Vibhakti-Level Divergences Between Sanskrit And Hindi

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

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

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

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

1. Vibhaktis optionally found in Sanskrit but absent in Hindi

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

• दिवः कर्म च (divah karma ca)

That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव (diva) 'to play' is called karma (object), as well as karaṇa (instrument).

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eg., अक्षान् दीव्यति (akṣān dīvyati)/
अक्षै: दीव्यति (akṣaiḥ dīvyati)
पासों से खेलता है (pāsom se khelatā hai)
dices with plays be-Pres
'(He) plays with dices.'
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In the above sanskrit example, अक्ष (akṣa) is the instrument of the verbal root 'दिव (diva)' expressed through the third case-suffix derived from the rule साधकतमं करणम् (sādhakatamam karaṇam) but due to the optional rule दिव: कर्म च (divaḥ karma ca), the instrument of the verbal root 'दिव (diva)' becomes accusative taking the second case-suffix. Whereas in Hindi sentence this optional rule does not apply and hence it will remain instrumental taking the third case-suffix from the rule साधकतमं करणम् (sādhakatamam karaṇam).

• गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि

(gatyarthakarmani dvitīyācaturthyau cestāyāmanadhvani)

In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the second (Accusative) or the fourth (Dative) case, in denoting the 'object', when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

eg., बालकाः विद्यालयाय गच्छन्ति (bālakāḥ vidyālayāya gacchanti)/ बालकाः विद्यालयं गच्छन्ति (bālakāḥ vidyālayaṁ gacchanti) बालक विद्यालयं जाते हैं (bālaka vidyālaya jāte haiṁ) boys school go-Impf be-Pres 'Boys go to school'.

Here in the Sanskrit sentence it is seen that विद्यालय (vidyālaya) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix when used with the verbal root such as 'गम् (gam)' implying motion but that which does not imply any pathway from the optional rule गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुथ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि (gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyācaturthyau ceṣṭāyāmanadhvani) and from the general rule कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म (karturīpsitatamaṁ karma) it remains also an accusative taking the second case-suffix. But again this optional rule is not applicable here and it remains accusative with generally no case-suffix.

2. Sanskrit has certain exceptional rules but Hindi does not need them.

Sutras where Pāṇini has given exceptional rules for cases by restricting the general rules. But these exceptional rules are not applicable in Hindi.

• अधिशीड्स्थासां कर्म (adhiśīnsthāsām karma)

That which is the site of the verbs शी (sī) 'to lie down', स्था (sthā) 'to stand', आस (āsa) 'to sit', when preceded by the preposition अधि (adhi) is, however, called karma kāraka or object.

eg., बालकः पर्यङ्गम् अधिशेते (bālakaḥ paryaṅkam adhiśete) लड़का पलग पर सोता है (laḍakā palaṁga para sotā hai) boy bed on sleep be-Pres 'Boy sleeps on the bed'. बालकः ग्रामम् अधितिष्ठति (bālakaḥ grāmam adhitiṣṭhati) लड़का गांव में रहता है (laḍakā gāṁva meṁ rahatā hai) boy village in stay be-Pres 'Boy stays in the village'. बालकः मञ्चम् अध्यास्ते (bālakaḥ mañcam adhyāste) लड़का मंच पर बैठता है (laḍakā maṁca para baiṭhatā hai) boy stage on sit be-Pres 'Boy sits on the stage'.

In the above Sanskrit examples, the location आधार (ādhāra) of the verbal roots 'श्रीङ् (śīṅ)', 'स्था (sthā)' and 'आस् (ās)' preceded by the verbal prefix 'अधि (adhi)', पर्यङ्क (paryaṅka), ग्राम (grāma) and मञ्च (mañca) respectively becomes accusative taking the second case-suffix. But this sutra does not apply in Hindi, so पर्यङ्क (paryaṅka), ग्राम (grāma) and मञ्च (mañca) remains locative and takes in the seventh case-affix.

• दिवस्तदर्थस्य (divastadarthasya)

The object of the verb दिव (diva), when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking', takes the sixth case-affix.

eg., शकुनिः शतस्य दीव्यति (śakuniḥ śatasya dīvyati) शकुनि सौ रुपए जीतता है (śakuni sau rupae jītatā hai) shakuni 100 rupees win be-Pres 'Shakuni wins 100 rupees'.

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

3. Sanskrit and Hindi use different nominal cases.

Sutras where $P\bar{a}nini$ gave rules for case-relations and case-suffixes whereas Hindi has altogether different case-relation and case-suffixes in the same context.

• क्रुभदृहेर्ष्यांस्यार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः (krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānam yam prati kopaḥ)
In the case of the verbs having the sense of क्रुभ (krudha) 'to be angry', दृह (druha) 'to injure / hate', ईर्ष्या (īrṣyā) 'to envy', अस्या (asūyā) 'to detract', the person against whom the feeling of anger and the like, is directed is called Sampradāna.

(a) नृपः दुष्टाय ऋध्यति (nṛpaḥ duṣṭāya krudhyati) eg., राजा दृष्ट पर क्रोध करता है (rājā duṣṭa para krodha karatā hai) राजा दृष्ट से क्रोध करता है (rājā dusta se krodha karatā hai) king wicked with anger do-Impf be-Pres 'The King is angry with the wicked'. (b) दुर्जनाः सज्जनाय दृह्यन्ति (durjanāḥ sajjanāya druhyanti) दुर्जन सज्जन से द्रोह करते हैं (durjana sajjana se droha karate haim) wicked good with hate do-Ipmf be-Pres 'The wicked hates the good'. (c) मूर्खाः चतुराय ईर्ष्यन्ति (mūrkhāḥ caturāya īrṣyanti) मूर्ख लोग चतुर से ईर्ष्या करते हैं (mūrkha loga catura se īrsyā karate haim) foolish people wise with jealous do-Impf be-Pres 'Foolish people are jealous of the wise'. (d) दुर्योधनः युधिष्ठिराय अस्यति (duryodhanaih yudhisthirāya asūyati) दुर्योधन युधिष्ठिर में दोष निकालता है (duryodhana yudhisthira mem dosa nikālatā hai) duryodhana yudhisthira in fault bring out be-Pres 'Duryodhana finds fault in Yudhisthira'.

From the above Sanskrit sentences (a) due to the verbal root 'कुध (krudha)', दुष्ट (duṣṭa) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes locative and ablative taking the seventh and fifth case-suffixes respectively. In the same way in (b) and (c) due to the verbal roots 'दृह (druha)' and 'ईर्ष्यो (īrṣyā)', सज्जन (sajjana) and चतुर (catura) respectively becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes ablative taking the fourth case-suffix. In (d) due to the verbal root 'अस्या (asūyā)', युधिष्ठर (yudhiṣṭhira) becomes dative taking the fourth case-suffix from the above rule whereas in Hindi it becomes locative taking the seventh case-suffix.

4. Divergences at the level of non-kāraka nominal suffixes

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

• सहयुक्ते अप्रधाने (sahayukte apradhāne)

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

eg., रामेण सह सीता वनं गच्छति (rāmeṇa saha sītā vanam gacchati) राम के साथ सीता वन जाती है (rāma ke sātha sītā vana jātī hai) rama with sita forest go be-Pres 'Sita goes to forest with Rama'.

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