

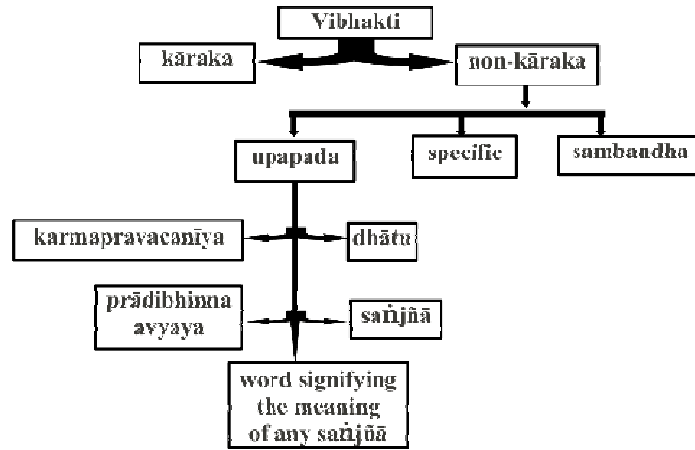
Vibhakti and Kāraka: Pāṇinian Perspective

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In Sanskrit both the *sup* and *tiṅ* suffixes are termed as vibhakti pratyayas¹. Sup suffix is added to a nominal stem and tiṅ suffix is added to a verbal root. The vibhakti in Sanskrit represents the relations between a noun and 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. We discuss in this paper the concept of vibhakti and its relation to kāraka through Pāṇinian perspective.

Nominal vibhakti classification in Sanskrit:



The seven vibhakti markers in Sanskrit terminology are prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī and saptamī (first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh case suffix respectively). Pāṇinian sūtras 'anabhihite' till 'caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣya' (P -2.3.1-2.3.73) focuses only on vibhakti. The vibhakti in Sanskrit is broadly classified into two kinds as shown in the above figure, viz.,

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1 vibhaktiśca (supatīṇau vibhaktisañjñau staḥ -S.K.) (P-1.4.104)

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.

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.² Here too almost all the seven case suffixes are used as upapada vibhaktis. Upapada vibhakti is of five types³:

Karmapravacanīyā:

According to कर्मप्रवचनीयाः (P-1.4.83), karmapravacanīyā is “that which previously expressed a verbal activity but presently it does not”⁴. Even Bhartṛhari has stated in his work 'Vākyapadīyam' that karmapravacanīyā 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.⁵ Here dyotaka in the sense it is different from the typical function words such as the vibhaktis. 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 karmapravacanīya anu. Thus japa takes the second case suffix from the rule कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया (P-2.3.8)

Panini has listed around 11 karmapravacanīyās 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*, *maryādāvacana*, *lakṣaṇa*, *itthambhutākhyāna*, *bhāga*, *vipsā*, *pratinidhi*, *pratidāna*, *ānarthakya*, *pūjā*, *atikramaṇa*, *padārtha*, *sambhāvana*, *anvavasarga*, *garhā*, *samuccaya*, *svāmya* and *adhikāra*.

Prāḍibhinna avyaya:

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

- △ In conjunction with the indeclinable *antarā* or *antareṇa*, the word takes the second case suffix.⁶ e.g.,

'antarā devavāṇīm mā vyāharsīh'.

2 padam āsṛitya jāyamānā vibhaktiḥ upapadavibhaktiḥ

3 This classification is based on Tripathi [1977]

4 karma kriyām-proktavantaḥ prakāśayantaḥ karmapravacanīyāḥ iti -M.Bh on P-1.4.83

5 kiyāyā dyotako nāyaṁ sambandhasya na vācakaḥ |
nāpi kriyāpadāpekṣī sambandhasya tu bhedakaḥ || -V.P.2.204

6 antarāntareṇayuke -P-2.3.4

- ⤴ In conjunction with the indeclinable *saha*, the word takes the third case suffix.⁷ e.g.,
'mata putrena saha agacchati'.
- ⤴ In conjunction with the indeclinable *vinā*, the word takes the second, third and fifth case suffix.⁸ 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.⁹ e.g.,
'gurave namaḥ', 'sarvebhyaḥ svasti', etc.

Sañjñā:

Words in connection with substantives like *svami*, *svāmī*, *īśvara*, *adhipati*, *dāyāda*, *sākṣin*, *pratibhū*, *prasūta*, *āyukta*, *kuśala*, etc. take the sixth as well as seventh case suffix.¹⁰ e.g.,

'gavām/ goṣu svami', 'āyuktaḥ haripūjanasya/ haripūjane', etc.

Dhātu:

In conjunction with some verbal roots such as *nāth*, *jāsi*, *han*, *nāṭ*, *krath*, *piṣ*, etc., the word takes the sixth case suffix.¹¹ e.g.,

'sarpiṣo nāthate', 'caurasya ujjāsayati', etc.

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.¹² e.g.,

'vanāt/ vanasya dūram, viprakṛṣṭam, antikam, abhyāśam'.

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*.¹³ e.g.,

'vanasya dūram/ 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.¹⁴ Various relationships such as svasvāmibhāva (owner-owned),

7 sahayukte'pradhāne -P-2.3.19

8 prthagvinānānābhistrīyā'nyatarasyām -P-2.3.32

9 namaḥ svastisvāhāsvadhā'laṃvaṣadyogācca -P-2.3.16

10 svāmīśvarādhipatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiśca -P-2.3.39,
āyuktakuśalābhyām cāsevāyām -P-2.3.40

11 āśiṣi nāthaḥ -P-2.3.55,

jāsiniprahaṇanātakrāthapiṣām hiṃsāyām -P-2.3.56

12 dūrāntikārthaiḥ śaṣṭhyanyatarasyām -P-2.3.34

13 dūrāntikārthebhyo dvitīyā ca -P-2.3.35

14 śaṣṭhī śeṣe -P-2.3.50

aṅgāṅgībhāva (part-whole), janyajanakabhāva (produced-producer), etc. come under this. For instance, in the sentence 'sureśasya putrī suṇḍarī asti' - the word sureśa is related to the word putrī through janyajanakabhāva relation and takes the sixth case suffix.

Kāraka vibhakti relation

Each kāraka when expressed through the verbal suffix *tin* takes the first case suffix and in the case of avivakṣā of kārakatva it takes the sixth case suffix denoting the relationship in general. While in other cases due to vivakṣā of kārakatva, the default vibhakti is taken as per the Pāṇinian sūtras 'karmaṇi dvitīyā (P-2.3.2), caturthī sampradāne (P-2.3.13), kartṛkaraṇayostṛtīyā (P-2.3.18), apādāne pañcamī (P-2.3.28) and saptamyadhikaraṇe ca (P-2.3.36)'. 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 anugṛhṇāti, pratigṛhṇāti' (P-1.4.32-41).

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

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* - 'puṣpebhyah spṛhayati' but when it becomes the most desired, it takes the term karma - 'puṣpāṇi spṛhayati'.

Of adhikaraṇa with karma:

Generally all loci are adhikaraṇa but in the following senses these take the term karma: 'gṛham adhiśete, adhiṭiṣṭhati, adhyāste, upavasati, adhivasati, āvasati' and 'sanmārgam abhiniviśate'.

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

karāṇa as well as sampradāna. e.g., 'śatena śatāya vā parikrītaḥ'.

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 grāmam devadattam yajñadattaḥ'. 'vāhayati bhāram 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 grāmam/ grāmāya gacchati'.
2. The object of the verbal root *hu* takes the second as well as third case suffix. e.g., 'yavāgum/ yavāgvā agnihotram juhōti'.
3. The object of the verbal root *jñā* with prefix *sa-* takes the second as well as optionally the third case suffix (P-2.3.22). e.g., 'pitaram pitrā vā saṁjānīte'.
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 tvām tṛṇam 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. Katyayana 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., 'paśum rudrāya yajate'. 'paśunā rudram yajate'.
7. He also accepts the seventh case suffix in the object of *ktā* ending in the affix in (vā. on P-2.3.36). e.g., 'adhīti vyākaraṇe'.

Abbreviations Used:

P	Pāṇinian sūtra
S.K.	Siddhānta Kaumudī
V.P.	Vākyapadīya
vā	vārtika on Pāṇinian sūtra

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