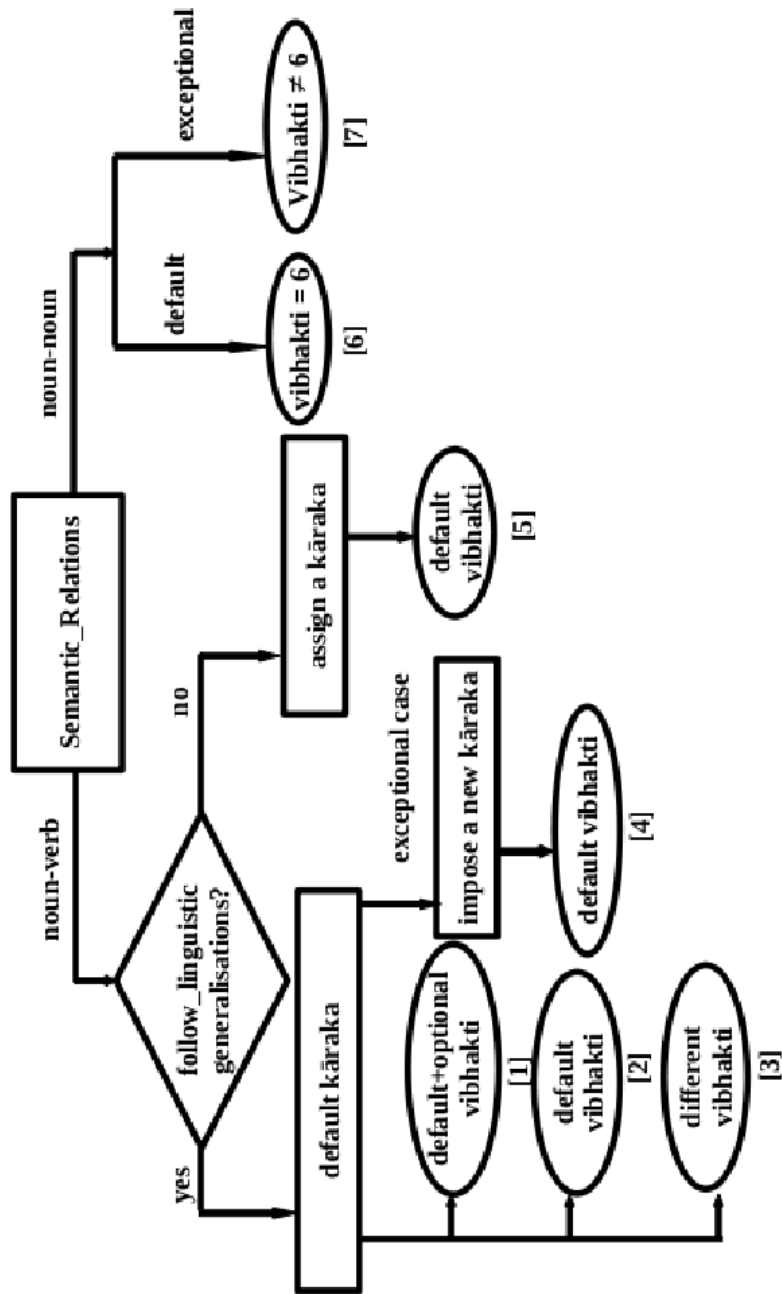


Figure 1.2: Semantic–Vibhakti Mapping

- [1] *divaḥ karma ca* (sādhakatamam, kārake) (P– 1.4.43)
- [2] *karmaṇi dvitīyā* (P– 2.3.2)
- [3] *divastadarthasya* (*karmaṇi, śaṣṭhī śeṣe* and *anabhihite*) (P– 2.3.58)
- [4] *adhiśīnsthāsāṃ karma* (*ādihāraḥ* and *kārake*) (P– 1.4.46)
- [5] *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānaṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ* (*sampradānam* and *kārake*) (P– 1.4.37)
- [6] *śaṣṭhī śeṣe* (P– 2.3.50)
- [7] *prthagvinānānbhistṛtīyā'nyatarasyām* (*dvitīyā* and *pañcamī*) (P– 2.3.32)

The semantic relationship between a noun and a verb and between a noun and a noun is expressed through the vibhaktis. The former is further classified according to the linguistic generalisations followed by the sub-classification in two groups viz., one that has a default kāraka while the other that is imposed by a new kāraka.

The one that has a default kāraka takes:

- [1] the default as well as optional vibhakti, for e.g., the sūtra '*divaḥ karma ca*' (P-1.4.43) where the instrument of the verbal activity optionally takes the second case suffix in addition to the third case suffix (*akṣān/akṣaiḥ dīvyati*).
- [2] only the default vibhakti as in the sūtra '*karmaṇi dvitīyā*' (P-2.3.2) where the object of the verbal activity takes the second case suffix when it is not expressed by any verbal suffix (*rāmaḥ phalaṃ khādati*).
- [3] an altogether different vibhakti, for instance, the sūtra '*divaḥ tadarthasya*' (P-2.3.58) where the object of the verbal activity takes the sixth case suffix instead of the second (*śakuniḥ śatasya dīvyati*).
- [4] Instead of the default kāraka, a new kāraka is imposed, for instance the sūtra '*adhiśīnsthāsāṃ karma*' (P-1.4.46) where the locus of the verbal activity is being imposed by a new kāraka i.e., karma kāraka (*bālakaḥ paryāṅkam adhiśete*).
- [5] That which does not follow the linguistic generalisations, in such special cases kāraka is assigned as in the sūtra '*krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānaṃ*

yaṃ prati kopaḥ’ (P-1.4.37) where the one against whom the actions in the sense of *krudha* (anger) etc. is directed is termed *sampradāna kāraka* and thus takes the fourth case suffix (*mūrkhāḥ caturāya* īrṣyanti).

The semantic relationship between two nouns is classified in two groups viz.,

- [6] Where the default sixth case suffix denoting the relationship in general applies as in the sūtra ‘*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*’ (P-2.3.50) (*vaśiṣṭhasya śiṣyaḥ rāmaḥ asti*).
- [7] Wherein the exceptional cases different vibhaktis are applied, for example, the sūtra ‘*prthagvinānānbhistṛtīyā nyatarasyām*’ (P-2.3.32) states the optional usage of third case suffix alongwith the second and fifth case suffix in conjunction with the words *prthak*, *vinā* and *nānā* (without) (*dharmeṇa/dharmam/dharmāt vinā na śobhate vidyā*).

Chapter 2

Sanskrit-Hindi Divergence

The classification given in the preceding chapter for Sanskrit may not hold good as-it-is for Hindi. With reference to the Figure 1.1 in the preceding chapter, it is noted that:

In [1], the *kāraka* takes the default as well as optional *vibhakti* in Sanskrit but Hindi may or may not take the optional *vibhakti*, for example, the sūtra '*dīvaḥ karma ca*' (P-1.4.43) where the instrument of the verbal activity optionally takes the second case suffix in addition to the third case suffix.

Skt: *akṣān/akṣaiḥ* dīvyati

Hnd: *pāsom_se* khelatā_hai

gloss: dice_with plays

Eng: '(He) plays with dice'.

It is noticed that in Hindi only the default third case is taken and not the optional second case.

In [2], the object of the verbal activity takes the second case suffix by the sūtra '*karmaṇi dvitīyā*' (P-2.3.2) when it is not expressed by any verbal suffix. This holds good in Hindi as well. e.g.,

Skt: *rāmaḥ phalaṃ* khādati

Hnd: *rāma phala* khātā hai

gloss: rama fruit eats

Eng: Rama eats the fruit.

Here the word *phala* takes the second case suffix in both the languages (The *karma vibhakti* in Hindi being 'ø').

In [3], the default kāraka takes an altogether different vibhakti in Sanskrit while in Hindi it still takes the default vibhakti.

the sūtra '*divaḥ tadarthasya*' (P-2.3.58) where the object of the verbal activity takes the sixth case suffix instead of the second.

Skt: śakuniḥ śataśya dīvyati

Hnd: śakuni sau_rupae jītatā_hai

gloss: shakuni hundred_rupees wins

Eng: 'Shakuni wins hundred rupees'.

It is seen that Hindi takes the second case suffix with zero marking.

In [4], instead of the default kāraka, a new kāraka is imposed in Sanskrit but this may not apply to Hindi, for instance

the sūtra '*adhiśīnsthāsāṃ karma*' (P-1.4.46) where the locus of the verbal activity is being imposed by a new kāraka i.e., karma kāraka.

Skt: bālakāḥ paryāṅkam adhiśete

Hnd: laḍakā palāṅga_para sotā_hai

gloss: boy bed_on sleeps

Eng: 'Boy sleeps on the bed'.

Here karma is imposed on the locus *paryāṅka* in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the seventh case suffix which is the default vibhakti of the adhikaraṇa.

In [5], special kāraka is assigned in Sanskrit to account for the cases which do not follow the linguistic generalisations. But Hindi may not follow this norm, e.g.,

the sūtra '*krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānaṃ yaṃ prati kopāḥ*' (P-1.4.37) where the one against whom the actions in the sense of *krudha* (anger) etc., is directed is termed sampradāna kāraka and hence takes the default fourth case suffix.

Skt: mūrkhāḥ caturāya īrṣyanti

Hnd: mūrkhā catura_se īrṣyā karate_haim

gloss: foolish wise_with jealous

Eng: 'Foolish are jealous of the wise'.

It is noticed that the word *catura* takes the fourth case suffix in Sanskrit due to the above rule but in Hindi it takes the fifth case suffix.

In [6], where the default sixth case suffix denoting the relationship in general

applies in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi
as in the sūtra ‘*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*’ (P-2.3.50).
Skt: *vaśiṣṭhasya śiṣyaḥ rāmaḥ asti*
Hnd: *vaśiṣṭha_kā śiṣya rāma hai*
gloss: *vaśiṣṭha_of disciple rama is*
Eng: ‘Rama is the disciple of Vaśiṣṭha’.
Here both the languages take the default sixth case suffix.

In [7], where, in the exceptional cases different vibhaktis are applied in Sanskrit while Hindi uses the default vibhakti, e.g.,
the sūtra ‘*pr̥thagvinānānābhistr̥tīyā*’nyatarasyām’ (P-2.3.32) states the optional usage of third case suffix alongwith the second and fifth case suffix in conjunction with the words *pr̥thak*, *vinā* and *nānā* (without)
Skt: *dharmena/dharmam/dharmāt vinā na śobhate vidyā*
Hnd: *dharm_ke binā vidyā śobhā nahīm detī*
gloss: *dharm_without knowledge suit not give*
Eng: ‘Knowledge does not suit without Dharma’.
It is seen that the word *dharmā* alternately takes the third, second or fifth case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix.

If a parallel grammar for Hindi in the Aṣṭādhyāyī style were available, it would have been a simple task to arrive at the divergence cases. In the absence of such grammar, the grammar rules corresponding to exceptional cases and cases which can not be captured by linguistic generalisations, were all checked for corresponding vibhaktis in Hindi. Leaving aside those cases where vibhakti is the same in Sanskrit and Hindi and taking up those cases where it diverges, we found that the cases of divergences may be classified into seven types, viz.,

1. **Optional Divergence** : Vibhaktis optionally found in Sanskrit but absent in Hindi. For instance, in Sanskrit the object of the verb is expressed by the default second case suffix and optionally the fourth case suffix (*bālakāḥ vidyālayāya/vidyālayam gacchanti*) but in Hindi it takes only the default second case suffix (*bālaka vidyālaya jāte_haim = ‘Boys go to school’*).
2. **Exceptional Divergence** : Sanskrit has certain exceptional rules which

block the default suffixes but Hindi uses only the default suffixes. For example, in Sanskrit the object of the verb exceptionally takes the sixth case suffix (śakuniḥ śatasya dīvyati) but in Hindi it takes the default second case suffix (śakuni sau_rupae jītatā_hai = ‘Shakuni wins hundred rupees’).

3. **Differential Divergence** : Sanskrit and Hindi use different nominal suffixes. For example, in Sanskrit due to the verbal root *druha*, the person against whom this feeling is directed takes the fourth case suffix (durjanāḥ sajjanāya druhyanti) while in Hindi it takes the fifth case suffix (durjan sajjana_se droha karte_hairṁ = ‘The wicked hate the good’).
4. **Alternative Divergence** : Sanskrit uses more than one vibhaktis but Hindi takes only a few among them. For instance, in Sanskrit alternately the sixth as well as the seventh case suffix is used after a word in conjunction with *āyukta* (āyuktaḥ hariṇījan/hariṇījanasya) but in Hindi only the seventh case suffix is applicable (hari_kī_pūjā_mem līna = ‘Deeply absorbed in the worship of Hari’).
5. **Non-kāraka Divergence** : Divergences at the level of non-kāraka nominal suffixes, such as upapada vibhaktis, sambandha vibhaktis, etc. For instance, in Sanskrit the word takes fifth case suffix when governed by the karmapravachaniya *prati* (pradyumnaḥ kṛṣṇāt prati asti) while in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix (pradyumna kṛṣṇa_ke pratinidhi hai = ‘Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna’).
6. **Verbal Divergence** : Divergences due to the special demand of certain verbs. For example, the object of the verb *ā+ruh* in Sanskrit (vānaraḥ vṛkṣam ārohati) becomes locus taking the seventh case suffix in Hindi (bandara peṛa_para caṛhatā_hai = ‘Monkey climbs on the tree’).
7. **Complex-Predicate Divergence** : This divergence results when a Sanskrit verb is mapped to a complex predicate in Hindi. For instance, the object of the verb *anu+sṛ* in Sanskrit (*rāmam* anasarati sītā) is expressed by the genitive case in Hindi (*rāma_kā* sītā anusaraṇa karatī_hai = ‘Sita follows Rama’).

These cases are elaborated in detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Optional Divergence

When a sūtra assigns optionally two different vibhaktis in Sanskrit but Hindi allows only one vibhakti, we term the resulting divergence as *Optional Divergence*.

3.1 दिवः कर्म च

(*divaḥ karma ca – P-1.4.43*)

A¹ = sādihakatamam and kārake

That kārake which is supplemental in the accomplishment of the action of the verbal root *diva*² (to play) is termed as karma, in addition to karaṇa. e.g.,

Skt: अक्षान् दीव्यति। (*akṣān dīvyati*) /
अक्षैः दीव्यति। (*akṣaiḥ dīvyati*) (1)

Hnd: पासों से खेलता है। (*pāsom_se khelatā_hai*)

gloss: dice_with plays

Eng: '(He) plays with dice'.

In the above example (1), the word *akṣa* is the instrument of the verbal root *diva* expressed through the third case suffix derived from the default rule '*sādihakatamaṃ karaṇam*' (P-1.4.42) but due to the optional rule '*divaḥ karma ca*',

¹Here A stands for Anuvṛitti

²दिवु क्रीडाविजिगीषाव्यवहारद्युतिस्तुतिमोदमदस्वप्नकान्तिगतिषु – Dh- 4.1

akṣa optionally takes the second case suffix. Whereas in Hindi this optional rule does not apply and thus Hindi allows only the third case suffix.

3.2 परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानमन्यतरस्याम्

(*parikrayaṇe sampradānamanyatarasyām – P-1.4.44*)

A = sādhatamam and kārake

In the case of hiring on wages, that which is supplemental in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *pari+krī*³ (employing on stipulated wages), is optionally treated as sampradāna in addition to karaṇa. e.g.,

Skt: धनिकः धनाय त्रीन् सेवकान् द्वे वर्षे यावत् परिक्रीणाति । (2)
(dhanikaḥ dhanāya trīn sevakān dve varṣe yāvat parikrīṇāti)/
धनिकः धनेन त्रीन् सेवकान् द्वे वर्षे यावत् परिक्रीणाति ।
(dhanikaḥ dhanena trīn sevakān dve varṣe yāvat parikrīṇāti)

Hnd: धनिक धन_से तीन सेवकों_को दो वर्ष_के_लिये (नौकरी_पर) रखता_है ।
(dhanika dhana_se tīna sevakoṃ_ko do varṣa_ke_liye
(naukarī_para) rakhatā_hai)

gloss: wealthy wealth_with three servants_to
two years_for (job_on) keeps

Eng: ‘The wealthy (man) hires three servants for two years
on stipulated wages’.

Parikrayaṇa here means to hire someone for a limited period on fixed wages and not permanently. In the example (2), the word *dhana* is supplementary in the accomplishment of *parikrayaṇa*, thus taking the fourth case-suffix optionally in addition to the third case-suffix from the default rule ‘*sādhatamam karaṇam*’ (P-1.4.42). But in Hindi only the default rule is taken into account and thus the word *dhana* takes the third case-suffix.

³डुक्कीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये – Dh- 9.1

3.3 हक्रोन्यतरस्याम्

(*hṛkronyatarasyām – P-1.4.53*)

A = aṇi kartā sa ṇau, karma and kārake

The kartā of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of *hṛñ*⁴ (to carry) and *kṛñ*⁵ (to make, to do), is optionally termed as karma when these verbs in causative form. e.g.,

§ ह (hṛ) =

Skt: स्वामी भृत्यं भारं हारयति। (svāmī bhṛtyaṃ bhāraṃ hārayati) / (3)
स्वामी भृत्येन भारं हारयति। (svāmī bhṛtyena bhāraṃ hārayati)

Hnd: मालिक नौकर से भार उठवाता है।

(mālika naukara_se bhāra uṭhavātā_hai)

gloss: master servant_from load lift

Eng: ‘(The) master causes the servant to lift/take the load’.

§ कृ (kṛ) =

Skt: स्वामी भृत्यं कटं कारयति। (svāmī bhṛtyaṃ kaṭaṃ kārayati) / (4)
स्वामी भृत्येन कटं कारयति। (svāmī bhṛtyena kaṭaṃ kārayati)

Hnd: मालिक नौकर से चटाई बनवाता है।

(mālika naukara_se caṭāī banavātā_hai)

gloss: master servant_from mat make

Eng: ‘(The) master causes the servant to make the mat’.

In examples (3) and (4), the kartā *bhṛtya* in the non-causal form of the verbal roots *hṛñ* and *kṛñ* as in ‘*bhṛtyaḥ bhāraṃ harati*’ and ‘*bhṛtyaḥ kaṭaṃ karoti*’ respectively takes the second case-suffix optionally in addition to the default third case when the verbal roots are in the causative form. Whereas in Hindi, the word *naukara* takes only the third case-suffix.

⁴हृञ् हरणे – Dh- 1.640

⁵कृञ् करणे – Dh- 1.642

3.4 गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि

(*gatyarthakarmani dvitīyācaturthyau ceṣṭāyāmanadhvani*
– P-2.3.12)

A = anabhihite

In the case of roots implying motion (such as gam⁶, cal⁷, vraj⁸, in⁹, yā¹⁰, etc.), the place, to which motion is directed, is expressed by the second as well as the fourth case-suffix, in denoting the *object*, when physical motion (*ceṣṭā*) is meant, and the *object* is not a word expressing *pathway* (*adhvan*). e.g.,

Skt: बालकाः विद्यालयाय गच्छन्ति। (bālakāḥ vidyālayāya gacchanti)/ (5)
बालकाः विद्यालयं गच्छन्ति। (bālakāḥ vidyālayaṃ gacchanti)

Hnd: बालक विद्यालय जाते हैं। (bālaka vidyālaya jāte_hair)

gloss: boys school go

Eng: 'Boys go to school'.

In example (5), the word *vidyālaya* takes the fourth case-suffix from the above optional rule and from the default rule '*karturīpsitatamaṃ karma*' (P-1.4.49) it takes the second case-suffix in Sanskrit. But this optional rule is not applicable in Hindi and hence the word *vidyālaya* is karma with zero case-suffix.

3.5 सञ्ज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि

(*sañjño'nyatarasyāṃ karmani* – P-2.3.22)

A = ṛtīyā and anabhihite

In denoting the object of the verb *sam + jñā*¹¹ (to know, recognise), the third case-suffix is optionally employed in addition to the second case-suffix. e.g.,

⁶गम्तु गतौ – Dh- 1.710

⁷चल कम्पने – Dh- 1.574

⁸व्रज गतौ – Dh- 1.154

⁹इण् गतौ – Dh- 2.38

¹⁰या प्रापणे – Dh- 2.42

¹¹ज्ञा अवबोधने – Dh- 9.39

Skt: पित्रा संजानीते। (*pitrā sañjānīte*) / पितरं संजानीते। (*pitaraṃ sañjānīte*) (6)

Hnd: पिता_को वह अच्छी_तरह_जानता_है।
(*pitā_ko vaha acchī_taraha_jānatā_hai*)
gloss: father_to he well way knows
Eng: 'He knows his father well'.

In the above example (6), the word *pitā* is the object of the verbal root *sam* + *jñā* expressed through the second case-suffix from the default rule '*karturīp-sitatamaṃ karma*' (P-1.4.49) but due to the optional rule, the object takes the third case-suffix. Whereas in Hindi it will take the second case-suffix from the default rule.

3.6 एनपा द्वितीया

(*enapā dvitīyā – P-2.3.31*)

The second as well as the sixth case-suffixes are employed after a word in conjunction with another word ending in the suffix *enap* (P-5.3.35). e.g.,

Skt: राजभवनम् दक्षिणेन उत्तरेण च उद्यानानि सन्ति। (7)
(*rājabhavanam dakṣiṇena uttareṇa ca udyānāni santi*)
राजभवनस्य दक्षिणेन उत्तरेण च उद्यानानि सन्ति।
(*rājabhavanasya dakṣiṇena uttareṇa ca udyānāni santi*)

Hnd: राजभवन_के दक्षिण और उत्तर_में बगीचे हैं।
(*rājabhavana_ke dakṣiṇa aura utara_merṃ bagīce haiṃ*)
gloss: palace_of south and north_in gardens
Eng: '(There) are gardens in the south and north of the palace'.

In example (7), in conjunction with the words *dakṣiṇena* and *uttareṇa* formed with the suffix *enap*, the word *rājabhavana* takes the second case-suffix optionally from the above optional rule and from the default rule '*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*' (P-2.3.50) it takes the sixth case-suffix. Whereas in Hindi it takes only the sixth case-suffix from the default rule.

3.7 विभाषोपसर्गे

(*vibhāṣopasarge – P-2.3.59*)

A = divastadarthasya, karmaṇi, ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anabhihite

The object of the verbal root *diva*¹² preceded by an upasarga (prefix), when having the sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-suffix in addition to the second case-suffix. e.g.,

Skt: शकुनिः शतस्य प्रति दीव्यति। (śakuniḥ śatasya prati dīvyati) / (8)
शकुनिः शतं प्रति दीव्यति। (śakuniḥ śataṃ prati dīvyati)

Hnd: शकुनि सौ_रुपए जीतता_है। (śakuni sau_rupae jītatā_hai)
gloss: shakuni hundred_rupees wins
Eng: ‘Shakuni wins hundred rupees’.

In example (8), the object *śata* of the verbal root *diva* with the prefix *prati* optionally takes the sixth case-suffix from the above rule and from the default rule ‘*karturīpsitatamaṃ karma*’ (P-1.4.49) takes the second case-suffix. But in Hindi, only the default rule is considered and so the word *sau_rupae* is karma with zero case-suffix.

3.8 कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा

(*kṛtyānāṃ karttari vā – P-2.3.71*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anabhihite

The sixth case-suffix is optionally employed in denoting the unexpressed kartā, (but not karma) in addition to the third case-suffix, in conjunction with the word ending in the suffix *kṛtya* (P-3.1.95). e.g.,

Skt: मया हरिः सेव्यः। (mayā hariḥ sevyah) / (9)
मम हरिः सेव्यः। (mama hariḥ sevyah)

Hnd: मुझसे हरि सेवित_है। (mujhase hari sevita_hai)
gloss: by_me hari worshipped is

¹²दिवु क्रीडाविजिगीषाव्यवहारद्युतिस्तुतिमोदमदस्वप्नकान्तिगतिषु – Dh- 4.1

Eng: 'Hari is worshipped by me'.

In example (9), the word *sevyah* has the suffix *kṛtya* due to which the word *mama* takes the sixth case-suffix optionally from the above rule and the third case-suffix from the default rule '*karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*' (P-2.3.65). In Hindi this optional rule does not apply and hence the word *mujhase* takes only the default third case-suffix.

3.9 Summary

Table 3.1 lists the sūtras which account for an additional optional vibhakti in Sanskrit either on account of imposed kāraka (Nos.1-3) or on account of special vibhakti assignment. In all these cases Hindi allows only the default kāraka and hence the default vibhakti.

Sr.No.	Sūtra	Default		Optional		
		Kāraka	Vibhakti	Kāraka	Vibhakti	
1	1.4.43	Divah karma ca	karaṇa	3	karma	2
2	1.4.44	Parikrayaṇe.	karaṇa	3	sampradāna	4
3	1.4.53	Hṛkronyatarasyām	kartā	3	karma	2
4	2.3.12	Gatyarthakarmani.	karma	2	-	4
5	2.3.22	Sañjño'nyatarasyām.	karma	2	-	3
6	2.3.31	Enapā dvitīyā	-	6	-	2
7	2.3.59	Vibhāṣopasarge	karma	2	-	6
8	2.3.71	Kṛtyānām karttari.	kartā	3	-	6

Table 3.1: *Optional Divergence*

Chapter 4

Exceptional Divergence

When sūtras give exceptional rules for cases by restricting the general rules but these rules are not applicable in Hindi, the divergence is termed as *Exceptional Divergence*.

4.1 अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म

(*adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ karma – P-1.4.46*)

A = ādhārah and kārake

That kārake which is the locus of the verbal roots *śīṅ*¹ (to lie down), *sthā*² (to stand) and *āsa*³ (to sit), when preceded by the prefix *adhi* is termed as karma. Although these verbs are intransitive but due to the application of the term karma to the locative form and when compounded with the prefix, they become transitive.⁴ e.g.,

§ अधि + शीङ् (adhi+śīṅ) =

Skt: बालकः पर्यङ्कम् अधिशेते। (bālakah paryāṅkam adhiśete) (11)

Hnd: लड़का पलंग पर सोता है। (laḍakā palāṅga para sotā hai)

gloss: boy bed_on sleeps

¹शीङ् स्वप्ने – Dh- 2.25

²ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ – Dh- 1.663

³आस उपवेशने – Dh- 2.11

⁴अकर्मका अपि वै सोपसर्गाः सकर्मका भवन्ति

(akarmakā api vai sopasargāḥ sakarmakā bhavanti) -M.Bh on P-1.4.46

Eng: 'Boy sleeps on the bed'.

§ अधि + स्था (adhi+sthā) =

Skt: बालकः ग्रामम् अधितिष्ठति। (bālakah grāmam adhitiṣṭhati) (12)

Hnd: लड़का गाँव में रहता है। (laḍakā gāṁva_mēṁ rahatā_hai)

gloss: boy village_in stays

Eng: 'Boy stays in the village'.

§ अधि + आस् (adhi+āsa) =

Skt: बालकः मञ्चम् अध्यास्ते। (bālakah mañcam adhyāste) (13)

Hnd: लड़का मंच पर बैठता है। (laḍakā mañca_para baiṭhatā_hai)

gloss: boy stage_on sits

Eng: 'Boy sits on the stage'.

In examples (11) to (13), the loci *paryañka*, *grāma* and *mañca* of the verbal roots *adhi* + (*śīṅ*, *sthā* and *āsa*) respectively are termed as karma and thus take the second case suffix. But this rule does not apply in Hindi and hence the words *paryañka*, *grāma* and *mañca* which are the loci and thus *adhikaraṇa* by the rule '*ādhāro'dhikaraṇam*' (P-1.4.45) take the seventh case suffix.

4.2 अभिनिविशश्च

(*abhiniviśaśca* – P-1.4.47)

A = karma, ādhāraḥ and kārake

That *kārake* which is the locus of the verbal root *viś*⁵ (to enter) preceded by the prefixes *abhi* and *ni*, is also termed as karma. e.g.,

Skt: सः गुहाम् अभिनिविशते। (saḥ guhām abhiniviśate) (14)

Hnd: वह गुफा में घुसता है। (vaha guphā_mēṁ ghusatā_hai)

⁵विश प्रवेशने – Dh- 6.132

gloss: he cave_in enters
Eng: 'He enters the cave'.

In example (14), in Sanskrit the word *guhā* is karma in conjunction with the verb *abhi-ni+viś* due to the above exceptional rule but in Hindi this rule does not apply and hence *guhā* takes the seventh case-suffix.

4.3 उपान्वध्याङ्गवसः (*upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ* – P-1.4.48)

A = karma, kārake and ādhāraḥ

That kāraaka which is the locus of the verbal root *vas*⁶ (to dwell), when preceded by *upa*, *anu*, *adhi* and *āni*, is termed karma. e.g.,

§ उप+वस् (upa + vas)=

Skt: सेना कटकम् उपवसति। (*senā kaṭakam upavasati*) (15)

Hnd: सेना छावनी_में रहती_है। (*senā chāvanī_mem rahatī_hai*)

gloss: army tent_in stays

Eng: 'Army stays in the tent'.

§ अनु+वस् (anu + vas)=

Skt: छात्राः गुरुकुलम् अनुवसति। (*chātrāḥ gurukulam anuvasati*) (16)

Hnd: छात्र गुरुकुल_में रहते_हैं। (*chātra gurukula_mem rahate_haim*)

gloss: students gurukul_in stays

Eng: '(The) students stay in the gurukul'.

§ अधि+वस् (adhi + vas)=

Skt: हरिः वैकुण्ठम् अधिवसति। (*hariḥ vaikunṭham adhivasati*) (17)

Hnd: हरि वैकुण्ठ_में रहते_है। (*hari vaikunṭha_mem rahate_hai*)

⁶वस निवासे – Dh- 1.732

gloss: hari vaikuntha_in resides
Eng: 'Hari resides in Vaikuntha'.

§ आङ्+वस् (āñ + vas)=

Skt: शिवः हिमालयम् आवसति। (śivaḥ himālayam āvasati) (18)

Hnd: शिव हिमालय_में रहते_है। (śiva himālaya_mem rahate_hai)

gloss: shiva himalaya_in resides

Eng: 'Shiva resides in the Himalaya'.

In the examples (15)-(18), the locus of the verbal root *vas*, when preceded by the verbal prefixes *upa*, *anu*, *adhi*, and *āñ*, the words *kaṭaka*, *gurukula*, *vaikuṅṭha* and *himālaya* respectively are termed karma and take the second case-suffix due to the above rule. But this rule does not apply in Hindi, thus they take the seventh case-suffix. Also in Hindi the prefixes *upa*, *anu*, *adhi*, and *āñ* + *vas* all have the same meaning.

4.4 अकथितञ्ज

(*akathitaṃ ca – P-1.4.51*)

दुह्याच्यच्छण्डरुधिप्रच्छिचिब्रूशासुजिमथ्मुषाम्।

(*duhyācyaḥ ṣaṇḍarudhipracchicibṛūśāsujimathmuṣām* |)

कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितम् तथा स्यान्नीहृकृष्वहाम्॥

(*karmayuk syādakathitaṃ tathā syāñnīhṛkṛṣvahām* ||) –S.K

That kāraka which is not intended by the speaker as coming under any one of the special relations of ablative etc., is also termed as karma. The following verbal roots affects that noun, other than the principal object, which takes the second case-suffix by the rule *karmaṇi dvitīyā* (P-2.3.2) viz., *duh*⁷ (to milk), *yāc*⁸ (to beg), *pac*⁹ (to cook), *daṇḍ*¹⁰ (to punish), *rudh*¹¹ (to obstruct/confine), *pracch*¹²

⁷दुह प्रपूरणे –Dh- 2.4

⁸दुयाचु याच्नायाम् –Dh- 1.605

⁹डुपचष् पाके –Dh- 1.723

¹⁰दण्ड निपातने –Dh- 10.353

¹¹रुधिर् आवरणे –Dh- 7.1

¹²प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्सायाम् –Dh- 6.121

(to ask), *ciñ*¹³ (to collect), *brū*¹⁴ (to tell), *śās*¹⁵ (to instruct), *ji*¹⁶ (to win as a prize of wager), *math*¹⁷ (to churn), *muṣ*¹⁸ (to steal), and also in the case of the four verbs *nī*¹⁹, *hr̥*²⁰, *kr̥ṣ*²¹, and *vah*²² all meaning ‘to take or carry’ and their synonyms. These verbs are known as *dvikarmaka* (di-transitive/bi-transitive) and the “most desired object” is termed as the principal object (pradhāna karma) while that “object where no kāraka role is specified” is termed secondary object (apradhāna/ gaṇa karma). e.g.,

§ दुह् (duh) =

Skt: गोपालः गं पयः दोग्धि। (gopāla: gāṃ payaḥ dogdhi) (19)

Hnd: ग्वाला गाय_से दूध दुहता_है। (gvālā gāya_se dūdha duhatā_hai)

gloss: cowherd cow_from milk extracts

Eng: ‘Cowherd extracts milk from the cow’.

§ याच् (yāc) =

Skt: बलिं वसुधां याचते। (baliṃ vasudhāṃ yācate) (20a)

Hnd: बलि_से पृथ्वी मांगता_है। (bali_se pṛthvī māngatā_hai)

gloss: bali_from earth asks

Eng: ‘(He) asks for the earth from Bali’.

Skt: अविनीतं विनयं याचते। (avinītaṃ vinayaṃ yācate) (20b)

Hnd: अविनीत_से विनय_की याचना_करता_है।

(avinīta_se vinaya_kī yācanā_karatā_hai)

gloss: impolite_with polite to-be of pleads

¹³चिञ् चयने –Dh- 10.95

¹⁴ब्रूञ् व्यक्तायां वाचि –Dh- 2.37

¹⁵शासु अनुशिष्टौ –Dh- 2.68

¹⁶जि अभिभवे –Dh- 1.679

¹⁷मन्थ विलोडने –Dh- 9.43/1.35

¹⁸मूष स्तेये –Dh- 1.454

¹⁹णी प्रापणे –Dh- 1.643

²⁰हृञ् हरणे –Dh- 1.640

²¹कृष् विलेखने –Dh- 1.717/6.6

²²वह प्रापणे –Dh- 1.731

Eng: ‘(He) pleads the impolite to be polite’.

§ पच् (pac) =

Skt: तण्डुलान् ओदनं पचति। (*tanḍulān odanam pacati*) (21)

Hnd: चावल_से भात पकाता_है। (*cāval_se bhāta pakātā_hai*)

gloss: rice-grains_with boiled-rice cooks

Eng: ‘(He) cooks the boiled-rice from the rice-grains’.

§ दण्ड् (daṇḍ) =

Skt: गर्गान् शतं दण्डयति। (*gargān śataṃ daṇḍayati*) (22)

Hnd: गर्गों_को सौ रुपये_का दण्ड_देता_है।

(*gargom_ko sau rupaye_kā daṇḍa_detā_hai*)

gloss: gargas_to hundred rupees_of fine gives

Eng: ‘(He) fines the Gargas a hundred rupees’.

§ रुध् (rudh) =

Skt: ब्रजम् गाम् अवरुणद्धि। (*vrajam gām avaruṇaddhi*) (23)

Hnd: गोशाला_में गाय_को रोकता_है। (*goshālā_mēḡ gāya_ko rokatā_hai*)

gloss: cow-shed_in cow to stops

Eng: ‘(He) confines the cow to the cow-shed’.

§ प्रच्छ् (pracch) =

Skt: माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति। (*māṇavakaṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati*) (24)

Hnd: लड़के_से रास्ता पूछता_है। (*larake_se rāstā pūchatā_hai*)

gloss: boy_from path asks

Eng: ‘(He) asks the boy the path’.

§ चिञ् (ciñ) =

Skt: वृक्षं फलानि अवचिनोति । (*vṛkṣam phalāni avacinoti*) (25)

Hnd: पेड़_से फलों_को तोड़ता_है । (*peṛa_se phalom_ko toratā_hai*)

gloss: tree_from fruits plucks

Eng: '(He) plucks/gathers the fruits from the tree'.

§ ब्रू (brū) =

Skt: बालकः मातरं कथां ब्रूते । (26a)

(*bālakaḥ mātaraṁ kathāṁ brūte*)

Hnd: बालक_माता_से बात_कहता_है ।

(*bālaka mātā_se bāta kahatā_hai*)

gloss: boy mother_with something tells

Eng: '(The) boy tells something to (his) mother'.

§ शास् (śās) =

Skt: गुरुः माणवकं धर्मं शास्ति । (26b)

(*guruḥ māṇavakaṁ dharmaṁ śāsti*)

Hnd: गुरु_लड़के_को धर्म_सिखाता_है ।

(*guru laṛake_ko dharma sikhātā hai*)

gloss: teacher boy_to dharma teaches

Eng: 'Teacher teaches dharmā to the boy'.

§ जि (ji) =

Skt: देवदत्तं शतं जयति । (*devadattaṁ śataṁ jayati*) (27)

Hnd: देवदत्त_से सौ_रुपये_जीतता_है । (*devadatta_se sau rupaye jītatā_hai*)

gloss: devadatta_from hundred rupees wins

Eng: '(He) wins hundred rupees from Devadatta'.

§ मथ् (math) =

Skt: क्षीरनिधिं सुधां मथ्नाति। (*kṣīranidhiṃ sudhāṃ mathnāti*) (28)

Hnd: क्षीरसागर_से_अमृत_मथता_है। (*kṣīrasāgara_se amṛta mathatā_hai*)

gloss: milk-ocean_from ambrosia churns

Eng: '(He) churns the ambrosia (nectar) from the milky-ocean'.

§ मुष् (muṣ) =

Skt: देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति। (*devadattaṃ śataṃ muṣṇāti*) (29)

Hnd: देवदत्त_से_सौ_रुपये_चुराता_है। (*devadatta_se sau rupaye curātā_hai*)

gloss: devadatta_from hundred rupees steals

Eng: '(He) steals hundred rupees from Devadatta'.

§ नी (nī) =

Skt: ग्रामम् अजां नयति। (*grāmam ajāṃ nayati*) (30)

Hnd: गाँव_में_बकरी_को_ले_जाता_है। (*gāṁva_mem bakarī_ko le_jātā_hai*)

gloss: village_in goat to leads

Eng: '(He) leads the goat to the village'.

§ ह (hr) =

Skt: सः ग्रामम् अजां हरति। (*saḥ grāmam ajāṃ harati*) (31)

Hnd: वह_गाँव_में_बकरी_का_हरण_करता_है।

(*vaha gāṁva_mem bakarī_kā haraṇa_karatā_hai*)

gloss: he village_in goat of steals

Eng: 'He steals and brings the goat to the village'.

§ कृष् (kṛṣ) =

Skt: सः ग्रामम् अजां कर्षति। (*saḥ grāmam ajāṃ karṣati*) (32)

Hnd: वह_गाँव_में_बकरी_को_घसीटता_है।

(vaha gāṁva_mem bakarī_ko ghasīṭatā_hai)
gloss: he village_in goat to drags
Eng: 'He drags the goat in the village'.

§ वह् (vah) =

Skt: ग्रामम् अजां वहति। (grāmam ajāṁ vahati) (33)

Hnd: गाँव में बकरी को पहुँचाता है।

(gāṁva_mem bakarī_ko pahūncātā_hai)

gloss: village_in goat_to carries

Eng: '(He) carries the goat to the village'.

The above examples are represented in the following table,

Sr.No.	Dhātus	Sanskrit		=Hindi
		pradhāna-karma	gauṇa-karma	
1	duh	payaḥ	gāṁ	= gāya_se
2.1	yāc	vasudhāṁ	balim	= bali_se
2.2	yāc	vinayaṁ	avinītaṁ	= avinīta_se
3	pac	odanaṁ	taṇḍulān	= cāval_se
4	daṇḍ	śataṁ	gargān	= gargo_ko
5	rudh	gāṁ	vrajam	= gośālā_mem
6	pracch	panthānaṁ	māṇavakaṁ	= laṛake_se
7	ciñ	phalāni	vṛkṣaṁ	= peṛa_se
8	brū, śās	dharmaṁ	māṇavakaṁ	= laṛake_ko
9	ji	śataṁ	devadattaṁ	= devadatta_se
10	math	sudhāṁ	kṣīranidhiṁ	= kṣīrasāgara_se
11	muṣ	śataṁ	devadattaṁ	= devadatta_se
12	nī	ajāṁ	grāmaṁ	= gāṁva_mem
13	hṛ	ajāṁ	grāmaṁ	= gāṁva_mem
14	kṛṣ	ajāṁ	grāmaṁ	= gāṁva_mem

continued on the next page

Sr.No.	Dhātus	Sanskrit	=Hindi
15	vah ajām	grāmaṃ	= gāmva_merh

Here, in the example (19), *paya* (milk) is the “most desired” object while *go* (cow) is the “most affected” object in the sense *go* has to be acquired first in order to get the “most desired” *paya* (Deshpande [1991]). Another explanation is, sometimes it so happens that the cow having recently delivered, its milk cannot be taken for consumption for few days but nevertheless it has to be milked for the sake of her health and hence the cow takes the second case suffix instead of the fifth.²³ But in Hindi there cannot be two objects simultaneously in such cases. The usage ग्वाला गाय_को दूध दुहता_है। (*gvālā gāya_ko dūdha duhatā_hai*) is incorrect. You can separately say either ‘*gvālā gāya duhatā_hai*’ or ‘*gvālā dūdha duhatā_hai*’.

Thus it is clearly noticed in Hindi, that instead of *karma* there is *apādāna* in the case of those words affected by the verbal roots *duh*, *yāc*, *pac*, *pracch*, *ciñ*, *ji*, *math* and *muṣ* whereas *adhikaraṇa* in the case of those words affected by the verbal roots *rudh*, *nī*, *hr̥*, *kr̥ṣ*, and *vah*.

4.4.1 [अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वाच्यम् [वा.]]

(*akarmakadhātubhiryoge deśaḥ kālo bhāvo gantavyo’dhvā ca karmasañjñaka iti vācyam [vā.]*)

The intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of *deśa* (place), *kāla* (time), *bhāva* (condition) and *gantavya adhvā* (length of road to be gone over). e.g.,

§ देश (deśa) =

Skt: कुरुन् स्वपिति। (*kurūn svapiti*) (34)

Hnd: कुरु-देश_में सोता_है। (*kuru-deśa_mem sotā_hai*)

gloss: kuru-land_in sleeps

Eng: ‘(He) sleeps in the land of the Kurus’.

²³I am grateful to Prof.Vineet Chaitanya for throwing light on this subject.

§ काल (kāla) =
Skt: मासम् आस्ते। (māsam āste) (35)

Hnd: महीने भर रहता है। (mahīne bhara rahatā hai)
gloss: month_long stays
Eng: '(He) stays for a month'.

§ गन्तव्य (gantavya) =
Skt: क्रोशम् आस्ते। (krośam āste) (36)

Hnd: एक कोस तक जाता है। (eka kosa taka jātā hai)
gloss: one kosa_uptil goes
Eng: '(He) goes over one kosa'.

In the examples (34)-(36), the verbal root *svap*²⁴ (to sleep) is intransitive and hence combined with the word *kuru* which denotes a place takes the second case-suffix but in Hindi, it is the locus of the action of sleeping and thus takes the seventh case-suffix. Similarly in the case of the verbal root *ās*²⁵ which is intransitive when combined with the words *māsa* and *krośa* denoting time and length respectively, they take the second case-suffix but in Hindi they take the suffixes *bhara* and *taka* respectively.

4.5 दिवः तदर्थस्य

(*divaḥ tadarthasya – P-2.3.58*)

A = karmaṇi, ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anabhihite

The object of the verbal root *diva*²⁶, when having the sense of *dealing or staking* (paṇ and vyavahṛ), takes the sixth case-suffix. e.g.,

Skt: शकुनिः शतस्य दीव्यति। (śakuniḥ śatasya dīvyati) (37)

Hnd: शकुनि सौ रुपए जीतता है। (śakuni sau_rupae jītātā hai)

²⁴जिष्प शये – Dh- 2.61

²⁵आस् उपवेशने – Dh- 2.11

²⁶दिवु क्रीडाविजिगीषाव्यवहारद्युतिस्तुतिमोदमदस्वप्नकान्तिगतिषु – Dh- 4.1

gloss: shakuni hundred_rupees wins
Eng: ‘Shakuni wins hundred rupees’.

In the example (37), in Sanskrit in conjunction with the verbal root *diva*, the word *śata* takes the sixth case-suffix but in Hindi it remains karma with zero case-suffix.

4.6 प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने

(*preṣyabruvorhaviṣo devatāsampradāne – P-2.3.61*)

A = brāhmaṇe, karmaṇi, ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anabhihite

The object of the verbal roots *preṣya* and *brūhi*²⁷ (in the sense ‘send’ and ‘utter’), denoting oblations in a ritual, takes the sixth case-suffix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient and it is not expressed otherwise. e.g.,

Skt: हे मैत्रावरुणौ ! अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदस प्रेष्य । (38)
(he maitrāvaruṇau!agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medasa preṣya)/
हे मैत्रावरुणौ ! अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदस अनुब्रूहि ।
(he maitrāvaruṇau!agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medasa anubrūhi)

Hnd: हे मैत्रावरुण ! अग्नि_को छाग सम्बन्धी हवि, वपा नामक मेद दीजिए ।
(he maitrāvaruṇa! agni_ko chāga sambadhī havi, vapā
nāmaka meda dījie)

gloss: o maitravaruna! agni_to goat related
offerings vapa named fat give

Eng: ‘O Mitra and Varuna! Offer to Agni as oblation the goat and its fat called vapa’.

The ritual offerings to the deities are known as *haviṣ*. In the example (38), *chāga* related offerings are the object of the verbal roots *preṣya* and *brūhi* and thus take the sixth case-suffix but in Hindi they are karma with zero case-suffix.

²⁷ब्रूञ् व्यक्तायां वाचि – Dh- 2.37

4.7 कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे

(*kṛtvo 'rthaprayoge kāle'dhikaraṇe – P-2.3.64*)

A = *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anabhihite*

The sixth case-suffix is employed to express the locus after a word denoting time when used in conjunction with a word ending with a suffix having the sense of *kṛtvasuc* (P-5.4.17) that is to mark the time during which an action is repeated. e.g.,

Skt: एते धनाढ्याः दिनस्य पञ्चकृत्वः भुञ्जते। (39)
(ete dhanādhyāḥ *dinasya* pañcakṛtvaḥ bhuñjate)

Hnd: ये धनिक दिन_में पाँच_बार खाते_हैं।
(ye dhanika *dina_mem* pāñca_bāra khāte_haim)

gloss: these wealthy_people day_in five_times eat

Eng: 'These wealthy people eat five times in a day'.

In the above example (39), due to the word *pañcakṛtvaḥ* formed by combining the word *pañcan* with the suffix *kṛtvasuc*, the word *dinam* which is the locus takes the sixth case-suffix but in Hindi this rule is not applicable and hence it takes the seventh case-suffix.

4.8 Summary

Table 4.2 lists the sūtras which account for non-default vibhaktis in Sanskrit by imposing a new kāraka (as in Nos. 1-3) or by imposing an altogether different vibhakti for the kāraka. In all these cases, Hindi however takes the default kāraka and hence default vibhakti.

Sr.No.	Sūtra	Default		Exceptional		
		Kāraka	Vibhakti	Kāraka	Vibhakti	
1	1.4.46	Adhiśīnsthāsām karma	adhikaraṇa	7	karma	2
2	1.4.47	Abhiniviśāśca	adhikaraṇa	7	karma	2
3	1.4.48	Upānvadyānvasaḥ	adhikaraṇa	7	karma	2
4	2.3.58	Divāḥ tadarthasya	karma	2	-	6
5	2.3.61	Preṣyabruvorhaviṣo.	karma	2	-	6
6	2.3.64	Kṛtvo'rthaprayōge.	adhikaraṇa	7	-	6

Table 4.2: *Exceptional Divergence*

Chapter 5

Differential Divergence

All those cases where Pāṇini's rule assigns a certain vibhakti either through kāraka or by direct case assignment and Hindi uses altogether different vibhakti are termed as the case of *Differential Divergence*.

5.1 धारेरुत्तमर्णः

(*dhāreruttamarṇaḥ – P-1.4.35*)

A = sampradānam and kārake

In the case of the verb *dhāri*¹ (to owe) which is the causative of the verbal root *dhṛṇ* (to hold), the creditor is termed sampradāna while the debtor is kartā. e.g.,

Skt: अधर्मणः नरेन्द्रः सुरेन्द्राय पञ्चाशतं रूप्यकाणि धारयति। (40)
(adharmaṇaḥ narendraḥ surendrāya pañcāśataṃ rūpyakāṇi dhārayati)

Hnd: कर्जदार नरेन्द्र_ने सुरेन्द्र_के पचास_रुपए लिए_हैं।

(karjadāra narendra_ne surendra_ke pacāsa_rupaye liye_haim)

gloss: debtor narendra surendra_of fifty_rupees takes

Eng: 'Narendra owes fifty rupees to Surendra'.

The word *uttamarṇa* is compounded of two words *uttama* (best) and *ṛṇa* (debt). Hence whose debt is best is termed creditor, as opposed to *adhamarṇa*

¹धृञ् धारणे – Dh- 1.641

(debtor who borrows money on loan). In the above example (40), Narendra is a debtor while Surendra being a creditor is termed sampradāna and takes the fourth case-suffix in Sanskrit. But in Hindi there is 'sva-svāmi bhāva' (possesee-possessor relation) between money and Surendra and to show this relation there is sixth case-suffix in the word *Surendra*.

5.2 क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः

(*krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānaṃ yaṃ prati kopah – P-1.4.37*)

A = sampradānam and kārake

In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudha*² (to be angry, wrathful), *druha*³ (to injure, hate), *īrṣyā*⁴ (to envy), *asūyā*⁵ (to detract, invent fault), the person against whom the feeling of anger is directed is termed sampradāna. Thus the word *kopa* includes all the four actions. e.g.,

§ क्रुध (krudha) =

Skt: नृपः दुष्टाय क्रुध्यति। (nṛpaḥ duṣṭāya krudhyati) (41)

Hnd: राजा दुष्ट पर क्रोध करता है। (rājā duṣṭa para krodha karatā hai)

राजा दुष्ट से क्रोध करता है। (rājā duṣṭa se krodha karatā hai)

gloss: king wicked_with anger is

Eng: '(The) King is angry with the wicked'.

§ द्रुह (druha) =

Skt: दुर्जनाः सज्जनाय द्रुहन्ति। (durjanāḥ sajjanāya druhyanti) (42)

(durjanāḥ sajjanāya druhyanti)

Hnd: दुर्जन सज्जन से द्रोह करते हैं।

(durjana sajjana se droha karate hairi)

gloss: wicked good_with hates

²क्रुध कोपे – Dh- 4.78

³द्रुह जिघांसायाम् – Dh- 4.86

⁴ईर्ष्य ईर्ष्यार्थः – Dh- 1.341

⁵असूञ् उपतापे – Dh- 9.5

Eng: 'The wicked hates the good'.

§ ईर्ष्या (īrṣyā) =

Skt: मूर्खाः चतुराय ईर्ष्यन्ति। (mūrkhāḥ caturāya īrṣyanti) (43)

Hnd: मूर्ख चतुर से ईर्ष्या करते हैं। (mūrkhā catura_se īrṣyā_karate_haim)

gloss: foolish wise_with jealous is

Eng: 'Foolish are jealous of the wise'.

§ असूया (asūyā) =

Skt: दुर्योधनः युधिष्ठिराय असूयति। (duryodhanaḥ yudhiṣṭhirāya asūyati) (44)

Hnd: दुर्योधन युधिष्ठिर से असूया⁶ करता है।

(duryodhana yudhiṣṭhira_se asūyā_karatā_hai)

gloss: duryodhana yudhisthira_in fault brings out

Eng: 'Duryodhana finds/invents fault in Yudhisthira'.

From the above examples (41)-(44), due to the verbal root *krudha*, the word *catura* takes the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it takes the fifth case-suffix. In the same way those words combined with the verbal roots *druha*, *īrṣyā* and *asūyā* take the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi they take the fifth case-suffix.

5.3 क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म

(*krudhadruhorupasṛṣṭayoḥ karma – P-1.4.38*)

A = yaṁ prati kopāḥ and kārake

In the case of the verbal roots *krudh*⁷ and *druh*⁸, when preceded by the prefix, the person against whom the feeling of anger and the like, is expressed is

⁶असूया = गुणेषु दोषाविष्करणम्। (गुणों में दोष निकालना)

⁷क्रुध कोपे – Dh- 4.78

⁸द्रुह जिघांसायाम् – Dh- 4.86

termed as karma. The word *upasṛṣṭa* here means *with upasarga* (prefix). e.g.,

§ अभि + क्रुध (abhi+krudha) =

Skt: श्यामः गोपालम् अभिक्रुध्यति। (śyāmaḥ gopālam abhikrudhyati) (45)

Hnd: श्याम गोपाल_पर क्रोध_करता_है।

(śyāma gopāla_para krodha_karatā_hai)

gloss: shyam gopal_on anger does

Eng: 'Shyam is angry on Gopal'.

§ अभि + द्रुह (abhi+druha) =

Skt: दुष्टोऽयं भ्रातरम् अभिद्रुहति। (46)

(duṣṭo'yaṃ bhrātaram abhidruhyati)

Hnd: यह दुष्ट भ्राता_से द्रोह_करता_है।

(yaha duṣṭa bhrātā_se droha_karatā_hai)

gloss: this wicked brother_with hate does

Eng: 'This wicked (person) hates (his) brother'.

In the examples (45) and (46), due to the verbal root *krudh* preceded by *abhi*, the word *gopāla* is karma and takes the second case-suffix but in Hindi, it takes the seventh case-suffix. Similarly due to the verbal root *druh* with the prefix *abhi*, the person against whom the feeling of hatred is expressed is termed karma but in Hindi it takes the fifth case-suffix.

5.4 राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः

(*rādhīkṣyoryasya vipraśnaḥ* – P-1.4.39)

A = sampradānam and kārake

In the case of the verbal roots *rādh*⁹ (to propitiate, to predict), and *īkṣ*¹⁰ (to look to, observe), the person about whom various enquiries (*vipraśnaḥ*) regarding his fortune are made is termed sampradāna. e.g.,

⁹राध संसिद्धौ – Dh- 5.17

¹⁰ईक्ष दशनि – Dh- 1.405

§ राध (rādh) =

Skt: पिता पुत्राय राध्यति। (pitā putrāya rādhyati) (47)

Hnd: पिता पुत्र_के विषय_में पूछता_है। (pitā putra_ke viṣaya_mem pūchatā_hai)

gloss: father son_of subject_on asks

Eng: 'Father asks regarding (his) son'.

§ ईक्ष (īkṣ) =

Skt: गोपिका कृष्णाय ईक्षते। (gopikā kṛṣṇāya īkṣate) (48)

Hnd: गोपी कृष्ण_के बारे_में पूछती_है। (gopī kṛṣṇa_ke bāre_mem pūchatī_hai)

gloss: gopi krishna_of subject_on asks

Eng: 'Gopi asks regarding Krishna'.

Here the father inquires about his son's good and bad fortunes to the astrologer upon which the astrologer contemplates and hence in example (47), the word *putra* takes the fourth case-suffix due to the verbal roots *rādh* in Sanskrit while in Hindi it takes the sixth case-suffix. Similarly so in the case of example (48).

5.5 अपवर्गे तृतीया

(*apavarge tṛtīyā – P-2.3.6*)

A = kālādhvanoḥ atyantasaṁyoge

The third case-suffix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place (*adhvan*), when accomplishment of the desired object (*apavarga*) is meant to be expressed. e.g.,

Skt: अह्ना अनुवाकः अधीतः। (*ahnā anuvākaḥ adhītaḥ*) (49)

Hnd: दिनभर_में अनुवाक¹¹ पढ़_लिया।

¹¹वेद का एक भाग (veda kā eka bhāga)

(*dinabhara_merī anuvāka paṛha_liyā*)

gloss: whole day_in anuvaka read

Eng: 'Anuvaka was perseverely and effectually read (by him) in one day'.

In example (49), the person not only studied *anuvāka* but completely understood and memorised them. Attainment of knowledge is the fruitful result and hence the word *ahnā* which denotes the duration of time takes the third case-suffix. But in Hindi it takes the seventh case-suffix in conjunction with the suffix *bhara* which indicates the total duration without any intervention.

5.6 मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु

(*manyakarmanyanādare vibhāṣā'prāṇiṣu – P-2.3.17*)

A = caturthī and anabhihite

In denoting the indirect object, which is not a living being, of the verb *manya*¹² (to think, consider), the fourth case-suffix is optionally employed, when contempt or disregard is expressed. According to *Siddhānta Kaumudī* the word *aprāṇiṣu* means leaving aside the words *nau, kāka, anna, shuka and ṣṛgāla*¹³ (ship, crow, food, parrot and jackal). e.g.,

Skt: अहं त्वां तृणाय मन्ये। (ahaṃ tvāṃ tṛṇāya manye) (50)
अहं त्वां तृणं मन्ये। (ahaṃ tvāṃ tṛṇaṃ manye)

Hnd: मैं तुम्हें तिनके_के_समान मानता_हूँ।
(main tumheṃ tinake_ke_samāna mānatā_hūm)

gloss: i you straw_like think

Eng: 'I consider you as worthless as a blade of grass'.

In example (50), the object *tṛṇa* of the verb *manya* expresses derogation and takes the fourth as well as second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *ke_samāna*.

¹²मन ज्ञाने – Dh- 4.65

¹³नौकाकान्नशुकशृगालवर्जेषु – S.K. vā.

5.7 हेतौ

(*hetau – P-2.3.23*)

The sense of *hetu* (cause) and not the grammatical *hetu* (P-1.4.55)¹⁴ takes the third case suffix. That which is capable of bringing about result but where the action is not primarily considered is termed as *hetu*. e.g.,

Skt: सः अध्ययनेन वसति। (saḥ *adhyayanena* vasati) (51)

Hnd: वह पढ़ने के लिये रहता है। (vaha *parhane_ke_liye* rahatā_hai)

gloss: he read_for stays

Eng: ‘He dwells with the object of learning’.

In example (51), the word *adhyayana* is the cause/purpose of the verb *vasati* in Sanskrit and thus takes the third case suffix but in Hindi it takes the fourth case suffix.

5.7.1 अशिष्टव्यवहारे दाणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थर्थे तृतीया [वा.]

(*aśiṣṭavyavahāre dāṇaḥ prayoge caturtharthē tṛtīyā [vā.] (P-2.3.23)*)

The instrumental has the force of the dative, in connection with the verbal root *dā*¹⁵ (to give), when immoral conduct is implied. e.g.,

Skt: कामुकः दास्या धनं संयच्छते। (52)

(kāmukaḥ *dāsyā* dhanam saṅyacchate)

Hnd: कामी दासी को धन देता है। (kāmī *dāsī_ko* dhana detā_hai)

gloss: lustful female-servant to money gives

Eng: ‘The lustful gives money to the servant’.

In example (52), the lustful person gives money to the maid in return for illicit favours which is against dharma and so the word *dāsī* takes the third case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the fourth case suffix.

¹⁴तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च

¹⁵दाण् दाने – Dh- 1.665

5.8 यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्

(*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam – P-2.3.37*)

A = saptamī

When the action (bhāva) of whatsoever characterizes another action, that word takes the seventh case suffix. The suffix here is known as *bhāve saptamī* or *sati saptamī*. e.g.,

Skt: सः गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः। (*saḥ goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ*) (53)

Hnd: वह गायों के दुहे जाने पर गया।

(*vaha gāyom ke duhe jāne para gayā*)

gloss: he cows_of milking_on went

Eng: ‘The cows being milked, he went away’.

In example (53), in Sanskrit the action of *dohan* (milking) marks another action of going (denoted by *gam*) which is the *lakṣya*. Hence the object *go* of *dohan* and the action both take the seventh case suffix. But in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix.

5.8.1 अर्हानां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हानामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च [वा.]

(*arhānām kartṛtve’narhānāmakartṛtve tadvaiparītye ca [vā.] (P-2.3.37)*)

The word *arha* refers to the one competent to perform the action. The seventh case suffix is applied to that *akartā* of an action who is not competent to perform it and to that *kartā* of an action who is competent to perform it. On the contrary the seventh case suffix is also applied to that *kartā* who can be competent to perform the action but is taken as *akartā* and that who cannot be *kartā* but is taken as *kartā*. e.g.,

Skt: सत्सु तरत्सु असन्त आसते। (*satsu taratsu asanta āsate*) (54)

Hnd: सज्जनों के पार होने पर दुर्जन रह गये।

(*sajjanom ke pāra hone para durjana raha gaye*)

gloss: good_of cross being on bad left were

Eng: ‘The good crossing over, the bad were left behind’.

In example (54), the word *sajjana* who are competent for the performance of the action of crossing (*tarana*) take the seventh case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi the word takes the sixth case suffix.

5.9 साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः

(*sādhunipunābhyāmarcāyām saptamyaprateḥ – P-2.3.43*)

The seventh case suffix is employed in conjunction with the words *sādhu* (good, well-behaved) and *nipuṇa* (sincere, kind), when they denote respect or praise (*arcā*) provided the word *prati* is not used. e.g.,

§ साधु (*sādhu*) =

Skt: सन्तः बालकाः पित्रोः साधवः भवन्ति। (55)
(*santaḥ bālakāḥ pitroḥ sādhaveḥ bhavanti*)

Hnd: अच्छे बालक माता-पिता के लिए साधु होते हैं।
(*acche bālaka mātā-pitā ke liye sādhu hote haim*)

gloss: good children mother-father_for
well-behaved

Eng: ‘Good children are well-behaved towards their parents’.

§ निपुण (*nipuṇa*) =

Skt: गुरुकुलस्य छात्राः गुरुजनेषु निपुणाः भवन्ति। (56)
(*gurukulasya chātrāḥ gurujaneṣu nipuṇāḥ bhavanti*)

Hnd: गुरुकुल के छात्र गुरुजनों के प्रति निपुण होते हैं।
(*gurukula ke chātra gurujanom ke prati nipuṇa hote haim*)

gloss: gurukul_of students teachers_of_towards
sincere

Eng: ‘(The) students of Gurukul are sincere towards the teachers’.

In examples (55) and (56), in Sanskrit the words *pitri* and *gurujana* take the seventh case suffix when combined with *sādhu* and *nipuṇa* respectively but

in Hindi they take the fourth case suffix and the compound vibhakti *ke_prati* respectively.

5.10 रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरेः

(*rujārthānām bhāvavacanānāmajvareḥ – P-2.3.54*)

A = karmaṇi and śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī

The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj*¹⁶ (to afflict, to break) takes the sixth case suffix, with the exception of the verbal root *jvari* (to have fever), when the verb expresses a condition (i.e., when the agent is an abstract noun). e.g.,

Skt: तस्य कृपणस्य रोगाः रुजन्ति । (tasya kṛpaṇasya rogāḥ rujanti) (57a)

Hnd: उस कंजूस_को रोग सता_रहे_हैं।

(usa kañjūsa_ko roga satā_rahe_haim)

gloss: that miser_to diseases bother

Eng: ‘Diseases are bothering that miser’.

Skt: व्यायाम-क्षुण्णगात्रस्य आमयाः न आमयन्ति । (57b)

(vyāyāma - kṣuṇṇagātrasya āmayāḥ na āmayanti)

Hnd: व्यायाम_से थकाये हुए शरीर-वाले_को रोग तंग_नहीं_करते_हैं।

(vyāyāma_se thakāye hue śarīra-vāle_ko roga taṅga_nahīm
_karate_haim)

gloss: exercise_by tired-body_to disease bother not

Eng: ‘Disease do not bother that body which remains fit

due to exercise’.

In examples (57a) and (57b), the words *roga* and *āmaya* being the agent of verbs *ruj* and *āmaya* respectively denote the action (*bhāva*) in an accomplished state and hence the objects *kṛpaṇa* and *vyāyāma-kṣuṇṇagātra* respectively take the sixth case suffix but in Hindi they take the second case suffix.

¹⁶रुज हिंसायाम् – Dh- 10.226

5.11 जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्रथपिषां हिंसायाम्

(*jāsiniprahaṇanāṭakrāthapiṣāṃ hiṅsāyām – P-2.3.56*)

A = karmaṇi and śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī

The object of the verbal roots *jāsi*¹⁷ (to hurt), *han*¹⁸ (to strike) preceded by *ni* and *pra*, jointly, severally or in any order, *nāṭ*¹⁹ (to injure), *krath*²⁰ and *piṣ*²¹, when they mean, 'to injure', takes the sixth case-suffix. e.g.,

§ जासि (jāsi) =

Skt: आरक्षिणः दस्यूनाम् उज्जासयन्ति। (58)

(*āraṅṣiṇaḥ dasyūnām ujjāsayant*)

Hnd: सिपाही डाकुओं को मारते हैं। (*sipāhī ḍākuoṃ_ko mārate_haim*)

gloss: soldier bandits_to beat

Eng: 'Soldiers beat the bandits'.

§ नि+प्र+हन (ni + pra + han) =

Skt: नागरिकाः एषां पापिनां निप्रहन्युः। (59)

(*nāgarikāḥ eṣāṃ pāpināṃ niprahanyuḥ*)

Hnd: नागरिक इन पापियों को मारें। (*nāgarika ina pāpiyoṃ_ko mārem*)

gloss: citizens these sinners_to beat

Eng: 'Citizens beat these sinners'.

§ नाट (nāṭa) =

Skt: कश्चिदपि एतेषां बालकानां न उन्नाटयेत्। (60)

(*kaścidapi eteṣāṃ bālakānāṃ na unnāṭaye*)

Hnd: कोई इन बालकों को न मारे। (*koī ina bālakom_ko na_māre*)

¹⁷जसु हिंसायाम् – Dh- 10.137 and जसु ताडने – Dh- 10.186

¹⁸हन हिंसागत्योः – Dh- 2.2

¹⁹नट अवस्यन्दने – Dh- 10.13

²⁰क्रथ हिंसार्थः – Dh- 1.542 and क्रथ हिंसायाम् – Dh- 10.251

²¹पिष्णु संचूर्णने – Dh- 7.15

gloss: someone these children_to not beat
Eng: 'No one should beat these children'.

§ क्रथ (kratha) =

Skt: यः निरपराधानां क्रथयति तस्य परमेश्वरः क्रथयति। (61)
(yaḥ niraparādhānāṃ krāthayati tasya parameśvaraḥ krāthayati)

Hnd: जो बेकसूरो को मारता है उसे ईश्वर मारता है।
(jo bekasūrom ko māratā hai use īśvara māratā hai)
gloss: those innocent_to beat them god beats
Eng: 'God punishes those who beat the innocent'.

§ पिष (piṣa) =

Skt: एतेषां यौतुकलुब्धानां घातकानां पिण्ढि। (62)
(eteṣāṃ yautukalubdhānāṃ ghātakānāṃ piṇḍhi)

Hnd: इन दहेज के लोभी हत्यारों को पीस डालो।
(ina daheja ke lobhī hatyārom ko pīsa dālo)
gloss: these dowry_of greedy killers_to crush
Eng: 'Crush these greedy killers who demand dowry'.

In the examples (58) to (62), the objects *dasyū*, *pāpī*, *nirdhana*, *niraparādhī* and *yautukalubdha* of the verbal roots *jāsi*, *ni+pra+han*, *nāṭa*, *kratha* and *piṣa* respectively take the sixth case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi these take the second case suffix.

5.12 क्तस्य च वर्तमाने

(*ktasya ca varttamāne – P-2.3.67*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī and anabhihite

The sixth case suffix is employed to express the kartā and karma when in conjunction with another word ending in *ka* which denotes present tense (*varttamāna*) by the sūtra '*matibuddhipājārthebhyaśca*' (P-3.3.128). e.g.,

Skt: अयं राज्ञां पूजितः अस्ति। (ayam rājñām pūjitaḥ asti) (63)

Hnd: यह राजा_के_द्वारा पूजा जाता है।
(yaha rājā_ke_dvārā pūjā jāta hai)

gloss: he king_of_by worshipped is

Eng: 'He is worshipped by the king'.

In example (63), in Sanskrit *pūjitaḥ* ends in *cta* and hence the agent *rājā* takes the sixth case suffix but in Hindi it takes the third case suffix.

5.13 Summary

Table 5.1 lists the sūtras which describe cases where Hindi vibhakti differs from the Sanskrit vibhakti.

Sr.No.	Sūtra	Sanskrit		Hindi	
		Kāraka	Vibhakti	Vibhakti	
1	1.4.35	Dhāreruttamaṇaḥ	sampradāna	4	6
2	1.4.37	Krudhadruherṣyāsūyā.	sampradāna	4	5,7
3	1.4.38	Krudhadruhorupaṣṣa.	karma	2	5,7
4	1.4.39	Rādhiḥṣyoryasya.	sampradāna	4	6
5	2.3.6	Apavargē ṛṭiyā	-	3	7
6	2.3.17	Manyakarmanānādare.	karma	2,4	6
7	2.3.23	Hetau	-	3	4
8	2.3.37	Yasya ca bhāvena.	-	7	6
9	2.3.43	Sādhunipuṇābhyām.	-	7	4
10	2.3.54	Rujārthānām.	-	6	2
11	2.3.56	Jāsiniprahaṇanāṭa.	-	6	2
12	2.3.67	Ktasya ca varttamāne	-	6	3

Table 5.1: Differential Divergence

Chapter 6

Alternative Divergence

In case of *Alternative Divergence* Sanskrit allows more than one case suffixes and Hindi takes only few of them, and rarely an altogether different case suffix.

6.1 पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् (*prthagvinānānābhistrīyā'nyatarasyām – P-2.3.32*)

A = *dvitīyā* and *pañcamī*

When in conjunction with the words *prthak* (without), *vinā* (without) and *nānā* (without) the third case suffix is optionally employed, (as well as the second and the fifth). This rule applies only to these three synonyms. e.g.,

§ पृथक् (*prthak*) =

Skt: त्वं तेन खलेन पृथक् एव सुखं प्राप्स्यसि। (64)

(*tvam tena khalena prthak eva sukham prāpsyasi*)

त्वं तं खलं पृथक् एव सुखं प्राप्स्यसि।

(*tvam taṁ khalam prthak eva sukham prāpsyasi*)

त्वं तस्मात् खलात् पृथक् एव सुखं प्राप्स्यसि।

(*tvam tasmāt khalāt prthak eva sukham prāpsyasi*)

Hnd: तुम उस दुष्ट_के_बिना ही सुख_पाओगे।

(*tūm usa duṣṭa_ke_binā hī sukha_pāoge*)

gloss: you that wicked_without stay only
happy get

Eng: 'You would get happiness only by staying away from that wicked'.

§ विना (vinā)=

Skt: धर्मेण विना न शोभते विद्या। (*dharmeṇa vinā na śobhate vidyā*) (65)
धर्म विना न शोभते विद्या। (*dharmam vinā na śobhate vidyā*)
धर्मात् विना न शोभते विद्या। (*dharmāt vinā na śobhate vidyā*)

Hnd: धर्म_के_बिना विद्या शोभा_नहीं_देती।

(*dharma_ke_binā vidyā śobhā_nahīm_detī*)

gloss: dharma without knowledge suit not give

Eng: 'Knowledge does not suit without Dharma'.

§ नाना (nānā)=

Skt: नयनेन नाना नरः न किमपि निरीक्षितुं शक्नोति। (66)
(*nayanena nānā naraḥ na kimapi nirīkṣitum śaknoti*)
नयनं नाना नरः न किमपि निरीक्षितुं शक्नोति।
(*nayanam nānā naraḥ na kimapi nirīkṣitum śaknoti*)
नयनात् नाना नरः न किमपि निरीक्षितुं शक्नोति।
(*nayanāt nānā naraḥ na kimapi nirīkṣitum śaknoti*)

Hnd: आँख_के_बिना मनुष्य कुछ नहीं देख_सकता।

(*āñkha_ke_binā manuṣya kucha nahīm dekha_sakatā*)

gloss: eyes without human something not see able

Eng: 'Human is unable to see anything without eyes'.

It is seen from examples (64) to (66), the words *khala*, *dharma* and *nayana* take either the second, third or fifth case suffix in conjunction with *prthak*, *vinā* and *nānā* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi they always take the compound vibhakti *ke_binā*.

6.2 दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् (*dūrāntikārthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhyanyatarasyām – P-2.3.34*)

A = pañcamī

When in conjunction with *dūra* (distant, far), and *antika* (near) and their synonyms, the sixth case suffix is optionally employed and alternately the fifth. e.g.,

§ दूर (dūra) =

Skt: ग्रामस्य वनं दूरम् अस्ति । (*grāmasya vanaṃ dūram asti*) / (67)
ग्रामात् वनं दूरम् अस्ति । (*grāmāt vanaṃ dūram asti*)

Hnd: गाँव_से जंगल दूर है । (*gāmvā_se jaṅgala dūra hai*)

gloss: village_from forest far is

Eng: 'Forest is far from the village'.

§ अन्तिक (antika) =

Skt: ग्रामस्य वनं निकटम् अस्ति । (*grāmasya vanaṃ nikaṭam asti*) / (68)
ग्रामात् वनं निकटम् अस्ति । (*grāmāt vanaṃ nikaṭam asti*)

Hnd: गाँव_से जंगल समीप है । (*gāmvā_se jaṅgala samīpa hai*)

gloss: village_from forest near is

Eng: 'Forest is near/close to the village'.

In example (67), in Sanskrit the word *grāma* takes optionally the sixth case suffix as well as the fifth when combined with *dūra* but Hindi takes only the fifth case suffix. Similarly so in the case of *antika* in example (68).

6.3 दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च (*dūrāntikārthebhyo dvitīyā ca – P-2.3.35*)

A = 'anyatarasyām' pañcamī and tṛtīyā

After *dūra* (distant), and *antika* (near) and their synonyms, the second case suffix is used as well as alternately the third and the fifth.

6.3.1 सप्तम्यधिकरणे च

(*saptamyadhikaraṇe ca – P-2.3.36*)

A = dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ and anabhihite

The seventh case suffix is employed when *adhikaraṇa* is not expressed. It also occurs after *dūra* and *antika* from the preceding rule. Either of the four case suffixes namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh can alternately apply after the nominal stems *dūra* and *antika* and their synonyms. e.g.,

Skt: मम क्षेत्रं ग्रामात् दूरं/दूरेण/दूरात्/दूरे वर्त्तते। (69)
(mama kṣetraṃ grāmāt dūraṃ/ dūreṇa/ dūrāt/ dūre varṭtate)

Hnd: मेरा खेत गाँव से दूर है। (merā kheta gāmvā_se dūra hai)
gloss: my field village_from far is
Eng: 'My field is far from the village'.

Skt: साधोः कुटी नद्याः अन्तिकम्/अन्तिकेन/अन्तिकात्/अन्तिके अस्ति। (70)
(sādhoḥ kuṭī nadyāḥ antikam/ antikena/ antikāt/ antike asti)

Hnd: साधु की कुटिया नदी के पास है। (Sādhu kī kuṭiyā nadī_ke pāsa hai)
gloss: ascetic of hut river of near is
Eng: 'The hut of the ascetic is near the river'.

In examples (69) and (70), the nominal stems *dūra* and *antika* take either the second, third, fifth or seventh case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi they do not take any case suffix.

6.4 स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च

(*svāmīśvarādhīpatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiśca – P-2.3.39*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī and saptamī

The sixth as well as the seventh case suffix is used after words when in conjunction with *svāmī* (master), *īśvara* (lord), *adhipati* (ruler), *dāyāda* (heir, descendent), *sākṣin* (witness), *pratibhū* (warrantor, approver) and *prasūta* (begotten,

offspring). The above senses should be taken in context with *cow* and no other animal. e.g.,

§ स्वामी (svāmī) =

Skt: कृष्णः गवां/गोषुस्वामी वर्तते। (kṛṣṇaḥ gavāṃ/ goṣu svāmī vartate) (71)

Hnd: कृष्णः गायों का स्वामी है। (kṛṣṇa gāyom_kā svāmī hai)

gloss: Krishna cows_of master is

Eng: 'Krishna is the master/owner of cows'.

§ प्रसूत (prasūta) =

Skt: गवां/गोषुप्रसूतः। (gavāṃ/ goṣu prasūtaḥ) / (72)

Hnd: गायों के लिए जन्म लिया।

(gāyom_ke_liye janma_liyā)

gloss: cows_for born

Eng: 'Born for the cows i.e., to help the cows'.

In examples (71) and (72), the word *go* takes either the sixth or the seventh case suffix when combined with *svāmī* or *prasūta* in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix in the former case and fourth case suffix in the latter.

6.5 आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम्

(*āyuktakuśalābhyāṃ cāsevāyām – P-2.3.40*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī and saptamī

The sixth or the seventh case suffix is used after a word in conjunction with *āyukta* (engaged), and *kuśala* (skilled), when taken in the sense of *āsevā* (diligence, complete absorption in some employment). e.g.,

§ आयुक्त (āyukta) =

Skt: आयुक्तः हरिपूजनस्य। (āyuktaḥ haripūjanasya) / (73)

आयुक्तः हरिपूजने। (āyuktaḥ haripūjane)

Hnd: हरि की पूजा में लीन। (hari_kī_pūjā_mem līna)

gloss: hari_of_worship_in absorb
Eng: ‘Deeply absorbed in worship of Hari’.

§ कुशल (kuśala) =

Skt: कुशलः हरिपूजनस्य । (kuśalaḥ haripūjanasya) / (74)
कुशलः हरिपूजने । (kuśalaḥ haripūjane)

Hnd: हरि_की_पूजा_में कुशल । (hari_kī_pūjā_mem kuśala)
gloss: hari_of_worship_in absorb
Eng: ‘Deeply absorbed in worship of Hari’.

In both the examples (73) and (74), the word *haripūjan* takes either the sixth or the seventh case suffix when combined with *āyukta* and *kuśala* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes only the seventh case suffix.

6.6 यतश्च निर्धारणम्

(*yataśca nirdhāraṇam – P-2.3.41*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī and saptamī

The sixth or the seventh case suffix is used after those words from which specification is made (selecting individual from the class). e.g.,

Skt: नृणां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । (nṛṇāṃ brāhmaṇaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ) / (75)
नृषु ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । (nṛṣu brāhmaṇaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ)

Hnd: मनुष्यों_में ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठ हैं ।
(manuṣyōṃ_mem brāhmaṇa śreṣṭha haiṃ)

gloss: men in brahman best is

Eng: ‘The spiritual man is the best among men or of men’.

On the basis of class (*jāti*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*kriyā*) and nomenclature (*sañjñā*), singling out one from any of the above basis is *nirdhāraṇa*. In example (75), from the classes of men the specific class *brāhmaṇa* is singled out, and hence it takes either the sixth or seventh case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes only the seventh case suffix.

6.7 प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च (*prasitotsukābhyāṃ tṛtīyā ca – P-2.3.44*)

A = *saptamī*

The third as well as the seventh case suffix is used after a word in conjunction with the words *prasita* (engaged, preoccupied) and *utsuka* (concerned). e.g.,

§ प्रसित (prasita) =

Skt: केशैः प्रसिताः बालकाः कदा पठिष्यन्ति? (76)

(*keśaiḥ prasitāḥ bālakāḥ kadā paṭhiṣyanti?*) /

केशेषु प्रसिताः बालकाः कदा पठिष्यन्ति?

(*keśeṣu prasitāḥ bālakāḥ kadā paṭhiṣyanti?*)

Hnd: केशों को संवारने वाले छात्र कब पढ़ेंगे?

(*keśom_ko saṅvārane vāle chātra kaba_paṛheṅge?*)

gloss: hair_to style those students

when study?

Eng: ‘When would those students study who vile away their time styling their hair?’.

§ उत्सुक (utsuka) =

Skt: चलचित्रैः उत्सुकाः बालाः सदाचारिणः न भवन्ति। (77)

(*calacitraiḥ utsukāḥ bālāḥ sadācāriṇaḥ na bhavanti*) /

चलचित्रेषु उत्सुकाः बालाः सदाचारिणः न भवन्ति।

(*calacitreṣu utsukāḥ bālāḥ sadācāriṇaḥ na bhavanti*)

Hnd: सिनेमा में उत्सुक बालक सदाचारी नहीं रह सकते।

(*sinemā_mēṃ utsuka bālaka sadācārī nahīṃ raha_sakate*)

gloss: cinema_in addict child well-behaved not
remain able

Eng: ‘The child who is addicted to cinema can not remain well-behaved’.

In examples (76) and (77), the words *keśa* and *calacitra* take the third or the seventh case suffix when combined with *prasita* and *utsuka* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi they take the second and seventh case suffix respectively.

6.8 तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् (*tulyāarthairatulopamābhyāṃ tṛtīyā'nyatarasyām – P-2.3.72*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe

The third case suffix is optionally employed, when the word is in conjunction with *tulya* (equal, resemblance) and its synonyms, excepting the words *tulā* and *upamā*. Alternately the sixth case suffix is used. e.g.,

Skt: रामः कृष्णेन तुल्यः/सदृशः/समः नास्ति । (78)
(*rāmaḥ kṛṣṇena tulyaḥ/ sadṛśaḥ/ samaḥ nāsti*) /
रामः कृष्णस्य तुल्यः/सदृशः/समः नास्ति ।
(*rāmaḥ kṛṣṇasya tulyaḥ/ sadṛśaḥ/ samaḥ nāsti*)

Hnd: राम कृष्ण_की_तरह नहीं_है । (*rāma kṛṣṇa_kī_taraha nahīm_hai*)
gloss: ram krishna_of_like not is
Eng: 'Ram is not like Krishna'.

In example (78), the word *kṛṣṇa* takes either the third or the sixth case suffix when combined with *tulya* or its synonyms in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes only the compound vibhakti *kī_taraha*.

6.9 चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः (*caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣyamadrabhadrakuśalasukhārthahitaiḥ – P-2.3.73*)

A = ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe and anyatarasyām

The fourth case suffix is optionally employed as well as the sixth when benediction is intended in conjunction with the words *āyuṣya* (longevity), *madra* (joy), *bhadra* (good fortune), *kuśala* (welfare), *sukha* (happiness, comfort), *artha* (prosperity), and *hita* (benefit). e.g.,

§ आयुष्य (āyuṣya) =
Skt: देवदत्ताय दीर्घम् आयुष्यं भूयात् । (79)
(*devadattāya dīrgham āyuṣyaṃ bhūyāt*) /

देवदत्तस्य दीर्घम् आयुष्यं भूयात्।
(*devadattasya dīrgham āyusyaṃ bhūyāt*)

Hnd: देवदत्त_की दीर्घ आयु हो। (*devadatta_kī dīrgha āyu ho*)
gloss: devadatta long life may
Eng: 'May Devadatta live a long life'.

§ मद्र (madra) =

Skt: दुःखिभ्यः मद्रं भूयात्। (*duḥkhibhyaḥ madraṃ bhūyāt*) / (80)
दुःखिनाम् मद्रं भूयात्। (*duḥkhinām madraṃ bhūyāt*)

Hnd: दुःखियों_को आनन्द हो। (*duḥkhiyom_ko ānanda ho*)
gloss: sad happy may
Eng: 'May the sad have happiness'.

§ भद्र (bhadra) =

Skt: प्राणिमात्राय भद्रं भूयात्। (*prāṇimātrāya bhadraṃ bhūyāt*) / (81)
प्राणिमात्रस्य भद्रं भूयात्। (*prāṇimātrasya bhadraṃ bhūyāt*)

Hnd: प्राणिमात्र_का भला हो। (*prāṇimātra_kā bhalā ho*)
gloss: living-beings_of good may
Eng: 'May good be to living-beings'.

§ कुशल (kuśala) =

Skt: युष्मभ्यं कुशलं भूयात्। (*yuṣmabhyaṃ kuśalaṃ bhūyāt*) / (82)
युष्माकं कुशलं भूयात्। (*yuṣmākaṃ kuśalaṃ bhūyāt*)

Hnd: तुम_सबका कुशल हो। (*tuma sabakā kuśala ho*)
gloss: you_all_of prosper may
Eng: 'May you all be prosperous'.

§ सुख (sukha) =

Skt: गोभ्यः सुखं भवतु। (*gobhyaḥ sukhaṃ bhavatu*) (83)
गवां सुखं भवतु। (*gavāṃ sukhaṃ bhavatu*)

Hnd: गायों को सुख हो। (*gāyom_ko sukha ho*)
gloss: cows_to happy may
Eng: ‘May the cows be happy’.

§ अर्थ (artha) =

Skt: गृहस्थाय अर्थः भूयात्। (*gṛhasthāya arthaḥ bhūyāt*) (84)
गृहस्थस्य अर्थः भूयात्। (*gṛhasthasya arthaḥ bhūyāt*)

Hnd: गृहस्थ का प्रयोजन सिद्ध हो। (*gṛhastha_kā prayojana_siddha ho*)
gloss: householder_of prosper may
Eng: ‘May the householder prosper’.

§ हित (hita) =

Skt: सर्वभूतेभ्यः हितं भवतु। (*sarvabhūtebhyaḥ hitaṃ bhavatu*) (85)
सर्वभूतानां हितं भवतु। (*sarvabhūtānāṃ hitaṃ bhavatu*)

Hnd: सब प्राणियों का हित हो। (*saba prāṇiyom_kā hita ho*)
gloss: all living-beings benefit may
Eng: ‘May all the living-beings benefit’.

In examples (79) to (85), the words *devadatta*, *prāṇimātra*, *yusmad*, *gṛhastha* and *sarvabhūta* take either the fourth or the sixth case suffix when combined with *āyusya*, *bhadra*, *kuśala*, *artha* and *hita* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi these take only the sixth case suffix. The remaining are the same in both the languages.

6.10 Summary

Table 6.1 lists the sūtras where Sanskrit takes more than one vibhaktis but Hindi takes only a few of them.

Sr.No.	Sūtra	Sanskrit Vibhakti	Hindi Vibhakti	
1	2.3.32	Prthagvinānānā.	2,3,5	5,6
2	2.3.34	Dūrāntikārthaiḥ.	5,6	5
3	2.3.36	Saptamyadhikaraṇe ca	2,3,5,7	0
4	2.3.39	Svāmīśvarādhipati.	6,7	6
5	2.3.40	Āyuktakuśalābhyām.	6,7	7
6	2.3.41	Yataśca nirdhāraṇam	6,7	7
7	2.3.44	Prasitotsukābhyām.	3,7	2,7
8	2.3.72	Tulyārthairatulopamābhyām.	3,6	6
9	2.3.73	Caturthī cāśiṣyāyusya.	4,6	2,6

Table 6.1: *Alternative Divergence*

Chapter 7

Non-kāraka Divergence

Certain words known as *upapada* demand specific vibhaktis called *Upapada Vibhaktis* for nouns with which they combine. These are all typically exceptions to the sūtra ‘*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*’ (P-2.3.50). In Hindi, however, in most of the cases sixth case suffix is used.

7.1 उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥
द्वितीयाऽऽम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते [वा.]
(*ubhasarvatasoḥ kāryā dhiguparyādiṣu triṣu* ॥
dvitīyā”*mreditānteṣu tato’nyatrāpi dṛśyate [vā.]* – (P-
1.4.48))

The word in conjunction with the following *upapada* words takes the second case suffix:

The words *ubha* and *sarva* ending in *tas* affix which become *ubhayataḥ* and *sarvataḥ*, the word *dhik* and the indeclinables *upari*, *adhi* and *adhaḥ* in their reduplicated forms in the sense of *sāmīpya* (proximity, closeness) from the rule ‘*uparyadhyadhvasaḥ sāmīpye*’ (P- 8.1.7). e.g.,

§ उभयतः (ubhayataḥ) =

Skt: ग्रामम् उभयतः वृक्षाः सन्ति। (*grāmam ubhayataḥ vṛkṣāḥ santi*) (86)

Hnd: गाँव के दोनों ओर वृक्ष हैं। (*gāṁva_ke donom ora vṛkṣa hain*)

gloss: village_of both side trees are
Eng: 'Trees are on both the sides of the village'.

§ सर्वतः (sarvataḥ) =

Skt: लङ्कां सर्वतः समुद्रः अस्ति । (*laṅkāṃ sarvataḥ samudraḥ asti*) (87)

Hnd: लंका_के सब ओर समुद्र है। (*laṅkā_ke saba ora samudra hai*)

gloss: lanka_of every side sea is

Eng: 'There is sea on all the sides of Lanka'.

§ धिक् (dhik) =

Skt: धिक् चोरान् । (88)
(*dhik corān*)

Hnd: चोरों_को धिक्कार_है।

(*corān_ko dhikkāra_hai*)

gloss: thieves_to shame

Eng: 'Shame on the thieves'.

§ उपर्युपरि (uparyupari) =

Skt: उपर्युपरि ग्रामान् पञ्चायतनानि सन्ति । (89)
(*uparyupari grāmān pañcāyatanāni santi*)

Hnd: गाँवों_के ऊपर पंचायतें हैं। (*gāṁvōn_ke ūpara pañcāyaterṁ hairṁ*)

gloss: village_of above panchayata is

Eng: 'Panchayata is above the villages'.

§ अध्यधि (adhyadhi) =

Skt: अध्यधि मेघान् वायुयानानि उड्डीयन्ते । (90)
(*adhyadhi meghān vāyuyānāni uḍḍīyante*)

Hnd: बादलों_के ऊपर विमान उड़ते_हैं।

(*bādalom_ke_ūpara vimāna urate_haim*)
gloss: clouds of above planes fly
Eng: 'Planes fly above the clouds'.

§ अधोऽधः (adhodhaḥ) =

Skt: एते तपस्विनः अधोऽधः वृक्षान् शेरते। (91)
(ete tapasvinaḥ adhodhaḥ vṛkṣān śerate)

Hnd: ये तपस्वी पेड़ों के नीचे सोते हैं।

(ye tapasvī peṛom_ke_nīce sote_haim)

gloss: these ascetics trees_of below sleep

Eng: 'These ascetics sleep below the trees'.

In examples (86) to (91), the words *grāma*, *lankā*, *cora*, *grāma*, *megha* and *tapasvī* in conjunction with the upapada words *ubhayataḥ*, *sarvataḥ*, *dhik*, *uparyupari*, *adhyadhi* and *adhodhaḥ* respectively take the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi except the word *cora* which like Sanskrit takes the second case suffix, other words always take the compound vibhaktis *ke_X_ora*, *ke_ūpara*, *ke_nīce*.

7.2 अभितः परितः समयानिकाषाहाप्रतियोगेऽपि दृश्यते [वा.]

(*abhitaḥ paritaḥ samayānikaṣāhāpratiyoge'pi ca drśyate [vā.] – (P- 1.4.48)*)

That word in conjunction with the words *abhitaḥ* (both sides), *paritaḥ* (all sides), *samayā* and *nikaṣā* in the sense of proximity, the indeclinable *hā* (sad expression) and the preposition *prati* takes the second case suffix. e.g.,

§ अभितः (abhitaḥ) =

Skt: नगरम् अभितः गिरयः सन्ति। (*nagaram abhitaḥ girayaḥ santi*) (92)

Hnd: नगर के दोनों ओर पर्वत हैं।

(*nagara_ke donom ora parvata haim*)

gloss: city_of both side hills are

Eng: 'There are hills on both the sides of the city'.

§ परितः (paritaḥ) =

Skt: पृथिवीं परितः वायुमण्डलम् अस्ति। (93)
(*pṛthivīm paritaḥ vāyumaṇḍalam asti*)

Hnd: पृथिवी_के चारों ओर वायुमण्डल है।
(*pṛthivī_ke cāroṃ ora vāyumaṇḍala hai*)
gloss: earth_of all sides atmosphere is
Eng: 'Atmosphere surrounds the earth'.

§ समया (samayā) =

Skt: गुरुकुलं समया सरित् वर्तते। (94)
(*gurukulaṃ samayā sarit vartate*)

Hnd: गुरुकुल_के_समीप नदी है।
(*gurukula_ke_samīpa nadī hai*)
gloss: gurukul_of near river is
Eng: 'There is a river near the Gurukul'.

§ निकषा (nikaṣā) =

Skt: उद्यानं निकषा चिकित्सालयः अस्ति। (95)
(*udyānaṃ nikaṣā cikitsālayaḥ asti*)

Hnd: बगीचे_के_समीप अस्पताल है। (*bagīce_ke_samīpa aspatāla hai*)
gloss: garden_of near hospital is
Eng: 'Hospital is close to the garden'.

§ हा (hā) =

Skt: हा! रामम् इति कृत्वा दशरथः अशोचीत्। (96)
(*hā! rāmam iti kṛtvā daśarathaḥ aśocīt*)

Hnd: हा राम! ऐसा कहकर दशरथ_ने शोक_किया।
 (hā rāma! aisā kahakar daśaratha_ne śoka_kiyā)
gloss: ha rama! like say dasharatha mourned
Eng: ‘Dasharatha mourned for Rama’.

§ प्रति (prati) =

Skt: अद्यत्वे ऋते धनात् जनान् न प्रति भाति किञ्चित्। (97)
 (adyatve ṛte dhanāt janān na prati bhāti kiñcit)

Hnd: आजकल लोगों_को धन_के_बिना कुछ अच्छा नहीं लगता।
 (ājakala logom_ko dhana_ke_binā kucha acchā nahīm lagatā)
gloss: nowadays people to wealth of without anything
 like not
Eng: ‘Nowadays people do not like anything but wealth’.

In examples (92) to (97), the words *nagara*, *pṛthivī*, *gurukula* and *udyāna* in conjunction with the upapada words *abhitāḥ*, *paritāḥ*, *samayā* and *nikaṣā* respectively take the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi they always take the compound vibhaktis *ke_X_ora*, *ke_samīpa*, *ke_binā*. Whereas in example (), the word *devadatta* in conjunction with the word *hā* takes the first case suffix (sambodhana) in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the fourth case suffix and in example (), there is no divergence between Sanskrit and Hindi.

7.3 अनुर्लक्षणे

(*anurlakṣaṇe* – P-1.4.83)

A = karmapravacanīyāḥ

The word *anu* in the sense of *lakṣaṇa* (characteristic mark) is termed *karmapravacanīya*. Here *anu* distinguishes a special relationship (hetuhetumadbhāva) i.e., ‘cause-effect relationship’ with an action. e.g.,

Skt: जपम् अनु प्रावर्षत्। (*japam anu prāvarṣat*) (98)

Hnd: जप_के_कारण वर्षा_हुई। (*japa_ke_kāraṇa varṣā_huī*)
gloss: chant_of_because rained

Eng: ‘It rained due to chants’.

In example (98), the word *japa* is the *hetu* (cause) and hence *lakṣaṇa* due to which it rained (effect). Thus the word *japa* takes the second case suffix when in conjunction with the karmapravacanīya *anu* but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *ke_kāraṇa*.

7.4 तृतीयार्थे

(*tṛtīyārthe – P-1.4.84*)

A = anuḥ and karmapravacanīyāḥ

The word *anu* in the sense of *alongwith, togetherness* is termed karmapravacanīya, when the third case in the sense of *sahārtha* (togetherness)¹ is denoted. e.g.,

Skt: नदीम् अनु अवसिता(स्थिता) सेना। (99)
(*nadīm anu avasitā (sthitā) senā*)

Hnd: नदी_के_साथ_साथ सेना स्थित_है। (*nadī_ke_sātha_sātha senā sthita_hai*)

gloss: river_of_with army situated

Eng: ‘The army is camped alongwith the banks of the river’.

In example (99), the word *nadī* takes the second case suffix when in conjunction with the karmapravacanīya *anu* in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *ke_sātha*.

7.5 हीने

(*hīne – P-1.4.85*)

A = anuḥ and karmapravacanīyāḥ

The word *anu* is termed karmapravachanīya, when it is used in the sense of *inferior or subordinate to*. e.g.,

¹akin to the rule ‘सहयुक्ते अप्रधाने’ – P- 2.3.19

Skt: अनु शाकटायनं अन्ये वैयाकरणाः। (100)
(anu śākaṭāyanam anye vaiyākaraṇāḥ)

Hnd: शाकटायन_के_बाद अन्य वैयाकरण हैं।
(śākaṭāyana_ke_bāda anya vaiyākaraṇa haim)
gloss: sakatayana_of after other grammarians is
Eng: 'All grammarians come next to Sakatayana'.

Here there has to be two elements, one denoting the inferior sense while the other superior amongst which the superior sense takes the second case suffix. Thus in (100), due to the karmapravacanīya *anu, śākaṭāyana* who is superior to other grammarians takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi the compound vibhakti *ke_bāda* is applied.

7.6 उपोऽधिके च

(*upoḍhike ca – P-1.4.87*)

A = hīne and karmapravacanīyāḥ

The indeclinable *upa* is termed karmapravachanīya when *adhika* (superior) or *hīna* (inferior to) is denoted. The *ca* in this rule brings *hīne* from the preceding rule. Only in the sense of inferiority the second case suffix applies here. e.g.,

Skt: उप पाणिनिम् अन्ये वैयाकरणाः। (101)
(upa pāṇinim anye vaiyākaraṇāḥ)

Hnd: पाणिनि_के_बाद अन्य वैयाकरण हैं।
(pāṇini_ke_bāda anya vaiyākaraṇa haim)
gloss: panini_of after other grammarians are
Eng: 'All grammarians come after Panini'.

In example (101), in conjunction with the karmapravacanīya *upa*, the word *Pāṇini* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *ke_bāda*.

7.7 लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः
(*lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu pratiparyanavaḥ*
– P-1.4.89)

A = karmapravacanīyāḥ

The words *prati*, *pari* and *anu* are termed karmapravachanīya when the sense of *lakṣaṇa* (indicator, characteristic sign), *itthambhūtākhyāna* (statement of a situation), *bhāga* (share, part of) and *vīpsā* (pervasion, entirety) is denoted. e.g.,

§ लक्षण (lakṣaṇa) =

Skt: वृक्षं प्रति/परि/अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् । (102)
(*vṛkṣam prati/ pari/ anu vidyotate vidyut*)

Hnd: बिजली पेड़ की ओर चमकती है। (*bijalī pera_kī_ora camakatī hai*)
gloss: lightning tree_of towards shines
Eng: ‘There is lightning flash in the direction of the tree’.

§ इत्थम्भूताख्यान (itthambhūtākhyāna) =

Skt: भक्तो विष्णुं प्रति/परि/अनु वसति । (103)
(*bhakto viṣṇuṃ prati/ pari/ anu vasati*)

Hnd: भक्त विष्णु की ओर रहता है। (*bhakta viṣṇu_kī_ora rahatā hai*)
gloss: devotee vishnu_of towards stays
Eng: ‘Devotee is devoted to Vishnu’.

§ भाग (bhāga) =

Skt: लक्ष्मीः हरिं प्रति/परि/अनु अस्ति । (104)
(*lakṣmīḥ hariṃ prati/ pari/ anu asti*)

Hnd: लक्ष्मी हरि का भाग है। (*lakṣmī hari_kā_bhāga hai*)
gloss: lakshmi hari_of part is
Eng: ‘Lakshmi is a part of Hari’.

§ वीप्सा (vīpsā) =

Skt: वृक्षं_वृक्षं प्रति/परि/अनु सिञ्चति। (105)
(vṛkṣam_vṛkṣam prati/ pari/ anu siñcati)

Hnd: प्रत्येक_वृक्ष_को सींचता है। (pratyeka_vṛkṣa_ko siñcatā hai)

gloss: every_tree_to waters

Eng: '(He) waters each and every tree'.

In example (102), in the dark night due to the flash of lightning the tree lit up and hence tree is the *lakṣaṇa* (indicator) of the illumination of lightning which is the *lakṣya*. To show this *lakṣya-lakṣaṇa relationship*, karmapravacanīyas *prati, pari and anu* are used and thus *vṛkṣa* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *kī_ora*. In (103), the *viśaya-viśayi-bhāva relationship* between *viṣṇu* and *bhakta* is stated through the karmapravacanīyas. The *bhakta* who is filled with complete devotion is *itthambhūta* i.e., *characterised by an attribute* and thus *viṣṇu* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit while the compound vibhakti *kī_ora* in Hindi. In (104), *lakṣmī* being a part of *hari* there is *sva-svāmī-bhāva relationship* and thus *hari* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but sixth case suffix in Hindi. In (105), from the sūtra '*nityavīpsayoḥ*' (P-8.1.4) in the sense of *vīpsā* there is reduplication in the word *vṛkṣa*. The *sādhya-sādhana-bhāva relationship* is due to the act of watering (*sādhana*) which is to be accomplished (*sādhya*) and thus *vṛkṣa* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi.

7.8 अभिरभागे

(*abhirabhāge – P-1.4.90*)

A = lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu and karmapravacanīyāḥ

The indeclinable *abhi* is termed karmapravachanīya, in the senses of *lakṣaṇa, itthambhūtākhyāna, or vīpsā* excluding *bhāga*. e.g.,

Skt: हृदयम् अभि पर्शवः पीड्यन्ते। (106a)
(hṛdayam abhi parśavaḥ pīdyante)

Hnd: हृदय_की_ओर पसलियां दुखती_हैं।
(*hṛdaya_kī_ora pasaliyāṃ dukhatī_haim*)
gloss: heart_of side ribs pain
Eng: 'The ribs pain on the side of heart'.

Skt: भारतीयाः गाः अभि दयालवः भवन्ति। (106b)
(*bhāratīyāḥ gāḥ abhi dayālavah bhavanti*)

Hnd: भारतीय गायों_के_लिए दयालु होते हैं।
(*bhāratīya gāyom_ke_liye dayālu hote haim*)
gloss: indian cows_of towards kind are
Eng: 'The Indians are kind towards the cows'.

In examples (106a) and (106b), in conjunction with *karmapravacanīya abhi* in the sense of *lakṣaṇa* and *itthambhūta* respectively, the words *hṛdaya* and *go* respectively take the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi they take the compound vibhakti *kī_ora* and fourth case suffix respectively.

7.9 अतिरतिक्रमणे च

(*atiratikramaṇe ca – P-1.4.95*)

A = karmapravacanīyāḥ

The indeclinable *ati*, in the sense of *atiratikramaṇa* (exceling, surpassing) and/or *pūjā* (praise) is termed *karmapravachanīya*. e.g.,

Skt: अति देवान् कृष्णः। (*ati devān kṛṣṇaḥ*) (107)

Hnd: कृष्ण देवों_के_पूज्य है। (*kṛṣṇa devom_ke pūjya hai*)
gloss: krishna gods_of worshipped
Eng: 'Krishna is worshipped by all gods'.

In example (107), in conjunction with the *karmapravachanīya ati*, the word *deva* takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix.

7.10 अन्तरान्तरेणयुक्ते

(*antarāntareṇayukte – P-2.3.4*)

A = *dvitīyā*

The word in conjunction with (or governed by) the indeclinables *antarā* or *antareṇa* in the sense of *in between or without* takes the second case suffix. e.g.,

§ (in the sense of between) =

Skt: अन्तरा/अन्तरेण त्वां माम् ईश्वरः अस्ति। (108a)

(*antarā/ antareṇa tvāṃ mām īśvaraḥ asti*)

Hnd: तुम्हारे_और_मेरे बीच ईश्वर है। (*tumhāre_aura_mere bīca īśvara hai*)

gloss: your_and_mine between god is

Eng: ‘God is between you and me’.

§ (in the sense of without) =

Skt: अन्तरा/अन्तरेण देववाणीं मा व्याहर्षिः। (108b)

(*antarā/ antareṇa devavāṇīm mā vyāhārṣiḥ*)

Hnd: संस्कृत_के_बिना मत बोलो। (*samskr̥ta_ke_binā mata bolo*)

gloss: Sanskrit_of without do_not speak

Eng: ‘Do not speak without Sanskrit’.

In examples (108a) and (108b), in Sanskrit in conjunction with *antarā* or *antareṇa*, the words *asmat-yuṣmat* and *devavāṇī* take the second case suffix but in Hindi they take the sixth case suffix and the compound vibhakti *ke_binā* respectively.

7.11 कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे

(*kālādhvanoratyantasanyoge – P-2.3.5*)

A = *dvitīyā*

After a word denoting *kāla* (unit of time), or *adhvan* (distance, length) of road,

in *atyantasanyoga* (continuous relationship) with its *kriyā* (action), *guṇa* (attribute) or *dravya* (substance) is signified, the second case suffix is employed. e.g.,

Skt: सः मासम् अधीते। (*saḥ māsam adhīte*) (109a)

Hnd: वह महिने भर पढ़ता है। (*vaha mahine bhara paṛhatā hai*)

gloss: he month_full studies

Eng: 'He studies continuously for one month'.

Skt: मासं कल्याणी। (*māsam kalyāṇī*) (109b)

Hnd: पूरा महिना मंगलमय है।

(*pūrā mahinā maṅgalamaya hai*)

gloss: month prosperous is

Eng: 'The month is prosperous'.

Skt: क्रोशं कुटिला नदी। (*krośam kuṭilā nadī*) (110a)

Hnd: एक कोस तक नदी टेढ़ी है। (*eka kosa taka nadī ṭeṛhī hai*)

gloss: one kosa_till river crooked is

Eng: 'The river is winding for the entire distance of a kosa without any break'.

Skt: क्रोशं गिरिः। (*krośam giriḥ*) (110b)

Hnd: एक कोस तक पर्वत है। (*eka kosa taka parvata hai*)

gloss: one kosa_till hill is

Eng: 'The hill is through one full kosa'.

In examples (109a) and (109b), the word *māsa* which denotes time in close relation with the action and attribute respectively takes the second and first case suffix respectively, also in (110a) and (110b), the word *krośa* which denotes measure of path in close relation with the attribute and substance respectively takes the second case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi they all take the suffixes

bhara, maya and taka.

7.12 पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः (*pañcamyapāṅparibhiḥ – P-2.3.10*)

A = karmapravacanīyayukte

The fifth case suffix is employed when a word is governed by the karmapravachanīya *apa, ān or pari*. Here *apa and pari* is in the sense of *varjana* (exclusion) from the rule '*apaparī varjane*' (P-1.4.88) while *ān* is in the sense of *maryādā* (exclusion or inclusion) from the rule '*ān maryādāvacanē*' (P-1.4.89). e.g.,

Skt: अप हरेः संसारः अस्ति। (*apa hareḥ sansāraḥ asti*) / (111)
परि हरेः संसारः अस्ति। (*pari hareḥ sansāraḥ asti*)

Hnd: हरि_को_छोड़कर संसार है। (*hari_ko_chorakara sansāra hai*)
gloss: hari_to leave world is
Eng: 'World is separate from Hari'.

Skt: आ मुक्तेः संसारः अस्ति। (*ā mukteḥ sansāraḥ asti*) (112)

Hnd: मुक्ति_तक संसार है। (*mukti_taka sansāra hai*)
gloss: liberation_till world is
Eng: 'The world is till the liberation'.

In example (111), the word *sansāra* which means the cycle of birth and death takes the fifth case suffix in conjunction with the karmapravachanīyas *apa and pari* in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the second case suffix. Similarly in (112), the word *sansāra* which has the limits of life and death till the liberation, takes the fifth case suffix in conjunction with the karmapravachanīya *ān* in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the suffix *taka*.

7.13 प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् (*pratinidhipratidāne ca yasmāt – P-2.3.11*)

A = pañcamī and karmapravacanīyayukte

The fifth case suffix is employed after that which is governed by the karmapravachanīya *prati* when used in the sense of *pratinidhi* (substitute, representative) or *pratidāna* (interchange). e.g.,

Skt: प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति अस्ति। (pradyumnaḥ kṛṣṇāt prati asti) (113a)

Hnd: प्रद्युम्न कृष्ण_का प्रतिनिधि है। (pradyumna kṛṣṇa_kā pratinidhi hai)

gloss: pradyumna krishna_of representative is

Eng: 'Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna'.

Skt: सः तिलेभ्यः माषान् प्रतियच्छति। (113b)

(saḥ tilebhyaḥ māṣān pratiyacchati)

Hnd: वह तिलों_के_बदले_में उड़द देता_है।

(vaha tila_ke_badale_merṁ uṛada detā_hai)

gloss: he sesamum_of exchange in beans gives

Eng: 'He exchanges beans for the sesamum'.

In example (113a), the word *kṛṣṇa* is primary for whom *pradyumna* serves as a representative and hence the word *kṛṣṇa* takes the fifth case suffix in conjunction with the karmapravachanīya *prati* and in (113b) too, the word *tila* takes the fifth case suffix, as *māṣa* are given in exchange for them. But in Hindi both the words *kṛṣṇa* and *tila* take the sixth case suffix and the compound vibhakti *ke_badale_merṁ* respectively.

7.14 नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलंबषड्योगाच्च (*namaḥ svastisvāhāsvadhā'lanvaṣadyogācca – P-2.3.16*)

A = caturthī

The fourth case suffix is employed in conjunction with the indeclinables *namaḥ*

(salutation, obeisance), *svasti* (peace, well-being), *svāhā*, *svadhā* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* (equal to, sufficient for) and *vaṣaṭ* (a term of oblation). The sense of *ca* here is for emphasis. e.g.,

§ नमः (namaḥ) =

Skt: गुरवे नमः। (*gurave namaḥ*) (114)

Hnd: गुरु_को नमस्कार। (*guru_ko namaskāra*)

gloss: teacher_to salutations

Eng: ‘Salutations to the teacher’.

§ स्वस्ति (svasti) =

Skt: सर्वेभ्यः स्वस्ति भवतु। (*sarvebhyaḥ svasti bhavatu*) (115)

Hnd: सब_का कल्याण हो। (*saba_kā kalyāṇa ho*)

gloss: all_of peace be

Eng: ‘May all be peaceful’.

§ स्वाहा (svāhā) =

Skt: मित्रावरुणाभ्यां स्वाहा। (*mitrāvaruṇābhyāṃ svāhā*) (116)

Hnd: मित्र_और_वरुण_के_लिये स्वाहा। (*mitra_aura_varuṇa_ke_liye svāhā*)

gloss: mitra_and_varuna_for oblation

Eng: ‘Oblations for Mitra and Varuna’.

§ स्वधा (svadhā) =

Skt: पितामहाय पितामह्यै च स्वधा अस्ति। (117)

(*pitāmahāya pitāmahyai ca svadhā asti*)

Hnd: दादा_और_दादी_के_लिये स्वधा (अन्न) है।

(*dādā_aura_dādī_ke_liye svadhā (anna) hai*)

gloss: grandfather_and_grandmother_for oblation

Eng: ‘Oblations for grandfather and grandmother’.

§ अलम् (alam) =

Skt: कृष्णः एभ्यः मल्लेभ्यः अलम्। (kṛṣṇaḥ ebhyaḥ mallebhyaḥ alam) (118)

Hnd: कृष्ण इन पहलवानों के लिए पर्याप्त है।

(kṛṣṇa ina pahalavānoḥ ke liye paryāpta hai)

gloss: krishna these wrestlers_for sufficient is

Eng: 'Krishna is sufficient for these wrestlers'.

§ वषट् (vaṣaṭ) =

Skt: अग्नये वषट्। (agnaye vaṣaṭ) (119)

Hnd: अग्नि के लिये वषट्। (agni ke liye vaṣaṭ)

gloss: agni_for oblation

Eng: 'Oblations for Agni'.

In the above examples (114) to (119), in Sanskrit the word *sarvam* takes the fourth case suffix when combined with *svasti* whereas in Hindi it takes the sixth case suffix. Similarly in Sanskrit that word combined with *naman* takes the fourth case suffix but in Hindi it takes the second case suffix. For the remaining four terms viz., *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ*, in both the languages the fourth case suffix remains the same.

7.15 सहयुक्ते अप्रधाने

(*sahayukte apradhāne – P-2.3.19*)

A = tṛtīyā

The word denoting *apradhāna* in conjunction with *saha* and its synonyms takes the third case suffix. e.g.,

Skt: रामेण सह सीता वनं गच्छति। (120)

(rāmeṇa saha sītā vanaṃ gacchati)

Hnd: राम_के_साथ सीता वन जाती है। (*rāma_ke_sātha sītā vana jāti hai*)
gloss: rama_with sita forest goes
Eng: 'Sita goes to forest with Rama'.

In example (120), in Sanskrit it is seen that the words *sītā* and *vana* are directly related with the verb in the form of *kartā* and *karma* but the word *rāma* is not directly related with the verb and hence is called *apradhāna*. The association of *rāma* with *sītā* is denoted by the word *saha* due to which *rāma* takes the third case suffix from the above rule. But in the case of Hindi, it takes only the compound vibhakti *ke_sātha*.

Similarly the above rule applies to the synonyms of सह (*saha*) – साकम् (*sākam*), सार्धम् (*sārdham*) and समम् (*samam*) by the application of the word *yukte*. e.g.,

§ साकम् (*sākam*) =

Skt: वृद्धः पुत्रेण साकम् गृहं गच्छति। (121)
(*vṛddhaḥ putreṇa sākam gṛham gacchati*)

Hnd: वृद्ध पुत्र_के_साथ घर जाता है।
(*vṛddha putra_ke_sātha ghara jāta hai*)
gloss: old_man son_with house go
Eng: '(The) old man goes to house with his son'.

§ सार्धम् (*sārdham*) =

Skt: मम मित्रम् स्वदुहित्रा सार्धं योधपुरं यास्यति। (122)
(*mama mitraṃ svaduhitrā sārdham yodhapuram yāsyati*)

Hnd: मेरा मित्र अपनी लड़की_के_साथ जोधपुर जायेगा।
(*merā mitra apanī larakī_ke_sātha jodhapura jāyegā*)
gloss: my friend his daughter_with jodhpur go
Eng: 'My friend would go to Jodhpur with his daughter'.

§ समम् (*samam*) =

Skt: अस्याः शालायाः शिक्षकाः छात्रैः समं काश्मीरं गमिष्यन्तः सन्ति। (123)
(asyāḥ śālāyāḥ śikṣakāḥ chātraiḥ samam kāśmīram
gamiṣyantaḥ santi)

Hnd: इस शाला_के अध्यापक, छात्रों_के_साथ काश्मीर जाने वाले हैं।
(isa śālā_ke adhyāpaka, chātram_ke_sātha kāśmīra jāne vāle haiṁ)
gloss: this school teachers students_with kashmir go
Eng: ‘The teachers of this school would go to Kashmir with
the students’.

In examples (121) to (123), the words *putra*, *svaduhitra* and *chātra* take third case suffix in conjunction with the word *sākam*, *sārdham* and *samam* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi they take the compound vibhakti *ke_sātha*.

7.16 षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे

(*ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge – P-2.3.26*)

A = hetau

The sixth case suffix is employed after a nominal stem implying the cause of an action, when the word *hetu* itself is used in conjunction with such a word. e.g.,

Skt: अन्नस्य हेतोः वसति। (*annasya hetoḥ vasati*) (124)

Hnd: अन्न_के_हेतु_से रहता_है। (*anna_ke_hetu_se rahatā_hai*)

gloss: food_for dwells

Eng: ‘He dwells for the sake of food’.

In example (124), the word *anna* is the reason for living in a particular place and hence there is *hetuhetumadbhāva* between *anna* and the action. Thus the word *anna* takes the sixth case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes the compound vibhakti *ke_hetu_se*.

7.17 सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च

(*sarvanāmnastṛtīyā ca – P-2.3.27*)

After a sarvanāman (pronominal stem) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word *hetu* and its synonyms are used with it, the third case suffix is employed, as well as the sixth. e.g.,

Skt: केन_हेतुना वसति? (*kena_hetunā vasati?*) / (125)
कस्य_हेतोः वसति? (*kasya_hetoh vasati?*)

Hnd: किस_हेतु_से रहता_है? (*kisa_hetu_se rahatā_hai?*)

gloss: what_for lives

Eng: 'For the sake of what does he live?'

In example (125), in conjunction with the word *hetu* the pronoun *kim* takes either the third or the sixth case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi, the suffix of the pronoun is not seen since the pronoun is an adjective of *hetu*.

7.17.1 निमित्तपर्यायप्रयोगे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् [वा.]

(*nimittaparyāyaprayoge sarvāsāṃ prāyadarśanam [vā.] – P-2.3.27*)

When the words निमित्त (nimitta) or कारण (kāraṇa) or its synonyms in the sense of *cause or motive* are so used, almost all the case-suffixes may be employed. e.g.,

Skt: किं निमित्तं/कारणं/प्रयोजनं वसति? (126)
(*kiṃ nimittam/ kāraṇam/ prayojanam vasati?*) /
केन निमित्तेन/कारणेन/प्रयोजनेन वसति?
(*kena nimittena/ kāraṇena/ prayojanena vasati?*) /
कस्मै निमित्ताय/कारणाय/प्रयोजनाय वसति?
(*kasmai nimittāya/ kāraṇāya/ prayojanāya vasati?*) /
कस्मात् निमित्तात्/कारणात्/प्रयोजनात् वसति?
(*kasmāt nimittāt/ kāraṇāt/ prayojanāt vasati?*) /
कस्य निमित्तस्य/कारणस्य/प्रयोजनस्य वसति?
(*kasya nimittasya/ kāraṇasya/ prayojanasya vasati?*) /

कस्मिन् निमित्ते/कारणे/प्रयोजने वसति?
(kasmin nimitte/ kāraṇe/ prayojane vasati?)

Hnd: किस लिये/किस कारण से रहता है?
(kisa liye/ kisa kāraṇa se rahatā hai?)
gloss: what_for lives
Eng: 'For the sake of what does he live?'

It is seen in example (126), in conjunction with either of the words *nimitta*, *kāraṇa* or *prayojana* the pronoun *kim* takes consequently the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi it takes either the third or the fourth case suffix.

7.18 अन्यारादितरतेदिवच्छब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते (*anyārāditarartedikchabdāñcūttarapadājāhiyukte – P-2.3.29*)

A = pañcamī

The fifth case suffix is employed when in conjunction with the words *anya* (other than, distinct), *ārāt* (near, far), *itara* (different from), *ṛte* (without), *dikśabda* (denoting directions), *añcūttarapada* (expressing direction which has *añcu* (to bend) as the final member of the compound), *āc* (word ending in affix *āc* from the sūtra 'dakṣiṇāc' P-5.3.36) and *āhi* (word ending in affix *āhi* from the sūtra 'āhi ca dūre' P-5.3.37). e.g.,

§ अन्यः (anyaḥ) =

Skt: देवेन्द्रात् अन्यः सुरेन्द्रः अस्ति। (*devendrāt anyaḥ surendraḥ asti*) (127)

Hnd: देवेन्द्र से भिन्न सुरेन्द्र है। (*devendra_se_bhinna surendra hai*)

gloss: devendra_from_different surendra is

Eng: 'Surendra is different from Devendra'.

§ आरात् (ārāt) =

Skt: निम्बस्य पादपाः वनात् आरात् सन्ति। (128)

(nimbasya pādapāḥ vanāt ārāt santi)

Hnd: नीम_के पेड़ वन_के समीप/दूर² हैं।
(nīma_ke peṛa vana_ke samīpa/dūra haiṁ)
gloss: neem of tree forest of near and far is
Eng: 'Neem trees are near and far from the forest'.

§ ऋते (ṛte) =
Skt: ऋते ज्ञानात् न मुक्तिः। (ṛte jñānāt na muktiḥ) (129)

Hnd: ज्ञान_के_बिना मुक्ति नहीं। (jñāna_ke_binā mukti nahīṁ)
gloss: knowledge_of without liberation not
Eng: '(There is) no liberation without knowledge'.

§ पश्चिम (paścima) =
Skt: गुरुकुलं दुर्गात् पश्चिमम् अस्ति। (130)
(gurukulam durgāt paścimam asti)

Hnd: गुरुकुल किले_के पश्चिम में है। (gurukula kile_ke paścima meṁ hai)
gloss: gurukul fort of west on is
Eng: 'Gurukul is on the west of the fort'.

§ पूर्व (pūrva) =
Skt: मन्दिरः विद्यालयात् पूर्वः अस्ति। (131)
(mandiraḥ vidyālayāt pūrvaḥ asti)

Hnd: मन्दिर विद्यालय_के_पूर्व है। (mandira vidyālaya_ke_pūrva hai)
gloss: temple school_of before is
Eng: '(The) temple is before the school'.

§ उत्तर (uttara) =
Skt: इमानि नगराणि विन्ध्याचलात् उत्तराणि सन्ति। (132)
(imāni nagarāṇi vindhyācalāt uttarāṇi santi)

Hnd: ये नगर विन्ध्याचल_के_उत्तर_में हैं।
(ye nagara vindhyācala_ke_uttara_meṁ haiṁ)

²In Hindi *ārāt* has two senses - samīpa as well as dūra

gloss: these cities vindhyachala_of north on is
Eng: 'These cities are on the north of Vindhyachala'.

§ दक्षिण (dakṣiṇa) =

Skt: अयं तडागः ग्रामात् दक्षिणे अरण्ये वर्तते। (133)
(ayaṃ taḍāgaḥ grāmāt dakṣiṇe araṇye varttate)

Hnd: यह तालाब ग्राम_के_दक्षिण वन_में है।
(yaha tālāba grāma_ke_dakṣiṇa vana_merṅ hai)

gloss: this lake village_of south forest on is
Eng: 'This lake is on the southern forest of the village'.

§ प्राक्, प्रत्यक्, उदक् (prāk, pratyak, udak) =

Skt: अस्मात् सरोवरात् प्राक्, प्रत्यक्, उदक् च पर्वताः सन्ति। (134)
(asmāt sarovarāt prāk, pratyak, udak ca parvatāḥ santi)

Hnd: इस तालाब_के_पूर्व, पश्चिम और उत्तर_में पहाड़ हैं।
(isa tālāba_ke_pūrva, paścima aura uttara_merṅ pahāṛa hairṅ)

gloss: this lake_of east, west and north on mountains
are

Eng: '(There) are mountains on/to the east, west and north of this lake'.

§ उत्तरा, दक्षिणा (uttarā, dakṣiṇā) =

Skt: नगरात् उत्तरा दक्षिणा च क्षेत्राणि सन्ति। (135)
(nagarāt uttarā dakṣiṇā ca kṣetrāṇi santi)

Hnd: नगर_के_उत्तर और दक्षिण_में खेत हैं।
(nagara_ke_uttara aura dakṣiṇa_merṅ kheta hairṅ)

gloss: city_of north and south on fields are
Eng: '(There) are fields on the north and south of the city'.

§ दक्षिणाहि (dakṣiṇāhi) =

Skt: आश्रमात् दक्षिणाहि विद्यालयः अस्ति। (136)
(āśramāt dakṣiṇāhi vidyālayaḥ asti)

Hnd: आश्रम_के_दक्षिण_में विद्यालय है।

(*āśrama_ke_dakṣiṇa_merṁ vidyālaya hai*)
gloss: ashrama_of south on school is
Eng: ‘School is on the south of the Ashrama’.

§ उत्तराहि (uttarāhi) =

Skt: आश्रमात् उत्तराहि भोजनालयः अस्ति। (137)
(*āśramāt uttarāhi bhojanālayaḥ asti*)

Hnd: आश्रम_के_उत्तर_में भोजनालय है।
(*āśrama_ke_uttara_merṁ bhojanālaya hai*)
gloss: ashrama_of north on canteen is
Eng: ‘Canteen is on the north of the Ashrama’.

In examples (128) to (137), the words *vana*, *jñāna*, *durga*, *vidyālaya*, *vin-dhyācala*, *grāma*, *sarovara*, *nagara* and *āśrama* in conjunction with the words *ārāt*, *rte*, *paścima*, *pūrva*, *uttara*, *dakṣiṇa*, *prāk-pratyak-udak*, *uttarā-dakṣiṇā*, *dakṣiṇāhi* and *uttarāhi* respectively take the fifth case suffix in Sanskrit but in Hindi they take the sixth case suffix. While in example (127), the word *devendra* takes the fifth case suffix in conjunction with the word *anyaḥ* in both the languages.

7.19 Summary

Table 7.1 lists the sūtras where Sanskrit takes one vibhakti but Hindi in most of the cases takes the sixth case suffix.

Sr.No.	Sūtra		Sanskrit	Hindi
			Vibhakti	Vibhakti
1	1.4.83	Anurlakṣaṇe	2	6
2	1.4.84	Tr̥tīyārthe	2	6
3	1.4.85	Hīne	2	6
4	1.4.87	Upo'dhike ca	2	6
5	1.4.89	Lakṣaṇetthambhūtā.	2	6
6	1.4.90	Abhirabhāge	2	6
7	1.4.95	Atiratikramaṇe ca	2	5,6
8	2.3.4	Antarā'ntareṇayukte	2	6
9	2.3.5	Kālādhvanoratyantasanyoge	2	7
10	2.3.10	Pañcamyapāṅparibhiḥ	5	2
11	2.3.11	Pratinidhipratidāne ca yasmāt	5	6
12	2.3.16	Namaḥ svastisvāhā.	4	2,4,6
13	2.3.19	Sahayukte apradhāne	3	6
14	2.3.26	Ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge	6	4
15	2.3.27	Sarvanāmnastṛīyā ca	3,6	4
16	2.3.29	Anyārāditarartedik.	5	5,6

Table 7.1: *Non-kāraka Divergence*

Chapter 8

Hindi Specific Divergences

All the divergences we covered so far were specific to the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and some of them might be attributed to the characteristic of Sanskrit. The default vibhakti of karma in Sanskrit is dviṭīyā. But in Hindi, the karma takes vibhakti other than dviṭīyā.

These divergences may be attributed to the nature of Hindi. On the face of it divergences may be classified into two classes depending upon whether the Sanskrit verb maps to a simple Hindi verb or a complex predicate.

8.1 Verbal Divergence

Consider the example,

Skt: वानरः वृक्षम् आरोहति। (vānaraḥ vṛkṣam ārohati) (138)

Hnd: बंदर पेड़ पर चढ़ता है। (bandara peṛa para caṛhatā hai)

gloss: monkey tree_on climbs

Eng: ‘Monkey climbs on the tree’.

In the example (138), the karma of the verbal root *ā + ruh* is *vṛkṣa* whereas in Hindi the karma *vṛkṣa* takes seventh case suffix.

Skt: सः पन्थानं गच्छति। (saḥ panthānaṃ gacchati) (139)

Hnd: वह रास्ते पर जाता है। (vaha rāste para jātā hai)

gloss: he path_on goes

Eng: 'He treads/goes on/along the path/road'.

Skt: धर्म चर। (dharmaṃ cara)

(140)

Hnd: धर्म पर चलो। (dharma para calo)

gloss: piety_on go

Eng: 'Follow piety'.

Skt: रामः सुग्रीवस्य सहायतया लङ्काम् अभ्यद्रवत्।

(141)

(rāmaḥ sugrīvasya sahāyatayā laṅkāṃ abhyadravat)

Hnd: राम ने सुग्रीव की सहायता से लंका पर आक्रमण किया।

(rama_ne sugrīva_kī sahāyatā_se laṅkā para ākramaṇa_kiyā)

gloss: rama sugriva_of help_with lanka_on attacked

Eng: 'Rama attacked Lanka with the help of Sugriva'.

Similarly in examples (139) to (141), the words *panthāna*, *dharma* and *laṅkā* take the second case suffix due to the verbs *gam*, *cara* and *abhi+druñ* respectively in Sanskrit but in Hindi they take the seventh case suffix.

8.2 Complex Predicate Divergence

If a verb in Sanskrit maps to the complex predicate in Hindi in the sense there is a nominal element which takes the light verb (verbalizers) like *karanā*, *honā*, then the karma of the verb takes the sixth case suffix. e.g.,

Skt: सीता रामम् अनुसरति। (sītā rāmam anusarati)

(142)

Hnd: सीता राम का अनुसरण करती है।

(sītā rāma_kā anusaraṇa_karatī hai)

gloss: sita rama_of follows

Eng: 'Sita follows Rama'.

Here in example (142), *rāma* which is the karma is expressed with the genitive case in Hindi. This change is a systematic one which may be explained through the rule *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* (P-2.3.65). In Hindi *anu + sṛ* is translated as a complex predicate *anusaraṇa_karanā* where *anusaraṇa* is the kṛdanta and *karanā* is the main verb.

It is necessary to study these divergences in karma vibhakti in detail. Sanskrit has approximately 2000 verbal roots and more with the *upasargas*. Mapping the corresponding verb-frames in Sanskrit to the Hindi verb-frames may give some hints towards these divergences. Though it is a voluminous task, any MT system requires this study.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The cases of divergences may be summarised then as:

(A) Divergences originating from Sanskrit Grammar (as shown below)

Sr.No.	Cases	Sanskrit	Hindi
1	Optional	Sanskrit uses optional vibhakti in addition to default vibhakti.	Hindi allows only the default vibhakti.
2	Exceptional	Sanskrit uses different vibhakti than the default (Pāṇini blocks the default vibhakti assigned by treating it as an exceptional case).	Hindi uses the default vibhakti.
3	Differential	Sanskrit uses different vibhaktis.	Hindi uses different vibhaktis.
4	Alternative	Sanskrit uses more than one alternative vibhakti.	Hindi uses only one of them.
5	Non-kāraka	Sanskrit uses more than one alternative vibhakti.	Hindi uses the sixth vibhakti.

(B) Divergences due to the idiosyncrasy of Hindi:

1. Special vibhakti expectancy of verbs
2. Complex Predicate

These seven cases of divergence may prove useful in resolving the ambiguities at the level of nominal suffixes in Machine Translation and may be taken as a

platform for looking at vibhakti level divergences between Sanskrit and other Modern Indian Languages.

Chapter 10

Appendix:A

A complete list of dhātus which have been useful in my work has been provided here for ready-reference.

Dhātu-List			
Roots	Meanings		
	Sanskrit	Hindi	English
इष् (2.38)	गतौ	जाना	to go
ईक्ष् (1.405)	दर्शने	देखना	to see
ईर्ष्य (1.341)	ईर्ष्यार्थः	द्वेष करना, ईर्ष्या करना	to envy
कृष् (1.717/6.6)	विलेखने	कृषि कर्म करना, जोतना, हल चलाना	draw, to plough
क्रुध् (4.78)	क्रोधे	क्रोध करना	to be angry
गम्त् (1.710)	गतौ	जाना	to go
चल् (1.574)	कम्पने	हिलना, चलना, कांपना	to move, to tremble
चिञ् (10.95)	चयने	ढूँढना, बटोरना, एकत्र करना	to collect, gather, pluck
जसु (10.137)	हिंसायाम्	मार डालना, दुःख देना	to hurt, to slight

continued on the next page

Dhātu-List(continued)			
Roots	Meanings		
	Sanskrit	Hindi	English
जसु (10.186)	ताडने	ताड़ना करना, उपेक्षा करना, मारना	to beat
जि (1.378)	जये	जीतना	to win
ज्ञा (9.39)	अवबोधने	जानना, समझना	to know, to understand
जिष्वप् (2.61)	शये	सोना, निद्रा लेना	to sleep, to lie down
टुयाचृ (1.605)	याच्ञायाम्	याचना करना, मांगना	to beg, to ask, to solicit
डुकृञ् (8.10)	करणे	करना	to do
डुक्रीञ् (9.1)	द्रव्यविनिमये	खरीदना, बदले में लेना	to buy, to barter
डुदाञ् (3.9)	दाने	देना, सौंपना	to give
डुपचष् (1.723)	पाके	पकाना	to cook, to bake, to burn
णीञ् (1.643)	प्रापणे	प्राप्त होना, ले जाना, पाना	to lead, to carry
दण्ड (10.353)	दण्डनिपातने	शासन करना, दण्ड देना	to punish, to fine, to subdue
दाण् (1.665)	दाने	देना	to give

continued on the next page

Dhātu-List(continued)			
Roots	Meanings		
	Sanskrit	Hindi	English
दिवु (4.1)	क्रीडाविजिगीषा- व्यवहारद्युतिस्तुति- मोदमदस्वप्न- कान्तिगतिषु	खेलना, जीतने की इच्छा करना, व्यवहार करना, तेजस्वी होना, चमकना, प्रशंसा करना, स्तुति करना, प्रसन्न होना या करना, गर्व करना, सो जाना, चाहना, जाना	to play; to desire; to overcome; to deal, to shine; to praise; to be glad; to be mad; to be sleepy; to love; to go
दुह (2.4)	प्रपूरणे	दूध निकालना, दोहना	to milk, to yield
द्रुह (4.86)	जिघांसायाम्	द्वेष करना, मारने के लिये प्रयत्न करना	to bear hatred, to seek to hurt
प्रच्छ (6.121)	ज्ञीप्सायाम्	पूछना, जानने की इच्छा करना	to ask; to seek, to desire, to know
ब्रूञ् (2.37)	व्यक्तायां वाचि	कहना, बोलना	to speak
मन्थ (9.43/1.35)	विलोडने	मथना	to churn, to shake
मूष (1.454)	स्तेये	चोरी करना	to steal, to rob
या (2.42)	प्रापणे	जाना	to go, to pass away, to elapse
राध (5.17)	संसिद्धौ	पूरा करना, सिद्ध करना	to accomplish, to kill, to destroy
रुज (10.226)	हिंसायाम्	मारना, हिंसा करना, दुःख देना	to kill
रुधिर् (7.1)	आवरणे	रोकना, घेर लेना, घेरना	to oppose, to be- sieve, to enclose
वस (1.732)	निवासे	निवास करना टिकना	to dwell, to live

continued on the next page

Dhātu-List(continued)			
Roots	Meanings		
	Sanskrit	Hindi	English
चह (1.731)	प्रापणे	बहना, झरना, ढोना, ढो ले जाना	to bear, to carry, to flow as a stream
विश (6.132)	प्रवेशने	अन्दर प्रवेश करना, घुसना	to enter
व्रज (1.154)	गतौ	जाना	to go, to pass away
शासु (2.68)	अनुशिष्टौ	आज्ञा करना, कहना, बोध करना, अधिकार करना, शासन करना, शासक होना	to govern, to in- struct, to teach, to inform; to advise; to order; to enact
शीङ् (2.25)	स्वप्ने	सोना, शयन करना	to sleep, to lie down
ष्ठा (1.663)	गतिनिवृत्तौ	स्थिर होना, उहरना	to stand, to stay, to be
हृञ् (1.640)	हरणे	ले जाना, हरण करना, चोरी करना	to carry, to take, to steal, to destroy

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