

The notion of *prayokṭṛdharma* in VP 3.9.105 and some later grammatical works

Vincenzo Vergiani
University of Cambridge

The multidimensional semantic complexity of ordinary utterances is duly taken into account in Pāṇini's grammar as long as its various dimensions affect word derivation. Thus, expressive meanings, which reflect the speaker's feelings and attitudes, appear in several sūtras as semantic conditions for various grammatical operations, as pointed out by Saroja Bhate in her contribution to Prof. S.D. Joshi Felicitation Volume (1991). This function of language was theorised by later grammarians as *vyāñjanā* 'suggestion', alongside *abhidhā* 'denotation' and *lakṣaṇā* 'figurative (i.e. metaphorical and metonymic) function', in the wake of the poetological speculation initiated by Ānandhavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (9th c. C.E.). However, the earlier grammatical tradition, from Bhartṛhari onwards, had tried to tackle this elusive aspect of semantics from a strictly linguistic point of view, offering different solutions of great theoretical and historical interest. One such attempt is the interpretive category of *prayokṭṛdharma* "property of the speaker" found in *Vākyapadīya* (VP) 3.9.105, where it refers to *āśamsā*, the speaker's 'expectation' that a certain event will or might take place. In a sentence such as *upādhyāyaś ced āgato vyākaraṇam adhītam eva*—the example given in Helārāja's commentary on VP 3.9.105—the expectation of the teacher's arrival may be regarded as a non-descriptive meaning, insofar as it does not refer to any feature of the external event. Since it is conveyed without being directly expressed by any grammatical or lexical element, it is not a *śabdārtha*, a 'linguistic' meaning, according to Helārāja. In other words, it is a sentence meaning that escapes formalisation altogether. Before Helārāja, the notion of *prayokṭṛdharma* had already been applied in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (KV) on A. 8.1.8 and 8.1.10 to *asūyā* 'jealousy', *kutsana* 'scorn', *ābādha* 'distress' etc., all of which are possible semantic conditions for the reiteration of a lexical item in an utterance. In the KV they are opposed to *abhidheyadharmas*, 'properties of the denotatum', such as time, number, etc. Nevertheless, just like the latter, they may sometimes be grammaticalised in Sanskrit. To that extent, *prayokṭṛdharmas* are not different from other meanings that play a role in Pāṇini's grammar, as Helārāja observes under VP 3.7.125–26, where he treats *praiṣa* 'commanding'—one of the semantic conditions for the introduction of *loṭ* endings (the so-called 'imperative') according to A.3.3.163—as another instance of *prayokṭṛdharma*. Jealousy, distress, etc. are also referred to in the *Vākyakāṇḍaṭīkā* on VP 2.77–83, where instead of *prayokṭṛdharma* the term *puruṣadharmas* is found, which I would tentatively translate with "property of the [locutionary] subject". This is then further subdivided into *vakṭṛdharma* and *pratipattṛdharma*, property of the speaker and of the hearer, respectively, which shows the author's awareness of the importance of conversational roles in the semantics of everyday utterances.