

A critique of the concept of kārakas as explicated in the Sādhana-Samuddeśa of the *Vākyapadīya*

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0. This paper is divided into three sections.

1. The first deals with the concept of kārakas (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.23) as the intra-sentential relations which contact between the verb and the nominals in a given sentence. It has been suggested that the concept of kāraka is a linguistic universal at the deep structure of a sentence (C. Fillmore [1968], N. Chomsky [1970]; cf. N. Chomsky [1965]).

2. The second section discusses the kārakas as mentioned in the Sādhana- Samuddeśa (साधन-समुद्देश) of the *Vākyapadīya* (III सा.स.44).

सामान्यं कारकं तस्य सप्ततया भेदयोनयः ।
षड्धर्माख्यादिभेदेन शेषभेदस् तु सप्तमी ॥

The *Vākyapadīya* suggests that *sādhana* (kāraka) is instrumental in the fruition of an action denoted by the verb occurring in a sentence—क्रियाणामभिनिष्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यं साधनं विदुः (III सा.स.1). The definition ignores the dominant role a verb plays in a sentence. A nominal by itself cannot be assigned a kāraka relation, unless it relates to the verb co-occurring in the sentence. The dictum '*kriyā-janakam kārakam* need be interpreted as '*kriyā janikā yasya tat kārakam*' (क्रिया जनिका यस्य तत् कारकम्).

The *Vākyapadīya* proposes a threefold classification of '*īpsita-karma*', i.e., '*nirvartya*', '*vikārya*', and '*prāpya*', which appears redundant. If the componential analysis of a verb is adhered to, and this is must for specifying the Case-Frame of a sentence correctly, there is no need of the three-fold classification of the '*īpsita-karma*'. For illustrating this point in a sentence like पत्रम् लिखति vs पत्रम् पठति ('X writes a letter' vs 'X reads a letter'), it is the componential semantic analysis of the verb '*likhati*' which would specify that *karma* (the letter) is being generated while the action of writing is being completed. Against this, the verb '*paṭhati*' admits a *karma* which is already in existence. Thus the suggestions of the threefold '*īpsita-karma*' leads to redundancy. Pāṇini's rule "*karturīpsitatamaṁ karma*" is capable of explicating such examples.

The *Vākyapadīya* proposes the seventh kāraka *śeṣa* (शेष) which needs close examination in regard to its scope and tenability.

As far as the *adhikaraṇa-kāraka* (अधिकरण) is concerned, spatial-temporal nominal "*adhikaraṇa*", exhibits 'self-embedding', as in the citation below, which does not characterize other kārakas.

***bālakah-prakoṣṭhe-śayyāyām-śete* (the boy-in the room-in the cot-sleeps)**

3. In the third section, taking the cue from positing *śeṣa* as the seventh kāraka (not suggested specifically by Pāṇini) postulation of kārakas like *sambodhana*, *sambandha* and *parimāṇa* will be suggested in this paper.

In sum, a verb or *kriyā* (क्रिया) is the most significant segment of a sentence and nominal (s) should be allowed in its case-frame as required by the semantic componential analysis of the verb. This would eliminate the generation of semantically deviant sentences like '*agninā siñcati*' also.