Sanskrit syntax

Selected papers presented at the seminar
on Sanskrit syntax and discourse structures,
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with an updated and revised bibliography
by
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Preface

A strong tradition of linguistics developed in India in the first millenium BCE naturally associated with the heightened awareness of language engendered by the assiduous preservation of oral Vedic texts. The curiousity as well as the need to understand the language of these compositions already several hundred years old instigated the development of systematic linguistic analysis which flourished throughout the two and a half millennia since Pāṇini composed his comprehensive linguistic description of the Sanskrit language by the fourth century BCE. His unprecedented analysis of the language into basic units and reconstitution of utterances in accordance with precise rules laid the foundation for the development of highly sophisticated discussions concerned with the structure of verbal cognition and its relation to speech units ranging from roots and affixes to words, phrases, and sentences. The study of syntax in India is intimately associated with semantics, and the analysis of the semantic content provides the foundation for the generation of linguistic expressions. Relational structures in the domain of consciousness are projected onto speech forms whose arrangement in the string of speech is subordinate.

Modern linguistics developed in Europe beginning in the late eighteenth century as a direct result of the fascination European scholars had with the resemblances of Sanskrit to classical Greek and Latin. Their excitement to discover the relationship among these and a gradually expanding number of languages in what came to be known as the Indo-European family led them to readapt the precise phonetic rules of Indian linguists to historical sound change in the science of historical and comparative linguistics. The great figures of the history of modern linguistics — Jones, Bopp, de Saussure, Bloomfield, and many others — all studied

Sanskrit, and some worked directly on Sanskrit grammatical texts or with learned Sanskrit scholars (*paṇḍita*) intimately familiar with such texts. Even Chomsky's generative analysis of English was inspired by Pāṇinian methods.

Formal and computational linguistics, engendered in the U.S., was dominated by English at its inception and developed in subsequent decades primarily in the environment of European languages. More recently there has been a concerted effort to undertake formal linguistic analysis of a wide variety of languages, with particular interest in those with dramatically different features, and to enrich syntactic theory to account for linguistic variety. Over the past couple of decades there has been a growing interest among a diverse group including Sanskrit scholars and computer scientists who collaborated together to form the Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Consortium. The Consortium has sponsored several symposia in Europe, the U.S. and India since 2007.

Against this background, I was inspired to undertake research to develop universally adequate linguistic theory by formalizing the sophisticated linguistic theories, structures and procedures developed in the Indian linguistic tradition. To do so, for the year 2012–2013, I was awarded a Chaire Internationale de Recherche Blaise Pascal, financed by the State of France and the Région d'Ile-de-France and managed by the Fondation de l'École Normale Supérieure. The project investigated ways in which Indian linguistics could contribute useful insights to contemporary formal linguistics, and designed ways in which Indian linguistic theories could be formalized and implemented computationally. The project focused on Indian semantic and syntactic theory and the semantics-syntax interface where computational linguistic work is flourishing. In the midst of the project I was invited as a Visiting Professor to the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay. The invitation facilitated collaboration sponsored by the Blaise Pascal Chair with several junior Indian scholars. The project culminated

in the organization of the Seminar on Sanskrit syntax and discourse structures held at the Université Paris Diderot, 13–15 June 2013 the program of which is posted on the Sanskrit Library Website (`www.sanskritlibrary.org`) under Events. The theme of the seminar was the exposition of current theoretical knowledge concerning Sanskrit syntax and the application of state of the art methods of computational linguistics to Sanskrit. This book is the publication of selected revised papers presented at that seminar.

The book includes twelve papers by seventeen contributors from divergent backgrounds in European and American linguistics, Pāṇinian grammar, and computer science that converge in dealing with contemporary issues in Sanskrit syntax. Hans Henrich Hock provides a general survey of research on Sanskrit syntax since the publication of the collection on Sanskrit syntax he edited in 1991 (Hock 1991). He brings to our attention challenging formal issues concerning word order, oblique subject agreement, clause coordination, and ditransitivity as well as contrasting discourse structures in different genres. Along with his presentation, he provided a bibliography of research done in the twenty-five years since the publication of his and Madhav Deshpande's combined bibliographies on Sanskrit syntax (Deshpande and Hock 1991). With the gracious consent of the authors and Motilal Banarsidass I have revised and integrated their earlier bibliography with Hock's update in a seventy-two page comprehensive bibliography of Sanskrit syntax containing nearly a thousand entries. Supplemented by the author and title indices at the back of this volume, Hock's survey of research should provide useful and convenient access to research on Sanskrit syntax generally.

George Cardona contributes two papers to the volume. In the first, he deals with how expectancy, ellipsis and suppletion present in ordinary language use of Sanskrit are formalized in interpretive principles (*paribhāṣā*s) in the metalanguage of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyā-yī*. Here he also reiterates the semantic foundation of Pāṇinian

derivational procedure. In the second, he deals with the syntax of the extension and removal of properties, and comparison with respect to shared actions or properties. In that connection, he discusses the two rules that account for the use of the affix *vat* and provides a categorization of which sūtras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* conform to the syntactic pattern described by which rule.

The next paper, by Scharf, Goyal, Ajotikar and Ajotikar, describes a computational implementation of Pāṇini's rules that determine the use of Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada verbal terminations under specific semantic and cooccurrence conditions. The paper necessarily touches upon the different categorization of conditions for voice in the Pāṇinian and European traditions. Aussant examines the presuppositions of European and Indian approaches to word classification generally. She traces contemporary schemes of tagging parts of speech in computational linguistics back to categories described by Dionysius Thrax, and compares them with Indian classification schemes traced back to Pāṇini and Yāska. Joshi compares the concepts of concord and government in European grammar with the concepts of coreferrentiality (*sāmānā-dhikaraṇya*) and unexpressed kāraka roles (*anabhihitatva*) in Pāṇinian grammar.

Several papers deal with the topic of word order and how free it is. Scharf's paper, "Interrogatives," shows that interrogatives locate in positions of focus and topic rather than moving from a position designated by a predetermined principle of word-ordering. Gillon examines various types of ellipsis and their relation to constituent units and the argument structure of lexical items. Amba Kulkarni, Shukla, Satuluri, and Shukl examine proximity constraints on sentences analyzed in dependency structures to precisely determine the degree of freedom in Sanskrit word order. They find that dislocations in prose are limited to cases of unilateral expectancy while in verse dislocations involving mutual expectancy also occur. Scharf, Ajotikar, Savardekar, and Goyal

further examine differences between prose and poetic syntax computationally with significant results. Melnad, Goyal, and Scharf describe software they developed to identify metrical patterns. Finally, Katira and Malhar Kulkarni, examine syntactic violations in sentences identified as erroneous by Charudeva Shastri and present parse trees for them.

As the research in the area of Sanskrit syntax continues to flourish, we plan to furnish bibliographic updates regularly. We therefore invite scholars in the field to inform us of current publications as well as items missing from the bibliography supplied in this volume. Please send complete citations to Hans Henrich Hock and to me at our email addresses provided in the list of contributors.

Let me mention three practical points for readers. (1) While the reference lists for most contributions cover citations in that contribution completely, since most of the citations in Hock's survey of research are to references in the Sanskrit syntax bibliography, only references not included there are contained in the reference list at the end of his contribution. (2) Generally accents in Vedic passages in Devanāgarī are shown using marks proper to the particular Vedic school while accents in Romanization mark the underlying udātta with an acute accent mark (á) and independent svarita with a grave accent mark (à). Cardona marks accents in the Romanization of words in derivation likewise but in finished forms borrows the marks used in Indic scripts for the common system of accentuation described in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*. Hock similarly borrows marks used in Indic scripts to mark accents in the Romanization of *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* passages in accordance with their description in the *Bhāṣikasūtras*. (3) Several contributions use colors for accents in Devanāgarī script, for text in citations of XML markup, and for graphics. These colors will appear in various shades of gray in the printed volumes. Some of the diagrams include text that is illegibly small. Digital versions should display

accurate colors and permit magnification.

Peter M. Scharf   13 June 2015

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Parse trees for erroneous sentences

DIPESH KATIRA *and* MALHAR KULKARNI

Abstract: Many idiomatic peculiarities of Sanskrit have been explicitly noted in the *Aṣṭādhyayī*. However, a similar account of others observed in Purāṇic, epic and classical Sanskrit usage is missing. Charudeva Shastri in his book *Vāgvyavahārādarśa* has taken a note of numerous such usages. In the second half of this book, he presents a corpus of six hundred and fifty-five sentences drawn from modern Sanskrit literature which he deems to be erroneous on various grounds. In around fifty-one of those sentences, he points out errors in the usage of *sup*-suffixes. In this paper, we attempt to comprehend the discussions that explain the errors in a few of these sentences and to fathom the reasoning involved. Based on the discussions, we wish to come up with directive rules for avoiding the errors mentioned and then try to tally them with positive descriptions such as found in Speijer's (1886) *Sanskrit syntax*. We also attempt to present kāraka trees for these erroneous sentences with a hope that they prove to be valuable to the machine translation systems being developed by various institutions.

1   Introduction

This work aims to examine the way in which errors in modern Sanskrit usage are viewed by traditional Sanskrit scholarship. The

work is part of a project undertaken by us to edit, annotate and discuss the three main modern works in this regard, namely, the *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* and *Vāgvyavahārādarśa* by Charudev Shastri (1955, 1976), and the *Śuddhikaumudī* by Janardan Hegde (2004). These three works together give us a collection of more than a thousand sentences that are deemed erroneous by the authors of these works. While listing erroneous sentences, these authors also discuss the causes of errors; these discussions are of particular interest to us. The methodology in analysing these works relies mainly on comprehending the discussions that explain the errors and on fathoming the reasoning involved. The idea is to analyse the reasoning and arguments in as neutral a manner as possible. For the purpose of the present paper, we focus only on the sentences with errors in the usage of *sup*-suffixes mentioned in one of these three texts, namely the *Vāgvyavahārādarśa*.

It is well-known that nominal terminations (*sup*) in Sanskrit are deployed in the following situations:

- when a certain kāraka relation is to be denoted
- to denote the same sense as that expressed by the prātipadika
- to denote various relations (like servant-served relation etc.) that are not kāraka relations
- to denote the connection of a word with a karmapravacanīya
- when a word cooccurs with another word specifically listed in the *Aṣṭādhyayī*.

There cannot be any function-based theoretical explanation for the assignment of the sañjñā *karman* to the substrate (*ādhāra*) of the action refered to by *adhi-śīṁ*, *adhi-sthā*, and *adhi-ās* by

- *A.* 1.4.46 अधिशीङ्ङासां कर्म

and for the consequent second case. The second case is assigned merely to adhere to the idiom of Sanskrit. Many such idiomatic

peculiarities of Sanskrit have been explicitly noted in the *Aṣṭā-dhyayī*. However, a similar account of others observed in Purāṇic, epic and classical Sanskrit usage is missing. Charudev Shastri has taken note of numerous such usages, a few of which have been taken up for discussion in this paper.

2   Modern Sanskrit

Although the term 'modern Sanskrit literature' is often used by scholars, the exact period to be referred to by the term 'modern' in this context is not standardized. However, writers on modern Sanskrit such as Raghunathacarya (2002), Shukla (2002), and Ranganath (2003) consider the literature composed from the 19th century onwards as modern Sanskrit literature. Mishra (2000) in the preface of his recently compiled work *Viṁśaśatābdīsaṁskṛtakā-vyāmṛtam* remarks,

> वस्तुतः विगत दो शताब्दियाँ मे लिखे गये पुष्कल संस्कृत-वाङ्मय का निष्पन्न रीति से किया गया साङ्गोपाङ्ग अध्ययन सिद्ध करता है कि संस्कृत रचनाधर्मिता में अर्वाचीनता (आधुनिकता) का सूत्रपात ब्रिटिश शासनकाल में घटित पुनर्जागरण काल से ही हुआ.

> Actually, an unbiased and thorough study of the bountiful Sanskrit literature written in the last two centuries proves that modernness has crept in as a peculiar character of Sanskrit writings since the renaissance that happened during the British rule.

3   Error analysis

The word 'error' has different meanings and usages relative to how it is conceptually applied. The meaning of the Latin word is 'wandering' or 'straying'. An error is hence a deviation from accuracy

or correctness. The term 'error' is defined in different ways according to the context and the subject in which it is used. In the case of language, an individual language user's deviations from standard language norms in grammar, syntax, pronunciation and punctuation are referred to as errors. The term 'error' is of prime importance in applied linguistics. Johnson and Johnson (1999) define this term as 'breach of a language code resulting in an unacceptable utterance.' They also contrast errors with lapse or mistake. According to them, lapses or mistakes are the result of a failure of performance, while errors are due to an incorrect grasp of the language.

Errors have always been a subject of interest not only for linguists but also for researchers from other spheres such as psychology, mathematics, etc. Error analysis views the errors positively. Errors help teachers to find out how far the pupils have progressed and what remains for them to be learnt. To a researcher in linguistics they provide evidence of how language is learnt and of the strategies and procedures the learners tend to employ. Errors for learners are tools for testing their hypotheses about the nature of the language they are learning. Error analysis is of particular interest in second language learning. Just as the incorrect utterances of children provide important clues regarding child language acquisition, errors committed during learning a second language provide evidence of a built-in syllabus (a definite system of language at every point in the course of its development) of the second language learners. Here an efficient language teaching model may be prescribed based on clues provided by the errors.

4 The standard of correct Sanskrit

Generally, to do error analysis in any language, the speech of the native speakers of that language is considered as standard. Er-

rors are determined by contrasting the utterances of those who are learning that language as their second language with this standard. By collecting these contrasting utterances, a corpus of deviations from the target language norms is compiled. The deviations in this corpus are then classified in various ways. Thus, to determine deviations, we have to determine the standard first. To determine the standard, the structure underlying the speech of native speakers (at various levels) is sought to be understood and formally laid down in the form of rules. The utterences of second language learners are tested against these rules.

In the present study, all the modern Sanskrit literature that is printed and published comes under the purview of this work. Our focus is on the corpus of six hundred and fifty-five (seemingly erroneous) sentences compiled by Charudev Shastri in general, and on the sentences deemed to be erroneous on the grounds of improper use of *sup*-suffixes in particular. We critically examine various reasons assigned by Shastri for deeming them erroneous and attempt to frame directive rules for avoiding such errors and forming sentences agreeable to the idiom of Sanskrit. We wish to see whether these directive rules throw any light on the positive description of Sanskrit available in works like Speijer (1886). We also wish to trace the new trends in Sanskrit usage current due to various factors and try to see which errors (as per traditional grammarians) can be easily accomodated in the structural framework of Sanskrit. We also take into consideration several usages that have gained currency post Shastri's works and attempt to deliberate upon how they can be accounted for.

As discussed above, determining the standard and contrasting the usages with the standard forms the core of error analysis. Today it cannot be said with reasonable surety about even a single speaker of Sanskrit that a person has acquired Sanskrit as his/her mother tongue through a family tradition that can be traced back to antiquity. It is therefore preferable to stick to Charudev Shas-

tri's idea of considering the usages of the learned (*śiṣṭa*) as standard. Shastri quotes the famous lines from the *Mahābhāṣya* on *A.* 6.3.109 to specify his idea of śiṣṭa:

आर्यावर्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृ-
ह्यमाणकरणाः किञ्चिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद्विद्यायाः पारङ्गता-
स्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः ।

However, one can easily make out from various sources that Shastri cites in his work to determine correct usages that many authors post *Mahābhāṣya* also find place in Shastri's list of śiṣṭas. For example, Shastri (1976: 94) cited the *Amarakośa*, which is posterior to the *Mahābhāṣya*, to evidence a point discussed below in §5.5. Yet Shastri's list of śiṣṭas ends with several authentic writers of Classical Sanskrit.

We accept this idea of śiṣṭas from Shastri and further propose to conceptualize this list as an open-ended one which can include more authentic writers of modern times as well. Language is a flow. An attempt to completely curb this flow with a rigid rule set can lead to its complete ruin. However, language is also a system. An exhaustive discription of a language is equally desirable at all times to serve as banks of this flow regularizing it and determining its domain so that it does not flood and disrupt ordinary behavior (*vyavahāra*). With the advancement of time, new concepts and situations are created and many old ones become extinct. For a vibrant language,[1] which adapts itself to changing situations, the entry of new usages with changing times is inevitable. However, at the same time the inherent system ensures that these new usages are suitable to the idiom of the language. Slowly these new usages get assimilated into the system and then govern the entry of newer

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[1]Details of 34 periodicals in Sanskrit are available on the following page of the popular Sanskrit Documents website: http://sanskritdocuments. org/news/SanskritNewspapersandMagazines.html

ones. Holding the usage of śiṣṭas as standard is indeed appropriate, especially in the absence of native speakers who can validate various usages intuitively. However, we propose an open-ended group (similar to the concept of an ākṛtigaṇa found in Pāṇinian grammar) wherein authentic new writers of modern Sanskrit can be assimilated.

5 Discussion of erroneous sentences

5.1 Sentence 1

(1) इह भारते पञ्चसहस्रवर्षेभ्यः प्राक्किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्। (180)[2]

Here in India, five thousand years ago, there was no religion other than the Vedic religion.

5.1.1 Shastri's comments

पञ्चसहस्रमिति समासः पञ्चाधिकं सहस्रमाह न तु पञ्च स-
हस्राणीति विदितं विदुषाम्।तेन पञ्चभ्यो वर्षसहस्रेभ्य इति
वक्तुमुचितम्।तदपि सदोषं विवक्षितार्थासमर्पणात्।न हि त-
तः पूर्वं वैदिकेतरन्मतं नासीदिति विवक्षति।तेनेतः पञ्चसु
वर्षसहस्रेष्विति वक्तव्यम्।असकृच्चायमर्थो विवृत इति नेह
वितन्यते।

Scholars know well that the compound *pañcasaha-
sra* means one thousand and five and not five thousand. Hence it would be appropriate to say *pañca-
bhyo varṣasahasrebhyaḥ* instead of *pañcasahasrava-
rṣebhyaḥ*. This sentence would also be wrong as it does not deliver the expected meaning. The author does not mean that there was no religious belief other

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[2]The numbers in parenthesis written after each sentence hereafter stand for the number of that sentence in Shastri 1976.

than belief in Vedic religion *before that*. Hence, one should paraphrase the sentence as *itaḥ pañcasu varṣasahasreṣu*. I have already explained this point several times before, so I am not elaborating upon it here again.

There are two issues that Charudev Shastri discusses regarding this sentence.

1. The word *pañcasahasra:* Elsewhere in his writing (e.g. 1976: 103), he has already clarified that just as in the case of words like *ekādaśa* the compound is traditionally analyzed as *ekādhikāḥ daśa* to deliver the precise meaning 'eleven', so too here the compound *pañcasahasra* should be analyzed as *pañcādhikaṁ sahasram* and thereby mean 'one thousand and five' and not 'five thousand' as intended by the author of the sentence under consideration. To mean 'five thousand' the speaker would have to say *pañca sahasrāṇi* without compounding the two words.

2. Shastri also finds a problem in the phrase *pañcasahasravarṣebhyaḥ prāk*. Interpreted literally, it does not refer to the situation five thousand years ago; instead it refers to the situation before five thousand years.

Hence Shastri suggests a different and a more apt way of conveying the meaning intended.

(1′) इतः पञ्चसु वर्षसहस्रेषु इह भारते किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्।

5.1.2 Discussion

According to Charudeva Shastry one should use the uncompounded phrase *pañca śatāni* to mean 'five hundred'. However, the

question then arises, how do we make this whole number an adjective? The phrase *pañca śatāni rūpyakāṇi* is not correct because the word *śatāni*, does not denote the enumerated object (*saṁkhyeya*). Hence, it cannot qualify *rūpyakāṇi*. Shastri in his comments on the sentence under consideration provides us with one solution for this. The compound *rūpyakaśatam* should be formed equivalent to the phrase *rūpyakāṇāṁ śatam*. Now *rūpyakaśatam* is a tatpuruṣa compound with the subsequent component *śata* as the principal element. Hence, its neuter gender and singular number are retained even in the compounded state. *Rūpyakaśatam* can be deemed to be denoting the number (*saṁkhyā*). The compound as a whole is now qualifiable by *pañca*. Thus we can say *pañca rūpyakaśatāni*. This is the basis of using the phrase *pañcasu varṣasahasreṣu* suggested by Charudev Shastri.

Another way of expressing the same can be *rūpyakāṇāṁ pañcaśatī* in accordance with the usage observed in the *Pañcatantra*,

(1a) अत्र च महत्तीं वृत्तिं भुञ्जानानां पण्डितानां पञ्चशती तिष्ठति। (Jha 1994: 3).

Here, the compound is derived in the following manner: *pañcānāṁ śatānāṁ samāhāraḥ = pañcaśata + **ṅīp** → pañcaśatī*.[3] The compound when thus derived denotes a saṁkhyā. The saṁkhyeya has to be connected to it with the sixth case. In the sentence under consideration, we may alternatively use this method and say

(1b) इतः वर्षाणां पञ्चसहस्त्र्यां इह भारते किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्।

Both methods though grammatically correct are quite complex.

Instead of saying 'five thousand years', had the author wanted to say 'five thousand five hundred and fifty five years', he would have to say, either (1c) or (1d).

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[3]*A.* 2.4.30 vārttika: अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते (*MBh.* I.480.1) and *A.* 4.1.21 द्विगोः.

(1c) इतः पञ्चपञ्चाशदुत्तरेषु पञ्चसु वर्षशताधिकेषु पञ्चसु वर्षसहस्रेषु इह भारते किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्।

(1d) इतः वर्षाणां पञ्चपञ्चाशदुत्तरायां पञ्चशत्यधिकायां पञ्चसहस्र्यां इह भारते किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्।

Either is a verbose expression. Modern languages permit the use of figures instead. (2007: 127) justifies the expression *pañcasahasravarṣebhyaḥ* saying the following:

द्विगुणितं शतम् = द्विशतम्, त्रिगुणितं शतम् = त्रिशतम् इत्येवं वयं विग्रहवाक्यं वदामः।मध्यमपदलोपी समासः अत्र वक्तव्यः।स च तत्पुरुषभेदः।

This is perhaps the only way to justify the use of the expression *pañcaśataṁ rūpyakāṇi* found on the Indian currency notes of rupees 500. However, the question as to how more complex numbers may be represented with convenience still remains unanswered. Just as one would say *pañcaśatam*, should it be also permitted to say *pañcasahasrapañcaśatapañcapañcāśat* or *pañcapañcāśadadhikapañcaśatādhikapañcasahasram*? Moreover, for ease of writing, if a modern writer wishes to write numbers in figures then questions like the following may arise:

- How is he supposed to use it in various cases, e.g. *5555su varṣeṣu*?

- What would be a uniform method for representing dates like 5/4/2013?[4]

- How to write ordinals, e.g. 555tame varṣe?

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[4]It should be noted that Shastri (1976: 165) rules out even the use of the word *dinānka*. The following are his comments: चतुर्दशदिनाङ्के इति कल्पितो नूतनो व्यवहारः परम्परीणेन व्यवहारेण विसंवदतीति नादृत्यः। 'चतुर्दशे दिने' इत्येव पर्याप्स्यति। अङ्कशब्देन नार्थः।

The construction *pañcasahasravarṣebhyaḥ prāk* is a clear imitation of constructions prevalent in Hindi and other North-Indian languages. In Hindi a sentence like (1e)

(1e) पाँच हजार साल पहले वैदिक धर्म के सिवा दूसरा कोई धर्म नहीँ था।

conveys the appropriate sense of five thousand years ago. Although idiomatic in Hindi, such a usage is not idiomatic in Sanskrit. Hence it would be interpreted literally as before five thousand years and the meaning intended by the author would not get conveyed. This usage is very common in modern Sanskrit. Numerous examples of this usage in modern Sanskrit literature can be cited. The following, in the preface to the edition of the *Sūkti-ratnākara* by a revered grammarian Pundit V. B. Bhagvat (1999: 01), is just one of them:

बहुभ्यः संवत्सरेभ्यः पूर्वं सूक्तिरत्नाकरः नाम महाभाष्यटी-
का हस्तलिखितरूपा मया समधिगता।

Another problem with this usage is that two words, *itaḥ* (which is implied) and *pañcasahasravarṣebhyaḥ* present themselves to fulfill the expectancy of *prāk* leading to ambiguity. It would be difficult to know whether the author means before now or before five thousand years ago. Hence, a more correct way to construct a sentence that would deliver the intended meaning accurately would be (1f).

(1f) इतः पञ्चभिः वर्षसहस्रैः पूर्वं इह भारते किमपि मतं नासीदन्यत्र वैदिकात्।

• *A.* 2.1.31 पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः

supports the use of the third case in relation to the word *pūrva*. Also, with such a construction there would be just one word *itaḥ*

in the ablative case to fulfil the expectancy of *pūrva*. Thus, this kind of a construction would be the most efficient in conveying the intended meaning. However, Shastri (1976: 40) rules out the use of such a sentence, though perfect, on the grounds that such a construction has never been used by the śiṣṭas. Shastri remarks:

सर्वथा निरवद्यो ऽप्ययं प्रकारो न तावत्प्रमाणकोटिं निवि-
शते यावन्न शिष्टैः समर्थनां लभते।

Such a construction is also not seen in modern Sanskrit writings. Hence it does not deserve much attention. Shastri suggests two other ways of communicating the intended meaning accurately. One is to make a sentence such as

(1g) अद्य पञ्च वर्षसहस्राणीह भारते वैदिकेतरेषां मतानामविद्यमाना-
नाम्।

Another is the way it has been demonstrated above in (1′). Both usages are acceptable to the śiṣṭas; however Shastri (1976: 39) explains the exact difference in the expression and the sensibility to select the appropriate one of them in different situations in the following words:

प्रथमः प्रकारस्तु क्वचिदेव सङ्गतः स्यात्।तत्र हि काल-
विशेषस्यातिक्रान्तस्य विशेषणीभूता क्रिया कृत्प्रत्ययान्तेन
षष्ठ्यन्तेनोच्यत इति कालापेक्षया प्रव्यक्ता तस्या गौणता।त-
स्माद्यत्रैवंविधः क्रियाकालो ऽभिप्रेयते तत्रैवैष प्रकार औप-
यिको नेतरत्र।यत्र तु क्रिया प्राधान्येन विवक्ष्यते तिङा
चोच्यते तत्र कालनिर्देशः सप्तम्यैव युक्त इति द्वितीय एव
प्रकारस्तत्र युक्तरूप इति पश्यामः।

The first type (1g) should be employed when the time that has passed away is intended to be emphasized. The action is expressed by words ending in a kṛt suffix. The second type (1′) is used when

the action is to be given more focus by employing verbal termina-
tions (*tiṅ*) and the time is indicated in the locative case in a subor-
dinate manner.

Figure 1 summarizes the discussion above.

Figure 1
Sentence 1

*Iha bhārate pañcasahasravarṣebhyaḥ prāk kimapi mataṁ nāsīd
anyatra vaidikāt.*
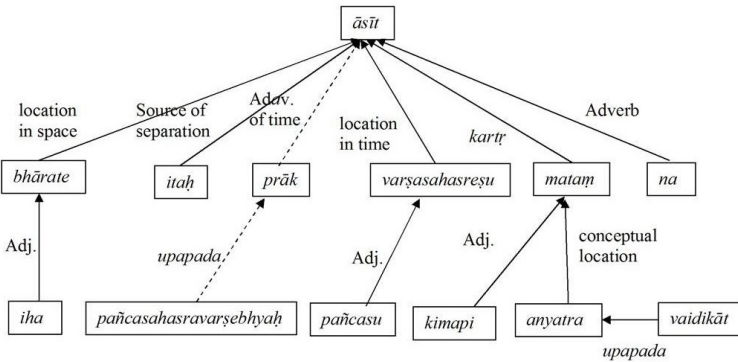
5.1.3   Directive rules

1. A compound with numerals used for denoting numbers
   larger than one hundred should be such that the thing
   counted comes as the first component followed by numbers
   like *śata*, *sahasra*, etc. Additional numbers should be indi-
   cated by separate words that indicate saṁkhyeyas and qual-
   ify these compounds.[5]

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[5]Editor: Adjectival compounds of the type *pañcasahasra* in the sense of 5,000
are not only common but are justified by Pāṇinian grammar. Whitney (1889:

2. To indicate a particular period in the past, words like *adya* and *itaḥ* should be used in the sentence. The words denoting years should be put in the locative case.[6]

5.2   Sentence 2

(2) गुरुणा कुशलप्रश्ने कृते सति तमित्थमुत्तरयति दिलीपः।(95)
A question regarding his welfare having been posed by his teacher, Dilīpa answers it in this way.

179–81) §477c, d . . . §481 cites several and specifically provides examples of *ṣaṭśatāni* in the sense of 600 not 106. Bohtlingk and Roth provide examples with citations, e.g. of *dviśata* in the sense of 200 as well as 102. The *Kāśikā* provides examples of adjectival compounds whose meaning is the product of two numbers. Under *A.* 2.2.25, for example, the example *dvidaśāḥ* is provided of a bahuvrīhi compound in the sense of a counted object (*saṅkhyeya*). On this Jinendrabuddhi specifically describes the sense as multiplicative rather than additive writing: द्विदशाः इति। द्विर्दशेति विग्रहः। सुजर्थे ऽयं समासः। दशसम्बन्धिनी यावृत्तिर् दशशब्देन लक्ष्यमाणा सा द्विशब्देनाख्यायते। Under *A.* 5.4.73 Jinendrabuddhi gives the examples *dviśatāḥ* and *triśataḥ* and comments: तावपि सङ्ख्येये वर्तेत एव, सङ्ख्येयतयैव वार्तस्य सुजर्थस्य चाभिधानात्। Such compounds are therefore adjectives meaning 2 x 10 = 20, 3 x 10 = 30. Therefore *pañcasahasra* is a valid bahuvrīhi compound in the sense of 5,000 years and the phrase *pañcasahasreṣu varṣeṣu* is just as good as Shastri's recommended *pañcasu varṣasahasreṣu*. Nevertheless, the compounding of such numeric adjectives with nouns denoting the counted objects is restricted. Although such compounds would be permitted by the general rule *A.* 2.1.57 विशेषणं विशेष्येन बहुलम्, *A.* 2.1.50 (p. 383) serves to restrict such compounds to sañjñās such as *saptarṣayaḥ*. The compound *pañcasahasravarṣa* would be in violation of that restriction. The same issue arrises in §5.5.

[6]Editor: Usages such as *navame 'hani* and *saptadaśe 'hani* mean on the ninth day or seventeenth day from now. They use an ordinal rather than a cardinal number. To indicate similarly a time in the past 5,000 years ago, one would say *itaḥ pūrvam pañcame varṣasahasre* or *pañcasahasratame varṣe* 'in the fifth millenium' or 'in the five-thousandth year before now' rather than *itaḥ pañcasu varṣasahasreṣu* 'in five millenia'. However, the usage Sastri proposed but deemed not used to indicate a time prior to now by 5,000 years (1f) should be sought further before being dismissed.

5.2.1   Shastri's comments

गुरुणा कृतं कुशलप्रश्नमुत्तरयतीति वक्तव्यम्।भावलक्षणायाः
सप्तम्या नैष विषय इति पूर्वार्द्धे सविस्तरं निगदितमिति तत
एवावधार्यम्।

One should rather say *guruṇā kṛtaṁ kuśalapraśnam
uttarayati*. It has already been clearly explained in the
first section that the use of the seventh case indica-
tive of action (*bhāvalakṣaṇā saptamī*) is inappropriate
here. The first section may be referred to for details.

Shastri engages in an elaborate discussion in the first section of
the *Vāgvyavahārādarśa* regarding the locative absolute construc-
tion, the interpretation of

• *A*. 2.3.37 यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् (सप्तमी 36)
  The seventh vibhakti occurs after a nominal base the action
  of which characterizes another action.

and the opinions of various grammarians regarding it. He (1976:
35) concludes as follows:

यस्य कर्तुः कर्मणो वा क्रिया क्रियान्तरस्य लक्षणं भवति
स चेत् कर्ता कर्म वा क्रियान्तराश्रयात् कर्तुः कर्मणो वा
भिद्येत तत्रैव सप्तमी स्यात्, अभेदे तु मा भूदिति.

The kartṛ or karman bringing about the indicating (*lakṣaka*) action
should be different from the kartṛ or karman participating in the
action indicated (*lakṣya*). Only then is such a use of the seventh
case appropriate. In (2), the indicating action of posing (*karaṇa*)
and the indicated action of answering (*uttaraṇa*) both belong to the
same object, namely the question (*praśna*). Hence Shastri deems
this sentence erroneous and prefers (2′) instead.

(2′) गुरुणा कृतं कुशलप्रश्नमुत्तरयति दिलीपः । 'Dilīpa answers the
    question regarding his welfare posed by his teacher.'

5.2.2 Discussion

Whether the subjects of the two actions (i.e., the one that indicates
and the one that is indicated) must be different or may be the same
is not clear either from the statement of *A.* 2.3.37 or from the vari-
ous discussions available on the rule in the tradition. Shastri quotes
the following words from the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottamadeva:

> यस्य क्रिययाऽन्यस्य क्रियान्तरं लच्यते ततः सप्तमी
> 'The seventh (vibhakti) occurs after that by the action
> of which another action is characterized.'

Consider the following sentence:

(2a) रामे वनं प्रतिष्ठमाने स पितुः प्रतिज्ञामेव मनस्यकरोन्नान्यत्किञ्चि-
त्।(Shastri 1976: 35)
'Rama setting out for the forest, he kept in his mind just his
father's oath and nothing else.'

According to Shastri's conclusion, (2a) would not be correct. Here
the kartṛ of both the indicating action of setting out (*prasthāna*)
and the indicated action of keeping (*karaṇa*) is Rāma.

The case of the following sentence is a little different:

(2b) हते दशास्ये विभीषणो लङ्काराज्ये ऽभिषिषिचे रामेण। (Shastri
1976: 35)
'The ten-headed one (Rāvaṇa) having been slain, Vibhīṣaṇa
ṭas consecrated in the rulership or <r>Laṅkā by Rāma.'

Here also the kartṛ of both the indicating action of slaying (*ha-
nana*) and indicated action of consecrating (*abhiṣecana*) is Rāma.
However, the use of the bhāvalakṣaṇā saptamī would be appropri-
ate here. In the previous sentence, both words indicating action
were in agreement with the kartṛ. Here although the kartṛ is the
same, the words indicating action are in agreement with the ka-
rman and not with the kartṛ. Hence, the identity of kartṛ in this
case does not restrict the use of the bhāvalakṣaṇā saptamī.

The case of (2) is different from that of both (2a) and (2b). In (2), there are two actions involved, namely posing (*karaṇa*) and answering (*uttaraṇa*). The word indicating the first action (*kṛta*) is in agreement with the word indicating the karman (*praśna*). Though the question is also the karman of the second action (*uttaraṇa*), the word indicating that action is not in agreement with *praśna*. Rather, it is in agreement with the word indicating the kartṛ (*dilīpa*). Shastri has provided no explanation for deeming the sentence as erroneous in this situation. Based on the discussions above we therefore form the directive rule as in §5.2.3. Moreover, if tam be considered as referring to the teacher (*guru*) of the previous clause, then the sentence would also have to be considered as correct.

The tree in Figure 2 summarizes the discussion above.

Figure 2
Sentence 2

Guruṇā kuśalapraśne kṛte sati tam ittham uttarayati dilīpaḥ.
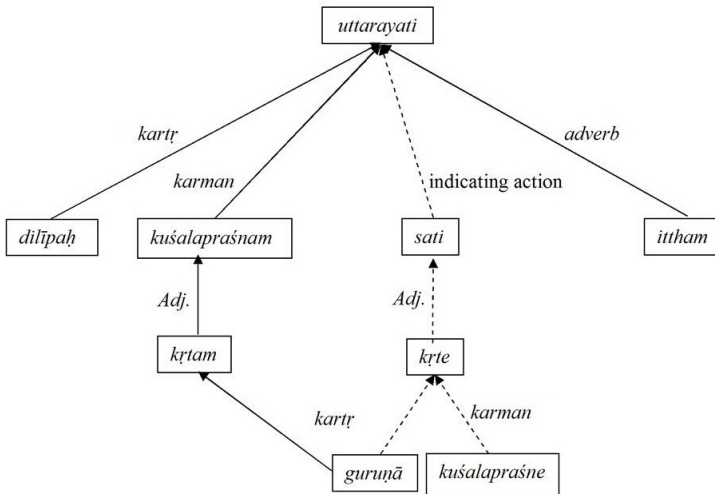
5.2.3   Directive rule

In the case of a bhāvalakṣaṇā saptamī, the kartṛ or karman of the indicated action should not be same as that of the kartṛ or karman with which the indicating action is in agreement.[7]

5.3   Sentence 3

(3) यदि नाम तत्तद्ग्रन्थाध्यापनं संस्कृत एव भवेत्तदा च्छात्रा बहूपकृताः
स्युः ।(93)

If the relevant books were taught in Sanskrit only, the students would be benefited a lot.

5.3.1   Shastri's comments

संस्कृतेन भवेदित्येव साधु।वाग्घि करणं द्वारमध्यापनस्येति
तृतीयैव युक्ता यद्वाचाऽनभ्युदितमित्यादिषु तथा दर्शनात्।

Saying *saṃskṛtena bhavet* (instead of *saṃskṛte*) would be correct, since language is an instrument or a means of teaching. The same is observed to be so in the usages such as

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[7]Editor: In (2), the participles kṛta and sat refer to and characterize the question which is the karman of the action of answering (*uttaraṇa*) which conditions the dvitīyā vibhakti by *A.* 2.3.2. In (2b), *A.* 3.4.21 would require the use of an absolutive after the root denoting the action that takes place in prior time. Rāma is the agent of both the indicating action of slaying (*hanana*) and the indicated action of consecrating (*abhiṣecana*). Because the slaying occurs previously, *A.* 3.4.21 provides the affix *ktvā* after the root *han*. Rāvaṇa, as the karman of the action of slaying, would condition the dvitīyā. The result would be in a sentence such as (**??**) रामेण दशास्यं हत्वा विभीषणो लङ्काराज्ये ऽभिषिषिचे। The sentence might pass if Rāma's agency in the prior act of slaying is not desired to be expressed (*avivakṣita*). Similarly by not (2) might pass by not intending the identity of the praśna as the karman of the action denoted by *kṛ* and as the karman of u-ttaraṇa.

(3a) यद्वाचाऽनभ्युदितम् *Kena Upaniṣad* 1.4a
'which has not been expressed by speech'.

(3′) यदि नाम तत्तद्ग्रन्थाध्यापनं संस्कृतेनैव भवेत्तदा च्छात्रा बहूपकृताः स्युः ।

5.3.2 Discussion

Sentence (3) seems to be a faithful imitation of the case usage in Hindi, Marathi, etc. in such a context. The name of the language of instruction or communication is used with the preposition में in Hindi. The above sentence is a direct translation of the following Hindi sentence: …संस्कृत में ही हो …. There is no such convention found in Sanskrit. Hence going by the literal meaning, the language being a medium or instrument of instruction should be represented in the instrumental case as in (3′). Shastri substantiates his opinion by providing (3a). Many modern Sanskrit writers are tempted to use the locative instead. This very error can be shown with the help of Figure 3.

Figure 3
Sentence 3

Yadi nāma tattadgranthādhyāpanaṁ saṁskṛta eva bhavet tadā chātrā bahūpakṛtāḥ syuḥ.
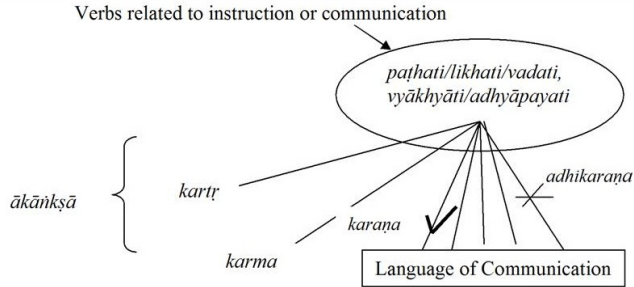
5.3.3   Directive rule

The medium of communication (usually the name of a language) should be linked to the verb related to communication by the third case.

5.4   Sentence 4

(4) नवोढोऽयं युवाऽतिमात्रमनुरज्यते वध्वाम्।(17)

This youth who has just married loves his wife excessively.

5.4.1   Shastri's comments

स्त्री नवोढा भवति।पुरुषस्तु वोढा।वहनक्रियायां पुरुषस्य कर्तृत्वं स्त्रियाश्च कर्मत्वं प्रसिद्धम्।परिवेत्तानुजो ऽनूढे ज्येष्ठे दारपरिग्रहादित्यत्रानूढे इत्यत्र उत्तरपदलोपो द्रष्टव्यः।अनू- ढो ऽनूढदार इत्यर्थः।एवं परिणयक्रियायामपि द्रष्टव्यम्। तेन सद्यः कृतदारः अचिरकृतविवाहः इति वा वक्तव्यम्। तत्राचिरं कृतो विवाहो येनेति विग्रः।

A woman is called *navoḍhā* 'newly brought (home)'. A man is called *voḍhā* 'one who brings her'. It is well-known that a man is the subject and a woman is an object with reference to the action of bringing (home), i.e. getting married. In the sentence,

(4a) परिवेत्तानुजो ऽनूढे ज्येष्ठे दारपरिग्रहात्। 'When an elder son is unwed, a younger son will marry after (the elder's) taking of a wife.'

there is an elision of the subsequent component of the compound. *anūḍha* 'the one who is not brought (home)' means *anūḍhadāra* 'the one who has not brought his wife (home)'. The same is the case with the verb *pari + ṇī*. Hence one should use either *sa-dyaḥ kṛtadāraḥ* or *acirakṛtavivāhaḥ* (to mean 'just

married'). The explanation of *acirakṛtavivāha* is the one who has married recently.

The adjective *navoḍha* is usable only for a woman and not for a man. The reason is that it is the man who performs the function of bringing along (*vahana*), and it is the woman who is brought along by the man.

(4′) सद्यः कृतदारः . . .
अचिरकृतविवाहो ऽयं युवातिमात्रमनुरज्यते वध्वाम्।

5.4.2 Discussion

Words referring to the ubiquitous institution of marriage differ in different languages. The word in English is 'marriage' while that in Sanskrit is *vivāha*. The primary meaning of the word 'marriage' is 'an act of bringing about union'. In Sanskrit, one has to look at it as the act merely of a man. A woman is passive in this ritual. Thus the man is the kartṛ of the action referred to by *vi + vah*, while a woman is the karman. The same is the case with other Sanskrit words denoting the ritual of marriage namely *pari + nī*, *upa + yam*, *pāṇigrahaṇa* etc. The differences in the constructions used to describe marriage are a classic example of how cultural contexts affect not only the vocabulary of a language but also syntactic relations, in this case kāraka relations.

Figure 4 summarizes the discussion above.

5.4.3 Directive rule

When roots concerning marriage such as *vi + vah*, *pari + nī*, etc. are used, the man should be placed in the role of the kartṛ and a woman should be placed in the role of the karman.

Figure 4

Sentence 4

Navoḍho 'yaṁ yuvātimātram anurajyate vadhvām.
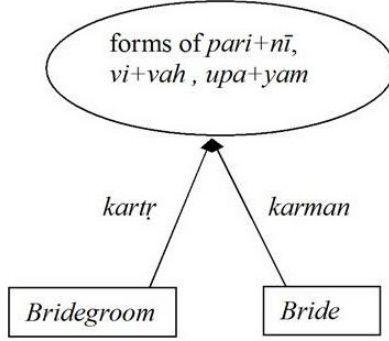
5.5   Sentence 5

(5) सहस्रदिव्ययुगानामेकं ब्राह्मं दिनं भवति।(20)
One day of brahman is equal to a thousand divine yugas.

5.5.1   Shastri's comments

सहस्रं दिव्ययुगानीति वक्तव्यम्।अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला इत्यादिषु संज्ञासंज्ञिनोः सामानाधिकर-ण्येन प्रयोगदर्शनात्।षष्ठी तु दुरुपपादा।क्वचित् संज्ञासंज्ञि-भावमविवक्षित्वा करणे तृतीया प्रयुञ्जते वाचि कोविदाः।द्वौ द्वौ मार्गादिमासौ स्यादृतुस्तैरयनं त्रिभिरित्यमरे यथा।अत्र भवतीति शेषः।

One should say *sahasraṁ divyayugāni* instead, since the usage of the same case for the name and the thing named can be seen in the sentence

(5a) अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कलाः। (*Ama-rakośa 1.4.11*)
'Eighteen *nimeṣa*s make one *kāṣṭhā* and thirty kāṣṭhās make one *kalā*.'

It is difficult to substantiate the use of the sixth case here. At times, unwilling to express the relationship of name and the thing named, the experts of speech use the third case in the sense of instrument as can be observed in

(5b) द्वौ द्वौ मार्गादिमासौ स्यादृतुस्तैरयनं त्रिभिः। (*Ama-rakośa 1.4.13*)
'Each of the two months beginning with Mārga is a season (*ṛtu*). A course (of the sun) (*ayana*) (is constituted) by three of these.'

In this construction the word *bhavati* 'becomes' is implied.

5.5.2 Discussion

Shastri sees two problems with (5):

1. Compounding is not acceptable between *sahasra* and *divya-yuga* due to the constraint that such compounds are limited to conventional nouns by

   • *A.* 2.1.50 दिक्सङ्ख्ये सञ्ज्ञायाम्।[8]

2. The sixth case in *sahasradivyayugānām* is inappropriate.

He therefore suggests the following two possible revisions:

(5′) सहस्रं दिव्ययुगानि ...
सहस्रेण दिव्ययुगैः ब्राह्मं दिनं भवति।

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[8]Compare §5.1 and note 5.

What would have led the author of (5) to use the sixth case? The author of must have assumed a śeṣa relation between the yugas and a day of brahman and deployed the sixth case in accordance with *A.* 2.3.50.[9] One may say that *yuga*s are the components (*avayava*) and a day of brahman is the whole possessed of them (*avayavī*). But then the idea that a thousand divine yugas completely exhaust a day of brahman is not tapped. One may alternatively think of yugas as the original material (*prakṛti*) and a day of brahman as its modification (*vikṛti*). But there is no processing of the yugas in order to make a brāhma dina similar to the way one has to process gold to prepare ornaments. A thousand divine yugas are the components that make one brāhma dina. While neither of these two relations seems appropriate, the author must have conceived of some such relation to justify the use of the sixth case.

Is there any rule ordaining the use of a particular case or prohibiting the use of the sixth case in such a usage? There is no particular rule in Pāṇini ordaining any case or prohibiting the use of the sixth case in this situation. So the sixth case may be comfortably used without violating any of Pāṇini's rules. Mere unavailability of any particular rule in Pāṇini for a particular situation cannot be the basis for deployment of the sixth case according to Shastri. One has to look for the usages by the śiṣṭas in similar situations. Accordingly Shastri advocates two other ways of expressing this idea drawing support from the usage found in the *Amarakośa*.

Shastri conceptualizes two ways of looking at the relationship between a thousand divine ages (*sahasradivyayuga*s) and a day of brahman (*brāhma dina*). One way is to look at them as two notions. Further, the notion of brāhma dina is based upon the notion of divya yugas. He thus rightly sees a nameable-name relationship between the two. The nameable and name have been used in the

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[9]See Cardona *Extension rules* §2.2.2 (p. 61).

same case (though their gender and/or number may be different at times) at numerable places in the classical literature. The following are a couple of examples:

(5c) शौचसन्तोषतपस्स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः। (Patañjali *Yogasūtra* 2.32)

(5d) क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा।(*A.* 1.1.26)

In (5c) the number of both the nameable and the name is the same. However, while the nameable is in neuter gender, the name is in masculine gender. In (5d) the nameables are used in the dual number while the name is used in the singular.

One can neglect the nameable-name aspect existing between a thousand divine ages and a day of brahman and merely say that the former lead to the formation of the latter. However, as discussed above, both yuga and a day of brahman are notions. There is no actual process of formation of a day of brahman with yugas. Hence the use of the third case as per *A.* 2.3.18 is not completely justified. However, such a use is still valid as per Shasrti it is admitted by the śiṣṭas.[10]

Figure 5 summarises the above discussion.

5.5.3 Directive rule

Several homogenous individual components constituting a whole are not to be represented in the sixth case assuming that they are the material causes of the whole. Instead nameable-named relation between the two should be expressed by representing both of them

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[10]Editor: The use of the instrumental *tribhiḥ* in *Amarakośa* 1.4.13 is accounted for by *A.* 2.3.23 *hetau*. If, on the other hand, one supplies the verb *as* 'to be', then the three months are termed *karana* by *A.* 1.4.42 and the tṛtīyā is provided by *A.* 2.3.18. In either case, the use is provided for by the *āstadhyayi*.

Figure 5

Sentence 5

Sahasradivyayugānām ekaṁ brāhmaṁ dinaṁ bhavati.
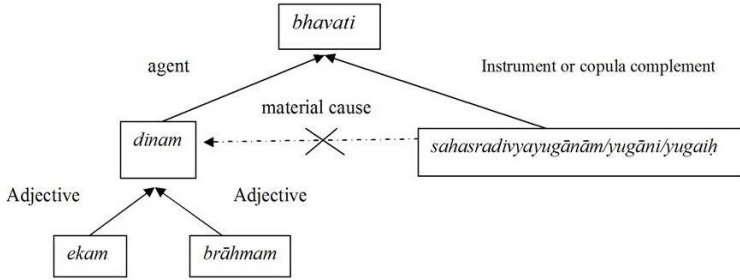
in the first case. Alternatively such individual components should be deemed as instruments triggering the action and represented in the instrumental case.

5.6   Sentence 6

(6) महात्मभिरपि सममनर्थकं द्विषन्ति मलीमसधियः ।(36)
The wicked-hearted nurture hatred even for great men.

5.6.1   Shastri's comments

द्विष अप्रतीताविति सकर्मकः ।तथा च कुमारे प्रयोगः ।द्विष-
न्ति मन्दाश्चरितं महात्मनामिति।तेन महात्मनो द्विषन्तीति
वक्तव्यम्।

The root *dviṣa apratītau* is transitive. The same is supported by the following usage in the *Kumārasa-mbhava*:

(6a) द्विषन्ति मन्दाश्चरितं महात्मनाम्।
'The idle hate the deeds of the great.'

Hence one should use *mahātmano dviṣanti*.

5.6.2 Discussion

It is apt to make a construction like

(6b) रामः सुग्रीवेण (सह) मिलति।

but saying *sugrīvaṁ milati** would not be appropriate because the root *mil* is intransitive according to Pāṇini's *dhātupāṭha*. Shastri suspects the same error by the author of (5). The fact is however that the root *dviṣ* in (5) is transitive; great men (*mahātman*) are the karman of *dviṣ*. The correct construction is shown in (6′). Shastri in his corpus of 655 sentences has incorporated numerous such examples where transitive roots have been dealt with as if they were intransitive and vice versa. Figure 6 summarizes the discussion.

(6′) महात्मनो ऽप्यनर्थकं द्विषन्ति मलीमसधियः।

5.6.3 Directive rule

The root *dviṣ* 'hate' is transitive in Sanskrit. Hence, the object of hatred should be expressed in the second case.

5.7 Sentence 7

(7) केचिन्मन्दास्त्वरिततरमध्ययनात्परिग्लाना गुरुकुलात् समावर्त-
न्ते।(37)
Some lazy ones return from the gurukula as they get bored with studying very quickly.

Figure 6
Sentence 6

Mahātmabhir api samam anarthakaṁ dviṣanti malīmasadhiyaḥ.
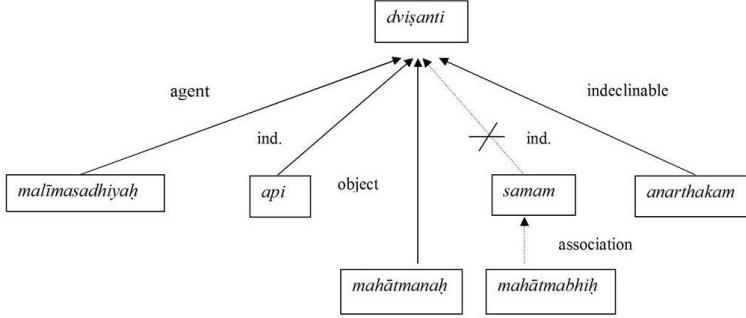
5.7.1   Shastri's comments

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्येति वचनाल्लिङ्गाद् ग्लायतिना यो-
गे चतुर्थी व्यवहारानुपातिनी भवति।तेनाध्ययनाय परिग्ला-
ना इति वक्तव्यम्।

From the indication of the vārttika पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे
चतुर्थ्या the fourth case in connection with the root *glā*
is in accordance with correct usage. Hence one should
use *adhyayanāya parigālanāḥ*.

5.7.2   Discussion

Though Pāṇini has specified the use of a specific case in relation to
the root *glai* either under the adhikāra *kārake* or under the adhikā-
ra *anabhinite*, Kātyayana has indicated the use of the fourth case
for the object towards which *glāni* 'disinterest' is expressed in the
following vārttika related to the formation of prādi compounds:

- पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या (*A.* 2.2.18 *vt.* 4, *MBh.* I.417.1),

According to Shastri, the same should be followed while making sentences using the root *glai*. Hence the correct formulation of (7) is shown in (7′). Figure 7 summarizes the discussion.

(7′) केचिन्मन्दास्त्वरिततरमध्ययनाय परिग्लाना गुरुकुलात्समावर्त-
न्ते।

Figure 7
Sentence 7

Kecin mandās tvaritataram adhyayanāt pariglānā gurukulāt sa-māvartante.
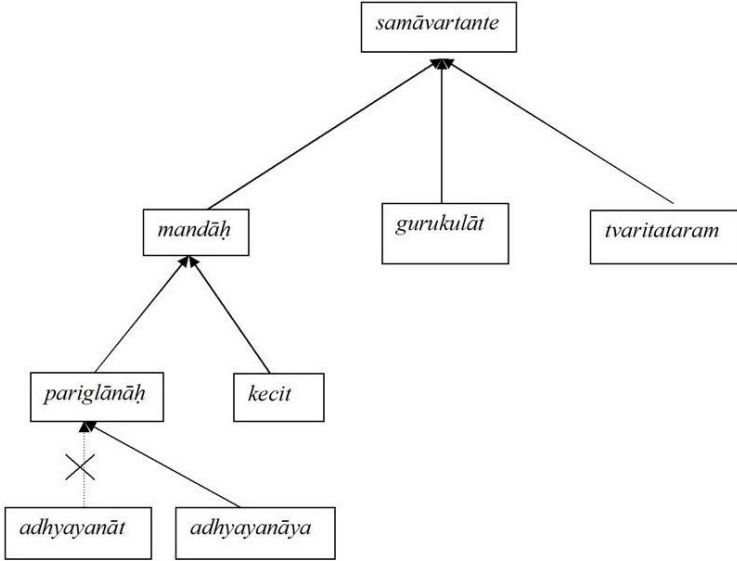
5.7.3   Directive rule

The tiresome activity is to be represented in the fourth case when the root *glai* is used.

5.8   Sentence 8

(8) यथा द्विरेफो ऽन्तरारामेषु भ्राम्यन्पुष्याणां मध्ववचिनोति तथा सत्यं
मार्गिता जनः सम्प्रदायानां सत्यमादत्ते।(66)

Just as a honeybee wandering about in the grove sucks the
nectar from the flowers, a person investigating truth imbibes
truth from various sects.

5.8.1   Shastri's comments

अस्ति कारकत्वविवक्षेति पुष्पाणि पुष्पेभ्य इति वा वक्त-
व्यं सम्प्रदायान् सम्प्रदायेभ्य इति च।सम्बन्धाचिख्यासा
तु नातीव युक्तेति षष्ठी नोपपद्यते।गुरुपूर्वानुक्रमेण शिष्य-
प्रशिष्येभ्यो दीयमान उपदेशः सम्प्रदायो भवति।प्रकृते तु
मतविशेषाभिनिविष्टानां समुदायो विवक्षितः, तेन सम्प्रदा-
यशब्दोऽस्थाने।

Here there is a definite *kāraka* relation to be expressed.
Hence, one may use *puṣpāṇi* or *puṣpebhya* and *sa-
mprādāyān* or *sampradāyebhyaḥ*.   Mere relation is
not desired to be expressed. Hence, the use of sixth
case is inappropriate. The word *sampradāya* means
the preaching that a disciple gets through the tradition
of gurus. In the present context, the meaning intended
to be expressed is 'a group of people adhering to a
particular belief system'. Hence, the use of the word
sampradāya is inappropriate.

5.8.2   Discussion

Charudev Shastri has two issues with this sentence. Firstly, he
doesn't agree with the use of the sixth case in *puṣpa* and *sampradā-
ya*. Indeed, nectar (*madhu*) is a part of a flower (*puṣpa*), so the part-
whole relationship can be expressed using the sixth case. However,
here, with the use of the root *ci*, the emphasis is not on the part-

whole relationship. Rather it is on the process of separation of the part, i.e. the nectar from the fixed (*dhruva*) whole, i.e. the flower. Hence, the use of fifth case is appropriate. Since, the root ci has been included among roots that govern two direct objects (*dvikarmaka* roots) listed in the verse cited under *A.* 1.4.51 अकथितं च , (first at *MBh.* I.329.19) the second case may also be optionally used. These alternatives are shown in (8′). Figure 8 summarizes this discussion.

(8′) यथा द्विरेफो उन्तरारामेषु भ्राम्यन्पुष्पाणि पुष्पेभ्यो मध्ववचिनोति तथा सत्यं मार्गिता सम्प्रादायान्सम्प्रदायेभ्यः सत्यमादत्ते।

Figure 8
Sentence 8

Yathā dvirepho 'ntarārāmeṣu bhrāmyan puṣpāṇāṁ madhv avacinoti tathā satyaṁ mārgitā janaḥ sampradāyānāṁ satyam ādatte.
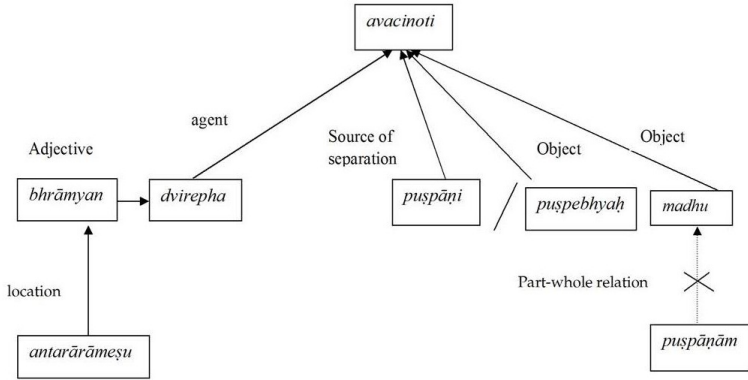
Secondly, Shastri points out that the word *sampradāya* is not used in Sanskrit in the sense in which it is being put to use in modern Indian languages. It doesn't mean 'group of people adhering

to a particular belief system'. Numerous words have been borrowed from Sanskrit by modern Indian languages where they have changed their meanings. They now seem to be re-entering modern Sanskrit with their new connotations. A list of just a few such words found in Charudev Shastri's corpus appears in Table 1.

5.8.3   Directive rule

A part-whole relationship is not to be expressed if such a part is being separated from the whole. Instead, separation is to be represented by using the fifth case in the word denoting the whole. In the case of the roots *duh*, *yāc*, *math*, *muṣ*, *ci*, and *ji* the second case is also permitted there.

5.9   Sentence 9

(9) अन्धं तमः प्रविष्टः पुमान्परेशं प्रकाशाय याचेत। (72)
A person who has entered heavy darkness should pray to God for light.

5.9.1   Shastri's comments

प्रकाशं याचेतेत्येवं न्यासो निर्दोषः स्यात्।
prakāśaṁ yāceta only is correct.

5.9.2   Discussion

The root *yāc* has also been incorporated in the list of dvikarmaka roots under *A.* 1.4.51. Hence it can have two karmans. One candidate for the post of karman here is pareśa while the other is prakāśa. So one may either say, *pareśaṁ prakāśaṁ yāceta* or *pareśāt prakāśaṁ yāceta*. The author of (8) has used the subordinate karman correctly in the second case, while he has surprisingly used

Table 1

Word sense in Sanskrit versus in modern Indian languages

Word	Modern meaning	Sanskrit meaning
आदर्श	ideal	mirror
मिल्	to get	to meet
भावुक	connoisseur	wellbeing
जीवित	living/live	life
जीवन	life = span of life	life = sentience
आयुस्	age	total span of life
प्रकृति	nature/creation	unmanifest cause of the world (*mahat*)
प्रतिशोध	revenge	use not found in this sense in classical Sanskrit
परमार्थ	offering help to others	an account of what has happened in the past (bhū-tārtha)
प्रान्त	region	border
चिन्तित	worried	it was thought (by someone)
संकीर्णता	narrowness	state of being mixed
सत्ता	power	existence, goodness
उपयुक्त	useful	used
काठिन्य	difficulty (in understanding)	toughness, cruelty
माला	necklace	garland
संयोगेन	by chance	union, joining
माध्यम	medium	relating to the middle
पाठक	reader	teacher

the candidate for the position of the main karman in the fourth
case.

Perhaps there is some different idea behind this usage.   One
may compare the part *prakāśāya yāceta* in the above sentence with
vanāya mumoca in

(9a) वनाय पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्सां यशोधनो धेनुमृषेर्मुमोच। (*Raghuvaṁśa*
2.1).

Mallinātha quotes

- *A.* 2.3.14 क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः
  The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object
  (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthānin) in a sen-
  tence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith an-
  other verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the
  future action. (Vasu 1909)

and comments on the word *sthāninaḥ* as follows:

अप्रयुज्यमानस्य क्रियार्थोपपदस्य धातोः अनभिहिते कर्म-
णि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति (Jijnasu 1964: 212).

Just as *vanāya mumoca* can be paraphrased as *vanaṁ gantuṁ mu-
moca*, it is also possible to paraphrase *prakāśāya yāceta* as *prakā-
śaṁ prāptuṁ yāceta*. The only difference between the two exam-
ples is that *vana* in (9a) denotes the karman of *gantum* whereas it
is not related to the action of the verb *mumoca* in any way. In (9)
however, the light denoted by *prakāśa* qualifies to be the karma-
n of both *prāptuṁ* as well as *yāceta*. Shastri's opinion about the
sentence implies that *A.* 2.3.14 does not apply in such a situation.

(9′) अन्धं तमः प्रविष्टः पुमान्परेशं (or परेशात्) prakASaM yAc-
eta.</s>

Figure 9
Sentence 9

Andhaṁ tamaḥ praviṣṭaḥ pumān pareśaṁ prakāśāya yāceta.
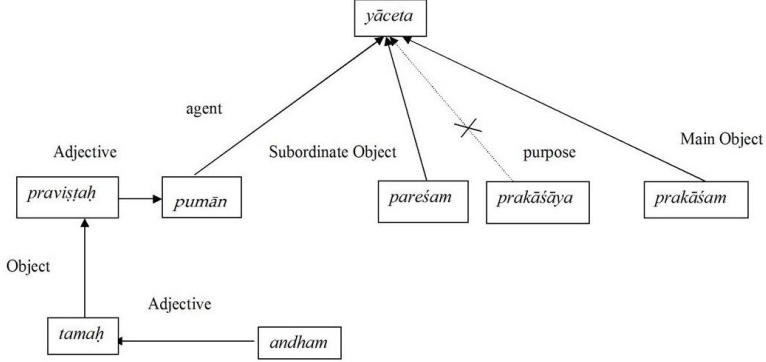
5.9.3   Directive rule

When the object of the kriyārthakriyā and the aprayujyamāna dhā-tu is one and the same, then such an object should be written in the second case.

5.10   Sentence 10

(10) प्रीत्यां च सहयोगे च राष्ट्रस्य संश्रयो भवति।(82)
Betterment of a country lies in affection and cooperation.

5.10.1   Shastri's comments

संश्रयणं संश्रीयत इति वा संश्रयः।उभयथापि प्रीत्यामिति
सहयोग इति च सप्तम्यौ नोपपद्येते।प्रीतिः सहयोगश्च राष्ट्र-
स्य संश्रय इत्येवं व्यवहरणीयम्।
Saṁśraya may be understood either as the process of
taking refuge (*saṁśrayaṇa*) or the one who is resorted

to (*saṁśrīyate*). In both situations the seventh case of
the words *prīti* and *sahayoga* would be inappropriate.
One should paraphrase the sentence in the following
way instead: *prītiḥ sahayogaśca rāṣṭrasya saṁśrayo.*

(10′) प्रीतिः सहयोगश्च राष्ट्रस्य संश्रयो भवति।

Figure 10
Sentence 10

Prītyāṁ ca sahayoge ca rāṣṭrasya saṁśrayo bhavati.
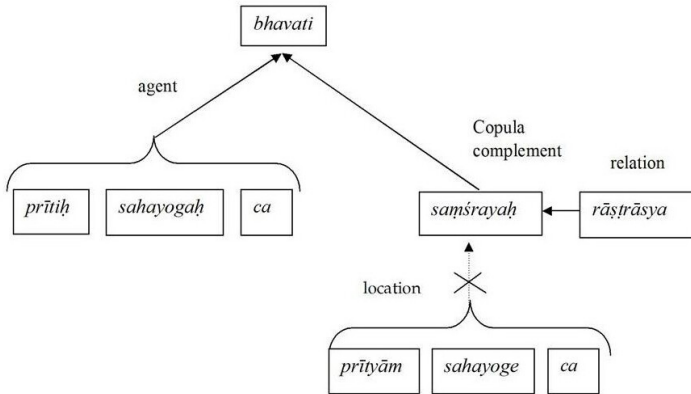
5.10.2   Directive rule

The thing resorted to should be represented in the first case as a
complement of the subject.

6   Conclusion

Various aspects regarding ten sentences from Shastri's corpus have been discussed in detail above. New insights related to the correct use of kārakas have been listed as derivative rules. The tree charts for erroneous sentences have also been presented. The paper aims at drawing the attention of scholars towards the need to investigate more aspects of the kāraka system that are left undescribed or undetailed by Pāṇini through the survey of Sanskrit literature and to formalize them in order to bring more completeness to the description of the kāraka system in Sanskrit. It was also an attempt to trace new trends in modern Sanskrit writings with a view to invoke discussions about the need either to alter them or to accept and account for them. The parse trees are also expected to be of some assistance for improving the efficiency of machine translation systems.

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