

## THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE UPAPADAS

(*upapadas* ; *saha*, *vinā*, *namah*, etc.)

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Pāṇini has divided all *padas* into two groups : *subanta* and *tinanta*. Of these, all the terms denoting (a) nouns, (b) adjectives, (c) pronouns, (d) derivatives like *taddhita* and *kṛdanta*, (e) compounds, as well as those (f) *padas* (the *nipātas*) which must be inflected with reference to the case endings but which inflections have again to be removed, are all brought under the group *subanta*. Pāṇini has listed such *padas* (f), i.e. *nipātas* in three groups : *cadi* (1.4.57), *pradi* (1.4.58) and *svaradi* (1.1.37).

Depending upon their use in the sentences, the traditional grammar divides the *nipātas* into three categories : (i) *upasarga* and *gati* (prefix), (ii) *karmapravacanīya* (postposition) and (iii) *avyaya* (indeclinable).

It must be noted, in this context that, both, Bhartṛhari and Yāska have something to say about these groups. Bhartṛhari has discussed the grammatical functions of the prefixes (*upasargas*) and the post-positionals (*karmapravacanīyas*) of the *pradi* category<sup>1</sup>. He has also discussed the grammatical functions of some of the *nipātas* of the other two categories<sup>2</sup>.

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1. (i) उपसर्ग :

स वाचको विशेषाणां सम्भवाद् द्योतकोऽपि वा ।  
शक्त्याधानाय घातोर्वा सहकारी प्रयुज्यते ॥

(VP. II. 188)

(ii) कर्मप्रवचनीय :

क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।  
नापि क्रियापदाक्षेपी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥

(VP. II. 204)

2. निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थभिधायिनः ।

आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥

(VP. II. 192)

Yaska's categorization of the *nipātas* differs from the one offered by Pāṇini. He divides them semantically into three groups : *upamāṛthaka*, i.e. those denoting the similes ; *karmopasaṅgraha rthaka*, i.e. those denoting conjunctions ; and *padapūraṅārthaka*, i.e. those that are merely gap-fillers<sup>3</sup>.

It would seem, no discussion, has been offered as yet, of some of the *nipātas* that are described traditionally as the ones leading to the case-inflections, commonly known as the *upapadas*, e.g. *saha*, *vinā*, *rte*, *namaḥ* etc. Pāṇini, in this context, has only confined himself to the giving of the rules of syntax<sup>4</sup>. He too is silent on the grammatical functions of such *nipātas*.

A closer look at these *upapadas* makes it possible, as is shown here, to arrive at some conclusions regarding their functions and behaviour. A statement about any action must first indicate the participants/doers of action, e.g. [*Ramaḥ kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulaṇ*] *pacati*. and then indicate their relationships with the world : [*Dasarathasya Ramaḥ*,] [*vrkṣasya kaṣṭhaiḥ*,] [*guroḥ taṇḍulaṇ*,] *pacati*. The statement might also include a mentioning of time and place : [*adya*] [*sthalyaṁ*] *Ramaḥ kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulaṇ pacati*. In some cases the statement would extend to the context/situation from the point/s of view of doer/action. For the indication of this last, terms like सह, विना, ऋते, नमः etc. are used.

3. i) तेषामेते (इव, न, चित्, नु) चत्वार उपमार्थे भवन्ति ।

... अग्निरिव । इन्द्र इव ॥ I. 4.

ii) अथ यस्यागमादर्थपृथक्त्वमह विज्ञायते ... स कर्मोपसङ्ग्रहः । (तद्यथा) चेति समुच्चयार्थ उभाभ्यां संप्रयुज्यते ॥ अहं च त्वं च वृत्तहन्निति । ... वेति विचारणार्थे 'हन्ताहं पृथिवीमिमां नि दधानीह वेह वेति' ॥ I. 4.

iii) अथापि पदपूरणः । इदमु । तदु । I. 5. । अथ ये प्रवृत्तेऽर्थेऽमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा आगच्छन्ति पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेषु अनर्थकाः । कम् ईम् इद् उ इति ॥ I. 9.

4. i) अन्तरान्तरेण युक्ते । २. ३. ४ ; ii) नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधा० । २. ३. १६ ; iii) सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २. ३. १९ ; iv) अन्यारादितर-त्तेदिक्शब्दाञ्चू० । २. ३. २९ ; v) पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीया० । २. ३. ३२ ; vi) यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २. ३. ३७ ।

An analysis of the following sentence will help to understand the interplay of the different components : *adya sthalyam Lakṣmaṇena saha [Daśarathasya (putrah) [caturah [Rāmaḥ]]]* *kāṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulān pacati. sahayukte 'pradhāne* (2.3.19) governs the suffix (*ṭā*) attached to Lakṣmaṇa.

Apparently, this does not indicate the sense of an “instrument” : the use of the case-suffix is either conventional, or as, *śabdasādhutva-prayojikā vibhakti*<sup>5</sup>. The sense of accompaniment is due to the use of the *upapada* like *saha*.

The statement thus indicates Rāma's being accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa for the purpose of this specific action of cooking. The phrase, *Lakṣmaṇena saha* merely adds to the noun Rāma—just as *caturah* or *Daśarathasya* add to the meaning of the same noun. All three additions—*Daśarathasya*, *caturah* and *Lakṣmaṇena saha*—illumine Rama, the performer of the action of cooking. The phrase, *Lakṣmaṇena saha*, performs the function of an adjective, a part of which, i.e. *saha*, indicates only the fact of accompaniment. Indeed, the *upapada*, *saha* wherever and whenever it occurs, it should be concluded, indicates only the fact of accompaniment.

It would be interesting to investigate the syntactic implications—in contradistinction to the semantic implications explored above—of *saha*. In the statements *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇasca gacchataḥ* and *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇena saha gacchati* ; the former implies two doers of the same action both equally focussed, while the latter, focusses on *Rāmaḥ*, indicating Lakṣmaṇa as merely one who accompanies the main doer of the action. This latter statement establishes a hierarchical relationship between the two doers of the same action.

Indeed Pāṇini's term *apradhāna* in his aphorism *sahayukte 'pradhāne* (2.3.19) clearly implies hierarchy in such situations. The use of the more recent term, ‘defocussing’ appears to be less adequate as the phrase *Lakṣmaṇena saha* does not detract from *Rāmaḥ* ; in fact, the phrase reinforces the attention on the main doer. It must, however be conceded that though philosophically, and syntactically, the statement establishes hierarchy, there may also be a case for defocussing from a psychological standpoint. In any case *saha*

5. न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या, नापि केवलः प्रत्ययः ॥

—१. २. ६४ इत्यत्र भाष्यम्

in conjunction with a co-doer of action in such statements appears to be adjectival semantically and hierarchical philosophically.

*vinā* is another *upapada* similar in behaviour to *saha*. The use of *vinā* in *adya... Bharatam/Bharatena/Bharatāt vinā Daśarathasya (putrah) caturah Rāmah vanam gacchati*, makes for some finer implications.

It means that which was expected—the accompaniment of Bharata—could not be brought about. Even so, the conclusions reached in case of *saha*, would also seem to apply to *vinā* too.

In addition to the functions of *saha* and *vinā* investigated above, it would be interesting to investigate also the use of *sati-saptamī* (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam* 2.3.37) designated as *upapada* by Patañjali<sup>6</sup>.

In the statement *goṣu duhyamānasu Rāmah gataḥ ; goṣu duhyamānasu* contextualizes the situation of the exit of *Rāmah*, whereas the *upapada*, *udayati savitari* in the statement *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* contextualizes the time of the lifting of darkness. In either case, it can be seen, the *upapadas* formed by the use of *sati-saptamī* (2.3.37) semantically add to basic statement about action itself—*gataḥ* and *naṣṭam*—, the same way as the *upapadas* *saha* and *vinā* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of the action.

Lastly a mention must also be made of those *upapadas*—*namah*, *svasti*, *svāha*, *svadhā*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ* that take upon themselves the function of a verb, in the absence of a *tiṅanta pada*. In the statements *Gaṇeśāya namah*, *Sītāyai svasti*, *Indrāya svāha* etc. the *upapadas* *namah*, *svasti*, *svāha* etc. function as verbs.

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6. (i) अत एव 'यस्य च भावेन०' (२. ३. ३७) इति सप्तम्यपेक्षयाधिकरण-  
सप्तम्या बलवत्त्वमनेन न्यायेन 'तत्र च दीयते' (५. १. ९६) इति सूत्रे  
भाष्ये ध्वनितं, कैयटेन स्पष्टमुक्तम् ॥ —परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः—९४.
- (ii) मासे दीयते इति नैषाऽधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि ? 'यस्य च भावेन०'  
इति । 'तत्र भवः' इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तमी आश्रिता, 'उपपदविभक्तेः  
कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी' इति न्यायात् । ५. १. ९६ इत्यत्र कैयटः ।

In support, attention may be drawn to the fact that *Nagesa* has already noted the presence of the concept of action (*kriyātva*) in *upapadas* like *namah*<sup>7</sup>.

To conclude, it is possible to go beyond the traditional attitude to the *upapadas*, which limits itself to the formation of the syntactic rules only, and say that, the *upapadas* like *saha* and *vinā* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of action ; the *sati saptamyanta upapadas* add to the basic statement about the action itself, and that the *upapadas* like *namah*, *svasti*, *svaha*, *svadha*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ* take upon themselves the function of a verb.

*Note* :—This paper was read at All India Oriental Conference, 31st Session, Oct. 1982, Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

[How it is that *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* exhibits no case of free morphemes of the adverbial nature like *saha*, *vinā*, *namah*, *ṛte* etc. and still it is instanced by you? —Editor

"My paper concentrates on two types of *upapadas* (i) the free morphemes of adverbial nature and (ii) those that are used in the *bhāva saptamī* (= *sati saptamī*), where the use of the seventh case is governed by Pāṇini 2.3.37 (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*).

The *padas* (terms) *udayati savitari* jointly and severally function as *upapadas*. Cf. my foot note No. 6". —The Author]

7. अत्र च नमः पदार्थस्यापि क्रियात्वं, मुण्डयती मुण्डस्य इव ॥

—परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः—१४.