CHAPTER THREE

THE NOMINATIVE

1. The process of disintegration in the QXA declensional system, as witnessed in the early MIA, gathered force in subsequent stages and by the time of Apbh. we find the tendency of the generalization of different declensional patterns fully established. The -a declension prevails over others. The different cases fell together. Dative was replaced by genitive by the end of the first phase of MIA. The nominative and accusative coalesced. The ablative was almost lost. Instrumental and locative became identical in many cases.

But all these happened only in the plane of the forms of the cases. Their distinct semantic and functional value was not lost. Again, in many cases, especially in genitive and locative, in later Apbh., we notice a general tendency of employing endingless forms. These endingless forms are either resultant residues of the phonetic decay, or are the base stem forms used for different cases. The use of the bare stem is sanctioned by Apbh. grammarians also.

So the treatment of cases in the following pages would be as this:

Since the merging of the instrumental and the locative is not complete they are treated separately, though adjacently. Similarly are treated the nominative and the accusative, because the latter is a completely separate case.

1. Caturthyaḥ sasthi tādārthye-Pu.5.2.
2. Hs.4.345, Tr.3.4.16.
semantically and has played not an insignificant role in the
development of the oblique case in NIA.

The dative and the genitive, identical in forms and
very nearly related in use, have been treated immediately
after each other.

The function of the ablative is usurped by other
local cases. But in many cases it remains basically separate.
So this is treated separately.

The vocative, as in OIA and earlier MIA, has very
limited use and does not differ fundamentally from the nomi­
native. So its treatment is included in the nominative portion.

2. In Apbh. the nominative is of two varieties viz. the
pure nominative and the agentive nominative. The latter fun­
tions as the grammatical subject of the pre-passive parti­
cipial verbs. It is instrumental in form but nominative
semantically. Its use is as per instrumental, hence its treat­
ment under instrumental here.

Nominative is the case of grammatical subject. Its
use does not differ very much from the same as in OIA and
early MIA .

3. In Apbh., the nominative has the following funct­
ions:­

(a) The grammatical subject of the verb in active
voice;

(b) The grammatical subject of the verb in passive
voice;

(c) The complement to the grammatical subject or pre­
dicative adjective in active voice;
(d) The complement or attribute to the object;
(e) The subjective predicate of verbs of incomplete predication;
(f) Appositional nominative;
(g) Nominative absolute;
(h) Cognate nominative;
(i) Anacoluthic use of nominative;
(j) Temporal nominative;
(k) Use of more than one grammatical subjects with a single verb;
(a) Nominative as the grammatical subject of verb, both transitive and intransitive, in active voice:

-sāhañāi māvāroppparu bhindanti... bhamjanti kambha vihañanti māṃca. 'The two armies fight together,—the pillars break and daies destroy'. Pc.7.5.3-4. paramesaru dujjau jāu hānu /na karei sandhi tumhehi samānu. '0 lord! the demon is undefeatable(and) the religion does not compromise with you? P.16.4.2.

-nāraya gāyanti mitthu. 'The tumba-carrying singers sing sweetly'. MP.37.14.11. savvau vijju mahu vipp- huranti'. All the vidyās spring forth from me'. JC.1.6.15. siva vīnu sattiṇa vāvaraī siva punu satti vihīnu- 'The Śakti does not function without Śiva,(and) so the Śiva without Śakti'. Pd.55.
va'isāñarāhā tidikkaḍau kāṇaṇu dāhāi mahāntu. 'Even a spark of fire burns a big forest'. Sd.23. sāyaru uppari tāṇu dhara'it tali ghali rayañāī. 'The sea keeps the grass on the surface (but) throws the gems at the bottom'. Pc.4.334. aha pāyaū na hū paḍhai kośulaliya punāraṇa- '(Is there) no body (who) recites Prakrit poems in a graceful voice?'; SR.183.

(b) Nominative as the grammatical subject of the verb in passive voice:-
tau amhahā karaṇe dhukkau maranu 'Your death has entered (reached) for our sake'. Pc.10.6.6. vattaṇa suvvai in da'ir rayahō 'Word is not heard of (or from) king Indrajit'. Pc.67.3.7. ja hī pijjai salīla pavāsi ehi 'where water is drunk by foreigners'. MP.1.14.14. mai tujihū sumangalu cintiyaū- 'Your welfare is considered by me'. JC.2.22.3. tihuvani disai devu jīna. 'The lord Jīna is seen in the three worlds'. Pd.39. jena agāliu jalu piaū 'By whom is drunk unfiltered water'. Sd.27. brāmhaṇe hī ma jānanta hī bheū. 'The bhedā is not known by Brahmins'. DKS.1. maggevi lai̇ya sā tena kanna. 'That girl was taken by him after asking'. Bh.8.7. hari naccāviu pāmgane-
'Hari is made to dance in courtyard'. Ho.4,420.

darisiū kusumaṇiyaru veyalle. 'The multitude of flowers was shown by jasmine'. JSC.3,12,12.

gamiyaiṇaivīmaggu pahiyanaturangamihī. 'The way is tracked O traveller! by boats and not by horses'. SR.142 d.

(c) Nominative as complement to grammatical subject or predicative adjective in active voice- jaïtahaa pappiyajanayasaüato

haunavahamiindaiṇāmu. 'If I give him the daughter of Janaka (i.e. Sītā) then I shall not bear the name of Rāvana'. Pc.57.5.7.

nam jambūdiūpayaṭtaü

lāmkādivahopāhunāū. 'As if Jambūdvipa started (as) the guest of Laṅkādvipa.' PC.56.7.9.

rayanibhoyanudukkhahābhāyanu-

'The night-food (is) store-house of troubles'. MP.22.19.7.

ahavirala pahāū

ji kalihīdhannu-'Indeed the pity (is) little-powered in Kaliyuga'. Ho.4,341.

huāūsamvaccharutullāū

ikkudinu.'One day has become equivalent to one year'. SR.114.

(d) Nominative as complement or attribute to the grammatical subject in passive construction:-

jam randattanaupāviyalaçc-

hī-'As the goddess Lakṣmī has obtained widowhood'. Pc.67.7.5.

mottāhalujiha
bhagga nā phūṭtiū- 'The fortune did not split as the pearl'. PC.4.5.4. aggie ṅa haur hoi jagū- 'The world becomes hot by fire'. HC.4.343. mahu āyasau thodāuvī- 'The honey even if taken a little'. Sād.23. kiū padhamahu nāūsāmuddadatta- 'He christened the first as Samudradatta'. PSC.2.7.

e) Nominative as subjective complement to verbs of incomplete predication- romagguvivamkuṅahoi jehī- 'By whom even the hair is not bent'. PC.40.15.9. hōsanti puttu tautinnidhañc. '0 fortunate(lady)! you will beget three sons'. PC.4.33.

In this group may be included the subjective predicate of some reflexive transitive verbs e.g. bhanā-, munā- etc. This is in nominative. This idiom is found in Vedic prose, Mbh. and Pāli. Examples are- savvai dhūli- sa maī manāntai. 'Thinking all like dust'. PC. 2.16.6. mahī vallahu bhānevijothuvvai. 'Who is worshipped as the beloved of world'. PC.3.9.6. candu bhanēvije hāsau dijjai. 'Who is mocked at as moon'. PC.7.11.6.

In the last two examples the reflexive verb bhanā- has the force of the case-governing post positive.

1. BSMA. § 6(a), UCVP.p.2-3.
(f) Appositional Nominative:- vijjähara
miya mārīca kevi:\ tumhahā
muhavekkhā āya ve vi- 'Some
Vidyādhara, M. and Mārica, both have come in your
attendance'. Pc.10.2.7. vaṁhānu bhānu
gāmga[h] heu/ aṁgārāu sasahara rāhukeu bhuh vihaphai
sukku sanīcca rovi/ jamu
varaṇa kubera purandar-
ovi. ettiya milevi rakkha-
nti jovi/ chuṭṭantu na chu-
ṭṭai vairi to vi- 'Brahmā, Sun,
Śiva, fire, moon, Rāhu, Ketu, Budha, Vṛ̣haspati,
Śukra, Śaniścara, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Indra,
if all these together protect and try to release
even then the enemy will not be saved'. Pc.43.9.6-9.
paṁ maṁ siyāevi tinni vi
vāhiraṁ kareppinu- 'Ousting(from
house) you, I and Sitādevi, all the three'. Pc.
70.4.10. chelamihuna sūyarāva-
ggha sasaya cittayā/ evam
bahu cauppayā- 'The pair of goats,
pigs, the tiger, the rabbit, the leopard all these
four footed ones'. Jc.1.10.1-4. deha galan-
tahā savu galai mai sui
dhāraṇa dheu. 'Of the one whose body
is destroyed mati, śruti, dhāraṇa and dhyeya, all
destroy'. Pd.103. pattiya pāniya
dabbha tila savvai jāni
savāṇnu. 'Leaf, water, darbha( and) til,
know all these as equal*. Pd.159. addha
uddha du'1 pakkha' chea.'The
lower and the upper(are) two sides'. DKS.74.
dhanadattu dhanavahu vinhi
putta'-Dhanadhatta, and Dhanavaha, the two
sons'. PSC.1.43.

(g) Nominative Absolute- The use of nominative abso-
olute is an interesting idiom of the syntax of IA.
It is found with present participle in the langu-
age of Vedic prose and also in Pkts., though
rarely in the latter 1. The absolute use of pples.
and absolutes with different case forms is
very prolific in Apbh. In many cases they carry
the postpositional force. Following are examples:

1. UCVP.p.7; BSMM.p. 4, § 7.
(h) The Cognate Nominative: The cognate nominatives, both etymological and non-etymological, are not infrequently found in Apbh. In the former both the verb and the nominative are derived from the same root whereas in the latter the nominative is derived from an allied root, e.g. (i) Etymological.

\[
\text{divva- bhāsa annetthe bhāsai} / \text{Kusuma- vāsa annetthe vāsa}. \text{The divine (charming) light is lighted somewhere, the scent of flower smells somewhere'. PC.3.3.8-9. }
\]

\[
\text{na du jima harisa visādehi nacciū. 'As the dancer dances due to happiness and sorrow'. PC.26.9.7. }
\]

\[
\text{na suṇantikannya na niyai nayanauna galanti calana na karanti kara. 'The ears do not hear, the eye does not see, the legs don't walk and the hands do not work'. PC.33.6.7-8. }
\]

In this particular example the words for different limbs of human body, derived from various roots are construed with cognate verbs.

\[
\text{sukkaī payave vukkānu vukkaī- 'The crow caws at the dried tree'. PC.52.1.7. }
\]

\[
\text{na m dharaṇie dhariyau divva vesu- 'As if the earth has taken (put on) a heavenly dress'. JC.1.3.4. }
\]

\[
\text{gījanti geyāi-'The songs are sung'. JC.1.16. }
\]

10. sannasaṇa maranta yahā
labbhaicchiyataladdhi- 'By those dying by sanyasa, desired gains are gained'. Sd.71. kiriya kinna kayavva.

'Why that work not be done'. Pd.19. ja lai jale jalan - 'If the fire burns in water'. Pc.4.365. kahi anuvamuvamijjai kena samanu sahi-

'O friend! tell how (or with whom) should the incomparable be compared?' Apkt. 43.(ii) Non-Etymological Nominative: vihi mibhidantahi samarangane dunduhi vajjai. 'Both (of them) encountering in the battlefield, drums are beaten'. Pc.25.5.10. This idiom may be treated under nominative absolute even. akkhiyaku salavatta hanuvante. 'The news of welfare was told by Hanuman'. Pc.50.1.4. accariyam maha hiyae virahaggitavaiahiyaro. 'O wonder! the fire of separation burns in my heart with vehemence'. SR.149.

In the following both the etymological and non-etymological nominative forms are used together with one verb. jahi karaha pada-
hai vajjanti vajjai. 'Where the hard kettle drum and (other) musical instruments are played'. JC.1.16.8.

(1) Anacoluthon- This use of the nominative is found in the early MIA. In Apbh. the anacoluthon with participles is an interesting, though very rare,
Idiom. Such anacoluthon is attested in Old Persian also. The following are examples:

\[ \text{hau da j j hau so u vvarai balivina jo vai to i} \] 'I am burnt; he is saved even then (he) does not see turning.'

Pād.51. sāiya jalu sippihi ā gayaū muttīhī hoi ravaṇṇu-

'The water of Swati entered the shell and beautiful pearl is formed.' Sā.9/ This idiom may also be alternatively explained as either nominative absolute or as the predicate of the verb of imperfect predication.

\[ \text{posiyuū mahallau guṇa va riṭt hu} / \text{gautena bhairava-nanda diṭṭhu} \] 'The praiseworthy (person) full of good qualities was sent, having gone, by him was seen Bh'. J.C.1.6.1B.

(j) Temporal Nominative—The temporal nominative denotes duration or continuation of time.

\[ \text{ema tāhi navaṇe ha nirantar-a rape ga ya dīna pakkha māsa samvacchāra} \] 'Thus (with) their new love (running) constantly, days, fortnights, months, and years passed'. Bh.13.8. s o kaiyāhā hosi i jo manu tosai kavanu divas u so dhānnavauū 'When shall that happen, when shall that good day be which would please the heart?' JSC. 2.14.12. hosa hi

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1. Kent, R.G. Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon, 58.312-14
diṣṭā rūṣaṇā divvai varisā-

kyāyi. 'For days on which one is angry will appear (long like) hundred years of gods'. Hc. 4.418. jīvi jījai jam piya vi-

rahāṁhi divasāṁ tam cūj jām.

'The days lived in separation of the beloved, they are wonderful'. Sr.116. uṭṭarāyani va-

ddhihi divasā. 'The days increase in uṭṭarāyana'. Sr.112.

(k) In the following more than one subjects are used with one verb:

jāmu jamaśāsānu jama-

karānu jamaūri jama-

daṇḍu samottharaśi. 'Yama, Yamaśāsana, Yama-

deed, Yamapūri and Yamadanda attacked'. Pc.11.10.9.

acchahu puṇu vi gha re sa-

tuhānu rāmu haū lakkhanu-

'Let Satrughna, Ram, myself and Lakshmana stay in the house'. Pc.22.1.9. deha galanta-

hā savu galai mai sui dhārāna dheū. 'Of those whose body is destroyed, maṭi śruti, dhārāna and dhyeya all are destroyed'. Pd.103.

mahu hiyaū tai tēe tuhūsā vi annē vinadijjai. 'My heart is captured by you, yours by her, she by some one else'. Hc.4.370.
4. In the following the nominative is used for the accusative- rāhavena vuttu hau kim karami/ko māramiko kira pariharami- 'R. told, what do I do? whom(shall) I kill, whom(shall) I hide'. Pc.43.16.5. ē suñanti dhāmmakkharai te hau mannami kanna. 'Those who hear the words of religion them I consider ears'. Sd.118. This may also be explained as predicative nominative of reflexive verbs. tovi mahadduma suanu jīmva te ucchami dhārei-'even then the big tree like a saint keeps them, its lap'. Pc.4.336. so āna mi etthu jena samausamb-andhu tauí-'I will bring him with whom(is)your relation'. Bh.174.10.

5. In Pc. a few verbs of saying like pahasas-, cava-, pacava- are used as intransitives and their past participles take nominative subjects in place of agentive (instrumental) subjects as in case of gat,āh, mṛtau etc. in Skt. e.g. so devāgamunievipahasī- 'He, having seen the coming of god, told'. Pc.3.9.13. pamaya-nivahu cavī-'The monkey-heard told'. Pc.6.12.6. sura-pavara cavī-'The best among gods told'. Pc.15.5.3. tamnisuṇevinu pacavi mārui-'Having heard that M. told'. Pc.57.11.1.

In this may be traced the germs of the distinction between the constructions of Hindi bōlāna and kahana.

6. The Apbh. literature, analysed here, being mostly
poetical we find quite a large number of examples wherein the nominative is not expressed and the meaning becomes clear, as in Skt., by the verb itself. There are also cases where the nominative is left unexpressed, due perhaps to the exigency of metre. Examples of such elliptical construction are:

\[\text{gunah} \text{hi} \text{na sampal kitti para phala lhiyā bhumjanti} \] 'by virtues (one can get) only fame and not wealth (people) get fruit of what is written (in fate).' Hc.4.335. This may also be explained as a case of impersonal construction—the verb bhumjanti being taken as such.

7. Use of nominative as vocative: The use of vocative in Apbh. is the same as in OIA. and MIA. A special form of vocative plural with suffix- hō is found in Apbh.¹

The interjections usually construed with vocative viz. hā, a re hā le etc. are found in Apbh. A special form of interjection 1a‘i is extensively used in Apbh. in place of a re. In most cases this 1a‘i carries a pejorative sense also. Not rarely it also connotes challenge. There is yet another interjection viz. a māi e (perhaps derived from or formed after Skt. a māi e) having a general connotation of vocative, examples:

(a) Vocative with interjections:

\[\text{are} \text{ are putta ho nāu padi} \text{ rakka kiū} \text{ '0 sons! you did not protect.'} \]
\[\text{Pc.9.10.9a. has(ū) j purandarena} \text{ are mānava/ devasamāna ho-} \text{nti kim dānava.' P. laughed 0 man! do the demons resemble gods.'} \text{Pc.8.8.8.10 nū} \]

¹. Hc.4.346.
vilijja'i pāni ena ar i(V.i.are)
kha la meha ma gaj u-'Salt is
melted by water 0 wicked cloud ! don't thunder'.
Hc. 4.41B. are ji ya jinavara
manu thava hi-'0 creature fix your
mind in Jinavara'. Pd.134.

aho(ts.): aho aho tā ya tā ya
sasidhavalai-Pc.11.12. aho
ji ya bhāvahi ekkama nu-'0
creature! think singlemindedly'. Pd.209. aho
rāyāhīrāya jasasirirasa-
'0 king of Kings, taking delight in victory'. JSC.
1.13.1.

ammī(y)e(<ambik e)-Hc.(4.396) and
Trivikrama(3.3.2) treat it as an equivalent
of word a mb a-. But in Pd. this is used as
a general vocative term something like NIA words
for mother(‘Hindi- Beng. mā) and father of.
Hindi are bā pre-or Beng. o/bābā used
interjectionally as exclamatory terms. In Jc. we
find a similar use of word bappa as inter-
jection. saranu na ko vi bappa
tahi pecchami. Jc.3.11.13. e.g.
ammie jo paru soji paru
paru appāna na hoi-'0! that which
is other is other and the other cannot be own'.
Pd.51. ammie muttahā chidda
lahuto vi na vīn da i ko-
′Oh! (it is) the small hole of urine even then no
body leaves it'. Pd. 196.

kale (ś.)
hale kāi gahillie ruahi
tuhū- '0 village maiden! why do you weep'.
Pc.48.7.9. tuhū hali hali khali,
saabhave vacue/ kiṃ nāgaya
tuhū lahu dasiuse. 'You 0 wicked!
fallen from good nature, the daughter of a slave!. why did you not come early?'; Jc.2.7.2. kantu
mahāraū hali sahie nico-
hai rūsaī jāsu- 'When my lover, 0 female friend, becomes angry at some°one'. Hc. 4.358.

(b) Historical vocative-
Kahi gaya parahue parahu-
yā- vayāni- '0 cuckoo! where has that
cuckoo throated( damsel) gone'. Pc.19.13.7. mā
bihasu kannē- '0 girl ! don't be
afraid'. Jc.1.15.4.
ha māe pái vi ṇau samth-
aviya- '0 mother! even you did not keep me'.
Pc.19.6.2. tarunahō taruniho
munīū mai karahu ma appaho
ghau- '0 youngmen and young women!this is
known to me, do not ruin yourselves'. Hc.4.346.
Vitte mai bhaniya tuhū-
'0 daughter, I tell you'. Hc.4.330. tam
buha yana hu suhenhu-'To that 0
wise men/listen'. KPP.JL.9. tam nayare
na maha kartaraṃ—to that creator 0
gentlemen ! salute'. SR.1.
8. The growing use of passive participle for finite in Apbh. led to the fusion of the active and passive constructions in Apbh. This tendency became fully established in the early NIA. The following idiom provides a good examples of the use of active and passive with the agentive nominative-sappim mukkī kaṃculiya jaṃ visu tamanamauei- 'The slough is abandoned by the snake but he does not abandon that which is poison'. Pd.5.