THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE UPAPADAS

(upapadas; saha, vinā, namaḥ, etc.)

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Panini has divided all padas into two groups: subanta and tiṅanta. 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 nipatas) 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. Panini has listed such padas (f), i.e. nipatas 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 nipatas into three categories: (i) upasarga and gati (prefix), (ii) karmapracanāya (postposition) and (iii) avyaya (indeclinable).

It must be noted, in this context that, both, Bhartṛhari and Yaska have something to say about these groups. Bhartṛhari has discussed the grammatical functions of the prefixes (upasargas) and the post- positionalss (karmapracanāyas) of the pradi category. He has also discussed the grammatical functions of some of the nipatas of the other two categories².

1. (i) उपसर्गः:
   स वाचको विशेषांका सम्बन्धार्थ सवोत्कृतपि वा।
   शब्दवात्मानार्थ्य धातोवर्ण सहकारी प्रयुक्तते॥
   (VP. II. 188)

(ii) कर्मप्रवचनीयः:
   क्रियाया शोतको नामः सम्बन्धः न. वाचकः।
   नापि क्रियापदोपो सम्बन्धः तु भेदः॥
   (VP. II. 204)

2. निपाता शोतकः: केचित्तुकगर्भामिधायः।
   प्राम्यमा इव केवल प्रभुः सम्बन्धार्थ्य वाचकः॥
   (VP. II. 192)

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Yaska's categorization of the nipatas differs from the one offered by Panini. He divides them semantically into three groups: upamarthaka, i.e. those denoting the similes; karmopasaṇagḥaṛthaka, i.e. those denoting conjunctions; and padapuraṇarthaka, i.e. those that are merely gap-fillers.

It would seem, no discussion, has been offered as yet, of some of the nipatas that are described traditionally as the ones leading to the case-infections, commonly known as the upapadas, e.g. saha, vina, ṛte, namah etc. Panini, in this context, has only confined himself to the giving of the rules of syntax. He too is silent on the grammatical functions of such nipatas.

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. [Rāmaḥ kaśṭhāiḥ tāṇḍulan] pacati, and then indicate their relationships with the world: [Dasarathasya Rāmaḥ,] [vṛksasya kaśṭhāiḥ,] [guroh tāṇḍulan,] pacati. The statement might also include a mentioning of time and place: [adyaḥ] [sthalayāḥ] Rāmaḥ kaśṭhāiḥ tāṇḍulan 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 suḥ, vinā, ādite, nām: etc. are used.

3. i) तेषामेव (हत्र, न, चित्र, न) चतुर्वर्ष उपमानोऽवर्तित ।
   ... अभिनिर्वत । हत्र हत ।। I. 4.

ii) अथ यस्यामावर्षपूर्वस्वस्तः विज्ञायते ... स कर्मोपसङ्ग्रहः।
   (तथाय) वैति समुच्चयार्थ उभयाः संभूधयते॥ अऽ च हत्र च
   ब्रह्महिनिः। ... वैति विचारणार्थः 'हताहु पुरैयमेः
   नि वधानीहं वेतेः वैति' ।। I. 4.

iii) अथापि पद्धूरणः। हत्रु । तदुः। I. 5। अथ वै प्रवृत्तेऽदमिताक्षरेऽपु
   ग्रन्थेऽवाक्यपूर्णः आगच्छित्तिः पद्धूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेऽपु
   प्रवृत्तकः। कवम् हत्रु हत्रु उ हित।। I. 9.

4. i) अथपर्वतरणव युक्ते । २. ३. ४;  ii) नमः स्वसितवाङ्काव्यि ।
   २. ३. १६;  iii) सहस्रस्वर्गाधानः। २. ३. १९;  iv) प्रावादित्वर-
   तैदेशात्वास्वमेऽपु । २. ३. २९;  v) प्रवृत्ववाचनास्विन्नवृत्तीयि ।
   २. ३. २२;  vi) यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्। २. ३. ३७।

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An analysis of the following sentence will help to understand the interplay of the different components: \textit{adya sthalyam, Lakṣmaṇena saha Daśarahasya (putrah) caturah Ramah kaśṭhaiḥ tṇḍulam pacati. sahayukte 'pradhāne (2.3.19) governs the suffix (ta) attached to Lakṣmaṇa.}

Apparantly, this does not indicate the sense of an “instrument”: the use of the case-suffix is either conventional, or as, \textit{śabdasadhvutva-prayojika vibhakti}. The sense of accompaniment is due to the use of the \textit{upapada} like \textit{salia}.

The statement thus indicates Rāma’s being accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa for the purpose of this specific action of cooking. The phrase, \textit{Lakṣmaṇena saha} merely adds to the noun Rāma—just as \textit{caturah} or \textit{Daśarahasya} add to the meaning of the same noun. All three additions—\textit{Daśarahasya}, \textit{caturah} and \textit{Lakṣmaṇena saha}—illumine Rāma, the performer of the action of cooking. The phrase, \textit{Lakṣmaṇena saha}, performs the function of an adjective, a part of which, i.e. \textit{saha}, indicates only the fact of accompaniment. Indeed, the \textit{upapada}, \textit{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 \textit{saha}. In the statements \textit{Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇaśca gacchataḥ} and \textit{Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇena saha gacchati}; the former implies two doers of the same action both equally focussed, while the latter, focusses on \textit{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 \textit{apradhāna} in his aphorism \textit{sahayukte 'pradhāne (2.3.19)} clearly implies hierarchy in such situations. The use of the mere recent term, ‘defocussing’ appears to be less adequate as the phrase \textit{Lakṣmaṇena saha} does not detract from \textit{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 \textit{saha}

5. न केवल प्रकृति: प्रयोक्तव्य, नापि केवल: प्रत्ययः ॥

—१ २. ६४ इत्यव्य भाष्यम् (१८८)
in conjunction with a co-doer of action in such statements appears to be adjectival semantically and hierarchical philosophically.

*vina* is another *upapada* similar in behaviour to *saha*. The use of *vina* in *adya... Bharataṁ/Bharatena/Bharatāt vina Daśarathasya (putrah) caturah Rāmaḥ 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 *vina* too.

In addition to the functions of *saha* and *vina* investigated above, it would be interesting to investigate also the use of *sati-saptami* (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam 2.3.37*) designated as *upapada* by Patañjali.

In the statement *gosu duhyamānāsas Rāmaḥ gataḥ; gosu duhyamānāsas* contextualizes the situation of the exit of Rāmaḥ, 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-saptami* (2.3.37) semantically add to basic statement about action itself—*gataḥ* and *naṣṭam*—, the same way as the *upapadas saha* and *vina* 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 *vaṣāt* that take upon themselves the function of a verb, in the absence of a *tiṁanta pada*. In the statements *Gaṅeṣṭyā namah, Siṁyāi svasti, Indrāya svāha* etc. the *upapadas namah, svasti, svāha* etc. function as verbs.

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6. (i) भत एवं ‘यसौ च भावेनो’ (२. १. ३७) इति सप्तस्मृयाकादिकरण-सप्तस्मृयाबलबन्वने भावेन ‘तत्र च दीयले’ (५. १. ७९) इति सुन्दे भाष्ये ध्वनित, कौयेतन सप्तमृयातमू।। —परिभाषेतुनेहरः—९४।
(ii) मासी दीयले इति नैषाधिकरणसप्तस्मृयात रि कि तापु? ‘यसौ च भावेनो’ हिति ‘तत्र भवः’ हितं चाधिकरणसप्तस्मृयात्वा भाभिता, ‘उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तबल्लीयसि’ हिति न्यायात्तु। ५. १. ७६ हितं कैयतः।

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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 *namaḥ*.

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 *vina* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of action; the *sati saptamya* *yanta upapadas* add to the basic statement about the action itself, and that the *upapadas* like *namaḥ*, *svasti*, *svaha*, *svadha*, *alam* and *vasha* 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 nas tam* exhibits no case of free morphemes of the adverbial nature like *saha*, *vina*, *namaḥ*, 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 *Panini* 2.3.37 (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalahāranam*).

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

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7. अतः नमः पदार्थस्यापि क्रियालयम्, शुष्ककोशी शुष्कत्वं हि ॥

—पञ्चायत्युज्वरोऽ—९४

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